

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Zauberkind: Children and Childhood in Late Eighteenth-Century Singspiel and Lieder

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8c29s212>

Author

Mueller, Adeline

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Zauber kinder: Children and Childhood
in Late Eighteenth-Century Singspiel and Lieder

By

Adeline Otis Mueller

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Mary Ann Smart, Chair

Professor Nicholas Mathew

Professor Chenxi Tang

Fall 2011

Zauber kinder: Children and Childhood
in Late Eighteenth-Century Singspiel and Lieder

Copyright 2011

by

Adeline Otis Mueller

ABSTRACT

Zauberkind: Children and Childhood
in Late Eighteenth-Century Singspiel and Lieder

by

Adeline Otis Mueller

Doctor of Philosophy in Music

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Mary Ann Smart, Chair

In this dissertation, I trace the complex negotiations of childhood play, display, power, propriety, and authenticity in the Singspiels and Lieder of the late eighteenth century. My central claim is that the musical culture of this period marked a brief moment of equilibrium between the parent-centered discourses of *Bildung* and the laudatory nostalgia that characterized the nineteenth-century cult of the child. Pedagogical reformers and men of letters sought a greater intimacy between young and old, and music had a singular role to play in the cultivation of that intimacy. Debates about the reform of Singspiel and Lieder in the early- and mid-eighteenth century had established German vocal music as an agent of moral instruction and social cohesion, reframing its relative simplicity as an ethical asset rather than an aesthetic shortcoming. At the same time, philosophers identified a more essential link between children and song, one based on the emotional immediacy imputed to both. The new national repertoires helped to construct an image of the young as thinking, feeling subjects and sources of certain kinds of wisdom, even grace.

Each of the chapters surveys a particular genre or repertoire, as well as focusing on a single aspect of that genre's engagement with the child. The *Kindertruppen*—novelty theatrical troupes in which children impersonated adults and performed adult repertoire—stage the child as an exotic figure of curiosity. *Kinderoperetten* and *Kinderlieder*, published for domestic performance, call upon children to portray lightly fictionalized versions of themselves, acting as powerful agents of a more intimately bonded family, as in the *Kinderoperetten*, or as idealized representatives of a stage of life remote from adulthood, while still cognizant of future responsibilities, as in the *Kinderlieder*. Finally, the magic Singspiels of Mozart, Schikaneder, and their contemporaries find the representational trajectory coming full circle, with adults portraying supernatural children who take on protective, even redemptive roles.

In each case, I discuss musical works that exhibit a degree of self-consciousness with respect to their representation of the child. Metafictional devices such as *mise-en-abyme*, self-referentiality, and embedded tableaux of music-making establish a kind of

internal critical discourse regarding the ideologies of childhood, with song frequently serving as a unit of emotional currency. The more children were idealized, protected, and romanticized, the more distant they were felt to be—and, in a sense, the “authentic” child recedes entirely in subsequent decades. Thus the short-lived late-Enlightenment effort to meet children “on their own terms,” with music as the source of common ground and the means of establishing affinity, stands as an intriguing anomaly in the history both of childhood and of music’s role in its cultural construction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Music Examples	ii
List of Figures	iii
List of Appendices	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction	1
The Doctrine of Affection: The Discursive Functions of Children's Music in the German Enlightenment	
Chapter 1	11
Kindertruppen and the Exoticization of Childhood	
Chapter 2	32
Kinderoperetten and the New Family Compact	
Chapter 3	63
Kinderlieder and the Work of Play	
Chapter 4	93
Enchanting Childhood in <i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	
Bibliography	117
Appendices	131

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Music Examples	ii
List of Figures	iii
List of Appendices	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction	1
The Doctrine of Affection: The Discursive Functions of Children's Music in the German Enlightenment	
Chapter 1	11
Kindertruppen and the Exoticization of Childhood	
Chapter 2	32
Kinderoperetten and the New Family Compact	
Chapter 3	63
Kinderlieder and the Work of Play	
Chapter 4	93
Enchanting Childhood in <i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	
Bibliography	117
Appendices	131

LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

Music Example 1.1	Excerpt, "Trostlos schluchzet Philomele" (Zaide), <i>Zaide</i> (Act II, Scene 5)	12
Music Example 1.2	Excerpt from "Ich seh, mit Narrheit" (Die Slavinn), <i>Das Serail</i> (Act II, Scene 4)	21
Music Example 2.1	"Welche königliche Lust!" (Der König), <i>Die Jagd</i> (Act III, Scene 9)	42
Music Example 2.2	"Wohl mir! welch eine Seligkeit" (Divertissement), <i>Die kleine Aehreleserin</i> (Scene 9)	47
Music Example 2.3	"Ich bin zwar noch ein junges Blut" (Karl), <i>Der Abschied</i> (Scene 7)	51
Music Example 2.4a	"Müttern, die voll Herzeleid" (Athelswerth children), <i>Die Friedensfeyer</i> (Act II, Scene 16)	56
Music Example 2.4b	"Allen giebt er sie zurück" (Athelswerth children), <i>Die Friedensfeyer</i> (Act II, Scene 16)	57
Music Example 3.1	"Der Rosenstock," <i>Der Greis</i>	70
Music Example 3.2	"Die Freude," <i>Der Greis</i>	70
Music Example 3.3	"Neulich, Schwestern, darf ich sagen?" <i>Kleine Lieder für Kinder</i>	73
Music Example 3.4	"Der Vater und Das Kind," <i>Der Greis</i>	75
Music Example 3.5	"Die kleine Spinnerin" (K. 531)	82
Music Example 3.6a	"Das Kinderspiel," Claudius	89
Music Example 3.6b	"Das Kinderspiel," Reichardt	89
Music Example 3.6c	"Das Kinderspiel" (K. 598)	90
Music Example 4.1	Excerpt, "Fort, armer Jüngling" (Genie, Nadir), <i>Der Stein der Weisen</i> (Act II, Scene 25)	102

Music Example 4.2	“Prinz, die Saiten wohlgespannt” (Pizichi), <i>Kaspar der Fagottist</i> (Act III, Scene 12)	105
Music Example 4.3	Excerpt, “Bald prangt, den Morgen zu verkünden” (Three Boys), <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Act II, Scene 26)	106
Music Example 4.4	Opening measures of “Zwei Herzen, die von Liebe brennen” (Pamina and Three Boys), <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Act II, Scene 27)	110
Music Example 4.5	Opening measures of “Der, welcher wandert diese Strasse” (Men in Armor), <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Act II, Scene 28)	111
Music Example 4.6	Excerpt from Finale, <i>Das Labyrinth</i> (Act II, Scene 20)	113

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 0.1	Detail, Daniel Chodowiecki, Engraving No. 18, <i>Kupfersammlung zu J. B. Basedows Elementarwerke</i>	4
Figure 1.1a	Sebastiani troupe	15
Figure 1.1b	Berner troupe	15
Figure 1.2.	Carl Henrici, “Die Sklavin singt,” <i>Das Serail</i>	30
Figure 2.1	Detail, title vignette, <i>Denk, daß zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt, als du!</i>	46
Figure 2.2a	“Der Mensch in Beschäftigung mit dem Schönen”	49
Figure 2.2b	Title engraving, <i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: Frühlingslieder</i> (Vienna: Alberti, 1791)	49
Figure 2.3	Detail, engraving, “Der Abschied,” <i>Der Kinderfreund</i>	52
Figure 2.4	Engraving, “Die Friedensfeyer,” <i>Der Kinderfreund</i>	58
Figure 3.1	Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, <i>Une Jeune Fille qui récite son Evangile</i> (Salon of 1753)	84
Figure 4.1a	Three Boys, <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> , Leipzig, 1793	95
Figure 4.1b	Three Boys, Hamburg, 1795	96
Figure 4.1c	Three Boys, Hamburg, 1794	96
Figure 4.2	Detail, engraving, <i>Der Stein der Weisen</i> (Act II, Scene 15): Eutifronte’s dwarfs, Genie, and Lubanara	100

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1	Principal eighteenth-century children's troupes active in France and Germany, and the Turkish- or seraglio-set works in their repertoire	131
Appendix 1.2	Members of the Berner Troupe	132
Appendix 2.1	Principal Kinderschauspiele and Kinderoperetten, 1769-1799	134
Appendix 2.2	Musical Settings of Christian Felix Weisse's Kinderoperetten	138
Appendix 2.3	Poems, Lieder, Plays, and Singspiels on the Subject of the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-1779)	139
Appendix 2.4a	"Friedensgemälde 1770: Allegorie auf Augsburg und seine Jugend"	141
Appendix 2.4b	"Friedensfeyer in Nürnberg: Schönheit und Jugend bringen Wrangeln den Oehlzweig und den Lorbeerkranz" (1792)	142
Appendix 3.1	Kinderlieder collections, 1766-1799	143
Appendix 3.2	Mozart's seven known Kinderlieder	145
Appendix 4.1	Settings of "Seid uns zum zweitenmal Willkommen," from <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> , 1791-1800	146
Appendix 4.2	Singspiels based on Wieland's <i>Dschinnistan</i> , 1790-1799	147

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I contemplate the many friends, colleagues, and scholars far and wide whose generous assistance has enriched this project at every turn, I am at once humbled, immensely grateful, and somewhat melancholy. It will be impossible to duplicate the particular blend of personalities that has made my time at Berkeley such a challenge, and such an unalloyed pleasure. I only hope that I can continue to benefit from their acquaintance, and from their example, in the years to come.

I would not have been able to complete this project were it not for financial support provided by the following: the Mabelle McLeod Lewis Memorial Fund; the UC Berkeley Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowship; the American Musicological Society Eugene K. Wolf Travel Grant; the UC Berkeley Institute of European Studies Center for German and European Studies Predissertation Fellowship; and the UC Berkeley Regents-Intern Fellowship.

The helpful staff at the following libraries and archives made research both at home and abroad an adventure and a delight: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover; Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel; Stadtarchiv Braunschweig; Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv - Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel; Stadtarchiv Leipzig; Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig; Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig; Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; Deutsches Theatermuseum Bibliothek (Munich); Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg; Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart; Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna; Don Juan Archiv, Vienna; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Bibliothèque Conservatoire Royal, Brussels; Royal Library Copenhagen, German Historical Institute (Washington, D.C.); Arts Library, UC Santa Barbara; and especially Interlibrary Borrowing Services and the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, UC Berkeley.

It gives me great pleasure to thank:

Peet's Coffee & Tea at 16th and Geary, for being my room of one's own;

Thomas Betzwieser, Michael Hüttler, David Buch, and Daniel Heartz, for sharing their expertise and resources;

the participants in the "After the Magic Flute" conference, and all the staff in the UC Berkeley Music Department who helped make it possible, for good fellowship and inspiring exchanges;

Martin Nedbal, Karen Hiles, Estelle Joubert, and Heidi Lee, for being fellow travellers;

Elaine Tennant, Tony Kaes, Tom Grey, Scott Paulin, Richard Taruskin, James Davies, and Kate van Orden, for seminars that buzzed with intellectual energy;

Wendy Allanbrook, for conviction, wit, and soul;

Chenxi Tang, for discerning insights and for helping to ground my thinking in theory;

Nicholas Mathew, for urging me to think big but tread gingerly, and for showing me how one can do both at the same time;

Mary Ann Smart, for wise counsel, unwavering support, and an invaluable model;

the many graduate students whose sympathy, intelligence, and good humor made it a joy to unlock the door to 107 Morrison every day, especially Yael Braunschweig, Esther Criscuola de Laix, Emily Richmond-Pollock, and Bill Quillen;

the members of the dissertation group—Leon Chisholm, Emily Frey, Sean Curran, Laura Biggs, and Rebekah Ahrendt—for heartening support, canny advice, and innumerable “Eureka” moments;

Mom, for making a classroom feel like home (from the get-go);

Dad, for insisting there’s more to life than classrooms (there’s also movies);

and finally, Ian and Nora, for making it all make sense.

Introduction
The Doctrine of Affection:
The Discursive Functions of Children's Music in the German Enlightenment

God is a true *Kinderfreund*,
If you are students of wisdom:
Just as his son, Jesus Christ
Blesses, hugs, and kisses children.
-- Friedrich A. Ellrod¹

You must know that I sincerely love all children, if they are good, pious, industrious, and obedient children; that I prefer their company to the most brilliant assembly of adults, because I often observe with pain how much the world sees the saddest betrayal of the hope that they had in their childhood years, whereas I behold in you such greater expectations and hopes. [...] This, my love for you, is even more increased, because I myself am the father of four children, whom I I love more than all the treasures on earth, more than the whole world, yes, I almost want to say, more than my life itself.
-- Christian Felix Weisse, writing as "Herr Mentor," *Der Kinderfreund*²

This chapter's two epigraphs are linked by a term—"Kinderfreund"—that would come to define Germany's singular contribution to the Enlightenment reevaluation of childhood.³ The term was already familiar in its religious context, deriving from the "Suffer the little children" passage in the Gospel of Mark—the first epigraph, from a collection of *geistlicher Lieder*, comes out of this tradition. But as it was reinterpreted for the secular children's readers and periodicals of the 1770s and after—such as the periodical *Der Kinderfreund*, excerpted in the second epigraph—the term came to stand for a new ideal of *Erziehung* (upbringing, education): one based on affection, play, and genuine rapport.

¹ Sung to the Lutheran chorale "Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her." Friedrich A. Ellrod, *Sammlung erbaulicher und geistreicher alter und neuer Lieder, oder vollständigeres Gesang-Buch* [1762] (Bayreuth: Senfft, 1765), 732.

² Christian Felix Weisse, "Zueignungsschrift," *Der Kinderfreund* 1/1 (2 October 1775): 3-4.

³ See Bodo Kayser, "Der Kinderfreund," in *Nützliches Vergnügen: Kinder- und Jugendbücher der Aufklärungszeit aus dem Bestand der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen und der Vordemann-Sammlung*, ed. Elmar Mittler and Wolfgang Wangerin (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2004); and Klaus Doderer, "Kinderfreund," in *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Personen-, Länder- und Sachartikel zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Klaus Doderer, et al. (Weinheim: Beltz, 1975-1982), vol. 2 ("I-O" [1977]), 178-180. There existed a French reader entitled *L'Ami des enfants* (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1765), edited by the Jesuit Abbé Joseph Reyre, but this book still belongs to the conduct literature genre, and employs a didactic second-person singular voice throughout.

This is not to say that adults did not feel affection for children until the Enlightenment gave them permission to do so. The innumerable refinements of Philippe Ariès' foundational historicizing study of childhood have taken pains to show that children everywhere were loved long before the Enlightenment.⁴ What was different, however, was that this love, and childhood itself, were not considered worthy of much sustained reflection. The welfare of one's own child might be of paramount importance to a family, but it was not until the Enlightenment that the welfare of children as a social group became a subject of widespread concern. And with that concern came a philosophical reflection on childhood, a rearticulation of its implications for the adult self.

While the careful shepherding of the child's innate potential was an Enlightenment preoccupation across Europe, it was the German pedagogues who emphasized the importance of sympathy between young and old—and not just between mothers and infants, as Rousseau had insisted, but between all the members of an extended family, and for all of the years leading up to full-fledged adulthood. This “anti-authoritarian,” or affectionate, model of childrearing was already celebrated by the child-loving Golden-Age Dutch, as Simon Schama has shown.⁵ But it gained a particularly earnest, practical character in Germany, where it was wedded to German utilitarianism and moral rigor. At the same time, the many pedagogical writings of the day suggested that cultivating intimacy with children stood to benefit not just children, but adults as well. If mankind was now understood to be fundamentally good, the child was as much a figure of emulation as of formation. Thus Germany achieved what the Dutch Republic arguably did not: namely, the establishment of “a brave new world of clearly defined zones of adults and children, with the former straining to comprehend the special needs and sensibilities of the latter.”⁶

This brave new world of affection, concern, and genuine curiosity towards children is the subject of the present study. And as I hope to show, the role of music in the cultivation of this affinity was as much a German innovation as the affinity itself.⁷

⁴ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* [1960], trans. Robert Baldic (New York: Knopf, 1962). For a summary of the critical reassessment of Ariès, see Colin Heywood, “*Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary – and an Epitaph?*,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3/3 (2010): 341-365.

⁵ Hans-Heino Ewers, “Pippi Langstrumpf als komische Figure: Anmerkungen zu einem Kinderbuchklassiker,” in *Komik im Kinderbuch: Erscheinungsformen des Komischen in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Hans-Heino Ewers (Weinheim: Juventa, 1992), 171, quoted in Regina Hofmann, *Der kindliche Ich-Erzähler in der modernen Kinderliteratur: eine erzähltheoretische Analyse mit Blick auf aktuelle Kinderromane* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2010), 39. See also Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), esp. Chapter 7, “In the Republic of Children.”

⁶ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 486.

⁷ Significant monographs and edited volumes on music and childhood include: *Young Choristers*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 7. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2008); *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, ed. Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006); Isabel Eicker, *Kinderstücke: An Kinder adressierte und über das Thema der Kindheit komponierte Alben in der*

The Lied- and Singspiel-reform debates of the early- and mid-eighteenth century had already established German vocal music as an agent of moral instruction and social cohesion, reframing its relative lack of refinement as an ethical asset rather than an aesthetic shortcoming – a signifier of the highly prized “edle Einfalt” (noble simplicity) and the egalitarian, universalizing ethos of German art.⁸ By the time the influential pedagogue Johann Bernhard Basedow wrote his monumental illustrated textbook for children, *Das Elementarwerk* – a textbook which, incidentally, also addressed both children and “Kinderfreunde” – the virtues of music-making had long been understood in participatory terms. Basedow even had his engraver Daniel Chodowiecki illustrate the universal human affinity for order with a garden-salon concert (see Figure 0.1). In his exegesis of the image, Basedow affirmed the participatory joys to be had in music-making, provided the gathering was undertaken with order and propriety:

Music is one of the most exquisite pleasures. A society of many can simultaneously take part in it, and the pleasure of each is increased by the pleasure of the other. Even the audience [...] is very pleased, but not as much as the players, who aside from the pleasure of hearing themselves have also the joy of their own art and skill and their willingness, which makes even more pleasure.⁹

Elsewhere, however, in a section on composers, Basedow’s defense of music against its critics hinted at the stigma of decadence that still hung about the art form when not yoked to explicitly religious functions – and this was in large part due to music’s emotional immediacy:

That music is able to portray, to excite, to strengthen, and to weaken almost all human emotions and passions, is known to everyone through experience. So while it is often subjected to abuse, as with the visual arts, more often it is a good tool for the

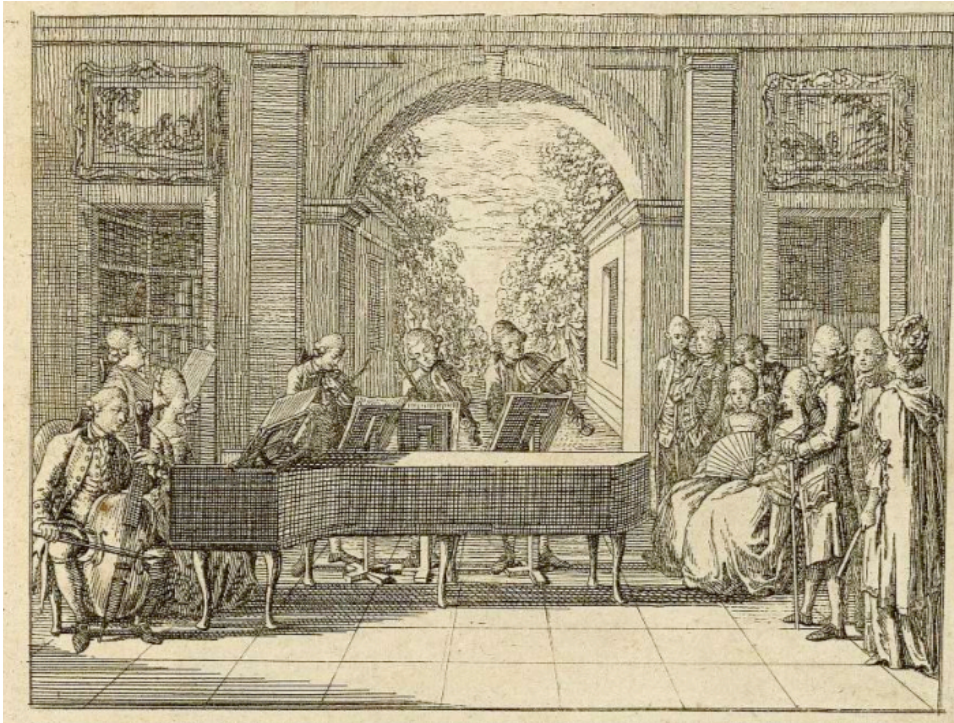
Klavierliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 1995); Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children’s Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1992); and Gunter Reiss and Mechthild von Schoenebeck, *Musiktheater für Kinder und Jugendliche: ein kommentiertes Stückeverzeichnis* (Bonn: VdM, 1988).

⁸ On this subject see, for instance, Estelle Joubert, “Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller’s Comic Operas and the Public Sphere,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/2 (2006): 213-230; James Parsons, “The Eighteenth-Century Lied,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and “Einfalt,” in Johann George Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln* (Leipzig: M. G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771), vol. 1, 295.

⁹ “Die Musik ist eine der vorzüglichsten Vergnügungen. Eine Gesellschaft von vielen kann zugleich Teil daran nehmen und das Vergnügen eines jeden wird durch das Vergnügen der anderen vermehrt. Auch die Zuhörer zur Rechten sind sehr vergnügt, aber nicht so sehr als die Mitspieler, welche außer dem Vergnügen ihres eigenen Gehörs noch die Freude über ihre eigene Kunst und Fertigkeit und über ihre Bereitwilligkeit haben, auch anderen Vergnügen zu machen.” J. B. *Basedows Elementarwerk mit den Kupfertafeln Chodowieckis u. a.: Kritische Bearbeitung in drei Bänden*, ed. Theodor Fritzscht (Leipzig: Ernst Wiegandt, 1909), vol. 1, book 2 (“Von Mancherlei. Besonders von dem Menschen und der Seele”), section IV.a (“Von dem Willen des Menschen – Von dem Vergnügen an der Übereinstimmung”), 132.

entertainment and improvement of human souls, as much in company as in solitude.¹⁰

Figure 0.1. Detail, Daniel Chodowiecki, Engraving No. 18, from *Kupfersammlung zu J. B. Basedows Elementarwerke*¹¹



This urge to harness music and its powerful effects for the great pedagogical project of the Enlightenment underpins some of the repertoires I discuss in this dissertation. Seen in this light, the vocal music produced for the child reader/performer stood as a paragon of the German imperative of “*nützlich*es Vergnügen,” of entertainment that was as edifying as it was ingratiating.¹² But *Bildung* (formation,

¹⁰ “Daß die Musik fähig sei, fast alle menschlichen Empfindungen und Leidenschaften vorzustellen, zu erregen, zu stärken und zu schwächen, an einem jeden durch Erfahrung bekannt werden. Sie ist also zwar wie die bildenden Künste einem Mißbrauche unterworfen, aber häufiger ist ihr guter Gebrauch zum Vergnügen und zur Verbesserung menschlicher Seelen, sowohl in Gesellschaft als in der Einsamkeit.” J. B. Basedows *Elementarwerk*, vol. 2, Book 6 (“Von den Beschäftigungen und Ständen der Menschen”), section 14 (“Von den Tonkünstlern”), Tab. LX.

¹¹ J. B. Basedows *Elementarwerk mit den Kupfertafeln Chodowieckis u. a.*, vol. 3, n.p. [Tab. XVIII].

¹² The term was used as a title for a number of song collections and readers. On the theme of “*nützlich*es Vergnügen” in children’s literature more broadly, see *Nützlich*es Vergnügen: Kinder- und Jugendbücher der Aufklärungszeit aus dem Bestand der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen und der Vordemann-Sammlung, ed. Elmar Mittler and Wolfgang Wangerin (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2004).

shaping) cannot fully explain even the most didactic of Kinderlieder and Kinderoperetten, nor can it explain the complex issues attending on the representation of the singing child in the adult Singspiel. *Bildung*, after all, does not account for what adults sought to learn from the children whose voices they endeavored to capture with such earnest (if often ill-informed) diligence.

This second “great project,” rather, was founded on a more essential link that philosophers identified between children and song. Johann Gottfried Herder described music as “the most unmediated instrument of the soul,” and he imputed this same quality of immediacy to children:¹³

A nation in its earliest savage beginnings, like a child, marvels at all things before it; terror, fright, and thereupon, wonder, are the only emotions both are capable of, and the language expressing these affects is sounds – and gestures. [...B]ecause their way of life is fraught with danger, and death, and fierceness, they are capable of more intense passion; thus, they are also better able than we are to understand the language of affect, since we know that age only from later reports and inferences...¹⁴

Johann Georg Sulzer and Johann Philipp Kirnberger took up this theme for their entry on “Gesang” in the *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*:

We see that when children, who know nothing about singing, are in a happier or a sadder mood, they entertain themselves with the accompanying tones. Through these tones, the mood takes on something physical, which they hold and through which they can procure an extension [of the mood]. This suggests to some degree the reason why man, in certain sensations, forms a series of singing tones, and thereby entertains himself in the state of a dominant mood.¹⁵

See also David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹³ “Töne, die das unmittelbarste Instrument auf die Seele sind.” Johann Gottfried von Herder, “Viertes Wäldchen” [1769, unpublished], in Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: Weidmann, 1878), vol. 4, 161.

¹⁴ “Eine Nation in ihrem ersten wilden Ursprunge starrt, wie ein Kind, alle Gegenstände an; Schrecken, Furcht und alsdann Bewunderung sind die Empfindungen, deren beide allein fähig sind, und die Sprache dieser Empfindungen sind Töne – und Gebärden. [...S]ie sind größerer Leidenschaften fähig, weil ihre Lebensart voll Gefahr und Tod und Wildheit ist: sie verstehen also auch die Sprache des Affekts mehr, als wir, die wir dies Zeitalter nur aus späteren Berichten und Schlüssen kennen...” Johann Gottfried Herder, *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur* [1767]. *Fragmente. Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Schriften zur Literatur 1*, ed. Regine Otto (Berlin: Aufbau, 1985), 26. Translation from “On Recent German Literature: First Collection of Fragments,” in *Selected Early Writings, 1764-1767: Addresses, Essays, and Drafts; Fragments on Recent German Literature*, ed. Ernest A. Menze and Karl Menges, trans. Ernest A. Menze with Michael Palma (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 105.

¹⁵ “Wir sehen, daß Kinder, die noch nichts von Gesang wissen, wenn sie in vergnügter oder trauriger Laune sind, sich durch dazu schikende Töne darin unterhalten. Durch diese Töne hat die Laune etwas Körperliches, woran sie sich festhalten und wodurch sie sich eine Fortdauer verschaffen kann. Daraus läßt sich einigermaßen begreifen, wie der Mensch, bey gewissen

Song's emotional immediacy thus acted as a kind of bridge back to the emotional immediacy of childhood. And the simplicity, even the underdetermined nature, of the musical surface was often a significant aspect of its communicative power. Accessible, pleasing song served as a kind of common ground or "zone of encounter" between young and old, one that if anything inclined in the direction of the young.

In what follows, I examine some of the extra- or para-pedagogical effects of secular song in the Age of Pedagogy (as the German Enlightenment was often called): those ways in which song helped to construct a new image of the young as thinking, feeling subjects and sources of certain kinds of wisdom, even grace.¹⁶ The boundary between those two categories – the fully-drawn and the idealized – could often prove blurry, as the sentimental epigraph from Weisse demonstrates. And yet the young members of his fictional "Mentor" family, those four children whom he loved "more than [his] own life," were by no means faultless. They succumbed to petty jealousies, hurt each other's feelings, experienced shame, learned from their mistakes, and in short, emerged as complex individuals inhabiting a realistic domestic world, one with which the middle-class readers of Weisse's periodical would have readily identified. This moment of "Kinderfreundschaft" is the focus of my research: that brief moment of equilibrium between the rather pedantic tone of early Enlightenment and the emerging cult of the child. And as Weisse's leading role makes clear, "Kinderfreundschaft" was as much a musical and theatrical undertaking as a literary one.

Each of the chapters that follow examines a particular genre or repertoire of secular vocal music, and one aspect of that genre's engagement with the child. In successive chapters we will encounter children as exotic figures of curiosity in the *Kindertruppen*; as powerful agents of a more intimately bonded family in the domestic *Kinderoperetten*; as multi-dimensional, often precociously sophisticated subjects in the *Kinderlieder*; and as guardian and redemptive figures in late-Enlightenment *Singspiels*. In each case, I discuss musical works that exhibit a degree of self-consciousness with respect to their representation of the child. Metafictional devices such as *mise-en-abyme*, self-referentiality, and embedded tableaux of music-making establish a kind of internal critical discourse regarding the ideologies of childhood, with song frequently acting as a unit of emotional currency. As I hope to show, these moments could both represent and facilitate the complex negotiations of childhood play, display, power, propriety, and authenticity that preoccupied German Enlightenment thinkers.

Empfindungen, eine Reyhe singender Töne bildet, und sich dadurch in dem Zustand einer, ihn beherrschenden Laune, unterhält." Sulzer, "Gesang," *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, vol. 1, 460.

¹⁶ The terms "pädagogisches Zeitalter" and "pädagogisches Jahrhundert" appear frequently, as for instance in Johann Gottlieb Schummel's novel *Spitzbart: eine komi-tragische Geschichte für unser pädagogisches Jahrhundert* [1779]. See Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, *Geschichte der Erziehung: Einführung in die Grundzüge ihrer neuzeitlichen Entwicklung* [1988], *Gründlage Textenpädagogik* (Weinheim: Juventa, 2000), 79.

Mine is still an ideological study, to be sure: I am, after all, focusing on repertoires created by adults, and on the critical reception of those repertoires by other adults. The archival record on historical children's lived experience with these repertoires is frustratingly limited. But as new work by Carolyn Steedman and Marah Gubar has shown in a nineteenth-century context, even the ideologies themselves could exhibit qualities of self-consciousness, negotiability, and even reciprocity.¹⁷ This is particularly true when considering music and theater, with their foregrounding of the space – not to mention the mediating figures – between author and audience. In identifying the limited but earnest attentiveness to children in late eighteenth-century German children's vocal music, I thus offer a "third way" between the older "cultural-construct" models of childhood historiography that have prevailed since Ariès, and more recent, inconclusive efforts to reclaim the child as a historical agent – without glossing over the challenges, inadequacies, or advantages of either methodology.¹⁸

Chapter 1 begins with the first genre in which the Enlightenment child was a significant stage presence: the *Kindertruppen*, or wandering troupes composed solely of young actors. Children had long occupied a place in European secular theater and ceremonial, but their presence onstage in the early modern period, outside of the Jesuit and Benedictine *Schuldrama*, had been little more than set dressing. At court and in the commercial theaters, they appeared most often in mute roles as cupids and other putti, or as torch- and trainbearers (as in the Jacobean masque and French baroque opera).¹⁹ The boy players and companies of Elizabethan England represent a notable exception;

¹⁷ Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan, or, The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1984); and Marah Gubar, *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin, "Introduction," in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. Hilton and Shefrin, Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 5: "Culturally speaking, it becomes apparent that writers and thinkers in the field of education, previously represented as ideologically consistent, were in fact more tentative and ambiguous than they were coherent and partisan."

¹⁸ See for instance Daniel Thomas Cook, "Editorial: When a Child is Not a Child, and Other Conceptual Hazards of Childhood Studies," *Childhood* 16/5 (2009): 5-10; and Harry Henrick, "The Child as a Social Actor in Historical Sources: Problems of Identification and Interpretation," in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* [2000], ed. Pia Christensen and Allison James (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008); and Ludmilla Jordanova, "New Worlds for Children in the Eighteenth Century: Problems of Historical Explanation," *History of the Human Sciences* 3/1 (1990): 69-83.

¹⁹ See Johann Gottfried von Herder, "Ueber das Schuldrama, wie auch Abbts Beweis, daß die sittlich vollkommenen Charaktere auf der Bühne Ungeheuer seyn," part 3 of "Ueber Thomas Abbts Schriften – Zweites Stück – Aus der Handschrift" [1768], in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877), vol. 2; Jakob Zeidler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voß), 1891; and Robert W. Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'Opéra de College* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1966).

former choristers, they exerted a profound influence on the London theater during their brief heyday at the turn of the seventeenth century.²⁰ A resurgence of the all-child professional acting troupe occurred in the early eighteenth century with French and, later, German companies specializing in parodies of popular adult theatricals. Their works often self-consciously addressed the blend of charm and impropriety that lay behind their paradoxical appeal.

I focus on the subgenre of harem opera, popular with both child and adult troupes, as a lens through which to understand the sexual politics of spectatorship and the child actor. Two popular tableaux in harem opera, the embedded “audition scene” and the captive’s lament, are considered for the light they shed on the period’s exoticization of childhood. I argue that the popularity of the *Kindertruppen*, and their simultaneously taboo position with certain critics, registers an increasing anxiety regarding children, particularly their sexual difference. The sound of the harem slave’s lament can be read as an allegory of the plight of the Enlightenment child, now seen as more foreign, more fragile, and more alluring than ever before.

In the next two chapters, I examine repertoires that were conceived as antidotes to all that the pedagogues disdained in the *Kindertruppen* repertoire and in adult song. *Kinderoperetten* and *Kinderlieder* originated in the German children’s periodicals that emerged in the 1770s as part of the explosion in commercial children’s print culture, the earliest manifestations of a strenuously differentiated literature for children. In one sense, these children’s sung repertoires were predictably didactic: as children came to both occupy and symbolize an increasingly sheltered domestic sphere, the performance of music enabled parents and educators to evaluate the intellectual, ethical, and political development of these citizens-in-training. In this way, children’s performance epitomized Friedrich Schiller’s ideal of theater as “eine moralische Anstalt” (a moral institution).²¹

But as already discussed, there was much more to these repertoires than just the explicit didactic project. *Kinderoperetten* and *Kinderlieder* also played an important role in a different kind of “training”: the establishment of a new intimacy and affection between parents and children. In Chapter 2, these issues arise in connection with another meta-theatrical topos, one associated with *Kinderoperetten*: the embedded family ritual. Children’s theatricals, especially those of Weisse and Hiller, frequently included an elaborately staged, highly sentimental domestic celebration to mark the return of a father from war, or a mother from illness. When performed by the members of a family in their drawing-room, parlor, or “*kleinen Familientheater*,” these festival tableaux served as thinly fictionalized exercises in emotional intimacy through which middle-class families could rehearse the new image of the closely bonded family.²² The

²⁰ See Edel Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children's Playing Companies (1599-1613)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

²¹ Friedrich Schiller, *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet* [1784], in *Friedrich von Schillers Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1818), vol. 2.

²² *Kinderoperette* composer Johann Adam Hiller refers to “*kleinen Familientheater*” in “Vorbericht,” *Die kleine Aehrenleserinn: eine Operette in einem Aufzuge, für Kinder / in Musik gesetzt*,

songs with which children honored their parents, and with which parents in turn gave voice to their approbation and gratitude, ritualized and normalized the articulation of heightened familial bonds.

Kinderlieder also appeared on their own, both in children's periodicals and in free-standing collections. In Chapter 3, I trace the transformation of play in certain Kinderlieder, from an unremarkable respite from work and schooling, to a formative site for both socialization and sentimentalization. Certain poets sought a "Kinderton" to match the "Volkston" of Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Abraham Peter Schulz: an "authentic" voice of the child that would capture the cadences of its peculiar experience of the world. But many Kinderlieder undercut the idealized, sanitized image of the playing child with musical moments of precocious sophistication, even theatricality. They thereby suggest that the children performing these songs, as well as the children represented therein, were both on display and "under construction," in an echo of the discomfiting encounter between spectator and subject first enacted in the Kindertruppen.

Chapter 4 returns to the world of commercial Singspiel with which the dissertation opened. A historical trajectory in the representation of the child has run through the chapters: from children impersonating adults in the Kindertruppen, to children and adults playing "themselves" in the Kinderoperetten and Kinderlieder. In the magic Singspiels of 1780s-90s Vienna, this trajectory finds its endpoint, in the impersonation of children by adults. Such is the case with the Three Boys in Mozart and Schikaneder's Singspiel *Die Zauberflöte*. In the fairy tale on which the Three Boys are based, the boys live under a spell that has arrested their growth; they have both the wisdom of the old and the innocence of the young. Yet they exhibit empathy for, and sing in harmony with, the mortals with whom they share the narrative. Their music is in one moment charmingly naïve, the next startlingly contrapuntal and chromatic. Thus is the conflicted Enlightenment view of childhood given its fullest expression: as something at once idealized and realistic, humane and foreign, incomprehensible and utterly familiar.

In this final chapter, I trace the provenance of the operatic genie leading up to *Die Zauberflöte*, and follow it through some of the Singspiel's sequels, in an effort to unpack the association of children with magic, rescue, and redemption. As the historical trajectory of my dissertation implies, the more children were idealized, protected, and romanticized, the more distant they were felt to be—and, in a sense, the "authentic" child recedes entirely in subsequent decades. Thus the short-lived late-Enlightenment effort to meet children "on their own terms," to establish a limited but no less significant degree of reciprocity and interconnectedness between old and young, with music as the source of common ground, stands as an intriguing anomaly in the history both of childhood and of music's role in its cultural construction.

Mozart is a significant presence in the dissertation—his contributions to the harem-opera, Kinderlieder, and magic-Singspiel genres figure prominently in Chapters 1, 3, and 4. As the first child composer-performer to have been published and exhibited

und mit zwei begleitenden Violinen zum Druck gegeben [piano-vocal score] (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1778), n.p.

widely as a novelty act, Mozart was also the first composer whose youthfulness was made both perpetual and a defining characteristic of his life and works. He came of age at the same time as the cult of the child, benefited from its emergence, and remains for many its chief emblem. His numerous works for and about children reveal a complex interplay between the pedantic, sympathetic, and romanticizing attitudes toward childhood. An attention to the repertoires within which these works were situated, and from which they drew their meanings regarding the encounter between young and old, promises to yield new insights into the historiography of a familiar figure.

Chapter 1

Kindertruppen and the Exoticization of Childhood

In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid relates the tragedy of Philomela, a princess of Athens who was held by her brother-in-law, King Tereus of Thrace, in a cabin in the woods. There, he violated her, and when she threatened to expose his crime, he cut out her tongue. Undaunted, she wove the tale into a tapestry and sent it to her sister, Procne, who avenged Philomela by tricking Tereus into eating his own son by Procne. The King, mad with rage and grief, pursued the sisters until the gods changed them all into birds.

Philomela is most often understood as a nightingale, her mournful nocturne a song “steeped with tears,” to paraphrase Spenser.¹ And this is the form she takes in an aria by Mozart for *Zaide*, an obscure Singspiel he began with librettist Johann Andreas Schachtner in the late 1770s, but never completed.² In this eighteenth-century context, Mozart and Schachtner subject Philomela to a second transformation, and a second captivity. The nightingale is now a caged pet—a fitting allegory for the plight of *Zaide*, who at this point in the formulaic seraglio-opera plot is also suffering a double confinement. A foreign captive in the harem of Sultan Soliman, she has just been recaptured after attempting to escape with her fellow prisoner Comatz, whom she will later discover is her long-lost brother.

Zaide's aria is a lilting, duple-meter rondo in A major (see Music Example 1.1). Birdlike, the melody hovers around the mediant C#, circling back to this plaintive tonal perch again and again as the refrain returns after each of two episodes. The measured tempo and diatonic purity of the tune is at odds with the grief and desperation conveyed in the text—grief that is itself displaced onto *Zaide*'s mythical counterpart.

Trostlos schluchzet Philomele,
in dem Käfig eingeschränkt,
und beweint mit reger Kehle,
dass man ihre Freiheit kränkt.
Tag und Nacht mag sie nicht schlafen,

Hopelessly Philomela sobs,
confined in the cage,
and bewails with agile throat,
that someone has offended her freedom.
Day and night she cannot sleep,

¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calendar* [1579], cited in “Philomel, n.,” *Oxford English Dictionary* [third ed., March 2006], Web, 5 July 2011, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142466>>. See also Marie-Claire Chatelain, “La Figure galante de Philomèle,” in *Philomèle: Figures du rossignol dans la tradition littéraire et artistique*, ed. Véronique Gély, Jean-Louis Haquette, and Anne Tomiche (Clermont-Ferrand, Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2006).

² The autograph score to *Zaide* includes no spoken dialogue, and Schachtner's libretto appears not to have survived. On the circumstances surrounding the conception and eventual abandonment of *Zaide*, see Thomas Betzwieser, “Mozarts *Zaide* und Das Serail von Frieber. Genese und Datierung von Mozarts Singspiel im Licht neuer Quellen,” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2006): 279-296; Linda Tyler, “‘*Zaide*’ in the Development of Mozart's Operatic Language,” *Music & Letters* 72/2 (1991): 218-220; Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, “Zur Vorgeschichte der *Zaide*,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1962/63): 216-247; and Alfred Einstein, “Die Text-Vorlage zu Mozarts ‘*Zaide*,’” *Acta Musicologica* 8:1-2 (1936): 30-37.

hüpfend sucht sie Raum zur Flucht.
Ach, wer könnte sie wohl strafen,
wenn sie findet, was sie sucht.

hopping she looks for room to escape.
Oh, who could punish her,
if she finds that which she seeks.

Music Example 1.1. Excerpt, “Trostlos schluchzet Philomele” (Zaide),
Zaide (Act II, Scene 5)³

Trost - los. schluchzet Phi - lo - me - le, in dem Kä - fig
ein - ge - schränkt, und be - weint mit re - - ger Keh - le, daß man ih - re

“Trostlos schluchzet Philomele” is no quiet expression of grief. Rather, Zaide’s “reger Kehle” (agile throat) resounds with despair, and as she sings out her displaced autobiography, her tune is both piteous and enthralling. But then, such was the problematic appeal of caged birds, whose songs were construed as expressions of their essential liberty, even (for many, especially) when sung from within the confines of a cage.⁴ As depicted in eighteenth-century paintings from William Hogarth’s *The Graham Children* to François Boucher’s *Les Oiseleurs*, from Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin’s image of a woman and her *serinette* to Jean-Baptiste Greuze’s gauzy portraits of young girls and their birds, birds and cages were poignant symbols of sexual availability, pursuit, and conquest.⁵ And song, as it had done for centuries, served both as mood music for seduction and as the form taken by the inevitable lament that followed an act of

³ Mozart, *Zaide*, ed. Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 108-109.

⁴ See Markman Ellis, “Suffering Things: Lapdogs, Slaves, and Counter-Sensibility,” in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 94-96; and David Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 136-138; and Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 188-193.

⁵ On the caged bird in eighteenth-century visual art, see Chatelain, “La Figure galante de Philomèle,” esp. 131; and Kevin Chua, “Dead Birds, or the Miseducation of the Greuze Girl,” in *Performing the “Everyday”: The Culture of Genre in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Alden Cavanaugh (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007). On the *serinette*, a small barrel-organ to be played to caged birds, see Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, “Bird instruments, 1. Bird organ,” *Grove Music Online*, Web, 5 July 2011

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03122>>.

deflowering. Thus Philomela and the nightingale both proved enduringly popular subjects for composers wishing to evoke love's "douce peine."⁶

A similar constellation of images surrounded the professional child performer, the subject of this chapter. The novelty children's acting troupes that traversed continental Europe frequently evoked associations with dolls and animals, a legacy of their origins in the Parisian fairground marionette theaters.⁷ One former member of a *Kindertruppe*, or German children's troupe, proudly described his fellow performers as "living machinery" and "living marionettes," while a French troupe's *répétiteur* boasted that "[t]he children I teach should be no more than little instruments that only I know how to play; [...] nothing but little ape imitators."⁸ Such remarks indicate a desire not unlike the one implicit in the *serinette*: a wish to "play" the child as though on demand, like one might do with an ape, a puppet, a pet bird, or even a barrel organ.

Kindertruppen lie close to the heart of *Zaide* in more than just this associative sense, however. Mozart and Schachtner based *Zaide* on an anonymous *Singspiel* called

⁶ See for instance Guillaume Boni, "Rossignol mon mignon" ("sonet," 1574); Thomas Morley, "Though Philomela lost her love" (canzonet, 1593); Louis Lacoste, *Philomèle (tragédie en musique, 1705)*; Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Philomèle (tragédie en musique, lost)*; George Frideric Handel, "Quando spieghi tuoi tormenti, amoroso rossignolo," from *Orlando* (opera, 1733); and Jean-Philippe Rameau, "Rossignols amoureux," from *Hippolyte et Aricie (tragédie en musique, 1733)*.

⁷ On the origins of the eighteenth-century children's troupes, see F. W. J. Hemmings, "Child Actors on the Paris Stage in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Theatre Research International* 12/1 (1987): 9-22; Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); James Davis, "Restif, Nougaret, and the Child Actors," in *The Stage in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. J. D. Browning, Publications of the McMaster University Association for Eighteenth-Century Studies 9 (New York: Garland, 1981); Henry Carrington Lancaster, "Jean-Baptiste Raison, le petit Molière" [1940/1941], in *Adventures of a Literary Historian: A Collection of his Writings Presented to H. Carrington Lancaster by His Former Students and Other Friends in Anticipation of His Sixtieth Birthday, November 10, 1942* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, repr. 1968); Gertraude Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1934); Charles Richomme, "Les Théâtres d'enfants," *Le Monde Dramatique: Histoire des Théâtres Anciens et Modernes* (Paris: Bureau du Monde Dramatique, 1837): 385-91.

⁸ "lebendigen Maschinerie," "lebendigen Marionetten." F[elix] X[aver] Garnier, *Nachricht von der im Jahre 1758 von Herrn Felix Berner errichteten jungen Schauspieler-Gesellschaft, von den bis jetzt gethanenen Reisen, von der Aufnahme und dem Zuwachse derselben, einigen Anhängen, und vielen am Ende beigefügten Silhouettes von Schauspielern und Schauspielerinnen dieser Gesellschaft. Mit Bewilligung und Beitrag des Herrn Berner* (Vienna: Johann Joseph Jahn, 1786), quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 113. See also "Auszüge aus Briefen: Dünkelsbühl, den 20. Sept. 1778," *Theater-Journal für Deutschland* 8 (1779): 86: "Genug, ich kann sagen, daß Berner mit seinen lebendigen Marionetten alle Aufmerksamkeit und Achtung verdient...."

"Les enfants que j'ai éduquer, ne doivent être que de petits instruments dont seul je sache jouer; [...] que de petits singes imitateurs, plus ou moins bien doués, pour copier et reproduire ce qui leur est enseigné par moi." Louis Péricaud, *Théâtre des petits comédiens de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Comte de Beaujolais* (Paris: Jorel, 1909), 41-42, quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 197.

Das Serail that was in the repertoire of a popular Kindertruppe led by Felix Berner (active 1761-1787).⁹ Berner's *Das Serail*, in turn, was probably based at least in part on a Singspiel of the same title written in 1765 by Franz Joseph Sebastiani for his own Kindertruppe (active 1756-1768).¹⁰ The repertoire of the earliest troupes, both in France and Germany, consisted mostly of pantomimes, Harlequinades, and other coarse, semi-extemporized farces, as the engravings below illustrate (see Figures 1.1a and 1.1b). But the troupes followed the tastes of the time, later introducing more sentimental comedies, bourgeois tragedies, and other "regelmäßig" (decent, upstanding) works.

⁹ *Ein musikalisches Singspiel, genannt: Das Serail. Oder: Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft in der Sklaverey zwischen Vater, Tochter und Sohn* (Bozen: Karl Joseph Weiß, 1779). The libretto is reproduced in Friedrich-Heinrich Neumann, *Kritische Berichte* II:5, vol. 10: *Zaide (Das Serail)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 74-91. The lone extant copy of the manuscript score, by Joseph Friebert, is in a private collection at the Don Juan Archiv in Vienna and is being prepared for publication in a forthcoming critical edition.

The means by which Mozart and Schachtner came by the *Das Serail* libretto, and the exact nature of their relationship to impresario Felix Berner, remains unclear. There is no evidence to suggest that either had a copy of Friebert's score to *Das Serail*, although one or the other may have witnessed a performance of the work by the Berner troupe, and they had to have consulted a copy of the libretto, given the marked similarities between the first four numbers in the two Singspiels. The Berner troupe apparently premiered *Das Serail* in June 1777 in Wels, Austria, near Salzburg, and they spent most of 1777 in Vienna, including a stint at the Theater an der Leopoldstadt, where Schachtner may have seen them perform. They subsequently performed *Das Serail* in Erlangen, Germany (sometime between 5 and 19 April 1778), Nuremberg (20 April 1778), and again in Nuremberg (7 November 1782). See Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 64-65, 87, 203, and 205; and Gottfried Schäffer, *Das fürstbischöfliche und königliche Theater zu Passau (1783-1883): Beiträge zur Theaterkultur in der fürstbischöflichen Residenzstadt Passau und deren Nachwirkung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Neue Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Ostbairische Heimatforschung 33 (Passau: Verlag des Vereins für Ostbairische Heimatforschung, 1973), 43.

During the Berner troupe's sojourn in Salzburg in 1777, the Mozart family probably saw them perform, but there is no evidence as to what repertoire they performed while they were there. There is also some evidence to suggest that an even earlier stay by the Berner troupe in Salzburg, in 1768, gave rise to *Bastien und Bastienne*, on which Mozart also collaborated with Schachtner and Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller (who would eventually produce *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at the National-Singspiel, the enterprise for which *Zaide* was probably intended). Müller had also acted as a substitute impresario for Sebastiani for three months in 1763. See Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, *Theatererinnerungen eines alten Burgschauspielers [1802]*, ed. Richard Daunicht (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1958), 34-35.

¹⁰ While the title correspondence with Berner's *Das Serail* is suggestive, and one of the three editions of Garnier's memoir even lists the Berner *Das Serail* as by Sebastiani, Thomas Betzwieser asserts that they are probably not one and the same. See Betzwieser, "Mozarts *Zaide* und *Das Serail* von Friebert": 283-284. The first evidence of a *Das Serail* in Sebastiani's repertoire is in Mainz, 1765. The troupe returned to that city in 1768, where *Das Serail* was again performed, to great success. See "Geschichte der Maynzer Bühne," *Theater-Journal für Deutschland* 1 (Gotha: Ettinger, 1777): 67, in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 51.

Figure 1.1a. Sebastiani troupe¹¹



Figure 1.1b. Berner troupe¹²



While the vast majority of seraglio operas – as with the Kindertruppe repertoire in general – were adaptations of existing works in the adult theater (see Appendix 1.1), the libretto to *Das Serail* is unique, with no identifiable model in the adult German or French seraglio-opera traditions.¹³ Nor does *Das Serail* appear to have been

¹¹ Detail, Johann Esias Nilson [engraver], *L'Amour triomphant par les Intrigues d'Harlequins. Pantomime Comique produit par les Enfants de Sr. Sebastiani* [c. 1760], reproduced in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, unpaginated plates, and see pp. 52-54. Left to right: Scaramouche, Harlequin, Columbine, Pantalon, Pierrot.

¹² Detail, from Franz Xaver Garnier, *Nachricht von der Bernerischen jungen Schauspieler Gesellschaft, von der Aufnahme und dem Zuwachse derselben...* (Bayreuth[?]: [s.n.], 1782), reproduced in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, unpaginated plates, and see pp. 54-55.

¹³ Certain of *Das Serail*'s plot elements resemble those in the *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* *Soliman Second, ou les trois sultanes*, about which more below. Einstein surmises that *Das Serail* was a translation of a French vaudeville or comic opera based on Voltaire's *Zaïre*, and Neumann adds the possibility of the opera buffa *Lo'mbruoglio d'ammore* (M. Michele Falco, T: Aniello Piscopo, prem. Naples 1717). Einstein, "Die Text-Vorlage zu Mozarts 'Zaide'": 32; and Neumann, "Zur Vorgeschichte zur Zaide": 228. Despite the similarity of *Das Serail*'s subtitle ("Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft in der Slavery zwischen Vater, Tochter und Sohn") with that of Gluck's opéra comique *La rencontre imprévue* (prem. Vienna 1764), which was translated as *Die unvoermutete Zusammenkunft* (prem. Vienna 1781), the differences between the plots outweigh their similarities. On these and other seraglio operas, see Thomas Betzwieser, *Exotismus und Türkenoper in der französischen Musik des Ancien Régime: Studien zu einem ästhetischen Phänomen*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 21 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1993); and Mary Hunter, "The *Alla Turca* Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio," in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

subsequently adopted into any adult companies' repertoires. *Das Serail* thus comes as near as any work of the period can to a distinctly child-oriented Singspiel. In foregrounding the connection between *Zaide* and *Das Serail*, I propose to use the phenomenon of the children's troupes, and the dubious nature of their appeal, as a jumping-off point for a broader consideration of the shifting attitude toward childhood, and toward the child performer, in late eighteenth-century Germany.

Since the 1730s, children's troupes had been a familiar presence on the stages of Europe, appearing everywhere from fairground shacks to imperial coronations, from Amsterdam to Paris, Vienna to Hamburg.¹⁴ Diderot and Rousseau praised the talents of the earliest travelling children's troupe, the Piccoli Hollandesi (active 1742-1753), in some of their most eminent writings.¹⁵ Lessing and other German critics, however, with their aversion to French libertinism, evinced a more squeamish attitude toward the precocity of the child actor.¹⁶ Those same qualities that had sustained the popularity of the spectacle also began to unnerve certain critics: chiefly, child performers' uncanny ability to impersonate the behavior of adults.

The ethics of burlesquing adulthood became increasingly vexed as Enlightenment intellectuals essentialized the stages of life. What Viviana Zelizer has identified in the nineteenth-century American children's troupe tradition holds for eighteenth-century Germany as well: "Both the enthusiasm and the consternation over child actors were tied to the cultural redefinition of the economic and sentimental roles

¹⁴ Children had long performed alongside their parents in commercial acting troupes, but the first all-children's troupes in the eighteenth century were, in France, the Troupe de Drouin (est. 1731), and in Germany, the Piccoli Hollandesi (est. 1742 Amsterdam, first German performance 1745).

¹⁵ "Who has not heard in Germany and in Italy of the pantomime company of the celebrated Nicolini? Has anyone ever noticed in these children less developed movements, less graceful attitudes, a less exact ear, a dance less light than in fully formed dancers?" Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. and ed. Christopher Kelly and Allan Bloom, The Collected Writings of Rousseau 13 (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2010), 290.

"I. I have heard a spectacle like that described as the most perfect thing imaginable. / DORVAL. You mean Nicolini's troupe? / I. Exactly." Denis Diderot, "Conversations on *The Natural Son* [1757]," in Diderot, *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Bremner (London: Penguin, 1994), 71.

¹⁶ Lessing wrote on the Piccoli Hollandesi on no less than four occasions: "Zwölfter Brief. An den Herrn A** [1747]"; "Hamburg [review of Carl Samuel Geißler, *Abhandlung von den Pantomimen*," *Berlin privilegierte Zeitung* 32 (15 March 1749); *Abhandlung von den Pantomimen der Alten* [1750]; and "Versuch einer Beurtheilung der pantomimischen Opern des Hrn. Nicolini, entworfen von Johann Gottlieb Benzin [review], *Critische Nachrichten* (1751). All in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, ed. Jürgen Stenzel (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker, 1989), vol. 1 ("Werke 1743-1750") and vol. 2 ("Werke 1751-1753"), *Deutsche Klassiker im WWW*, Web, 23 March 2010, <http://klassiker.chadwyck.com/english/all/toc?action=expandid&id=Z500047370&level=5&file=../session/1310756813_4070#SCROLL>

of children.”¹⁷ While this redefinition was by no means complete in the late eighteenth century, it was certainly underway. An earlier attitude of indulgence or benign amusement toward the *savoir-faire* of certain children, and toward the spectacle of the professional child performer, gave way to an increasingly protective attitude on the part of pedagogues, theater critics, librettists, and even the troupes’ impresarios themselves. This differentiation may be understood as a form of exoticization, according to which the child began to be read in terms of other figures of fragility and allure such as women, animals, and the Orient.¹⁸

That this imaginative alignment should have taken place is no surprise, given the adaptability of Enlightenment doctrines of organicism and perfectibility to multiple levels of human experience. The life of an individual, of a particular society, and of humankind as a whole were frequently discussed in terms of each other. With the earliest phase of each of these posited “lives” now invested with unprecedented fragility and import, it is not surprising to see childhood mapped on to other “Unmündigkeiten” – the term itself could refer both to biological juvenescence, to ethnic/geopolitical primitivism, and to immaturity in the metaphorical, Kantian sense.¹⁹ An increasingly exercised, interventionist attitude toward all these “Unmündigen” emerged in the eighteenth century, with the management of children taking shape in discourses of pedagogy, the management of the local peasantry taking shape in discourses of folklore, and the management of faraway “primitives” taking shape in discourses of colonialism.²⁰

These overlapping others converge in the seraglio opera, making *Zaide* and *Das Serail* a provocative locus for the self-conscious enactment of alterity in the children’s troupes and their repertoire. The commercial display of children playing adults took on uncomfortable implications as the children’s-troupe phenomenon ran its course; and the way these implications were often addressed from within the works themselves will

¹⁷ Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 95. I am grateful to Shauna Vey for this reference.

¹⁸ Useful studies of these other categories in eighteenth-century literature and drama include Christine Kenyon-Jones, *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-period Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), esp. Chapter 2 (“Children’s Animals: Locke, Rousseau, Coleridge and the Instruction/Imagination Debate”); Sarah Colvin, *The Rhetorical Feminine: Gender and Orient on the German Stage, 1647-1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); and Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ The term comes from Immanuel Kant’s famous definition of Enlightenment as “der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit.” See Kant, “An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment? [1784],” in *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*, ed. James Schmidt, Philosophical Traditions 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 58.

²⁰ See Julia Douthwaite, *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), esp. part 1, and 129; and Dieter Richter, *Das fremde Kind: Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1987), 25-26 and 156-160.

suggest new ways of understanding the epistemological status of the child in the German Enlightenment.

While the first four numbers in *Zaide* are close adaptations of numbers from *Das Serail*, thereafter the two Singspiels diverge. Thus there is no immediate analogue to “Trostlos schluchzet Philomele” in *Das Serail*. One number, however, that may have provided some inspiration is the arietta “Ich seh, mit Narrheit g[e]winnt man mehr” (I see with foolishness one gains more). Like “Trostlos,” “Ich seh, mit Narrheit” finds a European female harem captive giving voice to her despair, as well as to her longed-for liberation. However, “Ich seh, mit Narrheit” is sung not by *Das Serail*’s sentimental heroine, as in *Zaide*, but by its “second woman”: an unnamed “Sclavinn” (slave-girl) who was portrayed by the actress Margarethe Liskin in the 1782 Nuremberg performance, and who in all likelihood originated the role.²¹

By 1782, Liskin was certainly no child: at fifteen years old, she was technically of marriageable age, and most of her fellow cast members were in their teens as well. But Liskin had joined the troupe at age five, and was thus a seasoned ten-year veteran.²² As the favored soubrette performer, she specialized in “innocent maidens” and confidantes, and even played Ophelia in a production of *Hamlet*.²³ She also frequently delivered apostrophic epilogues, one of which gives an indication of the implicit relationship she and other child performers were meant to have with their audiences. The epilogue in question occurred after a performance of the Singspiel *Das Milchmädchen und die beiden Jäger* (The Milkmaid and the Two Hunters) in which Liskin had taken the role of the pursued milkmaid. An adaptation of Egidio Duni’s *opéra comique Les Deux Chasseurs et la laitière*, the Singspiel is rife with zoological allegories of seduction, from the two hunters and their elusive bear, to the foxes, hens, birdcatchers, and partridges that feature in the duet “Find’ ich Gelegenheit ein Mädchen zu betriegen” (When I Find the Opportunity to Ensnare a Girl).²⁴ The most overt, however, is the milk itself, with the broken jug a well-known index for sexual deflowering.²⁵ The

²¹ The 1782 Nuremberg performance is the only one for which cast information survives. Those scholars who have published on *Zaide* and *Das Serail*—including the editors of the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe—appear not to be concerned with the fact that *Zaide* contains no second woman, at least in its incomplete form. Mozart and Schachtner might have intended to hold off on her arias until the role was cast. In any case, the omission is striking, given the prevailing assumption that the two acts that have come down to us are complete.

²² Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 93-101, 205. Margarethe was often referred to as “die ältere.” Her sister, Theresia Liskin “die jüngere,” joined the troupe at age five and remained with them until the troupe’s dissolution in 1787.

²³ “[...Sie] spielte erste und zweyte Liebhaberinnen, naïve Rollen, Soubretten, im Sing- und Schauspiel, Ophelie im Hamlet, Parthenia in Alceste; tanzt Terzett; figurirt, 5 Jahre alt.” Garnier, *Nachricht*, 22-23, in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 72.

²⁴ *Das Milchmädchen und die beiden Jäger: eine Operette* (Mannheim: C. F. Schwann, 1771), 29. *Les Deux Chasseurs et la laitière* (Egidio Duni and Louis Anseaume, prem. Paris 1763).

²⁵ See Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image & Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), especially “Spilt Milk,” 76-78.

epilogue knowingly employs the suggestive subtext of the opera and of Liskin's character:

Schon trug ich meine Milch zur Schau,
bot jedem sie zu kaufen an.
Dünke mich in Gedanken Frau,
und hatte den liebsten besten Mann,
Den immer ein Mädchen sich
wünschen kann.

I've now carried my milk to the stage,
offered it [literally, "her"] for sale to all.
thought myself a woman,
and had the dearest best man,
That ever a girl could wish for.²⁶

The association of theatrical performance with prostitution was a familiar theme.²⁷ But the added charge of youth would lend the genteel traffic in bodies a new connotation, as can be seen in Liskin's equally metatheatrical arietta in *Das Serail*. Up to the time she sings "Ich seh, mit Narrheit," Liskin's slave-girl has functioned chiefly as comic relief within the drama. She has been brought on to distract the Sultan from the escape of his favorite, and as part of the audition process she has already sung two lighthearted stage songs: a shepherd's song and a nonsensical quodlibet in dialect. The Sultan, the vizier Renegat, and the slave-handler Osman have all marveled at her voice and beauty, while haggling over her price. Once she is alone with Renegat, she reveals herself to be a peasant from the Upper-Austrian "Landl" region who was kidnapped by pirates while sailing down the Danube to Vienna. Then Renegat exits, and the slave-girl sings "Ich seh, mit Narrheit" alone.

Coming as it does immediately after those episodes of somewhat degrading appraisal – appraisal in which, by virtue of the stage songs, the audience has been implicitly invited to participate – the text's worldweary, even melancholy tone seems also to address the audience. When one considers the song being sung by Margarethe Liskin, herself a specialist in comic roles and from childhood an "exile" from her hometown of Penzing (then a village near Vienna), the metatheatrical critique is amplified.

Ich seh, mit Narrheit g[e]winnt man mehr
Als mit verschmitzten Grillen,
Ich thu, als ob ich närrisch wär,
Die Mod[e] werd[e] ich fortspielen.
Man schwätzt mir vor von Gold und Geld,

I see, with foolishness one gains more
Than with mischievous whims,
I'll act as though I were foolish,
I'll perform to the fashion.
They gossip about my gold and money,

²⁶ "Das Milchmädchen an das Parterre, nach der Operette, geschprochen von Mlle. Liskin der ältern in Würzburg," in Garnier, *Nachricht*, 39.

²⁷ On this subject see Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France: 1540-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); *Die Schauspielerin: Zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst*, ed. Renate Möhrmann (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 2000); and Straub, *Sexual Suspects*. See also Eric A. Nicholson, "The Theater," in *A History of Women in the West, vol. 3: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 296: Across early modern Europe, "both acting and playgoing elicited fears, desires, taboos, fantasies, and even positive aspirations regarding the open display of either women or sexuality."

Man will mir geben ein halbe Welt,
Doch mach ich mir von all[e]n nichts draus,
Wär ich nur bald bey mir zu Haus.

They want to give me half the world,
But I would give it all up,
If I could only be by myself in my house.

Jetzt sol[ll] ich leben wie ein Hund,
Ein jeder wird nur schaffen,
Stets tragen diesen Türkenbund,
Ich gleiche fast den Affen,
Hät ich mein Haub[e]n, und meinen Rock,
Der steht recht wie ä [=ein] Nägelstock,
Allein! jetzt heißt's halt Kleine gusch,
Daß ich die Sach nicht ganz verpfusch.

Now I have to live like a dog,
One can only imagine,
Always wearing these Turkish clothes,
I almost resemble the apes,
If I had my bonnet, and my skirt,
That stands up tall like a rail,
However! Now I hold my little tongue,
So that I will not completely bungle it.

The music of this ariette is jaunty, characterized by the contredanse rhythms that typify the Singspiellied. Its anempathy, in fact, prefigures that of “Trostlos schluchzet Philomele” (see Music Example 1.2).

The slave-girl’s expressions of xenophobic disgust for the Turkish “apes” among whom she must “live like a dog” seem to welcome in the spectator conspiratorially. This confirms *Das Serail*’s membership in the extensive repertoire of fictional seraglios whose monstrosities exerted a voyeuristic appeal for Europeans at this time, elaborating what Alain Grosrichard has called the “endoscopic fantasy” of the Orient in affirming Eurocentric values.²⁸ But the reference to “apes,” delivered by a children’s troupe performer, would probably have also reminded certain audiences of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s assessment of the Piccoli Hollandesi as “kleine Affen” (little apes) – an epithet whose staying power is evinced by its appearance in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* entry on their impresario, Herr Nicolini, over a hundred years later.²⁹ “Ich seh, mit Narrheit” indicts the entertainment industry for rewarding buffoonery, for revering the slave-girl as a talented performer and simultaneously debasing her as a commodity. But it might also be read as an indictment of the children’s-troupe enterprise in particular.

²⁸ Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan’s Court: European Fantasies of the East* [1979], trans. Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1998), 23. See also Betzwieser, *Exotismus und Türkenoper in der französischen Musik des Ancien Régime*; and Suzanne Rodin Pucci, “The Discrete Charms of the Exotic: Fictions of the Harem in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. George Sebastian Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

²⁹ “Was für ein sinnreicher Mann ist Nicolini! Uns seine kleine Affen unter dem Namen Pantomimen aufzudringen!” Lessing, “Letter to Herr A**.” Lessing repeated the epithet in his review of Geißler’s “Abhandlung von den Pantomimen der Alten.”

Hermann Arthur Lier, “Nicolini,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 23 (1886): 632-635, Web, 25 February 2008, <<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd133931021.html>>.

Music Example 1.2. Excerpt from “Ich seh, mit Narrheit” (Die Slavinn),
Das Serail (Act II, Scene 4)³⁰



It may seem improbable for Berner to have sought to undermine the legitimacy of his own company from within one of his *Singspiels*. But from their emergence, the children’s troupes often self-consciously addressed their peculiar blend of charm, absurdity, and impropriety through the repertoire itself, perhaps in part as a way to defuse any criticism they might receive while playing up their novelty appeal. The epilogue to *Die Milchmädchen und die beiden Jäger*, for instance, recalls a similarly provocative epilogue to the debut *opéra comique* of the Parisian children’s troupe, the Troupe de Drouin. Already in its prologue, the 1731 *La Nièce vengée ou la double surprise* (The Avenged Niece, or, the Double Surprise) employed a *mise-en-abyme*, staging the “invention” of a troupe composed chiefly of impresario Drouin’s own children. Drouin himself concluded the prologue with the following apologia:

S'ils n'ont pas l'honneur de vous plaire,	If they do not have the honor of pleasing you,
Épargnez-les, c'est moi, messieurs,	Spare them; it is me, gentlemen,
Qui dois porter votre colère:	Who should receive your anger:
J'ai fait la pièce et les acteurs.	I made the play and the actors. ³¹

³⁰ Courtesy Don Juan Archiv, Vienna.

³¹ *La Nièce vengée, ou La double surprise* (Jean-Claude Gillier and Charles-François Panard, with B.-C. Fagan, prem. Paris Opéra-Comique 27 August 1731), prologue and epilogue published in Jean-Augustin-Julien Desboulmiers, *Histoire du théâtre de l'opéra comique* (Paris: Lacombe, 1770), vol. 2, 150-156; quoted in Richomme, “Les Théâtres d’enfants”: 387.

The play then concluded with the young actress (age thirteen) who had portrayed the widowed aunt addressing the parterre as follows:

Messieurs, si quelqu'un de vous veut épouser une petite veuve, je suis à lui, et je vous assure qu'il trouvera mieux qu'il ne croit.	Gentlemen, if any of you wishes to marry a little widow, I am at his disposal, and I assure you that he will find it better than he can imagine.
---	---

(AIR: L'amour est un voleur) J'ai, sous des cheveux gris, L'humeur assez jolie, Sans trop de flatterie, Je vaux encor mon prix; Vive, fringante & preste, On me trouve encor des appas, Et zeste, zeste, zeste, Bien des jeunes filles n'ont pas un si beau reste.	(AIR: Love is a thief) I have, beneath my gray hairs, A rather pretty mood, Without too much flattery I earn my prize; Lively, frisky and nimble, You will find yet charms in me, And zesty, zesty, zesty, Many of the young girls do not Have such a nice time. ³²
---	---

The *double entendres* would surely not be lost on the audience – after all, everyone could see that there was in fact a young actress hidden beneath the “gray hairs” of the widow’s wig. A similarly self-conscious tone pervades the debut *opéra comique* of Nicholas-Médard Audinot’s children’s troupe, the *Théâtre de l’ambigu-comique*. In the pointedly titled farce *Il n’y a plus d’enfants* (There Are No More Children), the adult characters – played, of course, by children – constantly marvel at the precocious coquetry and love intrigues of the “youngsters.” At one point, Arlequin, impersonating the *Liebhaberin*’s mother, remarks with affected maternal disapproval, “youth at the moment is so libertine!”³³ Seen in this light, the slave-girl’s rueful arietta in *Das Serail*, her dismay at having to “play the fool” and being offered “half the world,” but not the home she so desperately needs, suggests a reflection on the plight of the child performer.

In addition to the similarities between “Ich seh, mit Narrheit” and other moments of self-reflexivity elsewhere in the children’s troupes’ repertoire, *Das Serail*’s arietta bears a surprising resemblance to the rhetoric of the *Hanswurststreit* (Hanswurst-dispute), the German “querelle” then raging among theatrical professionals, critics, moralists, and even the imperial government regarding the future of German comedy.³⁴

³² *La Nièce vengée*, in Desboulmiers, *Histoire du théâtre de l’opéra comique*, vol. 2, 153-154. The air “L’amour est un voleur” comes from Marc-Antoine Legrand’s *comédie, Cartouche, ou les voleurs* (prem. Théâtre-Français 14 October 1721).

³³ “[...L]a jeunesse d’à-présent est si libertine!” Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret, *Il n’y a plus d’enfants* [prem. 1771] (Paris: P. R. C. Ballard, 1772), 42; see also Davis, “Restif, Nougaret, and the Child Actors,” 156.

³⁴ Karl von Görner, *Der Hans Wurst-Streit in Wien und Joseph von Sonnenfels* (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1884). The *Hanswurststreit* lasted for almost fifty years, from 1737 to 1783, and in 1790,

This was a debate in which Berner, like all theatrical impresarios, would have had to take a side. As his children's-troupe predecessor Sebastiani had done, Berner touted the "regelmäßig" plays and operas in his repertoire, such as those by Lessing, Schiller, Sedaine, and Shakespeare.³⁵ But alongside these more "literate" theatricals, Berner continued to produce Harlequinades, Bernardoniades, and other *Stegreifkomödien* (extemporized comedies).³⁶ One Singspiel, staged just eight days after a Nuremberg performance of *Das Serail*, was listed as "*Die zaubernde Colombine (ein Kind von 8 Jahren)*," and appears to have been written by Berner himself.³⁷ In other words, both "Narrheit" and the novelty appeal of the child actor were still significant elements in the Berner troupe's stock-in-trade.

It seems, then, that the children's troupes sought to have it both ways—to peddle, as Gertraude Dieke has summarized it, "the ambiguous mixture of pleasure and pity that lay in the observance of these miniature paintings of little frivolous love-intrigues performed by innocent children with admirable, graceful skill."³⁸ That the paradox existed in the first place had everything to do with this particular moment in German Enlightenment thought, when the innocence of children—their sexual and, in a broader sense, their moral innocence—was beginning to be perceived as something

Joseph II banned extemporized farces from German stages. German comic opera also had its own brief "*querelle*," known as *der komische Krieg* (1753); see Estelle Joubert, *Opera, Politics and the Public Sphere in Enlightenment Germany* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2007), esp. ch. 1 ("The Public as Arbiter of Musical Taste").

³⁵ See the comprehensive repertoire list in Garnier, *Nachricht*, 30-37, reproduced in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 82-92; and Neumann, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Zaide": 237, especially n.175. For his part, Sebastiani was praised for achieving the "urgently needed" expunging of the *Stegreifkomödie* from German stages, and with bringing to "our German nation a nobler and loftier conception of the German stage." "Man muß dieser deutschen Gesellschaft die Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren lassen, daß sie alles beiträgt, um unserer Nation einen edleren und erhabeneren Begriff von der deutschen Bühne bei zu bringen." *Mannheimer Zeitung* 65 (15 Aug 1768), quoted in Thomas Betzwieser, "Zwischen Kinder- und Nationaltheater: Die Rezeption der Opéra-Comique in Deutschland (1760-1780)," in *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts: Inszenierung und Wahrnehmung von Körper, Musik, Sprache*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte and Jörg Schönert (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1999), 250. The *Theater-Journal für Deutschland* observed, "Unter ihm nahmen die neuen deutschen Operetten, wie sie izt allgemein sind, ihren Anfang, und die Bernardonsstücke ein sehnlich gewünschtes Ende." "Geschichte der Maynzer Bühne": 69.

³⁶ There is much evidence elsewhere to contradict a unidirectional model of the generic shifts in theater; a more genteel Harlequinade was already making its way over from Paris in the 1720s, while the bawdy slapstick of certain pantomimes persisted until well into the 1780s, as can be seen in the scenario for Mozart's own 1783 *Musik zu einer Faschingspantomime* (K. 446).

³⁷ Perf. Nuremberg 28 April 1778. The performer is not listed, but the Singspiel appears to be by Berner (text) and Herr Schiffner (music), who joined up with the troupe in 1770. Neither text nor music appear to have survived. See Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 88 and 203.

³⁸ "[...D]ie in dem zwiespältigen Gefühl des Vergnügens und der mitleidigen Rührung lag diese Miniaturgemälde kleiner frivoler Liebesintriguen von unschuldigen Kindern mit bewundernswerter, graziöser Fertigkeit gespielt zu sehen." Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 11.

both novel and vulnerable. To enjoy the result was to align oneself with Tereus, the bird-catcher, or the seducer of William Blake's "How sweet I roam'd from field to field," shutting up the protagonist "in his golden cage":

He loves to sit and hear me sing,
Then, laughing, sports and plays with me;
Then stretches out my golden wing
And mocks my loss of liberty.³⁹

The contradictory appeal of coerced performance, and its implications regarding the ethics of spectatorship and the agency of the performer, is a thread running through much of this repertoire. It is hinted at, if only obliquely, in the critical reception of the children's troupes. One such document, the anonymous "Von Pantomimen" from the 1746 Frankfurt periodical *Literarische Briefwechsel*, detailed a performance by the Piccoli Hollandesi. The work described included a fairly explicit love scene between the hero and heroine, followed by a poignant solo for the *Liebhaberin*. Locked alone in her room, with her lover on the run from her disapproving elders, the similarity between her private lament and those of Zaide and *Das Serail's* slave-girl is striking:

She steps out of the scene and, in a Tuscan dialect, begins to offer up her bitterest complaints in an aria, with a quite melancholy melody, accompanied by instrumental music of an enchanting quality. She has here adopted such a natural love-orientation, pitiful bearing, and moving hand-wringing, with throughout an uncommonly decent and innocent frankness, and socialized with such a demure quality, that one can hardly believe that it is pretended emotion, but rather that it is a natural outbreak of imagination, so completely have her heart and thoughts taken on an unaffected manner. The voice was from Nature, as with the others, ingratiating and fine, and Art had contributed its part honestly; whereby she knew how to attack and sustain the sweetest trills for some minutes; thus it is no wonder that each tone from her can arouse an excitation in the hearts of the listeners, from the most innocent to the liveliest and most natural.⁴⁰

³⁹ Blake, "How sweet I roam'd from field to field [1769-1777]" from *Poetical Sketches* [1783], quoted in Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, 138.

⁴⁰ "Sie tritt auf dem Schauplatz hervor und auf Toscanisch die bittersten Klagen in einer Arie, nach einer recht melancholischen Melodey, mit der Instrumental-Music [*sic*] auf eine bezaubernde Weise begleitet, anführet und aufstößt. Sie hat hiebey [*sic*] eine solche natürliche Liebesstellung, klägliche Gebärden, bewegliches Hände-Ringen, mit einer durchgehends ungemein anständigen und Unschuldsvoller Freymüthigkeit, und einem gesetzten Wesen vergesellschaftet, angenommen, daß man kaum glauben konnte, daß es angenommene Manieren seyen, sondern vielmehr daß es ein natürlicher Ausbruch von Vorstellungen wäre, so ihr Hertz und Gedancken ohnverstellter Weise, völlig eingenommen hätte. Die Stimme war von Natur, wie bey denen andern, einschmeichelnd und fein, und die Kunst hatte das Ihrige redlich mit beigetragen; indem sie die zartesten Triller etliche Minuten lang ohngemein fertig zu schlagen und fortzuführen wußte; daß also kein Wunder, wenn ein jeder Thon von ihnen in den Herten der Zuhörer die Reitzungen von dem Stand der Unschuld auf das lebhaftest- und natürlichste erwecken konte [*sic*]." "H. H." [author unknown], "Von Pantomimen," in

This was clearly the emotional crux of the narrative, as well as the sensual apex of the evening's performance for spectators, and much of the erotic charge came from the "innocent frankness" of the performer, her absorption, and her authentic display of pathetic emotions. It is significant that this brief passage contains four variations on the word "natural," referring not just to the gestures and demeanor of the actress, but also to the expected audience reaction. Its final invocation of the term—the reference to "the liveliest and most natural" excitations—seems calculated to normalize what was evidently a predictable physical arousal on the part of the spectator.

Thirty years later, the "natural" was again invoked, this time in service of a condemnation of the children's troupes. In a review of the Berner troupe in the Viennese *K[aiserliche] K[önigliche] allergnädigst privilegierte Realzeitung*, the author found the spectacle of a child impersonating an adult inherently unnatural, and therefore abhorrent:

It is either unclear or burlesque, when a boy in the role of an old man says things which only a man could know. If these plays are not expressly produced for children, if there is that which only grown people are supposed to play, then such a play remains most unnatural.⁴¹

Eventually, this veneration of the natural would lead to the invention of a theatrical genre opposite to the Kindertruppe in almost every respect: the wholesome, domestic Kinderschauspiele and Kinderoperetten, in which children played not adults, but themselves, and not for money, but for their own edification and that of their family and friends (more about Kinderoperetten in Chapter 2). The forefather of this genre, Christian Felix Weisse, lamented from within the pages of his children's periodical *Der Kinderfreund* the shocking performance of "eine gewisse Schauspielgesellschaft von Kindern" (a certain acting company of children) who came through Leipzig in the 1770s:

Literarischer Briefwechsel, oder, Aufgefangene und curieuse Briefe, ed. "Philomusus" (Frankfurt: Johann Adolph Stock, 1746), quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 33.

⁴¹ "Es ist entweder ungeräumt oder burlesk, wenn ein Knabe in der Rolle eines Greises Dinge sagt, die er nur als Mann wissen sollte. Sind diese Schauspiele nicht ausdrücklich für Kinder verfertigt, sind es solche, die nur große Leute spielen sollen, so bleibt ein solches Schauspiel höchst unnatürlich." [Author/article unknown], *K[aiserlich] K[önigliche] allergnädigst privilegierte Realzeitung* [1777], quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 118. In that same year, however, the *Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters* described the Berner troupe as excellent, and twelve years later the *Allgemeine Uebersicht der Wissenschaften und Künste in den k.k. Staaten* observed that "Die Kindertruppe des F. Berner zog wirklich nicht wenige von den Theaterliebhabern in die Vorstädte." [Author/article unknown], *Taschenbuch des Wiener Theaters für das Jahr 1777* (Vienna: Von Trattner, 1777), 174; and [Author/article unknown], *Allgemeine Uebersicht der Wissenschaften und Künste in den k.k. Staaten* (Vienna: Kurzbek, 1789), vol. 2, 372; both quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 64.

[...] I could not tolerate it, as I heard sung and spoken the most amatory, I will not say, the most naughty things, accompanied by the most naughty gestures. O how I lamented the poor innocents being offered for sale: then I saw before, how already the shame of the youths (the majority were children) was destroyed, which will always happen when the paternal eye of God is not watching over them, and they are corrupted by a particular art."⁴²

Weisse's equation of the unnamed troupe's performance with pornography—recalling, incidentally, the rhetoric of the *Milchmädchen* epilogue—may have been motivated in part by a wish to clear a space for his own, equally commercial, alternative. Nevertheless, his vehement antipathy to the exploitation of children registered the growing prudishness with regard to the intersections of childhood, sexuality, and the theater. Harem imagery would prove tenacious, however, resurfacing in the discourse surrounding another proposed alternative to the commercial troupes. In 1770 the libertine philosopher Nicolas-Edme Restif de la Bretonne, inspired by Audinot's *Théâtre de l'ambigu-comique*, proposed a utopian *Théâtre éphébique* (juvenile theater), in an effort to purify the acting profession and wed methodical training to unobjectionable, didactic material. His favored candidates were orphans, who, as he put it, could most easily be molded into virtuous "esclaves publiques" (public slaves).⁴³

Beyond this more high-minded association of young actors with slaves, the children's troupes resembled the fantastical harems of eighteenth-century European literature and drama in several respects. After all, these were conspicuously vagabond assemblages of players, all of whom came from "somewhere else" (see Appendix 1.2, which shows the places of origin for 57 members of Berner's troupe).⁴⁴ Their magnetic,

⁴² "[...] Ich konnte es nicht aushalten, als ich sie die verliebtesten, ich will nicht sagen, die ungezogensten Dinge mit den frechsten Geberden singen und sagen hörte. – O wie jammerten mich die armen unschuldigen Opfer eines feilen Gewinnstes: denn ich sahe vorher, da schon die Schaam ihrer ersten Jugend, (manche waren noch Kinder) getödtet war, was sie in kurzen werden mußten, und vielleicht schon itzt sind, wenn nicht das väterliche Auge Gottes über sie gewacht, und sie dem Verderben auf eine besondere Art entrissen hat." Weisse, "Ueber Tanz und Gesang," *Der Kinderfreund* 12/161 (1 August 1778): 75-76. It is difficult to know to which troupe Weisse refers: Dieke uncovered no evidence of a Leipzig sojourn by Berner's or Nicolini's troupes in the early 1770s.

⁴³ Nicolas-Edme Restif de la Bretonne, *La Mimographe, ou Idées d'une honnête-femme pour la réformation du théâtre national* (Amsterdam and The Hague: Changuion, 1770), 431-435 and 449, quoted in David Coward, *The Philosophy of Restif de la Bretonne*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 283 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991), 271-272. See also Davis, "Restif, Nougaret, and the Child Actors," 152-153. Similar short-lived *Theatralpflanzschule* (theatrical nurseries) appeared in the German-speaking lands throughout the 1770s, the most successful of which was established in Vienna in 1779 by Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, the head of the National-Singspiel project, at exactly the same time as Mozart was vetting *Zaide* through Müller. Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 156-163.

⁴⁴ According to Johann Friedrich Schütze, when Nicolini came a second time to Hamburg in 1772—after having been released from service in Braunschweig—the children in his troupe were mostly vagabond boys and girls plucked off the street. Schütze, *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte* (Hamburg: J. P. Treder, 1794), 390, quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 23.

authoritarian impresarios collected, exhibited, and quickly replaced performers, just as European readers imagined sultans did – in fact, the turnover was likely more rapid than in an adult troupe. The result was a kind of interchangeability and anonymity that recalls Grosrichard’s summary of the child inhabitants of the literary harem as “orphans with no natural or cultural roots, no memory,” and who, like those other personifications of multiplied lack (i.e. women, mutes, eunuchs, etc.) “stand negatively for the fragmented body of the despot.”⁴⁵

Lacking even the limited agency of the average adult actor, members of the children’s troupes – particularly the young women – were often subjected to abuse and abduction. Nicolini was reported to have been a strict disciplinarian whose “admonitions came fast, began with slaps on the back, and often ended with kicks.”⁴⁶ A female performer in Berner’s troupe – one, incidentally, famous for her trouser roles – was carried off by an enamored clergyman at age fifteen, with only the intercession of Berner himself securing her return.⁴⁷ Finally, Audinot was described by more than one historian as having used his *Théâtre de l’ambigu-comique* as a “private harem,” even going so far as to pay off the parents of one of his favorites.⁴⁸

A final, ideological connection also links the children’s troupes with the fantasy of the east and the construct of childhood. That these troupes could prove so popular with some, and at the same time embarrassing and even taboo to others, has to do with the fact that childhood itself was beginning to be treated as a discrete category of life, one increasingly unintelligible to adults and increasingly vulnerable to misdirection, even violation. In the preface to *Emile, ou de l’éducation*, for instance, Rousseau delivered the salvo, “On ne connaît point l’enfance” (We know almost nothing about childhood).⁴⁹ This rhetorical gesture, setting out the false assumptions that Rousseau hoped to rectify, also established childhood as something fundamentally opaque. It was a paradoxical move: in seeking a greater intimacy with and knowledge of children, Rousseau and the pedagogical reformers and sentimental men of letters he inspired felt the distance between youth and maturity more keenly than ever before, and

⁴⁵ Grosrichard, *The Sultan’s Court*, 132 and 128.

⁴⁶ “Nicolini führte bei diesen Darstellungen ein sehr strenges Regiment, und der Stock stand bei ihm – nach Sancho Pansa’s Ausdrücke – stets im Winkel, so daß seine Ermahnungen immer auf dem nächsten Wege, mit Karbatschenhieben begannen, und mit Tritten endeten.” August Klingemann, *Kunst und Natur; Blätter aus meinem Reisetagebuche* (Braunschweig: G. C. E. Meyer, 1821), vol. 2, p. 478-479, quoted in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 22. Nicolini, Sebastiani, Audinot, and Berner were all rumored to have abused their charges.

⁴⁷ See Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 99. To complicate matters, Garnier refers to the girl in question, Katharina Schneckenburgerin, as having a “somewhat infamous reputation” and being a “temperamental girl” – however, Garnier himself was in love with her, and reports Berner having taken a liking to her, too, all factors which might affect the reliability of Garnier’s account. That Schneckenburgerin so often took the male lead roles in the troupes’ performances of sentimental operas suggests another way in which Berner sought to enhance his troupe’s appearance of propriety.

⁴⁸ See Michèle Root-Bernstein, *Boulevard Theater and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 151-152; and Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, 181.

⁴⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l’éducation* (The Hague: Jean Néaulme, 1762), vol. 1, iii.

essentialized this distance. This defamiliarization—what Dieter Richter calls the “*Desintegration*,” or splitting, of child from adult—in turn gave rise to the nostalgia and longing that would come to mark the fully romanticized cult of the child.⁵⁰ Beset harem captives like Zaide and the slave-girl, exiled from their homeland and put on display, thus stood not just for the children’s troupes but also for the nascent exoticization of childhood.

With all the representational correspondences between the harem and the children’s troupe, seraglio operas performed by children’s troupes redoubled what was already a questionable enterprise, the lack of consent on the part of the harem captives amplifying the ostensible lack of consent on the part of the performers themselves. This is further amplified in those metatheatrical episodes in which a seraglio captive is made to perform for her captors: as in *Das Serail*, the device of *mise-en-abyme* offers a critique of the fraught politics of theatrical spectatorship. In *Soliman Second, ou les trois sultanes*, the Circassian slave Délia, like *Das Serail*’s slave-girl, auditions for the dubious honor of distracting the lovelorn sultan from the departure of his favorite, drawing on bird imagery in her pastoral ode to seduction, “*Dans l’univers, tout aime, tout désire*” (Throughout the universe, everything loves, everything desires).⁵¹ In *Zémire et Azor*, the titular heroine allegorizes her predicament in “*La fauvette avec ses petits*” (The warbler with her children), a parable about a mother bird who lovingly protects her chicks, until the bird-catcher comes and ravishes her.⁵² Both *Soliman Second* and *Zémire et Azor* were performed in German translations by the Berner troupe, alongside *Das Serail*. Even that

⁵⁰ Richter, *Das fremde Kind*, esp. 25, 314, and 318.

⁵¹ *Die drei Sultaninnen*: based on the *comédie mêlée d’ariettes*, *Soliman Second, ou les trois sultanes* (Paul-César Gibert and Charles-Simon Favart, after Jean François Marmontel, prem. Paris 1761). *Die drei Sultaninnen* was first performed by Berner’s troupe in 1773, with a new overture and arias by the troupe’s choral director, Ignatius Gspan. Gspan’s music does not appear to survive, but he presumably modeled his arias closely on the existing music by Gibert. Several German translations of *Soliman Second* were in circulation at this time: one by Raspe (1765), one by Starke (1765), one by G. and H. K. Walz (1766). See Alfred Iacuzzi, *The European Vogue of Favart*, 362.

⁵² *Zemire und Azor*: based on the *comédie-ballet mêlée de chants et de danses*, *Zémire et Azor* (André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry and Jean François Marmontel, prem. Fontainebleau 1771). *Zémire et Azor* is not strictly speaking a seraglio opera, but rather a conflation of the fairy tale *La belle et la bête* (best known in a version by Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, printed in the *Magasin des enfants* of 1756) and Nivelles de la Chaussée’s 1742 Baghdad-set play *Amour pour amour*. See David Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 101-102. A manuscript copy of the score to *Zémire et Azor* (possibly in Mozart’s own hand) was in Mozart’s library at the time of his death. See *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, ed. Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 499 and 511.

Margaretha Liskin and her fellow performer, Rosalia Renthin, who sang the roles of Zaide and the Slave-Girl in *Das Serail*, also played the heroine and her confidante in performances of *Zemire und Azor* in 1778 and 1782 (both in Nuremberg), and they may have even performed in the Berner troupe’s staging of *Die drei Sultaninnen* in Dotis (now Tata), Hungary in 1773. Berner’s troupe also performed *Zemire und Azor* in 1778 in Vienna (Leopoldstadttheater), in 1781 in Ulm, and in 1782 in Oettingen, most likely with Renthin and Liskin in the two female lead roles.

most famous of all seraglio operas, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*—Mozart and Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger’s successful “completion” of *Zaide*—eventually made it into the repertoire of a Kindertruppe, the one led by Bartolomeo Constantini.⁵³ *Die Entführung’s* aria, “Traurigkeit ward mir zum Lose,” represents the apex of the captive lover’s lament, the ultimate expression of inexpressible anguish: even the air cannot bear to tell Konstanze’s bitter pain, so it brings all her woes back to her bitter heart.⁵⁴

But of course, the air *does* carry Konstanze’s anguished cries to the listener, just as *Zaide’s* Philomela “beweint mit reger Kehle” (bewails with agile throat), or, in *Zémire’s* “La fauvette,” “tout retentit de sa douleur” (all resounds with her grief). And with their metatheatrical references to their own sound, these laments implicated the spectator in the economy of violation that characterized both the seraglio-opera genre, and the phenomenon of the children’s troupe. In a painting related to *Das Serail*, this self-conscious positioning of the spectator in the Singspiel is foregrounded, as is the role of music in blurring the power dynamic between captor and captive. Called “Die Sklavin singt” (The Slave-Girl Sings), it belongs to a series of four paintings called *Das Serail*, created in 1780 by the Bozen-based painter Carl Henrici, and possibly based on the Berner troupe’s *Das Serail*, whose libretto had been published in Bozen (see Figure 1.2).⁵⁵ “Die Sklavin singt” appears to depict the slave-girl’s audition episode, rather than the private reflection of “Ich seh, mit Narrheit.” But this makes its placement of singer and spectator particularly significant: both figures are equally worthy of the viewer’s gaze. If anything, the bodily orientations of the ensemble of musicians directs the eye to the forward-facing sultan, who appears almost to be performing to the slave-girl’s accompaniment.

There is a confrontational undertone to the frank mutual regard between these two “equals” playing out their distinctly lopsided power dynamic. And the bifurcated focal point of the image, not to mention the furtive glances of the secondary figures, leave the viewer unsure with whom to identify. This “inscribed beholder” in Henrici’s painting prompts a moment of uncomfortable recognition on the part of the spectator—just as “Ich seh, mit Narrheit,” and the episodes of embedded performance found throughout the seraglio-opera repertoire, seem to reflect their own bodily commerce in a *mise-en-abyme*.⁵⁶ Such “thematics of the gaze” (to use John O’Brien’s term), when performed by novelty children’s troupes, gain an additional layer of connotation: the

⁵³ Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 129-130.

⁵⁴ “Selbst der Luft darf ich nicht sagen / Meiner Seele bitterm Schmerz, / Denn, unwillig ihn zu tragen, / Haucht sie alle meine Klagen / Wieder in mein armes Herz.” Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, ed. Gerhard Croll, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), 176-178.

⁵⁵ Silvia Spada Pintarelli, “Una nuova serie orientale di Carl Henrici al Museo di Bolzano,” in *Festschrift Nicolò Rasmò: Scritti in onore*, ed. Silvia Spada Pintarelli (Bolzano: Comune di Bolzano, Assessorato alla cultura, 1986), 399-407.

⁵⁶ On the “inscribed beholder” in metafictional tableaux of musicmaking, see Tili Boon Cuillé, *Narrative Interludes: Musical Tableaux in Eighteenth-Century French Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 18-20.

spectatorial, even voyeuristic, attitude toward childhood in the Enlightenment.⁵⁷ Rousseau's frequently repeated injunction in *Emile* – “Wise man, spy out nature for a long time; observe your pupil well before saying the first word to him” – would come to define the attitude of distanced fascination with which the exoticized child was regarded.⁵⁸

Figure 1.2. Carl Henrici, “Die Sklavin singt,”
*Das Serail*⁵⁹



The moral quandary posed by the children's troupes persisted all the way through to their outright ban by the Emperor and Empress Austria in 1821, after it was discovered that the son of an Imperial Foreign Minister had molested a number of young girls in a popular Viennese Kinderballett.⁶⁰ But even during their heyday in the

⁵⁷ John O'Brien, *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 19.

⁵⁸ Rousseau, *Emile or On Education* [2010], 40. The original French reads: “Homme prudent, épiez long-tems la Nature, observez bien votre Éleve avant de lui dire le premier mot.” Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l'éducation* [1762], vol. 1, 206. See also Douthwaite, *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster*.

⁵⁹ Bozen, Stadtmuseum, reproduced in “Tirols Präsenz in Mozarts Oeuvre: Zaide,” *Musikland Tirol*, Web, Institut für Tirolischer Musikforschung, 3 February 2011, <<http://www.musikland-tirol.at/printable/mozartit/tirolspraesenzinmozeuvre/zaide.html>>

⁶⁰ The prince in question, Count Aloys, son of Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg, was given the equivalent of probation. See W. E. Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97. On the Kinderballett/Kaunitz case, see Daniela Gerstner, *Das Kinderballett von Friedrich Horschelt: ein Beitrag zur Wiener Ballettgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. thesis, Salzburg University, 1997); and Susanne Feigl

late eighteenth century, their contradictory appeal embodied the uneasy counterpoise between protectionism and fascination. Pedagogues were only just beginning to call for a separate children's literature, and it still required a degree of counterintuitive effort to view children as a species of noble savage or natural man. The sophistication of the child actor stood for the sophistication of the child more generally; and when those children enacted their historical situation onstage, as in a seraglio-opera, and when they addressed their captors in sung commentary, they seemed to register the complex, unfinished nature of their epistemological confinement.

In *Artful Dodgers*, Marah Gubar interprets the child actors of Victorian England as historical counterweights to the predominant image of childhood as passive:

Perhaps we can read this fascination with precocity as a form of resistance to the growing pressure to conceive of the child as incompetent, weak, and artless, a separate order of being who could not work alongside or enter into intimate relationships with adults.⁶¹

Seen in this later context, the echoes of *Das Serail's* "Ich seh mit Narrheit" in *Zaide's* "Trostlos schluchzet Philomele" begin to resound more clearly. For all that we don't know about the dramaturgical context of Mozart and Schachtner's aria for Zaide, we can still register that apostrophic turn toward the spectator, that metatheatrical moment in which, absent any visible cage, the audience is invited to consider the proscenium, to consider themselves complicit in Zaide's enslavement, and to consider her limited but persistent degree of agency, even if it is only in demarcating the boundaries of her cell. Zaide's "agile throat" thus recalls the defiant promise Ovid has Philomela deliver to Tereus, a promise to proclaim the song of her imprisonment and violation, to "move the very woods and rocks to pity."⁶² In Philomela's descendant, Zaide, and her younger sisters in the *Kindertruppen*, the melancholy paradox of the child performer elides with the harem captive: exiled from herself, at once caged and liberated, voiceless, but with "reger Kehle."

and Christian Lunzer, *Das Mädchen-ballett des Fürsten Kaunitz. Kriminalfälle des Biedermeier* (Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1988).

⁶¹ Marah Gubar, *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 158.

⁶² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955), 261.

Chapter 2

Kinderoperetten and the New Family Compact

Das Serail was unique among the seraglio operas of its time in overlaying the familiar escape-from-the-harem plot with a strong element of sentimental family drama. Unlike other works in the genre, *Das Serail*'s lead characters turn out to be the long-separated members of a biological family, whose recognition and reunion constitutes the narrative denouement. Kinship even trumps romance: the platonic "love-pair," Zaide and Comatz, discover that they are siblings, and a family reunion takes the place of the more common comic finale of a wedding or betrothal.

The family-reunion plot turn is consistent with the denouement of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 1779 play *Nathan der Weise*, also set in the "East."¹ Lessing's conclusion is somewhat more complicated than *Das Serail*'s: as Denis Jonnes argues, Recha's decision to remain with her adoptive father Nathan, even after learning that the Saladin is her uncle, "annuls the concept of the natural family related by blood and reconstructs the possibility of relationship on the basis of an act of conscious recognition."² But Jonnes overstates the case, leaving out the fact of the Templar's joyful reunion with his own uncle, which affirms the powerful force of blood ties. In both cases, one could say that *Nathan der Weise* promotes the ideal of a companionate family – the counterpart to companionate marriage and a growing preoccupation of late eighteenth-century Continental theater.

The familial intimacy on display in *Das Serail* and *Nathan der Weise* would gain even more urgency in those theatrical genres conceived, at least in part, as a sanitized alternative to the children's troupes: Kinderschauspiele and Kinderoperetten (see Appendix 2.1 for a list of the principal works in these genres; I will use the term "children's theatricals" when referring to both genres). These were printed plays and Singspiels published, for the most part, in children's periodicals, which were themselves offshoots of the *moralische Wochenschriften* (moral weeklies) then dominating the German periodical market.³ Children's theatricals were aimed at middle-class readers and intended for domestic, amateur performance. With their wholesome content and preoccupation with the moral cultivation of their young reader-performers, children's theatricals were positioned as "solutions" to the moral dilemma of the child

¹ *Nathan der Weise* was published in 1779, and created an immediate sensation. The play was not staged, however, until 14 April 1783 in Berlin, by the Döbbelin troupe, where it closed after just three performances. See Jo-Jacqueline Eckardt, *Lessing's Nathan the Wise and the Critics: 1779-1991*, *Literary Criticism in Perspective* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993), 5 and 9.

² Denis Jonnes, "Solche Väter: The Sentimental Family Paradigm in Lessing's Drama," *Lessing Yearbook* 12 (1981): 171.

³ For another study of music in the *moralische Wochenschriften*, see Caryl Clark, "Reading and Listening: Viennese *Frauenzimmer* Journals and the Sociocultural Context of Mozartean Opera Buffa." *Musical Quarterly* 87/1 (2004): 140-175.

as actor.⁴ As the forefather of the genre, Christian Felix Weisse, put it in the very first issue of *Der Kinderfreund*, such theatricals

[...do] more for [child readers] than do the strictest moral teachings; because by seeing their faults made ridiculous, and none of the others want to be ridiculous, they are careful in the future.⁵

Since the edifying function of these plays and Singspiels was foregrounded within the works themselves as well as prized most highly by both authors and critics, this tends to be the aspect most frequently emphasized by modern-day scholars.⁶ Putting children on display in private theatricals, so one Foucauldian narrative might go, was one aspect of the increasingly totalizing projects of *Erziehung* and *Bildung*. By memorizing moralistic dialogue, submitting to the direction of an adult director, and

⁴ Much the same can be said of the adult amateur theater, for example Goethe's "Liebhabertheater" at the Weimar court. See Michael Patterson, *The First German Theatre: Schiller, Goethe, Kleist and Büchner in Performance*, Theatre Production Studies (London: Routledge, 1990); and Gisela Sichardt, *Das Weimarer Liebhabertheater unter Goethes Leitung; Beiträge zu Bühne, Dekoration und Kostüm unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung Goethes zum spätere Theaterdirektor* (Weimar: Arion, 1957).

⁵ "Dadurch hat er auch schon bey ihnen oft mehr, als durch die strengsten Sittenlehren Gutes gestiftet; denn, indem sie ihre Fehler lächerlich gemacht sehen, und doch keines dem andern lächerlich seyn will, so hüten sie sich künftig davor." Weisse, *Der Kinderfreund* 1/1-5 (2 October 1775): 29.

⁶ On the Kinderschauspiele, see Birgit Prilisauer, *Das Kinderschauspiel der Aufklärung – die Intentionen der Autoren im Kontext der Zeit* (M.Phil. thesis, Universität Wien, 2009); Ute Dettmar, *Das Drama der Familienkindheit: Der Anteil des Kinderschauspiels am Familiendrama des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: W. Fink, 2002); Carola Cardi, *Das Kinderschauspiel der Aufklärungszeit: Eine Untersuchung der deutschsprachigen Kinderschauspiele von 1769-1800* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983); Gunda Mairbäurl, *Die Familie als Werkstatt der Erziehung: Rollenbilder des Kindertheaters und soziale Realität im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983); and Hermann Schultze, *Das Deutsche Jugendtheater* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1960).

Discussions of Kinderschauspiele also appear in *Nützliches Vergnügen: Kinder- und Jugendbücher der Aufklärungszeit aus dem Bestand der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen und der Vordemann-Sammlung*, ed. Elmar Mittler and Wolfgang Wangerin (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2004); Brigitte Rehle, *Aufklärung und Moral in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989); Reiner Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter, Zur Psychographie von Bürgerlichkeit und Aufklärung in Deutschland am Beispiel ihrer Literatur für Kinder*, Germanistische Abhandlungen 61 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1987); *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1750 bis 1800*, ed. Theodor Brüggemann and Hans-Heino Ewers (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1982); Walter Pape, *Das literarische Kinderbuch: Studien zur Entstehung und Typologie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981); and Bettina Hurrelmann, *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit: Soziale Erziehung in der Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung am Beispiel von Christian Felix Weißes 'Kinderfreund' 1776-1782*, Information zur Sprach- und Literaturdidaktik, 5 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1974).

impersonating idealized children, all for the approval of an adult audience, children could affirm the principles of virtue and filial obedience, and thereby perpetuate the status quo of enlightened despotism.⁷

There was much more at work, however, in the bourgeois children's theater than just discipline; and more at stake than the importation of religious instruction to an increasingly secular domestic space, or the extension of the reach of reform pedagogy into every aspect of children's lives. This repertoire was also a commercial enterprise, part of a burgeoning children's print culture that, in seeking something like "market saturation," sought to offer family-friendly amusements of every stripe: poems, plays, riddles, songs, stories, non-fiction content, and so on, often within the pages of a single periodical or reader. At the same time, however, children's theatricals served as "workshops" for the kind of familial intimacy called for by pedagogical reformers and on display in *Nathan der Weise* and *Das Serail*. This was a participatory, interactive repertoire, intended for performance in one's "kleinen Familientheater" (little family theater), as Weisse's Kinderoperetten collaborator Johann Friedrich Hiller described it.⁸ Here, children no longer impersonated adults, as in the *Kindertruppen*, but rather played thinly fictionalized versions of themselves; and their parents joined in to portray idealized types, "Der Vater" and "Die Mutter." With no one but themselves to pass judgment, with frequent moments of wrenching pathos to act out, and with explicit stage directions egging them on to tears and effusive embraces, children and their parents were prompted by these works to engage in a kind of emotional role-play, habituating themselves to the new ideals of mutual affection and gratitude among family members. The "disciplining" going on, in other words, was as much emotional as it was moral.

As Reiner Wild and Ute Dettmar have shown, the theatrical construction of the sentimental or companionate family took place as much through the children's theatricals' form as through their content. Music was a key aspect of this formal project, though it has to date received little comment from scholars.⁹ But its role in the establishment of a more effusive emotional attachment between family members was singular. The songs that accompanied those moments of extreme joy or pathos constituted, for the first time, a shared repertoire between young and old, one that might even find parents and children singing together at the same time. They thus constituted the most explicit circumstances under which amateur playacting could reinforce – even, to quote Dettmar, to "warm up" or "practice for" – the new image of

⁷ See for instance Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter*, 47-53.

⁸ "Ich setzte mir anfaenglich vor, sie blos fuer Kinder zu schreiben, und die Musik zu einzurichten, dass sie nicht allein den Kehlen, im Singen noch nicht sehr geuebter Kinder, angemessen waere, sondern auch auf jedem kleinen Familientheater, ohne besondere Beschwerneiss aufgefuehrt werden koennte." Johann Adam Hiller, "Vorbericht," *Die kleine Aehrenleserin, eine Operette in einem Aufzuge, für Kinder* [piano-vocal score] (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1778), n.p.

⁹ Weisse and Hiller's *Kinderoperetten* are discussed briefly in Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 209-211.

the insular, emotionally bonded family.¹⁰ And with the cohesion of the family, in turn, reinforcing the cohesion of the state, there was much at stake in the cultivation of emotional intimacy among family members. Even the private experience of emotion had significant social and ethical repercussions, with “the passions hold[ing] out the promise of an immanent ethical community insofar as ‘humanity’ becomes a natural sentiment that orients the desire and actions of subjects toward a common good.”¹¹ And music, as Weisse knew well, was best positioned to step in when the benevolent passions needed to take over; as Christian Gottfried Krause had expressed it succinctly in his 1752 *Von der musikalischen Poesie*: “We sing and make music when joy and hope, love, sadness, pain, and longing take hold of us.”¹²

The aspirations of the children’s-theatrical genre seem altogether loftier than the opportunistic entertainments of the commercial children’s troupes. But both repertoires find music doing its most intriguing work in metatheatrical episodes. The metatheatrical motif I traced in the children’s troupe seraglio operas in Chapter 1—the embedded audition for the sultan—served as an exaggerated acknowledgment of the political and moral dubiousness of the troupes’ traffic in child performers. There is a metatheatrical motif in the Kinderoperetten as well: the embedded domestic or civic festival. A number of children’s theatricals feature musical *Festspiel* sequences, in which the fictional family marks a birthday, holiday, reunion, or the end of a war—a moment of heightened cohesion and familial feeling that, as Reiner Wild observes, allows for tenderness and affection to come to the fore.¹³ These episodes are, like the audition episodes in the seraglio operas, exaggerations—in this case, of the genre’s inherent predilection for ritualized expressions of sentimentality. They also seem to put Rousseau’s 1758 *Letter to d’Alembert on the Theater* into practice, staging the kind of civic commemoration which Rousseau had argued was the only legitimate form of theater. While the embedded festivals still take place within a theatrical context, it is one purged of the stigma of the commercial stage. They thus form a kind of transition work toward Rousseau’s goal of “turning public life into a sort of theatrical entertainment in which the spectators are simultaneously the actors and the actors identify with their roles rather than standing apart from them.”¹⁴

¹⁰ “Die Familie konstituiert und erfährt sich im Privatraum als zusammengehöriges Ensemble; sie spielt sich in ihren Ritualen ein und feiert sich in der Inszenierung zugleich selbst.” Dettmar, *Das Drama der Familienkindheit*, 20. See also Bettina Hurrelmann’s summary of the Mentor family in *Der Kinderfreund*, in *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit*, 209: “Emotionale Beziehungen machen den Zusammenhalt dieser Familie aus.”

¹¹ Victoria Kahn and Neil Saccamano, “Introduction,” in *Politics and the Passions, 1500-1850*, ed. Kahn, Saccamano, and Daniela Coli (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 4.

¹² “Wir singen und musiciren, wenn Freude und Hofnung, Liebe, Traurigkeit, Schmerz und Verlangen sich unserer bemeistern.” Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752), 69. Quoted in Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 72. Translation Lippman’s.

¹³ Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter*, 147.

¹⁴ Allan Bloom, “Introduction,” in Rousseau, *Letter to d’Alembert and Writings for the Theater*, ed. Bloom, Charles Butterworth, and Christopher Kelly, *The Collected Writings of Rousseau* 10 (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2004), xxv.

The explicitly participatory children's theatrical thus proves an intriguing case study for the implicit participation called for by all works in the genre, and the ways in which this participation constituted a kind of "emotionale Erziehung" (emotional upbringing) – one that, like so much in this repertoire, was aimed at both children and their parents. In the festival tableaux, parents were urged to attend to their children, in both senses of the word. As Tili Boon Cuillé has shown with other literary musical tableaux, these episodes encouraged adult readers to "look over the character's shoulder, as it were, [to] perceive what the inscribed beholder perceives, and strive to hear what he or she hears, sharing in his or her perspective, enhanced emotion, and resulting strength of conviction."¹⁵ Music's catalyzing, talismanic functions in the *Kinderoperetten* will suggest broader implications about the roles, responsibilities, and limits assigned to children and parents both on and off the domestic stage.

Allegorical amateur theatricals for young aristocrats had long been a common feature of European courtly life, with these carefully choreographed works simultaneously inculcating, rehearsing, and promoting bodily comportment and harmonious social interactions.¹⁶ Such works only occasionally referenced genuine familial intimacy – as, for instance, in the "kleine Kammerfest" (little chamber-festival) staged in 1759 by the Hapsburg children in honor of the nameday of their father, Emperor Francis. Archduke Maximilian Francis, not yet three, reportedly recited a congratulation penned by Metastasio, which concluded:

Ah! se un bacio e permesso sulla man del genitore, in quel bacio appieno espresso farà intendersi il mio core.	Ah! if only a kiss was allowed from a man to his father, in this kiss fully expressed Would my heart be understood. ¹⁷
---	--

Within the formalized discourse of the court, the toddler Archduke could speak in Italian of his impulse to kiss his father; but the kiss itself was deferred, at least in public. Episodes of familial intimacy were also scant in another important forebear of the children's theatrical: *Schuldramen* and *Schulopern*, the sacred plays and operas performed by students in Jesuit and Benedictine universities.¹⁸

¹⁵ Cuillé, *Narrative Interludes*, 20.

¹⁶ See for instance the essays in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norbert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁷ *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters, 1742-1776 – Vol. 5 (1758-1759)*, ed. Rudolf Graf Khevenhüller-Metsch and Dr. Hanns Schlitter (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1911), 131-132. The other Archdukes and -duchesses performed French vaudevilles, Italian arias, and concertos for keyboard and cello. See also Franz Hadamowsky, *Wien Theater Geschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkriegs* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1988), 251-252.

¹⁸ For some recent publications on the Jesuit and Benedictine traditions of sacred and didactic theater, see *Catholic Theatre and Drama: Critical Essays*, ed. Kevin J. Wetmore (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2010); Michael Zampelli, " 'Lascivi Spettacoli': Jesuits and Theatre (from the

These sacred dramas however, did influence the immediate forerunners of the secular, commercially printed children's theatricals: namely, the *entretiens* and *proverbes dramatiques* of François Fénelon, Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, and their successors.¹⁹ Alexandre Guillaume Mouslier de Moissy's *Les Jeux de la petite Thalie* expanded the length and number of characters of the dialogical *entretiens* in order to more closely approximate professional theatricals, while retaining their moral didacticism. When Moissy's collection was translated into German in 1770, it caught on immediately with those editors who had begun experimenting with materials for the child reader within the popular *Musen Almanache* and parent-oriented *moralische Wochenschriften*.²⁰ Individual playlets from *Thalie* were published in several of the earliest children's periodicals, including the *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder* (1773-75), which Weisse took over and renamed *Der Kinderfreund*.²¹

With 37 children's theatricals appearing in *Der Kinderfreund* and its sequel, *Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes* (Correspondence of the Kinderfreund Family), Weisse was by far the leading exponent of the genre. *Der Kinderfreund* enjoyed a circulation of close to 10,000 copies over three print runs, and twenty-four of the theatricals published therein were printed separately as the three-volume *Schauspiele für Kinder*. Thus Weisse's theatricals could have been performed by thousands of families (including, incidentally, several royal households).²²

Underside)," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); and Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg (1617-1778)*, *Theatergeschichte Österreichs* 6, Salzburg Heft 1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

¹⁹ On the French tradition of didactic children's theatricals, see Penny Brown, "Improvising Virtue: Performative Morality in Moissy's *Théâtre d'éducation*," *French Studies* 60/3 (2006): 320-334; Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval, *Madame de Genlis et le théâtre d'éducation au XVIIIe siècle*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 350 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1997); and James Herbert Davis, Jr., *The Happy Island: Images of Childhood in the Eighteenth-Century French Théâtre d'Éducation*, *American University Studies Series XIV: Education* 10 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987). The French eventually borrowed back from their German inheritors, translating and occasionally plagiarizing many of Weisse's *Kinderschauspiele* in the 1770s and beyond. See Davis, *The Happy Island*, 28.

²⁰ Alexandre Guillaume de Moissy, *Les Jeux de la petite Thalie, ou nouveau petits drames dialogués sur des proverbes, Propres à former les moeurs des Enfants & des jeunes Personnes, depuis l'âge de cinq ans jusqu'à vingt* (Paris: Bailly, 1769); trans. as *Spiele der Kleinen Thalia. Oder: Neue kleine dramatische Stücke über Sprüchwörter: zur Bildung der Sitten der Kinder und jungen Leute von fünf bis zwanzig Jahren* (Berlin: C. F. Himbürg, 1770).

²¹ Carola Cardi, "1770: Alexandre Guillaume Mouslier de Moissy (1712-1777): Spiele der Kleinen Thalia [...]," in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, 107.

²² The first three printings of *Der Kinderfreund* were 3000, 3000, and 4000 copies, respectively. This does not count the 15,000 copies claimed by Weisse to have been printed in Austria, nor foreign translations. Hurrelmann, *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit* 170, cited in Gerold Heckle, "'Ein lehrreiches und nützliches Vergnügen' – Das Kauf- und Lesepublikum der Kinderzeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Wege zur Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. Manfred Bobrowsky and Wolfgang R. Langenbucher, *Schriftenreihe der deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 13 (Munich: Ölschläger, 1987), 328-329.

One of Weisse's chief innovations was the introduction of original music into the periodical itself and its plays. For this endeavor, Weisse turned to his former collaborator on the commercial stage, Hiller, who, like Weisse, was disillusioned with the professional *Singspiel* and increasingly preoccupied with pedagogical projects.²³ Hiller was responsible for the first tipped-in song setting that appears in *Der Kinderfreund*, for the vast majority of the tipped-in settings of specific numbers in *Der Kinderfreund's* plays, and for at least three separately published keyboard scores to *Der Kinderfreund Singspiels* (see Appendix 2.2 for a list of musical settings of Weisse's *Kinderoperetten*).²⁴

Even before Weisse and Hiller began work on *Der Kinderfreund*, their adult *Singspiels* had foregrounded the concerns of the bourgeois family. This is no accident, given that many of Weisse's librettos originated in the sentimental *opéra comique*. One of

²³ See Weisse, "Zueignungsschrift," *Der Kinderfreund* 1/1 (2 October 1775): 5: "Ich bin ein Freund gesitteter Schauspiele; aber ich lasse sie jezt statt meiner dahin gehen, wenn sie durch ihr Wohlverhalten dieß Vergnügen verdient haben, weil sie für das, was ich für mich bezahlen würde, zweymal dahin gehen können." On Weisse's other pedagogical writings, see *Christian Felix Weisse und die Leipziger Aufklärung*, ed. Karin Löffler and Ludwig Stockinger (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2006); and Anne-Kristin Mai, *Christian Felix Weiße (1726 -1804): Leipziger Literat zwischen Amtshaus, Bühne und Stötteritzer Idyll* (Beucha: Sax-Verlag, 2003);

For his part, Hiller had by this time published the first of his two singing tutors, the *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1774), and founded a conservatory (1776), which would eventually take up residence in the Leipzig Gewandhaus. See Hiller, "Vorbericht," *Die kleine Aehrenleserin* [piano-vocal score] n.p.: "Der edle und lehrreiche Inhalt gegenwaertiger kleinen Operette, aus dem bekannten Wochenblatte *Der Kinderfreund*, konnte mich leicht geneigt machen, auf Verlangen des Verlegers, die Composition derselben zu uebernehmen, so wenig ich auch itzt Lust habe, fuers Theater zu arbeiten, und so sehr ich durch andere Geschaeffte daran gehindert werde." On Hiller's role as a vocal pedagogue, see John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 167-179; and *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann Adam Hiller [1780]*, trans. and ed. Suzanne J. Beicken, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Hiller was, however, still cognizant of his *Kinderoperetten's* potential for the professional stage. See Hiller, "Vorbericht," n.p.: "Waehrend der Arbeit schien es mir, das dieses kleine Stueck selbst auf einem grossen Theater gute Wirkung thun muesse, wenn man die Rollen des Krums, des Herrn von Mildenau, und der Frau von Birkenfeld mit erwachsenen Personen besetzte. Ich sieng sogleich an, eine neue Partitur zu schreiben, suegte mehrere begleitende Instrumente hinzu, und nahm nun besonders in den Arien der bended letztgenannten Personen auf diesen Umstand Ruecksicht." Berner's troupe and Müller's Theatralpflanzschule performed *Die kleine Aehrenleserin* and other "amateur" *Kinderschauspiele* and *Kinderoperetten*. See Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 160 and 206.

²⁴ The first tipped-in song setting was to "Die Freuden des Winters" (The Joy of Winter), *Der Kinderfreund* 2/38 (25 March 1776): 178-180. Music began appearing in French didactic theatricals for children in Madame de Laisse's *Proverbes Dramatiques: Mêlés D' Ariettes Connues* (Amsterdam and Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1777) and *Nouveau Genre De Proverbes Dramatiques: Mêlés D' Chants* (Amsterdam and Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1778), but these were vaudevilles using existing songs from the *opéra comique*, not original music as in *Der Kinderfreund*.

these adaptations, *Die Jagd*, is arguably responsible for the embedded-festival motif that came to figure so prominently in the children's theatricals' construction of the sentimental family. Weisse and Hiller altered the source material for *Die Jagd* to expand on its celebratory dinner-concert tableau, amplifying its emotional rhetoric considerably. The large number of subsequent children's theatricals that feature a version of *Die Jagd*'s tableau suggests that we might understand this work not just as a foundational Singspiel, but also as a kind of incipient Kinderoperette.

In *Die Jagd*, the rustic village judge Michel and his family come upon a courtier lost in the woods and invite him to dine with them at their home. Unbeknownst to them, the stranger is their King in disguise; having become lost while hunting, he has decided to allow himself to be perceived a commoner in order to see how the other half lives. The King is humbled by the warmth, intimacy, and political fealty of Michel's family. After dinner, Michel asks his son for a song, the daughter offers another, and Michel himself provides a third; the King reacts with a song of his own, after which he reveals his true identity and bestows an enormous fortune on the grateful family.

In his 1774 monograph *Ueber die deutsche comische Oper* (On the German Comic Opera), the composer and critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt extolled *Die Jagd*'s "sovereign dignity and country innocence, gentle and comic qualities."²⁵ The convivial encounter between aristocrat and rustics, mediated through song, reinforces two intertwined social ideals: the family as guarantor of happiness, and the *Landesvater* model of governance, which mapped the new ideal of mutual affection between old and young onto the relationship between ruler and ruled, and which emphasized not so much filial responsibility upward as parental responsibility downward.²⁶ The

²⁵ "Hoheit und bäurische Einfalt, sanftes und comisches Wesen sind in dieser Operette so glücklich ausgedrückt, daß man bloß dieserwegen die Jagd für das vorzüglichste Stück des Herrn H[iller] halten muß." Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Ueber die Deutsche comische Oper, nebst einem Anhang eines freundschaftlichen Briefes über die musikalische Poesie* (Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1774), 22. On the cultural semiotics of such "theatrical ventures in the world of rural poverty" in *ancien régime* France, see Sarah Maza, "The Rose-Girl of Salency: Representations of Virtue in Prerevolutionary France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22/3 ("The French Revolution in Culture," 1989): 395-412. On *Die Jagd*, see Jörg Krämer, *Deutschesprachiges Musiktheater im Späten 18. Jahrhundert: Typologie, Dramaturgie und Anthropologie einer Populären Gattung* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1988), vol. 1, 130-201, and vol. 2, 859-860; and Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*, 44-53. *Die Jagd* was performed in twenty-eight separate theaters during its first ten years, from Lübeck in 1772 (under F. L. Schröder) to the Vienna Kärntnertheater in 1776 (under Böhm), and Schikaneder's troupe performed it in Stuttgart in 1778.

²⁶ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), xiv. Frederick II, King of Prussia, exemplified the *Landesvater* ideal, writing in his 1777 *Essay on Forms of Government* that "the sovereign is properly the head of a family of citizens, the father of his people"; quoted in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. and intr. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 458. For her part, Maria Theresa personified the *Landesmutter*, with Joseph von Sonnenfels penning a birthday panegyric in 1762 that described her as "through and through a loving mother, but also a mother who loves her people." "Ganz eine liebende Mutter, aber eine auch ihre Völker liebende Mutter." Joseph von Sonnenfels [1762], quoted in Wolfram Mauser, "Maria Theresia: Mütterlichkeit: Mythos und politisches

articulation of proto-democratic sentiment in terms of family relations was increasingly common across Enlightenment Europe, as the international provenance of *Die Jagd* illustrates.²⁷ A quick survey of some of the antecedents to *Die Jagd*'s dinner-concert scene shows how much Hiller and Weisse amplified the role of music in bonding the members of both families and states.

The first of the three antecedents known to Weisse, Robert Dodsley's 1736 play *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*, contains the most abbreviated treatment of the concert. The King requests a song from the miller, who demurs ("my singing Days are over"), offering instead to call for his "man," Joe.²⁸ Joe then offers a coarse sung disquisition on the theme of the superiority of country over courtly life: "How Happy a State Does the Miller Possess." The song is pointed in its wry observance of the equally base behavior of courtiers and peasants, and earns a similarly wry response from the King: "He should go sing this at Court, I think."²⁹ The episode is brief and jaunty: Joe is no relation to the miller, has nothing at stake in the plot, and only appears onstage in order to sing this song.

In the two French adaptations of *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*—Charles Collé's comedy *La Partie de chasse de Henri IV* and Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny and Michel-Jean Sedaine's comic opera *Le Roi et le fermier*, both from 1762—the episode of the song concert is extended and sentimentalized.³⁰ Collé has four members of the miller's family sing antique *chansons* in a kind of round-robin vaudeville. Upon hearing himself praised in the miller's song, Collé's King "show[s] a feeling so profound, that he is on the verge of tears," and the stage directions suggest that if the actor can pretend to cry, he should do so for the remainder of the scene.³¹

Mandat (Hofmannsthal, Sonnenfels, Wurz)," in *Mutter und Mütterlichkeit: Wandel und Wirksamkeit einer Phantasie in der deutschen Literatur. Festschrift für Verena Ehrlich-Haefeli*, ed. Irmgard Roebeling and Wolfram Mauser (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), 88.

²⁷ The *Die Jagd* plot first appears in a play by Lope de Vega (1562-1635), *El Alcalde de Zalamea*. I will not discuss this version or the Goldoni/Galuppi *dramma giocoso*, *Il re alla caccia* (1763), as both appear to have been unknown to Weisse. For more on these versions, see Marvin Carlson, "Il re alla caccia and *Le Roi et le fermier*: Italian and French treatments of class and gender," in *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster, Cambridge Studies in Opera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²⁸ Robert Dodsley, *The King and the Miller of Mansfield: A Dramatick Tale* (London: T. Cooper, 1737), 37. The play premiered in London, Drury Lane, 1736.

²⁹ Dodsley, *The King and the Miller*, 40. Thomas Arne set "How Happy a State," and his melody was published in George Bickham, *The Musical Entertainer* (London: G. Bickham, 1737), 40.

³⁰ Collé's *comédie en prose*, also known as *Le Roi et le meunier*, premiered in Bagnolet at the *théâtre de société* of Duc d'Orléans in July 1762, and was revised in 1764. The *comédie mêlée de morceaux de musique*, *Le Roi et le fermier*, premiered at the Comédie-Italienne in Paris, November 1762.

³¹ "Henri doit marquer pendant que l'on chante ce couplet, un sensibilité si grande, qu'elle paroisse aller jusqu'aux larmes; & c'est dans ce point de vue qu'il doit jouer le reste de cette Scene, jusqu'au moment où l'on leve la table, affecter de pleurer si l'Acteur le peut." Charles Collé, *La Partie de chasse de Henri IV, comédie en trois actes et en prose* [1766] (Paris: Gueffier, 1775), 43.

Collé's King does not, however, offer a song in return for those he has heard. In Monsigny and Sedaine's *Le Roi et le fermier*, on the other hand, the King's song is an *objet trouvé*, an aria from an unnamed opera he says he has recently seen. He sets the scene for the *mise-en-abyme*, relating the background plot to the aria while telegraphing the song's message for the spectator: "A young prince destined for the throne asks by what means a king can achieve the highest degree of happiness. Here is the response from his tutor."³² In a tripling of his disguise, the King (already undercover as a courtier) then impersonates an opera singer playing a tutor. His genteel gavotte, "Le bonheur est de le répandre" ("To spread happiness"), claims there is no greater delight for a sovereign than to make his subjects happy, and thereby earn their genuine affection:

Le bonheur de se répandre,
De le verser sur les humains,
De faire éclore de vos mains
Tout ce qu'ils ont droit d'en attendre.

To spread happiness,
To pour it over the people,
To hatch from one's hands
All they are entitled to expect.

Est-il une félicité
Comparable à la volupté
D'un Souverain qui peut se dire:
Tous les Sujets de mon Empire
Sont mes enfans, sont mes amis?

Is there a bliss
Comparable to the delight
Of a sovereign who can say to himself:
All the subjects of my Empire
Are my children, are my friends?³³

Die Jagd's dinner scene is something of an amalgam of Collé and Sedaine, adopting the generic characteristics of the peasant family's songs in Collé, and the reciprocal sung appreciation by the King himself from Sedaine.³⁴ But Weisse offers a significant twist on Sedaine. In the *opéra comique*, the King demurred at first to the gamekeeper and his fiancée's entreaties for a song, only relenting after a certain amount of gentle cajoling. For *Die Jagd*, Weisse changes the King's motivation: rather than being a response to a request from someone else, and with a message displaced onto the character in the quoted "opera," Weisse and Hiller's song emerges from the depth of the King's own heart. After hearing the others, he stammers, "Your love for your king moves me so much, that I – that I – also must sing!"³⁵ Song takes over when the heart is full, fulfilling the role established for it in Krause's *Von der musikalischen Poesie*.

³² "Un jeune Prince destiné au Thrône, demande par quel moyen un Roi peut parvenir au plus haut degré du bonheur? Voici la réponse de son Gouverneur?" M. [Michel-Jean Sedaine, *Le Roi et le fermier: comédie en trois actes, mêlée de morceaux de musique* (Paris: Claude Herissant, 1762), 61.

³³ A third stanza of text follows, and a return of the first stanza. Sedaine, *Le Roi et le fermier*, 61.

³⁴ Weisse acknowledges Collé (but not Sedaine) on the page listing the dramatis personae: "Dieses Stück ist zum Theil aus dem Lustspiele: *la Partie de chasse de Henrici* [sic] IV. genommen." Weisse, "Die Jagd," in Weisse, *Komische Opern*, vol. 3 (Carlsruhe: Christian Gottlieb Schmieder, 1778), 2.

³⁵ "Eure Liebe für euren König rührt mich so sehr, daß ich – daß ich – auch eins singen muß!" Weisse, "Die Jagd," 126.

Welche königliche Lust!	What kingly joy!
Seinen Thron auf Liebe gründen,	For his throne to be founded on love,
Und in eines jeden Brust	And in every breast
Lieb' um Liebe wieder finden!	For love to arouse new love!
Im geringsten Unterthan	In the least of his subjects
Kinder, Freunde, Brüder finden,	To find children, friends, brothers
Und der Gottheit Glück empfinden,	And to feel divine happiness,
Dass man glücklich machen kann.	That can make one happy. ³⁶

The text for “Welche königliche Lust” borrows heavily from Sedaine: just as Sedaine’s King marveled that “All of the subjects of my empire / Are my children, are my friends,” Weisse’s King thrills to find “In the least of my subjects / Children, friends, brothers.”³⁷ Musically, however, the generic markers of class and sentiment are quite different. Whereas Monsigny’s setting of “Le bonheur de se répandre” had accentuated the aristocratic tone with gestures derived from baroque opera and dance, Hiller’s setting of “Welche königliche Lust” is a gentle, duple-meter andante with a relatively unadorned vocal line (see Music Example 2.1). The King’s musical language, in other words, is only modestly elevated over that of his companions – a quality the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* admired, noting in its review of the published score that “all the King’s arias are [...] only as different from the rest as they have to be.”³⁸

Music Example 2.1.
 “Welche königliche Lust!” (Der König)
Die Jagd (Act III, Scene 9)³⁹

³⁶ Weisse, “Die Jagd,” 126.

³⁷ “Tous les sujets de mon empire / Sont mes enfants, sont mes amis,” Sedaine, *Le roi et le fermier*, 53-54.

³⁸ “Sonst sind die Arien des Königs alle schön, und just so viel von den andern abstechend, als sie sollen.” [Anon.], “Die Jagd. Eine comische Oper in drey Acten [review],” *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 17/2 (1772): 566.

³⁹ *Die Jagd. Komische Oper in drei Acten. Klavierauszug mit Text und vollständigem Dialog nach der Partitur berichtet und neu bearbeitet*, ed. Richard Kleinmichel (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1924[?]), 122.

The King's expression of gratitude in "Welche königliche Lust" proved a compelling model for the children's theatricals to which Weisse and Hiller turned in the late 1770s. As refashioned for the festival tableau in the form of sung parental approbations, they indicated the attentive involvement with which real-world parents were expected to witness the performances of their children. Whether observing from the audience or acting alongside their children, physical proximity and even detached observation were insufficient. In the preface to his *Kinderschauspiele*, for instance, August Rode instructed adults taking on the roles of "Die Mutter" or "Der Vater" that they must "not be present at these performances merely as a favor to the children; rather their attention [must] not waver, and they [should] feel their hearts moved by a good-natured sentiment."⁴⁰ This imperative reflects both the more hands-on approach to parenting then gaining ground in childrearing treatises, and the nascent "rhetoric of attention" which Matthew Riley has identified across contemporaneous German aesthetics.⁴¹

Rode left nothing to chance when it came to the execution of the ideal parental response. One of the plays in his collection, "Der Ausgang, oder die Genesung" (The Way Home, or The Recovery), depicts the return of a father to his family after overcoming a life-threatening illness in the care of his doctor.⁴² The focal point of "Der Ausgang" is the welcoming "Ronde" that the father's five children perform on his return; the play stages not just the Ronde, but also its conception and rehearsal. When the father finally arrives, the five children encircle him, dance around him, and sing a song whose music changes with each swerve in the children's mood, as they reflect on the range of possible catastrophic outcomes of his illness, and their good fortune that he

⁴⁰ "[...] sind die Erwachsenen nicht bloß aus Gefälligkeit gegen die Kleinen bei ihrer Vorstellung zugegen; ist vielmehr ihre Aufmerksamkeit dabei nicht zerstreut, und fühlen sie ihre Herzen von einer gutartigen Empfindung bewegt [...]" Rode, "Vorbericht," *Kinderschauspiele* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1776), n.p. See also Carl August Seidel, [Preface], in *Sammlung von Kinderschauspielen mit Gesängen* (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1780), n.p.: "Der Verfasser war lange unentschlossen, ob er diese kleinen Spiele, die er vor Kinder aussetzte und sie mit ihnen spielte, öffentlich vorzeigen sollte oder nicht." Emphasis mine.

⁴¹ Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). On parental proximity and attention, see for example the first issue of *Der Kinderfreund*, where Weisse (as Mentor) writes, "Ich entsage allen Vergnügungen, damit ich ihnen Vergnügen und Unterricht verschaffen kann [...] Ich thue keine Reise über Land, wenn ich meine Kinder nicht mitnehmen kann, weil ich kein Vergnügen recht schmecke, das ich nicht mit ihnen theile." *Der Kinderfreund* 1/1 (2 October 1775): 4-5, quoted in Hurrelmann, *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit*, 202.

⁴² In an unusual turn of events for this domestic, amateur genre, *Der Ausgang* was actually staged at the Vienna Burgtheater on 14 October 1778, sharing the bill that evening with the National-Singspiel's successful inaugural work of earlier that same year, Ignaz Umlauf's *Die Bergknappen*. At the premiere of *Der Ausgang*, the role of the father was taken by Gottlieb Stephanie the younger, and the five children were portrayed by the five children of Stephanie's National-Singspiel colleague, Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller: Joseph, Johann, Friedrich, Karl, and Nannette. Theaterzettel, A-Wtm, Signatur BIBT 773042 DTh 17781004.

is out of danger. The stage directions set out in exacting detail both the emotional turns in the music, and the father's subsequent outburst of affection and gratitude.⁴³

(Die Kinder stehen so, daß der Vater gleich beym Hereintreten in ihrem Kreis zu stehen kommt; sie schließen denselben sogleich zu; eine leichte muntere Musik erhebt sich; und sie tanzen mit Einfalt, Anstand und Fröhlichkeit um ihren Vater herum, und singen, dazu:)

(The children stand so that when the father enters, he comes right into their circle; they close it at once; a light, cheerful music arises; and they dance with simplicity, decency, and cheerfulness around their father, and sing, as follows:)

Willkommen sey, willkommen
Mit Freuden, Vater, hier!

Be welcome, welcome
With joy, Father, here!

(Die Musik wird hier langsamer, und die Kinder singen nur, tanzen nicht.)

(The music is here slower, and the children only sing, do not dance.)

Hätt' dich der Tod genommen,
Geliebter, traurten wir.

If Death had taken you,
Beloved, we would have mourned.

Bedroht von diesem Liebe
Erstarb schon unsre Lust: --

Threatened by this love
Our joy had already died: --

(Die Musik wechselt hier wieder ab, und drückt Freude aus, und die Kinder tanzen wieder.)

(The music changes here again, and expresses joy, and the children dance again.)

Doch nun, nun jauchzet Freude
Aus deiner Kinder Brust.

But now, now joy shouts
Out of your children's breast.

(Der Kinder singen wiederum allein, und tanzen nicht.)

(The children sing alone again, and do not dance.)

O, jede deiner Stunden
Sey, uns im Reihen gleich,
Mit Blumen froh umwunden,
Für dich an Segen reich!

O, each of your hours
Let us in the same ranks
Happily entwine with flowers
Rich with blessings for you!

(Hier tanzen sie wieder zum Gesange.)

(Here they dance to the song again.)

Willkommen sey, willkommen
Mit Freuden, Vater, hier!

Be welcome, welcome
With joy, Father, here!

(Der Vater, von diesem Auftritte überrascht, steht erst ganz, ohne sich zu bewegen, in Mitte

(The Father, surprised by these entrances, stands entirely without

⁴³ I have not been able to locate any extant settings of "Der Ausgang," or any reference to a composer.

seiner Kinder. Bald treten ihm die Thränen in die Augen, sein Haupt sinkt etwas seitwärts herab, und mit der innigsten Empfindung im Blicke sieht er sie um sich her tanzen. Als sie gesungen und getanzt haben, umarmt er sie alle in stummer Rührung; die Kinder sind dabey voller Freuden und liebkosen ihn.)

moving, among his children. Soon the tears come into his eyes, his head sinks down a little sideways, and with the deepest sentiment in his eyes he looks down at the dancing. When they have sung and danced, he embraces them all with silent emotion; the children are full of joy and caress him.)⁴⁴

“With quivering lips,” the Father then exclaims, “Your joy at my reappearance [...] is to me a blessing from heaven.”⁴⁵ He does not offer a song in return, as had the King in *Die Jagd*; but in a closing tableau, he stands up, raises his hands and eyes to heaven, and with the children looking on “reverently,” issues the following benediction:

O You, who lifted me up from my sick-bed, and who strengthened my weary heart with the joy of these saplings—o stretch Your hand out wide over them, and bless them—and my gray head then inclines toward my passing, blessed by you, into dust.⁴⁶

This precisely choreographed episode implies that such demonstrative signs of familial affection could not be taken for granted among the readership. In other words, children’s theatricals offered both a pretext and a blueprint for the new emotional architecture of incipient *Gemütlichkeit*.

While plays like “Der Ausgang” brought the thinly fictionalized family members together, their embedded songs capitalized on the Singspiellied’s ability to both represent and facilitate communal feeling.⁴⁷ For example, in Carl August Seidel’s “Tugend bleibt nicht unbelohnt” (Virtue Does Not Go Unrewarded) from his 1780 *Sammlung von Kinderschauspielen mit Gesängen*, the impoverished family of a virtuous officer sings as a chorus, delivering a hymn in praise of the sunrise.⁴⁸ In the play “Denk, daß zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt, als du!” (Think, no one is lacking your happiness, except you!) from Christian Gotthilf Salzmann’s *Unterhaltungen für Kinder und Kinderfreunde*, a mother sings together with her two sons, eventually drawing the petulant daughter back into the family fold (see Figure 2.1.)

⁴⁴ Rode, “Der Ausgang,” 75-76.

⁴⁵ “Eure Freude über meine Wiederherstellung [...] ist mir ein Segen des Himmels.” Rode, “Der Ausgang,” 76.

⁴⁶ “(Er steht auf, hebt die Hände und Augen in die Höhe, und die Kinder stehen ihm ehrfurchstvoll zur Seiten.) O Du, der Du mich von meinem Krankenlager aufhobst, und mein ermattetes Herz mit der Freude an diesen Schößlingen stärktest—o breite ferner deine Hand über sie, und segne sie—und mein graues Haupt neigt sich dann beym Hintritte, dich segnend, in den Staub.” Rode, “Der Ausgang,” 78.

⁴⁷ See Estelle Joubert, “Songs to Shape a German Nation.”

⁴⁸ Carl August Seidel, *Sammlung von Kinderschauspielen mit Gesängen* (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1780), 155.

Figure 2.1. Detail, title vignette, *Denk, daß zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt, als du!*⁴⁹



And in Weisse and Hiller's *Die kleine Aehrenleserinn* (The Little Gleaner-Girl), as the titular heroine Emilie and her poor, widowed mother are adopted into the family of a benevolent landowner, all join in a *vaudeville final* in which each character reflects on the turn of events, concluding with a pun on the play's title. Thus the harvest becomes an allegory for the cultivation of family along sentimental and companionate lines. The last quatrain of each of the first three stanzas is reproduced below (and see Music Example 2.2):

(the landowner):

Würd' ich mich meiner Aerndte freun,	Would I be happy with my harvest,
Um weite Scheuren voll zu legen?	Were I to fill large barns?
Zwey edle Herzen ärndt' ich ein;	Two noble hearts have I reaped;
Das heißt ein rechter Aerndtesegen!	That is a true harvest-blessing!

(Emilie's mother):

In ein verwüstet trocken Land	In a desolate dry land
Fiel auch mein heißer Thränenregen;	My hot tears also fell like rain;
Allein, er öffnet seine Hand,	Alone, he opens his hand,
Und welch ein reicher Aerndtesegen!	And what a rich harvest-blessing!

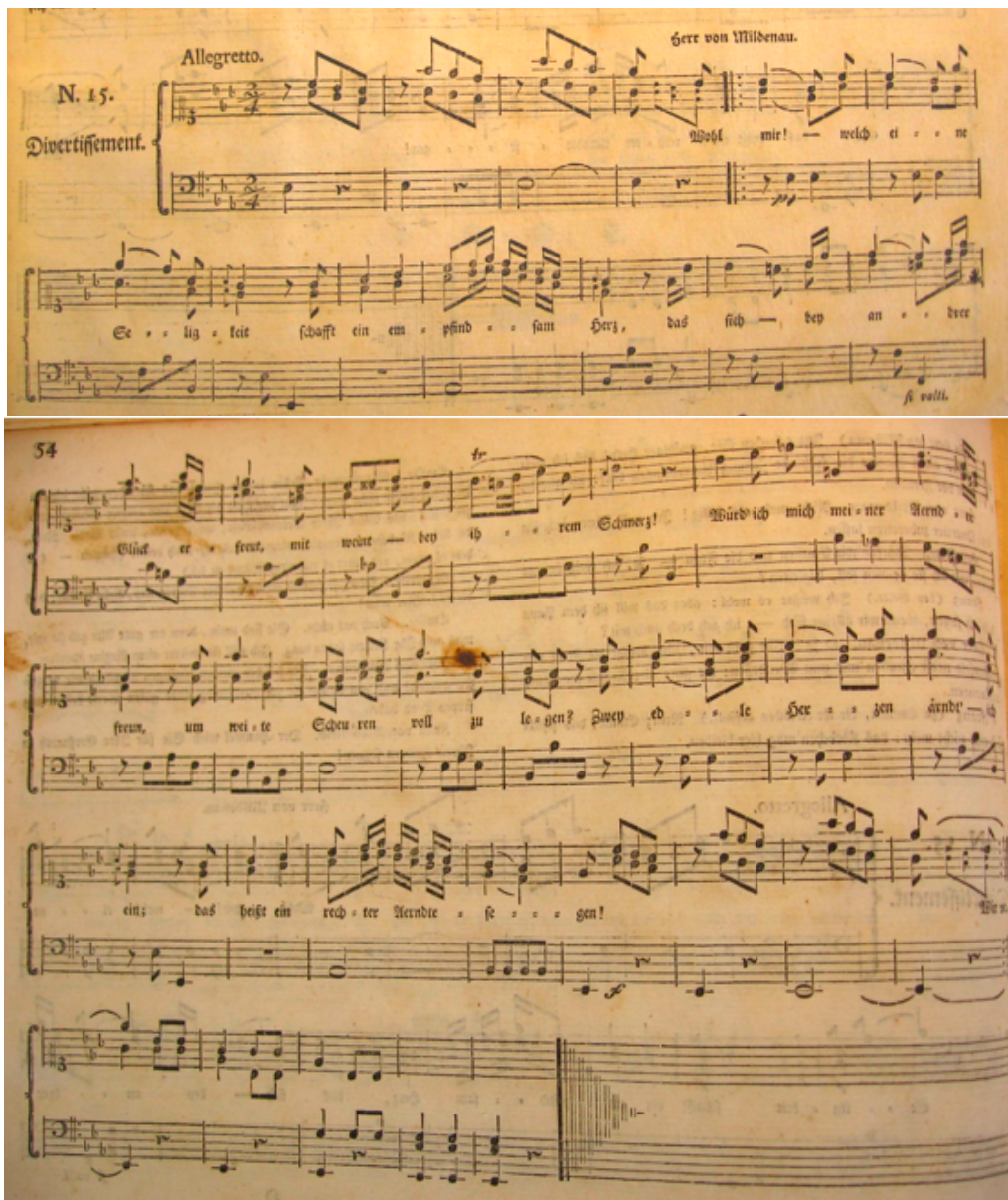
(Emilie):

Zwey Engel – zwey Geschwister Mir,	Two angels – two sisters for me,
Und ach! Er, seiner Güte wegen,	And ah! he, because of his goodness,

⁴⁹ Johann August Rossmäßler, ill. In *Unterhaltungen für Kinder und Kinderfreunde* 3 (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1780), title page, *Pictura Paedagogica Online*, Web, 10 July 2011 <http://www.bbf.dipf.de/cgi-opac/bil.pl?t_direct=x&fullsize=yes&f_IDN=b0087711berl&transit=f_ssw%3DKlavier%26t_kombi%3Dx>.

Ein Vater! sprießen auf dir: A father! sprouts from you [my basket]:
 Das heißt ein wahrer Aerndtensegen! That's called a real harvest-blessing!⁵⁰

Music Example 2.2. "Wohl mir! welch eine Seligkeit" (Divertissement),
Die kleine Aehrenleserin (Scene 9)⁵¹



⁵⁰ Weisse, "Die kleine Aehrenleserin: ein Lustspiel für Kinder in Einem Aufzuge," *Der Kinderfreund*, 8/112-117 (23 Aug – 20 Sep 1777): 195-196.

⁵¹ *Die kleine Aehrenleserin* [piano-vocal score], 53-54.

The engraving to “Denk, das zu deinem Glück” reminds us that the “kleinen Familientheater” required yet one more performer to make up the ensemble— one who has gone virtually unremarked thus far, and who is largely silent in the repertoire itself. Historians of eighteenth-century German literature, from children’s literature to bourgeois tragedy, remark on the almost complete absence of mothers, as a newly sentimentalized fatherhood appropriated models of maternal intimacy.⁵² *Der Kinderfreund* certainly follows in this trend: its fictional *paterfamilias* “Herr Mentor” could almost be described as a single parent, so invisible is his wife. As Gail Hart notes of the bourgeois tragedy, “[t]he subterranean design of the drama [appears to be] to create a family without women, by allowing the newly emotional and sentimental father figure to absorb the mother’s function and usurp her role in the family while retaining his own.”⁵³

However, there are a few mothers in children’s theatricals— Emilie’s mother in *Die kleine Aehrenleserin*, to name one. And even when not taking a role in the drama, mothers are still conspicuously present in those theatricals with musical numbers. After all, a Kinderoperette requires an accompanist, and this would be a fitting use for the accomplishment for which the mother had trained since her own youth. One might read the otherwise silent or even absent mother differently still: not so much a usurped as an emulated figure. Mothers were assumed to be naturally adept at intimacy, the paragons of feeling; it was fathers who needed the assistance of explicit staging in order to gain this “skill.”⁵⁴

While none of *Der Kinderfreund*’s engravings depicts an actual performance of a play or Singspiel, contemporary engravings show the omnipresence of the female accompanist in scenes of domestic performance. Figure 0.1, in the Introduction, was one such image; two others are reproduced in Figures 2.2a and 2.2b.

⁵² Priscilla Stuckey claims that this represents a simple “triumph of the [...] Law of the Father”; Stuckey, “Light Dispels Darkness: Gender, Ritual, and Society in Mozart’s ‘The Magic Flute,’” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 11/1 (1995): 7. Other scholars have noted similar “abjections of the maternal” elsewhere in German drama—in Lessing, for instance. See Susan E. Gustafson, *Absent Mothers and Orphaned Fathers: Narcissism and Abjection in Lessing’s Aesthetic and Dramatic Production* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 121: “It is, specifically, the maternal remnant in Sara, Emilia, and Recha that must be abjected before the daughters can join their fathers as *subjects* (or better yet objects) of admiration.” Emphasis Gustafson’s. See also Mary Hunter, “‘Pamela’: The Offspring of Richardson’s Heroine in Eighteenth-Century Opera,” *Mosaic* 18/4 (1985): 61-76; and Toni Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture 1680-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially Part Two (“Monstrous Motherhood: Violence, Difference, and the Subversion of Maternal Ideals”), 94-96.

⁵³ Gail Hart, *Tragedy in Paradise: Family and Gender politics in German Bourgeois Tragedy, 1750-1850* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1996), 4-5. This turn is also addressed in Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900* [1985], trans. Michael Metteer with Chris Cullens (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

⁵⁴ Reiner Wild refers to the mother’s role as that of a “Stellvertreter” (deputy). See Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter*, 218-221.

Figure 2.2a. “Der Mensch in Beschäftigung mit dem Schönen”⁵⁵



Figure 2.2b. Title engraving, *Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: Frühlingslieder* (Vienna: Alberti, 1791)⁵⁶



The children’s works that enlisted songs and embedded festivals as means of uniting the newly emotional family generally did so within the confines of the domestic

⁵⁵ Detail, Daniel Chodowiecki [ill.], “Der Mensch in Beschäftigung mit dem Schönen,” from *Darstellung von Gegensatzpaaren*, in Karl Philipp Moritz, *Versuch einer kleinen praktischen Kinderlogik welche auch zum Theil für Lehrer und Denker geschrieben ist* (Berlin, 1786), *Pictura Paedagogica Online*, Web, 14 July 2011 http://www.bbf.dipf.de/cgi-opac/bil.pl?t_direct=x&fullsize=yes&f_IDN=b0087893berl&transit=getback%3Dstdmask%26f_sw%3Dhausmusik%26t_kombi%3DSuche%2Bstarten>. The “opposite” in this pair, incidentally, is a lone man studying at his desk in the evening.

⁵⁶ More on this collection in Chapter 3.

space. But the world outside the drawing-room could intervene, with potentially devastating consequences. In 1778-79, the German-speaking lands suffered the War of the Bavarian Succession, the first major conflict since the Seven Years' War (1756-63). For the generation of children who subscribed to *Der Kinderfreund*, this was the first war in living memory, and Weisse and others addressed the conflict openly, creating poems, plays, and Singspiels dealing with war's complex challenges to the carefree naiveté so prized at this time. These works are listed in Appendix 2.3; I will focus on the two war dramas by Weisse himself, *Der Abschied* (The Departure, 1778) and *Die Friedensfeyer* (The Peace Festival, 1779).

Neither Weisse nor his fellow children's authors had ever shied away from the more somber challenges of childhood—the wealth of poems in *Der Kinderfreund* on the death of a playmate or sibling, for instance, attests to a desire to offer a means of coping with what was, in this age of high infant mortality, a distressingly frequent occurrence. What was new about the war dramas was their acknowledgment of a broader, civic benefit to the reinscription of familial intimacy. As Weisse has one of the fictional family friends remark in the discussion that follows the presentation of *Die Friedensfeyer*, “The disorder of war results in the disorder of the state, of bourgeois society, of every private house.”⁵⁷ If the damage was visited down this chain of replicating spheres of social harmony, the work of repair, it stood to reason, should begin from the home and work its way back up to the locus of state authority. *Der Abschied* and *Die Friedensfeyer* thus made concrete the implicit belief that the healing of the bonds between parents and children could, in turn, heal the bonds between ruler and ruled—and, even beyond that, between God and man.⁵⁸

Der Abschied and *Die Friedensfeyer* make symbolic use of idealized children as savior figures and peace brokers, and self-reflexive songs and rituals figure here, as they did in the drawing-room children's theatricals—but their power is now much greater. Whereas works such as Rode's *Der Ausgang* had presented children's songs as capable of cementing familial integrity and intimacy, those in *Der Abschied* and *Die Friedensfeyer* are treated as though they can actually rescue a beloved father from the perils of war, even from death itself. For an age that was ever more preoccupied with the protection of children, this countervailing belief in the child's role as protector marks a significant turn.

Der Abschied, the first of Weisse's two war dramas, was published in *Der Kinderfreund* in summer 1778, at the outset of the war. Like the other plays and Singspiels in the periodical, *Der Abschied* is presented as a found object inspired by a real-world event experienced by Herr Mentor's (fictional) children. We are told that the play suggested itself to the Mentor family's friend—and unofficial “Kapellmeister”—Herr Spirit, after Mentor's sons Karl and Fritz watched the local regiment marching off

⁵⁷ “Die Unordnungen des Krieges ziehen, auch die Unordnung im Staate, in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, in jedem Privathause nach sich.” Weisse, *Der Kinderfreund* 15/208 (26 June 1779): 201.

⁵⁸ For a concise summary of these concentric “Kreise,” reaching all the way up to the ultimate Father, see Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter*, 146.

to war. The play thus dramatizes a family conversation about the departure of husbands, sons, and fathers for the dangers of the battlefield.

Der Abschied takes place on the last night Herr Fortis, an aging local captain, is at home with his family before setting out for war. It includes just one song, “Ich bin zwar noch ein junges Blut” (Although I am still a young blood), whose anonymous setting was tipped in to the periodical.⁵⁹ The bellicose march is sung by Herr Fortis’ eight-year-old son Karl, who naively wishes to take his father’s place in battle—a wish that speaks to the common practice (discussed by the Mentor children in the prelude to *Der Abschied*) of paying someone to occupy one’s spot in the draft. Karl sees this substitution of son for father as no great sacrifice; on the contrary, he sings of his frustration at not being old enough to have gone to war sooner (see Music Example 2.3):

Ich bin zwar noch ein junges Blut,	Although I am still a young blood,
Das wenig Jahre zählt:	Only a few years old,
Doch hab’ ich das an deutschem Muth,	Yet I have in German courage
Was mir am Alter fehlt.	What I lack in age.

Music Example 2.3. “Ich bin zwar noch ein junges Blut” (Karl),
Der Abschied (Scene 7)⁶⁰



⁵⁹ Although the setting is anonymous, Hiller is a likely suspect, given that he was the credited composer of five of the eight preceding free-standing songs in the first six volumes of *Der Kinderfreund* and the friends had already collaborated on nine *Singspiels* together. In the play, however, Karl introduces it as a “borrowed” melody, so it might be an established tune. Weisse, “Der Abschied. Ein Schauspiel für Kinder in Einem Aufzuge,” *Der Kinderfreund* 11/151-156 (23 May to 27 June 1778): 172-175.

⁶⁰ Weisse, “Der Abschied”: n.p. (btw. 172 and 173).

In the ninth of thirteen verses, Karl praises war music, the very kind of music he himself is singing:

Mir ist der Pauck- und Trommelklang	To me the sound of timpani and drum
Die lieblichste Musik:	Is the most charming music;
Das schönste Liedchen ein Gesang	The loveliest ditty a song
Von Angriff, Kampf und Sieg!	Of attack, battle, and victory!

The precocious military fervor conveyed in Karl's song will, ironically, end up saving his father from the battlefield; and this has everything to do with the person to whom Karl is singing. A young prince of the region, preparing to execute the marching orders for the army, has come upon Karl and his sisters in the forest, and, in a twist more than a little reminiscent of *Die Jagd*, he decides to pose as merely another soldier. After hearing "Ich bin zwar noch," he hands Karl a piece of paper and tells him it is a "Lied" for Karl's father, in exchange for the one Karl has just sung. It was this moment that was chosen for the accompanying engraving (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. Detail, engraving, "Der Abschied,"
*Der Kinderfreund*⁶¹



⁶¹ Weisse, "Der Abschied": n.p. [follows 198]. Pictura Paedagogica Online, Web, 4 June 2011, <http://www.bbf.dipf.de/cgi-opac/bil.pl?t_direct=x&fullsize=yes&f_IDN=b0080043berl&transit=getback%3Dstdmask%26f_sw%3Dkinderfreund%26t_kombi%3DSuche%2Bstarten>

Back home, as Fortis opens the sealed “Lied” in the presence of the other children, Karl asks, “What does the little song sound like, [...] Papa?”⁶² Fortis “sings the song” – which is no song at all, but a letter from the prince relieving Fortis of active duty and granting him a generous pension. The prince chose to recognize Karl’s “Ich bin zwar noch” as a coded appeal on behalf of Fortis’ entire family, and fittingly, he coded his own merciful reply in the guise of a song. In this episode, Weisse expands on his own treatment of song in *Die Jagd*. In that earlier work, the aria “Welche königliche Lust” had served as a mask behind which the King could express genuine sentiment while keeping his identity hidden. In *Der Abschied*, song again serves as the agent of royal expression; but here, the prince’s “song” becomes wholly symbolic, a song in name only – it is a pure performative utterance, the ultimate approbation.

That it is a child’s song that prompts the prince’s magnanimity, can be attributed to the Kinderlied’s status as a doubly sincere genre. Music was already considered incapable of dissimulation, “the most unmediated instrument of the soul,” in Johann Gottfried Herder’s words.⁶³ And children were seen as equally spontaneous and guileless, with Herder again drawing an admiring connection between folksong, childhood, and spontaneous emotional expression.⁶⁴ The character of Karl, and his little march, thus embodies what Friedrich Schiller would later identify as quintessentially “naïve: for the wholesomeness of nature acted from out of the child [...] The child looks simply at the need and at the means closest at hand for satisfying it.”⁶⁵ The enormous value the prince puts on Karl’s Lied – in one sense, it buys his father’s freedom – can also be taken prescriptively, prompting the reader to recalibrate the moral value of naïve expression.

In *Die Friedensfeyer*, the second of Weisse’s two war dramas, *Der Abschied*’s single, spontaneously recited song gives way to an elaborate *Festspiel* set-piece, whose performative effect is even more dramatic than saving one’s father from the dangers of the battlefield. *Die Friedensfeyer* was published in the weeks that surrounded the signing of the Treaty of Teschen in June 1779, and in a literal staging of contemporary events, the play culminates in a representation of a village peace festival in its entirety. This monumental tableau, with its cast of nineteen children and five adults, and its eight discrete musical numbers – all set by Hiller – far exceeds any other in *Der Kinderfreund*. Here, music acts as the catalyst for a mutual interplay of drama, ritual, and the action of the plot.

Die Friedensfeyer’s peace festival is hosted by the family of the local nobleman Herr von Athelswerth, who is himself absent from the proceedings. Having fallen ill on

⁶² “Wie klappt denn das Liedchen, [...] Papa!” Weisse, “Der Abschied,” 190.

⁶³ “Töne, die das unmittelbarste Instrument auf die Seele sind.” Johann Gottfried von Herder, “Viertes Wäldchen” [1769, unpublished], in Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Berlin: Weidmann, 1878), vol. 4, 161.

⁶⁴ In Johann Gottfried Herder, “On Recent German Literature: First Collection of Fragments [1767],” in *Selected Early Works, 1764-1767: Addresses, Essays, and Drafts; Fragments on Recent German Literature*, ed. Ernest A. Menze and Karl Menges, trans. Ernest A. Menze with Michael Palma (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 105.

⁶⁵ Schiller, “On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry [1795/6],” in Schiller, *Essays*, 186.

his return from the front, he is feared dead. With melancholy fortitude, Athelswerth's children participate in the ceremony, the culmination of which will be the unveiling of a monument to their father. Unbeknownst to the family, Athelswerth has returned and is awaiting the climactic moment of the festival to reveal himself—in a somewhat Homeric take on the familiar King-in-disguise plot from *Die Jagd*.

Historical peace commemorations in the German-speaking lands had long included children as symbolic figures. Ever since the first Augsburg *Kinder-Friedensfest*, held to honor the Peace of Westphalia (the 1648 treaty that ended the Thirty Years' War), the poems, engravings, and public rituals that marked the ends of wars had carved out a special role for children as participants, witnesses, and guarantors of the peace. Appendix 2.4 reproduces two images of children's peace festivals: the Augsburg *Kinder-Friedensfest* of 1770 and a 1792 imagining of the Nuremberg Peace Festival in 1648. Both demonstrate the important role played by the young in personifying an entire city's vulnerable populace, rescued by its benevolent Father-Prince through his heroic actions on the battlefield.⁶⁶

After the signing of the treaty that ended the War of the Bavarian Succession, a similar civic festival was celebrated throughout Saxony on 6 June 1779: the *Allgemeines Friedens-Dankfest* (Universal Festival in Thanksgiving for the Peace). Children were a conspicuous part of the living iconography of the festivities, helping to cement the sought-after unity of feeling. They led processions, scattered flowers, sang folk songs and hymns, and presented gifts to returning heroes.⁶⁷ The festival in Halberstadt included the presentation of inscribed wreaths by a group of girls dressed in green and white gardener's dresses. The youngest of the girls, a "Demoiselle Klöcker," presented a wreath of roses and myrtle to the returning Crown Prince of Brunswick; a newspaper account described her as "a girl, in whose face one could read the joy of the whole city."⁶⁸ Demoiselle Klöcker had become more than just a participant in her city's festival—she was peace incarnate, the means by which a multitude of townspeople were reconfigured into a single, communal emotional display.

As the many newspaper accounts made clear, music was as central as children to the ceremonial sealing of the peace. Local reports almost invariably included descriptions of the music: from the hymns, *Te Deum* settings, cantatas, and other *Gelegenheitsmusik* for the church services, to the trumpet-and-drum fanfares that awakened the villages before dawn, or the bagpipes that accompanied the villagers'

⁶⁶ On the historical significance of the Augsburg peace festivals, see *Das Friedensfest: Augsburg und die Entwicklung einer neuzeitlichen Toleranz-, Friedens- und Festkultur*, ed. Johannes Burkhardt and Stephanie Haberer (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000); and "Die Augsburger Friedensgemälde," Medienserver der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Web, 30 October 2008, <<http://www.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/dda/graph/friedensgemaelde/>>

⁶⁷ Anonymous, *Leipziger Zeitungen* (16 June 1779): 529; Anon., "Teschen den 10 June," *Leipziger Zeitungen* (5 July 1779): 586-587; Anon., "Beltzig den 13 Jun," *Leipziger Zeitungen* (21 June 1779): 543.

⁶⁸ "[...] ein Mädchen, in dessen Gesicht man die Freude der ganzen Stadt lesen könnte." "Halberstadt, 9 June," *Augspurgische Ordinari Postzeitung* (25 June 1779): n.p. See also "Halberstadt, den 9 June," *Leipziger Zeitungen* (23 June 1779): 549-550.

folk-dancing.⁶⁹ These festivals were as much soundscapes as they were visual displays, and by reading about their nearly omnipresent musical underscoring (and perhaps singing some of the named hymns at home), all of Saxony could reproduce the unifying effects of this “universal” event.

Peace plays like *Die Friedensfeyer* allowed readers to stage within the home the kind of civic commemoration that was taking the place of court spectacle in this increasingly urban age. And like the real-world festivals, these works often employed music allegorically. In one, Johann Christoph Bock’s *Es ist Friede*, the character most skeptical of the peace expresses his cynicism thus: “War is, in the world, like a fugue in music, and a fugue must go through all the keys before it closes back in its proper key; so must the war-makers travel through all the countryside before they come back to their own country.”⁷⁰ When the peace is officially declared at the end of the play, this same character looks forward to the music to be performed at the celebrations, “as long as it’s not a fugue!”⁷¹ Simple, pleasing sounds were thus granted an almost superstitious role in the preservation of social harmonies. And when those “pleasing sounds” come from the mouths of youngsters, the effect was redoubled.

Die Friedensfeyer’s peace festival opens with a procession not unlike those that took place on 6 June throughout Saxony. Leading the way are the three youngest children of Herr von Athelswerth. Then follow two boys representing Peace and Spring. Behind them, girls and boys carry traditional emblems of peace and prosperity: a flower basket, a horn of plenty, a thresher, doves, a lamb, etc. The children assemble into a tableau on the stage facing their conductor (who is also their tutor), and in a series of strophic songs, duets, and trios punctuated by a refrain, they sing of flowers blooming, fields returning to fruit, the returned soldier laying his sword away to rust, and doves turning war helmets into nests. Weisse uses only the present tense here, as though the children describe a renewal that is taking place before their eyes. This encourages spectators to join in an imaginative conflation of past, present, and future, an act of prolepsis that promises to seal the peace for years to come.

In one of the two songs sung by the three Athelswerth children, “Müttern, die voll Herzeleid” (Heartbroken mothers), each child describes a different family member left behind by the soldier’s call to arms (see Music Example 2.4a). First, August sings of

⁶⁹ Such accounts even appear in *Der Kinderfreund*, in the issue immediately following *Die Friedensfeyer*. Weisse, *Der Kinderfreund* 15/208 (26 June 1779): 206-208. On the musical profile of the seventeenth-century Augsburg peace festivals, see Claire Gantet, “The Augsburg Friedensfest in the Context of German Peace Celebrations,” in *Das Friedensfest*.

⁷⁰ “Krieg ist in der Welt, was eine Fuge in der Musik ist; und eine Fuge muß durch alle Töne gehn, ehe sie wieder in ihrem rechten Tone schließt; also müssen die Kriegsvölker auch erst durch alle Lande gehn, eh’ sie wieder in ihr rechtes Land kommen...” Johann Christoph Bock, *Es ist Friede. Ein ländliches Drama in inem Aufzuge von J. C. Bock. Zur Feyer des Friedenschlusses zu Teschen* (Leipzig: S. L. Crusius, 1779), 14-15. Unlike *Die Friedensfeyer*, there is evidence of a public performance of *Es ist Friede* as part of Leipzig’s celebration of the Peace of Teschen—the published play’s cast list includes the names of the performers for each role.

⁷¹ “Werd’ auch dafür zum Preise des Friedens eine Lob- und Danckmusik aufführen, gnädiger Herr; aber ohne Fuge, ohne Fuge!” Bock, “Es ist Friede,” 58.

the mothers who worry about their sons' safety; then Mienchen describes the children who weep in their mother's lap for their absent father; and finally, Fritze sings of the lonely wives who tremble day and night for their husbands.

Music Example 2.4a. "Müttern, die voll Herzeleid" (Athelswerth children),
Die Friedensfeyer (Act II, Scene 16)⁷²

12 Etwas langsam.

August.

No. VI.

Müttern, die voll Herzeleid
 die geraubten Ehnen klagen, und voll
 wahrer Barmherzigkeit für ihr theures

rescendo.

All three children join together for the triumphant reversal of this unhappy situation, signaled musically by the shift from duple to compound duple meter and the final attainment of the long-prepared relative major (see Music Example 2.4b):

Allen giebt er sie zurück!
 Gatten, Söhne, Väter, Brüder,
 Allen giebt er jedes Glück
 Ihres ganzen Lebens wieder.

He [Peace] gives it back to all of them!
 Husbands, sons, fathers, brothers,
 to all of them he gives back
 the happiness of their whole lives.⁷³

⁷² *Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft* [piano-vocal score] (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1779), 12.

⁷³ Weisse, "Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft. Ein Lustspiel für Kinder in Zwey Aufzügen," *Der Kinderfreund* 15/201-207 (8 May to 19 June 1779): 181.

Music Example 2.4b. “Allen giebt er sie zurück” (Athelswerth children),
Die Friedensfeyer (Act II, Scene 16)⁷⁴

As this song ends, the rear curtain rises, revealing the most interior region of the stage, in which stands the monument created in their father’s likeness. As the musicians play an instrumental repeat of the 6/8 tune from offstage, the three children turn to crown the monument. In place of the stone stands their father, in the flesh—a transubstantiation that fulfills the religious connotations of the play’s subtitle, “die unvermuthete Wiederkunft” (which can be translated as “the unexpected reappearance,” but also refers to the Second Coming; see Figure 2.4). Reacting to this joyful surprise, the children repeat the 6/8 tune (Music Example 2.4b), this time with a new text:

Auch ihn, unsern Vater, giebt
 Itzt der Fried’ uns wieder!
 Keiner ward, wie er, geliebt,
 Liebt, wie er, uns wieder.

Now Peace also gives
 Him, our father, back to us!
 No one was as beloved as him
 Loves us again, like him.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Die Friedensfeyer* [piano-vocal score], 16.

⁷⁵ Weisse, “Die Friedensfeyer,” 184.

Figure 2.4. Engraving, “Die Friedensfeyer,”
*Der Kinderfreund*⁷⁶



But this is only the first of two “Wiederkünfte.” Athelswerth has secretly brought his eldest daughter Malchen’s young fiancé back from the front with him, and as a pretext to announce this second surprise return, he tells his other children that they “forgot something in [their] previous song.”⁷⁷ He then proceeds to add a fourth category to the list of despairing family members: brides, who, “lonely and afraid” (“einsam, bang”), sing out their laments over the mountains and valleys like the inconsolable

⁷⁶ Weisse, *Der Kinderfreund* 15 (1779): Frontispiece. Pictura Paedagogica Online, Web, 10 July 2011, <http://www.bbf.dipf.de/cgi-opac/bil.pl?t_direct=x&fullsize=yes&f_IDN=b0080060berl&transit=getback%3Dstdmask%26f_sw%3Dfriedensfeyer%26t_kombi%3DSuche%2Bstarten>

⁷⁷ “Ja ja, deine Geschwister haben in ihrem vorhergehenden Liedchen etwas vergessen.” Weisse, “Die Friedensfeyer,” 185.

nightingale.⁷⁸ Hiller sets this new text to an abridged reprise of the minor-mode duple-meter section (Music Example 2.4a). Once Athelswerth lands on the dominant of the relative major, just before the 6/8, he stops the ceremony altogether, calling on the child representing Peace to go fetch the young bridegroom (who, again, waits upstage at the farthest remove from the audience). After this second scene of reunion—a conjugal recognition to follow on the filial recognition—the chorus sings its own version of the 6/8 tune (Music Example 2.4b), with the bride and bridegroom taking the place of the children and their father:

Auch dem lieben Malchen giebt	Also to the beloved Malchen he
Er den Bräut'gam wieder!	Gives back her bridegroom!
Keiner ward, wie er, geliebt,	No one was as beloved as him,
Liebt, wie er, sie wieder.	Loves her again, like him. ⁷⁹

The children's peace ritual has now been elided with an operatic *lieto fine*, complete with the promise of marital union.

Die Friedensfeyer's festival-within-the-play seems to point to a larger, collective hope that all forms of peace commemoration—public, private, civic, religious, theatrical—might do more than just bear witness to the peace: they might also help to perpetuate it, year after year. However, the throngs of children in *Die Friedensfeyer*, Karl in *Der Abschied*, even Demoiselle Klöcker in Brunswick, had only a passive and symbolic ability to influence those who make war or peace. Indeed, these ceremonies, plays, and operas may have been less a means of affecting the course of history than reconciling the performers to their impotence. As Carola Cardi argues of *Die Friedensfeyer*, the peace ritual's association of the cycles of war and peace with the cycles of the seasons lifts these human events out of the realm of social reality, and presents them instead as “natural and God-given phenomena,” phenomena that one should expect to return with the same regularity as the seasons.⁸⁰

The proleptic nature of *Die Friedensfeyer's* songs may be a kind of disavowal of influence, signaling a pessimistic view of history. The same can be said of *Der Abschied*, in which, after all, the prince does not (could not possibly) cancel the war altogether; while the Fortis family is saved, countless other families would presumably not be so lucky. In his editorial preface to *Der Abschied*, Herr Mentor encouraged his children—

⁷⁸ “Trostlos wie die Nachtigall, / Daß sie ihren Kummer stillten, / Busch und Ufer, Berg und Thal, / Stets mit lauter Klag' erfüllten.” Weisse, “Die Friedensfeyer,” 185.

⁷⁹ Weisse, “Die Friedensfeyer,” 186.

⁸⁰ “Indem Weiße den Frieden in eine Reihe mit den in der Natur ablaufenden Gesetzmäßigkeiten (Frühling) stellt, hebt er ihn gleichsam aus der sozialen Relität heraus und entrückt ihn hier in eine mystisch verklärte Welt. Damit nehmen für den Leser/Zuschauer die Phänomene Krieg und Frieden den Schein eines von der Entscheidung einzelner unabhängigen Ereignisses an. Sie werden zu naturhaften und gottgegebenen Erscheinungen, die schicksalhaft über die Menschen hereinbrechen.” Carola Cardi, “Christian Felix Weiße (1726-1804): Schauspiele für Kinder. Aus dem Kinderfreunde besonders abgedruckt. 3 Teile. Leipzig 1792,” in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, 186.

and, by proxy, the periodical's young readers—to pray that God would see fit to end the War of the Bavarian Succession,

because he alone knows what is best. [...] Do not judge the rights of the warring parties: it is not for children to decide matters they do not understand. People laugh at you; and when adults do it, they are called, after a certain farce from a Danish playwright, 'Political Tinkerer.'⁸¹

A similar impotence is written into *Die Friedensfeyer*. As "Herr Mentor" remarks in an epilogue to *Die Friedensfeyer*, "The foregoing *Lustspiel* [...] was not performed by [my children], nor could it be, as my readers well know."⁸² The play's calculatedly impossible staging seems to undermine its performative power in the real world, to deny the kind of renewal doubtless sought by many of Weisse's young readers, caught up as they were in the same post-war trauma as their Athelswerth counterparts. Both the young and the subjects of a draft were thus drawn together by their mutually shared powerlessness—by a kind of political infantilization. Neither were at liberty to wage war or make peace—only to mourn the former, rejoice at the latter, and expect the former to return again some day.⁸³ The real-world agency of such "Unmündige" (minorities), in other words, was as limited as their fictional agency was limitless.

One could read Weisse's retreat from staging *Die Friedensfeyer* cynically. Or one could simply understand its reading- and singing-out as sufficient therapeutic exercise. Herr Mentor continues to say that his family "read [*Die Friedensfeyer*] aloud with all the liveliness that the dialogue could offer, and enjoyed themselves thoroughly doing so."⁸⁴ The children's traversal of the emotional transition from war to peacetime is a kind of imaginative rebirth, one that makes the stone father flesh and blood. And their real-world counterparts effected a similar traversal. What is most important, in this play at

⁸¹ "denn er allein weiß, was das Beste ist. [...] Urtheilet nicht über die Gerechtsamen der kämpfenden Partheyen: denn es steht zumal Kindern gar nicht an, wenn sie über Dinge entscheiden wollen, die sie nicht verstehen, und höchstens eben so Unverständigen nachbeten. Euch lacht man aus; und wenn es Erwachsene thun, so nennt man sie, nach einem gewissen Possenspiele eines dänischen Schriftstellers, politische Kannengießer." Weisse, *Der Kinderfreund* 11/151-156 (23 May to 27 June 1778): 114-115. Weisse here refers to the 1722 five-act comedy by Ludvig Holberg, *Den Politiske Kandestøber* (usually translated as *The Political Tinkerer* or *The Pewterer turned Politician*)

⁸² "Das vorstehendes kleine Lustspiel [...] nicht von ihnen ist aufgeföhret worden, und nicht aufgeföhret werden konnte, werden meine jungen Leser leicht glauben." Weisse, "Die Friedensfeyer," 192.

⁸³ The drawn-out peace negotiations that eventually ended the War of the Bavarian Succession were shrouded in mystery, leading to wildly contradictory rumors circulating for months in the local newspapers. The *Leipziger Zeitungen* confessed more than once, with undertones of frustration, that Germans from Silesia to Berlin "didn't know whether to hope or to fear." See "Aus Schlesien den 6 Jan.," *Leipziger Zeitungen* (21 January 1779): 65; and "Berlin den 26 Jan.," *Leipziger Zeitungen* (9 February 1779): 121.

⁸⁴ "Indessen lasen sie es mit aller der Lebhaftigkeit ab, die der Dialog erfodert, und vergnügten sich herzlich dabey." Weisse, "Die Friedensfeyer," 192.

least, is the emotional compact between parents and children, that sense—articulated in Schiller’s *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*—that both young and old were incomplete in and of themselves:

They *are* what we *were*; they are what we *should become* once more [...] What constitutes their character is exactly what our lacks to be perfect. What distinguishes us from them is exactly what they lack to be divinelike. We are free and what they are is necessary; we alter, they remain one. Yet only if both are combined with one another—only if the will freely adheres to the law of necessity and reason maintains its rule in the face of every change in the imagination, only then does the divine or the ideal emerge.⁸⁵

The father cannot make his “unexpected return” without a ritual to lend it the proper context; equally, the children cannot “bring their father back to life” unless he is actually there, in the flesh, hiding in the place where the children expect the statue to be. The force of the Fortis and Athelswerth children’s songs, in other words, is more exemplary than didactic. Their utterances give voice that antipathy, expressed by the Mentor family friend in the discussion that follows on *Die Friedensfeyer*, toward “[t]he disorder of war” —in other words, to the pacifism that represents the best impulse of mankind as a whole. The sentimental encounter between parents and children attains its ultimate goal, with songs serving as the unit of emotional currency, symbolizing and reinscribing the mutual, and deeply moral, interdependence of young and old.

⁸⁵ Schiller, “On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry [1795-1796],” in *Essays*, ed. Walter Hinderer and Daniel O. Dahlstrom, The German Library 17 (New York: Continuum, 1993), 180-181. I am grateful to Nicholas Mathew for this reference.

Chapter 3 Kinderlieder and the Work of Play

The secular takeover of education by philosopher-reformers during the Enlightenment ushered in a simple but far-reaching shift in pedagogical thinking: the notion that education could (and should) be playful, and that play could (and should) be educational. John Locke was among the first to posit the utilitarian conflation of the two endeavors.¹ Until Locke, children's play had generally been seen as a pleasant but largely unproductive respite from work and learning, requiring no special monitoring on the part of adults.² It was Locke who, in his 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, first suggested that unstructured play was a moral gamble, observing, "All the plays and diversions of children should be directed towards good and useful habits, or else they will introduce ill ones."³

Locke's philosophy of play was taken up by Johann Bernhard Basedow, the primary pedagogical innovator in Germany. In his curriculum for the Philanthropinum, the influential experimental school he founded in Dessau in 1774, lessons would be disguised as games like Simon Says and Twenty Questions.⁴ But the conflation of learning and play also ran in the other direction: in *Das Elementarwerk*, Basedow's answer to *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and *Emile*, little girls were instructed to treat their dolls according to the manner in which they observed their nannies caring for the small children in their midst. That way, Basedow urged, the girls could one day be prepared to help their mothers and aunts with the care of the real children in their own families.⁵ Not even infants were exempt from the pedagogical imperative:

¹ "I have always had a fancy that *learning* might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honor, credit, delight and recreation or as a reward for doing something else and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it." John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education and Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, ed. Ruth W. Grant and Nathan Tarcov (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), 114. See also Kevin J. Brehony, "Theories of Play," in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 3: 827-828, and John W. Yolton, "Locke: Education for Virtue," in *Philosophers on Education: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (London: Routledge, 1998), 184.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau was more sympathetic to this older view than Locke, at least in principle, asserting that "all of childhood is or ought to be only games and frolicsome play," and that play is "nothing but relaxation from" work. Of course, these assertions are belied by *Emile's* conception of a child's total surroundings as a vast, intricately designed laboratory of ceaseless moral instruction. Rousseau, *Emile* [2010], 296 and 323, respectively.

³ Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 101.

⁴ [Johann Gottlieb Schummel], *Fritzens Reise nach Dessau* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1776), 54 and 56.

⁵ Basedow, *Das Elementarwerk* [1770], reprinted in *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärungszeit*, 174.

We like to play with infants. But one can make this fun more useful than it is. [...] Every game, every joke with infants or with children who are not much older, must be set up with the aim of fostering knowledge of objects and their names, and as training in the elements of language and other parts of the body.⁶

Where once play had been a form of refreshment or a simple expression of affection, Basedow hastened its reconstitution as a kind of training exercise.

The new ideal of utilitarian play left little room for music, at least to judge from the principal British and French pedagogical treatises of the period. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, John Locke wrote that music “wastes so much of a young man’s time to gain but a moderate skill in it; and engages often in such odd company, that many think it much better spared.”⁷ Sixty years later, Rousseau’s *Emile* continued to treat extensive musical training with an attitude of skeptical forbearance, concluding, “Teach it as you wish, provided that it is never anything but an amusement.”⁸ According to Rousseau, sophisticated musical expression was beyond the juvenile mind; children’s singing, he observed, “never has soul,” nor should it, for such would evince an artifice against which children were to be shielded as long as possible.⁹ “Imitative and theatrical music is not for his [Emile’s] age,” Rousseau warned, referring at this point in the book to the years roughly between ages three and thirteen. “I would not even want him to sing words. If he wanted to, I would try to write songs especially for him, interesting for his age and as simple as his ideas.”¹⁰ Thus did Rousseau issue the call for a repertoire of children’s song.

That call was elaborated by German pedagogues, who were on the whole more optimistic than either the English or the French about music’s capacity to serve an edifying purpose for children—and more exercised about its obligation to do so. In an article published in the moral weekly *Der Nordische Aufseher* (The Nordic Guardian) the same year as *Emile*, pedagogue Gottfried Benedict Funk issued what

⁶ “Man spielt gern mit Säuglingen. Aber man könnte diesen Scherz nützlicher machen, als er ist. [...] Jedes Spiel, jeder Scherz mit Säuglingen oder mit Kindern, die nicht viel älter sind, muß mit Absicht auf Kenntniß der Gegenstände und ihrer Namen, und auf Vorübungen der Sprachglieder und anderer Theile des Leibes eingerichtet sein.” Basedow, *Aus dem Elementarwerk*, in J. B. Basedow’s *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Hugo Göring (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 1880), 273-274.

⁷ Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 150.

⁸ “[...] Enseignez-la comme vous voudrez pourvu qu’elle ne soit jamais qu’un amusement.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* [1762], 418; *Emile* [2010], 293.

⁹ “La musique imitative & théâtrale n’est pas de son âge.” Rousseau, *Emile* [1762], 413; *Emile* [2010], 291.

¹⁰ “Je ne voudrois pas même qu’il chantât des paroles; s’il en vouloit chanter, je tâcherois de lui faire des chansons exprès, intéressantes pour son âge, & aussi simples que ses idées.” Rousseau, *Emile* [1762], 413; *Emile* [2010], 292.

was in all likelihood the first call for music to take a prominent role in education.¹¹ After lamenting the dearth of contemporary thinkers and writers who were familiar with music, Funk cited the example of the Greeks, for whom musical knowledge was as essential as general literacy, in support of his assertion regarding the ethical role of fine arts instruction for children. Holding that music was the best of the arts for the young due to its proximity to the rhythms of their natural play, he argued:

Certain useful exercises can be just as light and fun as their own usual games. They learn light and pretty verses as quickly as a vulgar cradle-song from their wet-nurse. They hear told a charming fable in verse or in prose, or a marvelous and moving story, as willingly as a gruesome fairy tale from their governess. They can let themselves be taught to sing or play musical instruments as happily as when they build houses of cards; and their taste for the beautiful and the regular forms itself as lightly and unnoticeably as it can be corrupted by misdeed.¹²

It is evident here that the utilitarian conflation of learning and play was not to take place on play's terms. The evaluative binary pairs Funk employed, denigrating "vulgar cradle-songs," "gruesome fairy tales," and "houses of cards" against more edifying musical endeavors, demonized unchecked play and exposure to off-color, low-class texts, summoning the spectre of the distracted, even corrupting, guardian. Such dangers stood to be at least counteracted, if not altogether negated, by the production of wholesome musical entertainments for children, a repertoire of songs that drew on the same qualities – accessibility, sincerity, enjoyability – prized in Lieder more broadly.¹³ "I have wished," Funk mused,

¹¹ Phoebe M. Luehrs, *Der Nordische Aufseher. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der moralischen Wochenschriften*, Ph.D. thesis, Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg (Heidelberg: Rössler and Herbert, 1909), 103. Gottfried Benedict Funk, "Die Musik, als ein Theil einer guten Erziehung," *Der Nordische Aufseher* 80 (1762): 239-257. *Der Nordische Aufseher* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1758-1762) was edited by the German priest and author Johann Andreas Cramer, then court chaplain in Copenhagen. Funk was a colleague of Cramer's and tutor to his children in Copenhagen; he is responsible for three other articles on musical topics in *Der Nordische Aufseher*. He would later become rector of the Domschule in Magdeburg, site of the *Mittwochgesellschaft* that brought together Johann Heinrich Rolle and Johann Samuel Patzke, about whom more later in this chapter. See Janet Best Pyatt, *Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Music Dramas of Johann Heinrich Rolle (1716-1785)* (Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1991), 65.

¹² "Gewisse nützliche Beschäftigungen sind ihnen eben so leicht und angenehm, als ihre gewöhnlichen Spiele. Sie lernen eben so bald leichte und schöne Verse, als ein abgeschmacktes Wiegen-Lied der Amme. Sie hören eben so gern eine anmuthige Fabel in Versen oder in Prosa, und eine wunderbare und rührende Geschichte erzählen, als ein Hexenmärchen ihrer Wärterin. Sie lassen sich eben so gern im Singen oder auf einem musicalischen Instrumente unterrichten, als sie Kartenhäuser bauen; und ihr Geschmack bildet sich eben so leicht und unvermerkt zu dem Schönen und Regelmäßigen, als er durch das Schlechte verdorben werden kan." Funk, "Die Musik": 247-248.

¹³ See James Parsons, "Lied, III: Lieder c1740-c1800," *Grove Music Online*, Web, 3 May 2010, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16611>>

that [...] a collection could be made available that one could give to children without concern. The pieces therein would have been selected with care, both as to the intentions of the poetry, and to the music. One would have to seek out light and pretty poems that contained nothing that could present the slightest danger to the innocence of the morals; and the music would have to be likewise light, singable, natural, expressive, and appropriate to the contents of the verse.¹⁴

Ten years after its appearance in *Der nordische Aufseher*, Funk's article was reprinted in pedagogue Christian Gottfried Böckh's *Wochenschrift zum besten der Erziehung der Jugend* (Weekly for the Improvement of the Upbringing of the Young). In his introduction, Böckh observed approvingly that "[t]his wish [i.e., Funk's] is now fulfilled through the excellent composition of the Lieder of Weisse, Gellert, Hagedorn, and Lavater."¹⁵ Those four poets, along with many other poets and composers, had in the intervening period been responsible for an explosion of Lieder oriented specifically toward a young readership, as can be seen in the list reproduced as Appendix 3.1. Kinderlieder were by no means obscure curios: with reviews in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, multiple printings and volumes, and the publishing of individual songs in many of the more prominent children's periodicals of the age, we can assume a sizable readership for Kinderlieder—as many as 500,000 readers, according to some estimates.¹⁶

¹⁴ "Ich wünschte, daß zu dieser Absicht eine Sammlung vorhanden seyn möchte, die man Kindern ohne Bedenken in die Hände geben könnte. Die darinn enthaltene Stücke müßten sowohl in Absicht auf die Poesie, als auf die Musik mit vieler Behutsamkeit gewählt werden. Man müßte dazu leichte und schöne Poesien aussuchen, die nichts enthielten, was der Unschuld der Sitten im geringsten gefährlich seyn könnte; und die Musik müßte ebenfalls leicht, singbar, natürlich, ausdrückend, und dem Inhalte der Verse angemessen seyn." Funk, "Die Musik": 254-255.

¹⁵ "Dieser Wunsch ist nun durch die vortreffliche Composition der Weisichen, Gellert-Hagedorn- und Lavaterischen Lieder erfüllt." Böckh, "Von dem Einfluß der Musik in eine gute Erziehung," *Wochenschrift zum besten der Erziehung der Jugend* 4/27 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1772): 420.

¹⁶ Print run statistics for the song collections are difficult to come by, but there is more information available for the periodicals. Over the course of three printings, *Der Kinderfreund* had a print run of 10,000 and may have been read by as many as 100,000 children in Germany alone, according to one estimate. Hurrelmann, *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit*, cited in Heckle, "'Ein lehrreiches und nützliches Vergnügen,'" 328-329. Hurrelmann arrives at her figure thus: The first three printings of *Der Kinderfreund* were 3000, 3000, and 4000 copies, respectively. Assuming up to ten readers per copy (given the average size of households and schools holding subscriptions, and taking into account formal and informal lending libraries). This does not count the 15,000 copies claimed by Weisse to have been printed in Austria, nor foreign translations.

In all, some forty-three German-language children's periodicals were published in the last third of the eighteenth century, which together totaled an estimated readership of nearly 500,000, or around 1.6% of the 30 million inhabitants of the German lands. Annette Uphaus-Wehmeier indicates forty-three in her *Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* –

With ties to both devotional and folk song, Kinderlieder shared in the didactic aims of the former, and the cultural aspirations of the latter. But as with the Kinderoperetten, there was more at stake to this repertoire than socialization and nationalism, as prominent as those issues are in the discourse. Precocity, propriety, and authenticity also figure in the songs. As with the previous chapters, a self-reflexive trope links these issues together in both the discourse and the repertoire: this time, it is play. A complex synecdoche for the aims of the Kinderlied itself, play was also a highly contested sphere of activity for children, whether troublingly sexualized, impossibly idealized, or coopted as a form of habituation. The often conflicting ways various Kinderlieder treat the theme of play suggests that the notion of childhood as a wholly distinct, protected stage of life was by no means a *fait accompli* in the eighteenth century, and they provide an important corrective to the tendency to reduce this genre to its dominant strains of didacticism and nostalgia.¹⁷

As with children's literature more generally, the audience for Kinderlieder was never conceived as exclusively or even primarily children, but also included their parents, tutors, and caregivers.¹⁸ In the rising commercial print market, the producers of Kinderlieder capitalized on what has now become a venerable advertising stratagem: the stoking of consumer anxiety to generate and sustain a perceived need for a new product. Such is the motivation behind the preface to the first set of Kinderlieder to appear in any print medium: those included in a 1766 issue of the moral weekly *Der Greis* (The Old Man).¹⁹ Editor Johann Samuel Patzke,

Jugendzeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte (Munich, 1984), cited in Hains-Heino Ewers and Annegret Völpel, "Kinder- und Jugendzeitschriften," in *Von Almanach bis Zeitung: Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800*, ed. Ernst Fischer, Wilhelm Haefs, and York-Gothart Mix (Munich: Beck, 1999), 141. Sophie Köberle, writing twelve years earlier, had a more conservative number (nineteen). See Köberle, *Jugendliteratur zur Zeit der Aufklärung: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jugendschriftenkritik* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1972), 77.

¹⁷ The principal scholarly literature on the Kinderlied includes Marjorie Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Thomas Freitag, *Kinderlied: Von der Vielfalt einer musikalischen Liedgattung* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001); Katharina Schilling-Sandvoß, "Kinderlieder des 18. Jahrhunderts als Ausdruck der Vorstellungen vom Kindsein," in *Geschlechtsspezifische Aspekte des Musiklernens*, ed. Hermann J. Kaiser, *Musikpädagogische Forschung 17* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1996); and Paul Corneilson, "Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: A Context for Mozart's Songs K. 596-598," unpublished conference paper, 2010.

¹⁸ See Gerold Heckle, "'Ein lehrreiches und nützliches Vergnügen' – Das Kauf- und Lesepublikum der Kinderzeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Wege zur Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. Manfred Bobrowsky and Wolfgang R. Langenbucher, *Schriftenreihe der deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 13* (Munich: Ölschläger, 1987), 328.

¹⁹ *Der Greis* 158-159 (12 February 1766): 97-103. Patzke was a pastor in Magdeburg, Saxony-Anhalt. For a brief English-language introduction to the narrative conceit, contents, and

in the guise of his aged alter-ego, prefaced the songs with the observation that children seeking out music to sing were either confronted with large and inaccessibly difficult works, or collections of short songs that “have no other contents besides wine and love.”²⁰ The “old man” described visits his niece Clelie had recently received from some of her girlfriends. One of them

would go to the organ and sing and play such Lieder as were the expression of an impure heart, and that made me wish that that which might in other contexts be an adornment, would not be made into the spoiling of a soul.²¹

Such songs, Patzke wrote, might appear harmless to adults, who had already established a firm moral code. But the weak and impressionable hearts of the young, he insisted, must be exposed to songs that wed a pleasing character to lessons in moral truths.²²

The nine Kinderlieder that follow Patzke’s introduction offer an antidote to the “impure” songs to which the old man’s niece had been exposed: the first is a hymn of praise to God, and subsequent songs seek moral lessons in the natural world.²³ Several of the songs seem aimed at a young woman not unlike the fictional Clelie. In “An die Rose,” a child sees a blooming rose and is told by her father that she too is blooming. Another Lied, “Der Rosenstock,” figures pleasure as a danger, an agent of suffering and regret. A kind of *Heidenröslein* five years before the fact, its pastoral association of roses with emergent female sexuality is unmistakable:

Es war mir unbekannt
Daß Rosenstöcke stechen.
Jüngst wollt ich Rosen brechen,

It was unknown to me
That rosebushes sting.
Recently I wanted to break some roses,

aesthetic orientation of *Der Greis*, see Pyatt, *Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, 86-91.

²⁰ “Viele derselben haben keinen andern Inhalt als Wein und Liebe.” Patzke, *Der Greis*: 101.

²¹ “[...] trat eine von ihnen öfters vor den Flügel, und sang und spielte solche Lieder, die der Ausdruck eines unreinen Herzens waren, und die in mir den Wunsch erregten, daß doch dasjenige, was in andrer Absicht eine Zierde ist, nicht das Verderben der Seele werden möchte.” Patzke, *Der Greis*: 100.

²² Patzke, *Der Greis*: 101-102.

²³ Of the composer, Patzke said no more than that he is “one of our best musical artists,” but it was probably the author’s friend and frequent collaborator, composer Johann Heinrich Rolle, who had been the music director for Magdeburg’s six parish churches since 1751, and who was with Patzke a member of the intellectual club called the *Mittwochgesellschaft* (The Wednesday Society). Patzke and Rolle had already collaborated on the cantata *Die Götter und Musen* (The Gods and Muses, 1765), and later in 1766, Rolle would set two music dramas by Patzke whose librettos were originally published in *Der Greis*, with seven more sacred works to follow from the pair over the next fifteen years (including the relatively well-known 1769 *Der Tod Abels*). See Thomas Bauman and Janet B. Pyatt, “Rolle, Johann Heinrich,” in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Web, 9 June 2009, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23711>>

Und stach mich in die Hand.

And was stung in the hand.

O, rief ich! faß es Herz:
Daß noch bey dem Vergnügen
Des Leidens Dornen liegen,
Und noch gränzt Lust und Schmerz.

O, I cried! composing myself:
That yet so close to pleasure
Lie the thorns of pain,
And even joy and pain border each
other.

Die Lehre nimm in Acht;
In des Vergnügens Stunden
Kannst du dich tief verwunden.
Genieß es mit Bedacht.

Take these teachings to heart;
In the hour of pleasure
You can wound yourself deeply.
Enjoy it with prudence.²⁴

As if to highlight the rewards of eschewing such questionable, transitory pleasures, the next song, "Die Freude," celebrates the blessings of naïve joy and the kind of idyllic collective play whose desexualized nature makes for a striking contrast with the destructive "hour's pleasure" alluded to "Der Rosenstock":

Freude, du Begleiterinn
Aller meiner Tage.
Du durchströmest Herz und Sinn
Nichts weiß ich von Klage.

Joy, you companion
Of all my days,
You flow through heart and mind
I know nothing of grief.

Deines Segens Ueberfluß
Dringt durch alle Glieder,
Und der Tanz hebt meinen Fuß
Und du lehrst mich Lieder.

The abundance of your blessing
Pervades every part of me,
And the dance lifts my foot
And you teach me songs.

Hüpfend eil ich in die Reih'n
Lachender Gespielen,
Wo wir alle nur uns freun
Alle ganz nur fühlen.

Hopping I hasten into the ranks
Of laughing playmates,
Where we all only make merry
All feel just right.²⁵

The musical settings reinforce the message of these two texts, even within their narrow stylistic compass. "Der Rosenstock" takes the last word of the poem for its expression marking, "Bedachtsam" (prudently), presenting the young singer with the brittle key of A minor and an austere, almost pecking note-for-note contrapuntal setting that begins with an archaizing point of imitation (see Music Example 3.1). Its palindromic ABBA' form enfolds an interior foray into the relative F major (the "hour's pleasure") within framing phrases in the tonic A minor ("thorns of pain"). "Die Freude," in contrast, proceeds in a robust, martial F major, even illustrating the

²⁴ Patzke, *Der Greis*: 112-113. On sexuality and the pastoral, see Tia de Nora, "The biology lessons of opera buffa: gender, nature, and bourgeois society on Mozart's buffa stage," in *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster, Cambridge Studies in Opera (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 158-160.

²⁵ Patzke, *Der Greis*: 114-115.

child's hopping with murky-bass octaves in the left hand and a leaping gesture in the voice in measures 5-6 (see Music Example 3.2).

Music Example 3.1. "Der Rosenstock,"
in *Der Greis*

Bedenklich.
Es war mir un: be: kannt daß
Ro: sen: stö: cke: ste: hen. Jän: g: l: i: ch: Ro: sen:
bre: chen und sto: ch mich in die Hand.

Music Example 3.2. "Die Freude,"
in *Der Greis*

Süßlich.
Freude du Be: ge: lü: ckerinn aller meiner
Ta: ge. Du durchstreichst Herz und Sinn
nichts weiß ich von Klä: ge.

The message of these songs is clear: group play of an innocently physical nature is to be welcomed, while the one-on-one "play" of the romantic encounter is to be shunned. "Follow the delights appropriate to your age," warns the narrator of the next song, "Der Verlust der Freude" (The Loss of Joy), emphasizing the fleeting nature of virtue and the responsibility children themselves are called upon to take in its preservation.²⁶ At the same time, the extensive, often titillating references made throughout Patzke's songs to premature sexual awakening suggests that, at least at the outset, the creators of *Kinderlieder* found it tempting to employ the same double-entendres and suggestive language that had made their adult counterparts so popular.

The wish to scrub play clean of its unsavory associations continued as the *Kinderlieder* repertoire blossomed. In a school reader produced by Basedow's fellow Philanthropist Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, the section "Von Spielen und

²⁶ "Folgt Lust deinen Jahren." Patzke, *Der Greis*: 116-117.

Vergnügen" (On Games and Entertainments) begins with an Arcadian idyll of autonomous play in which collective singing is presented as thoroughly chaste:

When Wilhelm, Fritz, Martin, Karl, Sophie, Louise, Marie, and Elisabeth were children, they would play after school for several hours, when the weather permitted it. Either one sang Kinderlieder, and the others danced, or they all sang under the shadow of a green tree.²⁷

The innocence of the scene is maintained even after the boys remove their clothes so as not to dirty them while playing a ball game. But when Rochow goes on to interpret his own anecdote for his young readers, he ends with a note of warning:

And so they remained entertained and healthy, and all people were pleased, when they witnessed the innocent gaiety of these good children.

Innocent joy is permitted to everyone; only unworthy and impertinent merriness is forbidden.²⁸

Play, in other words, is still figured as a potentially dangerous pastime, one with threatening undertones.

The same kind of priggish yet titillating rhetoric marked the pathologization of masturbation in the 1780s, which was the preeminent discursive site for the construction of child sexuality in late eighteenth-century Germany. Pedagogues and children's authors Joachim Heinrich Campe and Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, who were responsible for the texts of many a Kinderlied, were also two of the most preeminent exponents of anti-masturbation literature, the rhetoric of which was almost identical with that inveighing against children's consumption of illicit song.²⁹ The danger, in both cases, was premature development; "love songs" were even cited by Salzmann as among the entertainments that risked "prematurely sensitiz[ing]" children to "temptations...whose enjoyment was intended for them many years hence."³⁰

²⁷ "Als Wilhelm, Fritz, Martin, Karl, Sophie, Louise, Marie und Elisabeth Kinder waren, da spielten sie nach der Schule, wann schönes Wetter einfiel, manche Stunde. Entweder einer sang, und die andern tanzten; oder sie sangen alle unter dem Schatten eines grünen Baums ihre Kinderlieder." Rochow, *Der Kinderfreund: Ein Lesebuch zum Gebrauch in Landschulen* (Frankfurt: Eichenberg, 1776), excerpted in *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung: Eine Textsammlung*, ed. Hans-Heino Ewers (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), 68.

²⁸ "Und so blieben sie vergnügt und gesund, und alle Leute freuten sich, wann sie der unschuldigen Fröhlichkeit dieser guten Kinder zusehen konnten.

"Unschuldige Freude is allen Menschen erlaubt; nur unwürdige und freche Lustigkeit ist verboten." Rochow, *Der Kinderfreund*, in *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung*, 68-69.

²⁹ See Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 260.

³⁰ Salzmann, *Ueber die heimlichen Sünden der Jugend* [1785], 4th ed. [1819], 86, quoted in Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society*, 266.

It may seem counterintuitive, then, for these authors to have lent their imaginations to the production of new Lieder; after all, there were few endeavors more private, and more sensual, than the solitary reading-through of a song collection at the keyboard. Many songs even thematized these qualities, as in Christian Ernst Rosenbaum's "Neulich, Schwestern, darf ich Sagen?" (Lately, Sisters, May I Tell It?), which was adapted – somewhat surprisingly – for inclusion in the rather earthy *Kleine Lieder für Kinder* of 1777. "Neulich, Schwestern" employs the venerable cliché of domestic keyboard performance as a prelude to, or ersatz for, an act of seduction.³¹

Neulich, Schwestern, darf ich's sagen? Hört nur was sich zugetragen: Neulich eben beym Clavier Kam der Liebes-Gott zu mir.	Lately, sisters, may I say it? Hear what took place: Recently, even at the clavier The Love-God came to me.
Schäkernd schwung er seine Köcher Schäkernd sprach der böse Rächer Fühle itzt was du nie gefühlt Kind du hast genug gespielt.	Brazenly he brandished his quiver Brazenly spoke the evil avenger Feel now what you never felt before Child, you have played enough. ³²

Rosenbaum's original contains seven additional stanzas, in which the girl successfully bargains with Cupid to preserve her chastity.³³ But as it is printed here, with just the first two stanzas, the narrative remains provocatively unfinished, and the "child's play" of the girl at her clavier threatens to give way to more mature pursuits. The uncertainty of the outcome is captured in a rudimentary but surprisingly effective musical setting that ends on a dominant (see Music Example 3.3).

³¹ On this subject see Tili Boon Cuillé, *Narrative Interludes*, 70; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 61-65; and Steven Huff, "Lotte's Klavier: A Resounding Symbol in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*," *The Germanic Review* 49 (1984): 43-48.

³² *Kleine Lieder für Kinder mit Melodien, zum singen beym Klavier* (Leipzig: [s.n.], 1777), reprinted in *Neujahrgrüsse empfindsamer Seelen: Eine Sammlung von Liedern mit Melodien und Bilderschmuck aus den Jahren 1770-1800*, ed. Max Friedlaender, Veröffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch 3 (Berlin: M. Breslauer, 1922). The poem, in another setting, appears as "Der Liebesgott" in Christian Ernst Rosenbaum, *Lieder mit Melodien, für das Clavier, Zweeter Theil* (Altona und Lübeck: David Iversen, 1762), 28. "Neulich, Schwestern" is a parody of Lessing's 1747 poem *Der Tod* ("Gestern, Brüder, darf ich Sagen?"), in which a man describes having almost drunk himself to death, until the Grim Reaper himself urges him to stop. Lessing's *Der Tod* was first published in Christlob Mylius *Ermunterungen zum Vergnügen des Gemüths*, part 5 (Hamburg: Johann Adolph Martini, 1747), then in Lessing's *Kleinigkeiten* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: [s.n.], 1751).

³³ It is a somewhat Faustian bargain: she offers him the Abbess instead, who he then causes to fall in love with the Father; in exchange, the protagonist is now able to sing "mit neuer Krafft." Rosenbaum, *Lieder mit Melodien*, 29.

Music Example 3.3. “Neulich, Schwestern, darf ich sagen?”
from *Kleine Lieder für Kinder*



That a collection like *Kleine Lieder für Kinder* could include a song this provocative, alongside excerpts from Weisse and Hiller’s virtuous *Lieder für Kinder* of 1769, suggests that, a full decade after Patzke’s complaint, families had not yet been reeducated to restrict the vocal music with which their younger members came into contact.³⁴ And indeed, Weisse himself complains of this fact. In the same article in *Der Kinderfreund* in which Weisse lamented the *Kindertruppe*’s “poor innocents being offered for sale” (discussed in Chapter 1)—he cautioned his young readers not to lend their skills to “unverschämten Buhlerlieder” (shameless love songs), which would fill his heart with grief and fear for their innocence.³⁵ Even in private company, Mentor reported,

I have heard children, who have had very talented voices, singing at their parents’ request Italian, French, and German *Buhlerlieder* with true theatrical gestures, and

³⁴ Johann Adam Hiller, *Lieder für Kinder, vermehrte Auflage. Mit neuen Melodien von Johann Adam Hiller* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1769).

³⁵ Weisse, “Ueber Tanz und Gesang,” *Der Kinderfreund* 12/161 (1 August 1778): 75.

these have been greeted with loud applause by the audience, and heard with the most complacent laughter by their adoring parents. Forgive me, when I sometimes don't applaud myself, and when you might see me shake my head disapprovingly! I know well that people will call me silly, or too strict; but it offends me, when I see a young ten-year-old girl singing an "Amabile Idol mio." O what a loud Bravo would you hear from my lips, if the subject were a virtuous sentiment from social and country life, or an encouragement to an obligation appropriate to your age! – And we have, thank God! songs and Lieder of various kinds, that when played and sung from your sweet innocent mouths, will please Virtue itself."³⁶

That this "problem" was widespread is corroborated by an 1829 autobiography by the Saxon pedagogue Christian Gustav Friedrich Dinter, in which he recalls his childhood governess, "Wiesenhane," teaching him some songs that, he hastens to add, were "perhaps inappropriate for my age at the time" (Dinter was not yet six years old).³⁷ He remembers in striking detail one song with what he describes euphemistically as "unpädagogischen Inhalts" (unpedagogical contents): a kind of Punch-and-Judy scenario in which he portrayed the put-upon husband, who eventually threatens his aggravated wife (played by his governess) with a cane. Dinter goes on to describe how "My father enjoyed this little song, and the threatening tone in which the boy [i.e., Dinter himself] sang it, so much that Hanne

³⁶ "So habe ich auch sehr oft in Privatgesellschaften Kinder, die ganz artige Stimmchen hatten, auf Befehl ihrer Aeltern, italienische, französische und deutsche Buhlerlieder mit wahren theatralischen Geberden absingen, und mit lautem Geklatsche der Zuhörer, und mit dem wohlgefälligsten Lächeln ihrer in sie verliebten Aeltern begleiten hören. – Vergebt mir, wenn ich damals nicht auch mit klatschte, und wenn Ihr vielleicht gar ein misfälliges Kopfschütteln an mir bemerkt habt! Ich gestehe es ganz gern, man mag mich für zu einfältig, oder zu strenge halten: aber es beleidiget mich, wenn ich ein junges zehnjähriges Mädchen, ein *Amabile Idol mio*, absingen höre. O wie hättet Ihr ein lautes Bravo von meinen Lippen sollen erschallen hören, wenn der Inhalt eine tugendhafte Empfindung aus dem gesellschaftlichen und ländlichen Leben, oder eine Aufmunterung zu einer, euren Jahren gemäßen Pflicht gewesen wäre! – Und wir haben Gott Lob! Gesänge und Lieder von mancherley Art, die von eurem sanften unschuldsvollen Munde gesungen und gespielt, der Tugend selbst gefallen müssen." Weisse, "Ueber Tanz und Gesang": 76-77.

I have found no evidence of an aria or art song entitled "Amabile Idol mio" – I assume Weisse is here constructing a generic title to convey the erotic nature of the repertory he disdains.

³⁷ Christian Gustav Friedrich Dinter, *Dinter's Leben, von ihm selbst beschrieben, Ein Lesebuch für Aeltern und Erzieher, für Pfarrer, Schul-Inspectoren und Schullehrer. Mit einem Fac Simile* (Neustadt an der Orla: Johann Karl Gottfried Wagner, 1829), 13, quoted in *Deutsche Kindheiten: Autobiographische Zeugnisse 1700-1900*, ed. Irene Hardach-Pinke and Gerd Hardach (Kronberg: Athenäum, 1978), 152-153. Dinter was a theology professor, civil servant, and pedagogue, raised in Borna (the capital of the Leipzig district). The song he describes is most likely a Singspiellied, though I have not yet been able to locate its source.

and I were often called in when there was company in order to sing it in public.”³⁸ The reaction of Dinter’s attorney father and his friends, cultivated members of the *Bürgertum*, echoes Weisse’s description of the “complacent laughter” of the parents of the girl singing “Amabile idol mio.” Adults, it seems, required as much moral surveillance as their children.

That reeducation came—as in the children’s theatricals discussed in Chapter 2—in the form of a prominent role for parents in the sanitized *Kinderlieder*, both as supervisors and as students themselves. Beginning with the very first collection, parents were often called upon to sing *Kinderlieder* together with their children: Patzke’s “Der Vater und das Kind,” for instance, was a call-and-response strophic song, the first stanza of which was sung by the father, and the second by the child, in a musicalized pedagogical dialogue on the subject of charity (see Music Example 3.4).

Music Example 3.4. “Der Vater und Das Kind,”
in *Der Greis*

Ernsthaft.

Der Vater. Sieh dort mein Sohn den armen Greis,
Das Kind. Ja thut er nicht, ich will ihm helfen.

Greis, lahm ist sein Fuß, sein Haupt schneeweiß.
Sitzt er da, ich ruf ihn zu rath, und

schleicht er an sein Stab, vor ihm, und
will, ihm Hilfe zu gewähren, mein ganz Ver-

steht um keine Gabe. Doch scheint er mir in großer
mögen gern entbehren. Komm Greis! mein Hochengeld soll

Notz,

Notz, und weinet still vielleicht um Brodt.
bein, Welch Glück! Betrübete zu erfreun.

VIII. Der Vater und das Kind.

Der Vater.

Sieh dort, mein Sohn den armen Greis!
Lahm ist sein Fuß, sein Haupt schneeweiß.
Sitzsam schleicht er an seinem Stabe
Vorbei, und steht um keine Gabe.
Doch scheint er mir in großer Noth,
Und weinet still vielleicht um Brodt.

Das Kind.

Ja, thränenvoll schien mir sein Blick.
Mein Vater, ich ruf ihn zurath,
Und will, ihm Hilfe zu gewähren,
Mein ganz Vermögen gern entbehren.
Komm Greis! mein Hochengeld soll dein.
Welch Glück! Betrübete zu erfreun!

4 Erwas

³⁸ “Meinem Vater gefiel dieß Liedlein, und der drohende Ton, in dem es der Knabe sang, so wohl, daß ich oft mit meiner Hanne in die Gesellschaften geholt wurde, um es öffentlich zu singen.” Dinter, *Dinter’s Leben*, 13.

Parents might also be encouraged to sing not in alternation, but together with their children, as in an entry from the fictional diary of Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Mentor family, in the first issue of Weisse's *Der Kinderfreund*. Before she has even gotten out of bed in the morning, Charlotte's mother arrives and together they sing "das Gellertsche Morgenlied: 'Mein erst Gefühl sey Preis und Dank &c.'" (Gellert's morning-song: 'My First Feeling is Praise and Thanksgiving').³⁹ In singing "Mein erst Gefühl" as the first verbal expression in her day, Charlotte and her mother set the tone for her waking hours: her mouth belongs to God, and her actions take place under the watchful eye of God and parent. "The Lord hears your song of praise," Charlotte reminds herself, and the reader, through Gellert's well-known text. Charlotte's reference thus shows what a pervasive role sacred Lieder collections like Bach's played in the upstanding middle-class household, and therefore in the development of the pious Kinderlied.⁴⁰

It can only be an act of modesty that prevented Weisse from having Charlotte sing a text from his own pen; for by the time the first issue of *Der Kinderfreund* appeared, Weisse's two-part poetry collection, *Lieder für Kinder*, had already been published (1765 and 1769) and had served as the source material for three separate collections of Kinderlieder.⁴¹ That these songs were meant to be consumed in the presence of adults, even with the participation of adults, is evident from one of the first of the Kinderlied collections: Hiller's 1769 *Lieder für Kinder*. This collection is bookended by two songs from the perspective of a parent—specifically, a father. The first, *Zuschrift an ein paar Kinder* (Letter to a Pair of Children), puts a new spin on the traditional "hymn to the Muse": here, the father's inspiration is his own "väterliche Liebe." The father returns to close the collection with the equally sentimental *Ermahnung an zwey Kinder* (Exhortation to Two Children), which includes a doting, nostalgic evocation of filial play:

³⁹ Weisse, "Probe von Charlottens Tagebuch," *Der Kinderfreund* 1/1-5 (2-16 October 1775); 40. The text to "Mein erst Gefühl" first appeared in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (Spiritual Odes and Songs, Leipzig: Weidmann, 1757), and while a musical setting is not included in *Der Kinderfreund*, readers would probably have been familiar with the setting in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Herrn Professor Gellerts Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien* (Berlin, George Ludewig Winter, 1758). "Mein erst Gefühl" was also often sung to the tune of another hymn dating to the sixteenth century, "Ich dank dir schon durch deinen Sohn"; see Albert Fischer, *Kirchenlieder-Lexikon: hymnologisch-literarische Nachweisungen über ca. 4500 der wichtigsten und verbreitetsten Kirchenlieder aller Zeiten in alphabetischer Folge nebst einer Übersicht der Liederdichter* [1878] (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), vol. 2, 53.

⁴⁰ On "geistliche Lieder" and the Baroque continuo lied, see Thomas R. Hinton, *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque: A Study of the Continuo Lied* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

⁴¹ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Kleine Lieder für Kinder zur Beförderung der Tugend* (Little Songs for Children for the Development of Virtue, Flensburg, 2 parts, 1766 and 1768); Johann Adam Hiller, *Lieder für Kinder, vermehrte Auflage* (Leipzig, 1769); and Gottlob Gottwald Hunger, *Lieder für Kinder mit neuen Melodien* (Leipzig, 1772).

Süßes Mädchen, holder Knabe,
 Spielt nur, spielt in meinem Schoos!
 Wenn ich Euch in Armen habe,
 Bin ich wie ein König groß.
 [...]
 Gern misch' ich in eure Spiele
 Mich mit milder Nachsicht ein,
 O des Glücks, das ich dann fühle,
 Wieder einmal Kind zu seyn!

Sweet girl, lovely boy,
 Play only, play in my lap!
 When I have you in my arms,
 I am as grand as a king.

 Gladly I join in your games
 With a benign indulgence,
 O the happiness that I then feel,
 To be a child once again!⁴²

Thus play comes full circle: from a fraught activity in need of careful monitoring, to the means by which the worldweary adult might recapture the simple joys of his own lost childhood.

The didactic, the sentimentalizing, and the worldly-wise representations of children's play converge on a pair of late Kinderlieder by Mozart. He had contributed to this genre from its earliest days, when at age twelve he composed "An die Freude" (K. 53) for the 1768 volume *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*.⁴³ And he was certainly familiar with children's literature, possessing in his library not just textbooks for his children and childrearing treatises, but also Weisse's poetry collection *Lieder für Kinder* and four volumes of Campe's popular children's reader, *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*, the latter of which appears to have been the source for four of the seven poems he set with children in mind (for information on the seven known Kinderlieder of Mozart, see Appendix 3.2).⁴⁴

Mozart's two "Spiellieder" were destined for two very different publications. "Die kleine Spinnerin" was published in *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder* (Pleasing and Educational Pastimes for Children), the children's periodical printed by Vienna's Taubstummen-Institut (Deaf and Dumb Institute).⁴⁵ As its title

⁴² Hiller, *Lieder für Kinder*, 32-33.

⁴³ *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht* 4/7 (Vienna: Rudolf Gräffer, 1768). The issue also included an adaptation (probably by his father Leopold) of the aria "Meiner Liebsten schöne Wangen" from Mozart's 1768 Singspiel, *Bastien und Bastienne* (K. 50 and K. 50a). See Rudolph Angermüller, "Vorwort," in Mozart, *Bastien und Bastienne*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), xiv.

⁴⁴ "so unterhaltend, als lehrreich, und in jeder Betrachtung völlig unschädlich für sie." Campe, "Vorbericht zur ersten Auflage," *Kleine Kinderbibliothek* (Hamburg: Heroldschen Buchhandlung, 1779), n.p. Emphasis Campe's.

⁴⁵ *Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder* (Vienna: F. A. Schraembl 1787-1788). See also Walter Schott, *Das k. k. Taubstummen-Institut in Wien 1779-1918: Dargestellt nach historischen Überlieferungen und Dokumenten mit einem Abriß der wichtigsten pädagogischen Strömungen aus der Geschichte der Gehörlosenbildung bis zum Ende der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 83. I have not been able to locate copies of this periodical, or more detailed information on the publishing activities of the Taubstummen-Institut, beyond an advertisement for the first issue of the periodical in the *Wiener Zeitung* (24 February 1787): 432-433. It is possible that Mozart had some personal connection with one or both of the periodical's editors, Josef May and Johann Strommer, but the circumstances of the commission have not yet come to light.

suggests, the periodical was utilitarian in its orientation. The editors' foreword strikes a particularly disciplinary tone:

We give you a little book in your hand that is dedicated to your entertainment, for your pleasure...how often will it clarify for you, what you see, and do not understand! Most of all pay attention to yourself; almost every day it will show you a fault.⁴⁶

When Mozart returned to the genre of the Kinderlied four years later the second of his two "Spiellieder," "Das Kinderspiel" (K598) (along with "Sehnsucht nach dem Frühling" (K596) and "Der Frühling" (K597)), the publication this time was not a children's periodical but a stand-alone song collection called *Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde am Clavier: Frühlingslieder* (Song Collection for Children and Children's Friends at the Keyboard: Spring Songs).⁴⁷ The appellation "Kinderfreunde" in the title, the lack of pedagogical interposition between editor and reader, and the prominence of a maternal accompanist in the title-page engraving (see Figure 2.2b in Chapter 2), indicates a fairly romanticized approach, and an orientation toward the adult reader.

Despite the publications for which they were intended, Mozart's two "Spiellieder" undercut the expected wholesome naiveté with interjections of more precociously sophisticated musical elements. They are reducible neither to precious expressions of youthful vivacity, "brim[ming] with the sweetest and freshest of melodies," nor to signs of "Mozart's rejuvenation in the last years of his life," nor to simply exercises in didacticism.⁴⁸ Rather, the picture of childhood they represent is richly complex and self-contradictory – a companion, perhaps, to the complicated negotiations of self and society at work in the operas with which Mozart was occupied at the same time.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ "Wir geben Euch ein Büchlein in die Hand, welches Eurer Unterhaltung, Eurem Vergnügen bestimmt ist ... wieviel wird es Euch öfters erklären, was Ihr sahet, und nicht verstandet! Am allermeisten ab seydt aufmerksam auf Euch selbst; es wird Euch beinahe mit jedem Tage einen Fehler zeigen ..." Quoted in "Mozart-Erstdruck in einer Zeitschrift für Kinder," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Web, 27 May 2011, <<http://www2.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/siawd/archiv/erwerb/mozart.htm>>

⁴⁷ The *Liedersammlung* was intended to be a four-part publication, one volume for each of the four seasons. In the event, only the *Frühlingslieder* and *Winterlieder* volumes were published. Alberti was a member of the Masonic Lodge "Crowned Hope," along with Mozart. None of the other contributors to the *Liedersammlung* appears in the 1790 register of the members of the Lodge (per Robbins-Landon's reproduction). I have not been able to uncover any biographical information about Placidus Partsch, the ostensible editor of the *Liedersammlung*.

⁴⁸ Maurice J. E. Brown, "Mozart's Songs for Voice and Piano," and Cliff Eisen, "Songs," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 21 and 476, respectively.

⁴⁹ "Die kleine Spinnerin" was composed on 11 December 1787, less than two months after the premiere of *Don Giovanni* (29 October); while "Das Kinderspiel" (K598) was composed on 14 January 1791, three months after the first performance of *Figaros Hochzeit* in

“Die kleine Spinnerin” consists of an exchange between the unnamed title character and her neighbor Fritz, who stops by to invite her out to play. Fritz’s entreaty takes up the first five of the song’s forty lines, while the girl’s refusal pours out in a single, uninterrupted, thirty-five-line sermon on the value and rewards of filial duty and household labor. The girl speaks of Fritz’s urge to play as naïve, and she goes on to relate what her spinning contributes to the (struggling) family economy, to her reputation and sense of self-worth, and to the esteem of her mother:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. “Was spinnst du?” fragte Nachbars
Fritz,
Als er uns jüngst besuchte.
“Dein Rädchen läuft ja wie der Blitz,

Sag an, wozu dies fruchte; | “What are you spinning?” asked Fritz
from next door,
When he visited us lately.
“Your little wheel is turning like
lightning!
What’s the good of that? |
| 2. Komm lieber her in unser Spiel!”

“Herr Fritz, das laß ich bleiben,
Ich kann mir, wenn er's wissen will,
So auch die Zeit vertreiben. | Better to come out and join in our
game!”
“Herr Fritz, I shall do nothing of the
If you must know, I have my own ways
Of passing the time. |
| 3. Wozu mir’s fruchte? Ei, wie fein!
Er muß doch wenig wissen!
Ließ’ er hübsch auch das Spielen sein,
Würd’ er nicht fragen müssen. | What good is it? A silly question!
You have a lot to learn!
If you’d stop playing all day long
You wouldn’t have to ask. |
| 4. Für meiner kleinen Schwestern Paar
Spinn’ ich zu Hemdchen Linnen:
Die Teurung wächst ja jedes Jahr,
Und ich, sollt’ ich nicht spinnen? | For my two little sisters
I’m spinning linen blouses:
As things grow dearer every year
Why shouldn’t I mind my wheel? |
| 5. Erspinn’ ich einen starken Bund,
Der so ein Stück betrage,
So wägt die Mutter Pfund für Pfund
Auf uns’rer Schalenwaage. | And when I spin a sturdy band
That costs a pretty penny,
My mother weighs it pound by pound
Upon our pair of scales. |
| 6. Und was sie sonst für’s Spinnen gab,

Bemerkt sie mit der Kreide
Und zieht’s, wie für die Spinn’rin, ab,
Für mich zu einem Kleide. | And what she would have paid for
spinning
She notes down in chalk
And deducts it from our spinning costs
So I can have a dress. |
| 7. Wenn andre Mädchen schmutzig sind,
Hab’ ich dann hübsche Röckchen; | When other maidens are untidy
I have a pretty skirt; |

Mannheim (23 Oct 1790), for which Mozart attended the rehearsals; less than one month after the first performance of *Don Giovanni* in German, in Berlin (20 Dec 1790); and nine months before the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte*.

Ei! heißt es, welch' ein schönes Kind!
Und spielt auch nicht mehr Döckchen!

And people say, What a lovely child,
And she no longer plays with dolls!

8. Dies höret meine Mutter gern,
Und mir, mir macht es Ehre:
So viel verlör' ich, seht, ihr Herr'n,
Wenn ich nicht fleißig wäre.

My mother loves to hear such things
And they also do me honour:
That's what I would lose, my sirs,
If I were not hard-working.

9. Drum schnurre, liebes Rädchen, bald
Voll Fädchen meine Spule;
Es kommt der Winter, das ist's kalt
Für's Schwesternpaar zur Schule.

So hum away, dear spinning wheel,
And fill my spool with thread;
Winter's nigh, it will be cold
On my sisters' way to school.

10. Und wenn es so die Leute säh'n,
Daß sie vom Froste litten,
Wie würden die dann auf mich
schmäh'n! –
Nein, das will ich verhüten."

And if the people were to see them
Suffering from the cold
How they would despise me!
No, I'd rather they would not."⁵⁰

The anonymous poet could have framed this dialogue as a real-time exchange between Fritz and the girl. But instead, it is introduced as a narrative of a past event, one being related after the fact by a narrator whose identity is somewhat obscure. It could be the girl herself, but given the lack of indirect discourse, one could also posit a third-party narrator, someone else in the "us" to whom Fritz pays his visit ("als er uns jüngst besuchte"). But this is only one of many such elusive observers.

A more palpable external audience is implied by the girl's parenthetical address to "ihr Herr'n" (my sirs) in strophe 8. This is reinforced by two other moments in which the girl refers to what people say or might say in response to her behavior. First, she imagines people admiring her pretty skirt (bought with the savings from her spinning) and remarking of her, "What a lovely child, / And she no longer plays with dolls! / My mother loves to hear such things, / And they also do me honor." It is a point of pride for the spinner-girl to have exchanged her toys for the instruments of labor, but more than that, to be *seen* have done so, to be considered by others too mature for such infantile play.

The spinner-girl's second reference to surveillance and judgment comes in the last strophe, when her final justification for industriousness is that she wishes to avoid the rebuke of those who might see her younger sisters walking to school in the winter, suffering in the cold for lack of proper clothing—the clothing that she herself could spin for them. "How the people would despise me!" she frets. "No, I'd rather they would not." In other words, the actual encounter between the girl and Fritz, which first motivated the poem, has been overtaken by several hypothetical encounters between the girl and a diffuse crowd of imagined judges. Her final reasoning is framed as a negative: it is not the earning of approbation, but the

⁵⁰ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Sämtliche Lieder für mittlere Stimme* [transposition], ed. Ernst August Ballin (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 74-75. Translation Ballin's.

avoidance of disapprobation, that acts as the final motivation for the girl's conscientious choice. "Die kleine Spinnerin," in other words, is suffused with a sober awareness of the true value of a daughter, with the mother weighing the goods "pound for pound."⁵¹

Any composer confronting this text in 1787 would be expected to do at least two things: evoke the physical act of spinning, and take up the tone of dutiful submission, class modesty, and unwavering productive energy. Mozart starts out this way, making a glancing reference to the pumping of a treadle in the opening motive's toggling back and forth between dominant and tonic (see Music Example 3.5).⁵² But he then undercuts the piety by endowing the spinner-girl with a winking, almost mischievous singing voice. One particularly swaggering gesture is the ascending major sixth, first heard in mm. 6-7 and 9-10 (although normalized by the positioning across the bar line), then intensified in m. 20 (on "vertreiben") with a tie between the two pitches encouraging a swooping-up treatment by the singer. That gesture, more than any other, establishes a flirtatious precocity that appears to contradict the spinner-girl's staid maturity. For someone who is hard at work, she seems to be having an awfully good time doing so.

In his typology of Mozart Lieder, Ernst August Ballin has categorized "Die kleine Spinnerin" as a Viennese Singspiellied, based on its lively eighth-note rhythm, the declamatory phrasing, and the leaping intervals.⁵³ Ballin does not, however, address the implications of these generic conventions on the representation of the spinner-girl. I would argue that Mozart's decision reveals an attention not so much to the content of the girl's declaration as *through* it, to its discursive register, its metadiegetic import.⁵⁴ If we hear the treadle beneath the

⁵¹ Stanza #3: "Erspinn' ich einen starken Bund, / Der so ein Stück betrage, / So wägt die Mutter Pfund für Pfund / Auf uns'rer Schalenwaage."

⁵² Ernst-August Ballin, *Das Wort-Ton-Verhältnis in den Klavierbegleiteten Liedern Mozarts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 47. Gottfried August Bürger's 1776 poem *Die Spinnerin* ("Hurra, hurra, hurra") was set numerous times before Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten* of 1800, and many of these settings represent the movement of the spinning-wheel in the piano accompaniment. See also Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Studien* (Stuttgart: Gotta, 1902), vol. II, 223.

⁵³ Ballin, *Das Wort-Ton-Verhältnis*, 46-47. Ballin identifies six stylistic categories of Lieder (based more on *Ton* than *Wort*); he assigns *Die kleine Spinnerin* to the third category, "Dem Wiener Singspiellied nahestehende Lieder." He does not discuss fragmentary Lieder such as *Männer suchen stets zu naschen*.

Männer suchen stets zu naschen and *Die kleine Spinnerin* are the only Lieder in Mozart's output thus far to exhibit this combination of Singspiellied characteristics. *Das Veilchen* (K. 476) of 1785 comes close, but its through-composed form, slower tempo, more variable rhythm, and more adventurous harmonic motion mitigate the sing-song quality. Two other Lieder with something of the Singspiellied tone, *An Chloe* (K. 524) and the *Kinderlied Des kleinen Friedrichs Geburtstag* (K. 529), both of 1787, utilize an Alberti bass accompaniment that softens the rhythmic profile.

⁵⁴ The term comes from J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* [1962], rev. ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 100.

spinner-girl's feet, we also hear the floorboards beneath the feet of the Singspiel heroine whose language the spinner-girl co-opts: both are on stage, playing to their audiences' expectations. In fact, the combination of the extended auto-quotation (if the narrator is indeed the girl herself) and the jocular tone of the music results in a "to the *parterre*" quality to the Lied, one not unlike the provocative epilogues of the child actors discussed in Chapter 1.

Music Example 3.5. "Die kleine Spinnerin" (K. 531)⁵⁵

arrow = "treadle" motive
brackets = ascending major sixth

Datiert Wien, 11. Dezember 1787

Lebhaft

Was spinnst du? frag - te

Nach - bars Fritz, als er uns jüngst be - such - te; dein Räd - chen läuft ja wie der Blitz! sag'

an, wo - zu dir's fruch - te! 2. Komm lie - ber her zu uns ins Spiel! - „Herr Fritz, das laß' ich

⁵⁵ Mozart, *Lieder, Mehrstimmige Gesänge, Kanons*, ed. Ernst-August Ballin, Neue Mozart Ausgabe III/8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 54-55.

Music Example 3.5 cont'd.

The spinner-girl's awareness that her youth is being lived out in public, subject to the approval of adults both near (her mother) and far (that diffuse, omniscient shadow she refers to only as "die Leute"), is a familiar refrain in Enlightenment discussions of womanhood more generally. In describing Emile's intended, Sophie, Rousseau writes that since "woman is made specially to please man,"

[i]t is important, then, not only that a woman be faithful, but that she be judged to be faithful by her husband, by those near her, by everyone. It is important that she be modest, attentive, reserved, and that she give evidence of her virtue to the eyes of others as well as to her own conscience. [...] These are the reasons which put even appearances among the duties of women, and make honor and reputation no less indispensable to them than chastity.⁵⁶

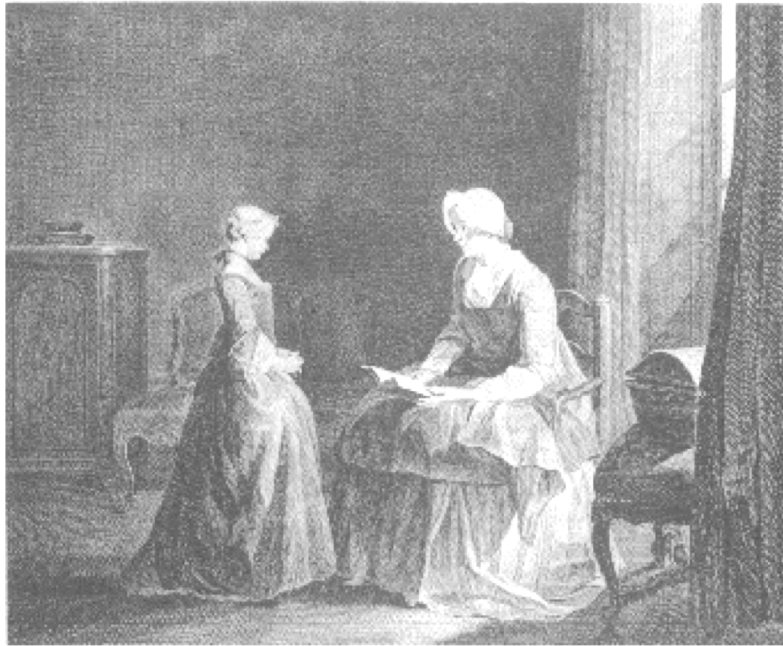
Like Rousseau's Sophie, the spinner-girl is no coquette. But both are precociously aware of the adult world on whose border they hover, and for whose work their play is intended always as practice.

The high degree of consciousness of one's audience, the contradictory mix of modesty and theatricality, is part of what has always given girlhood its discomfiting charge. Seth Lerer has identified it— with reference to the emphatic heroines of Lucy

⁵⁶ Rousseau, *Emile* [2010] 532, 536. Emphasis mine.

Maude Montgomery and Louisa May Alcott—as the “theaters of girlhood.”⁵⁷ The heroine of “Die kleine Spinnerin” is similarly emphatic. When she eschews the games to which Fritz has invited her on behalf of his companions in favor of remaining indoors and laboring on behalf of her mother, sisters, and “the people,” she simply trades one theater for another—even the extended length of her response is itself a theatricality. Her performance of filial duty resembles scenes of domestic instruction such as Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin’s 1753 painting *Une Jeune Fille qui récite son Evangile* (A Young Girl Who Recites Her Gospel; see Figure 3.1), in which the rapprochement of the reciting girl and her maternal auditor is a highly staged moment of the “performance” of daughterly virtue.

Figure 3.1. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *Une Jeune Fille qui récite son Evangile* (Salon of 1753)⁵⁸



Tili Boon Cuillé suggests that the presence of “inscribed beholders” in musical tableaux—like the maternal auditor in Chardin’s painting—produces “[a] certain

⁵⁷ Seth Lerer, *Children’s Literature: A Reader’s History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 229.

⁵⁸ Engraved by Le Bas. Whereabouts of painting unknown. See Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 16; and Fried, “Absorption: A Master Theme in Eighteenth-Century French Painting and Criticism,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9/2 (1975-76): unnumbered plate (btw. pp. 164 and 165).

tension between virtue and eroticism.”⁵⁹ “Die Kleine Spinnerin”’s self-conscious staging of its own tableau is similarly double-edged.

While “Die kleine Spinnerin” had appeared in a periodical aimed squarely at the child reader, its protagonist was acutely aware of the presence of adults circumscribing and evaluating her activities. We might thus understand “Das Kinderspiel” as a kind of counterpart to “Die kleine Spinnerin”: it features a boy at play, who tears around outside with his “Brüder” in complete isolation from—and near ignorance of—adults or their cares. It is as though we have followed the Fritz of “Die kleine Spinnerin” out the front door of the spinner-girl’s house and into the field.

<p>1. Wir Kinder, wir schmecken Der Freuden recht viel, Wir schäkern und necken, Versteht sich im Spiel; Wir lärmen und singen Und rennen rundum, Und hüpfen und springen Im Grase herum.</p>	<p>We children enjoy Many pleasures indeed! We tease, and play jokes (But of course, only in sport!). We should and we sing, And run around, And hop and spring About on the grass!</p>
<p>2. Warum nicht? - Zum Murren Ist's Zeit noch genug! Wer wollte wohl knurren, Der wär' ja nicht klug. Wie lustig steh'n dorten Die Saat und das Gras! Beschreiben mit Worten Kann keiner wohl das.</p>	<p>And why not? There's time Enough yet for grouching! Any grumbler among us Would indeed be a fool. How jolly to see The corn and the grass! To describe in words Is beyond anyone's powers.</p>
<p>3. Ha, Brüderchen, rennet Und wälzt euch im Gras! Noch ist's uns vergönnet, Noch kleidet uns das! Ach, werden wir älter, So schickt's sich nicht mehr, Dann treten wir kälter Und steifer einher.</p>	<p>Hey, my brothers, run And tumble in the grass! We're still allowed to do it, It's not unseemly yet. If we were older, It would not be proper; We would walk around Stiff-necked and cold.</p>
<p>4. Ei, seht doch, ihr Brüder, Den Schmetterling da! Wer wirft ihn uns nieder? Doch schonet ihn ja! Dort flattert noch einer, Der ist wohl sein Freund, O schlag' ihn ja keiner,</p>	<p>Look, brothers, There's a butterfly! Who will catch it? But please don't hurt it! There's another, Probably its friend; But don't strike it</p>

⁵⁹ Cuillé, *Narrative Interludes*, 15-18; here, 18.

Weil jener sonst weint.

Or the other will cry!

5. Wird dort nicht gesungen?
Wie herrlich das klingt!
Vortrefflich, ihr Jungen,
die Nachtigall singt.
Dort sitzt sie, dort oben
Im Apfelbaum, dort;
Wir wollen sie loben,
So fährt sie wohl fort.

Do I hearing singing?
How wonderful it sound!
Excellent, boys,
It's the nightingale!
There it sits, perched
High in the apple tree;
If we praise it
It will continue its song.

6. Komm Liebchen hernieder
Und lass' dich beseh'n!
Wer lehrt dich die Lieder?
Du machst es recht schön!
O lass' dich nicht stören,
Du Vögelchen du!
Wir alle, wir hören
So gerne dir zu.

Come down to us, darling,
And let us see you!
Who taught you your songs?
You sing them so beautifully!
But don't let us disturb you,
Dear little bird!
All of us
Love to listen to you.

7. Wo ist geblieben?
Wir seh'n sie nicht mehr.
Da flattert sie drüben.
Komm wieder hier her!
Vergeblich, die Freunde
Ist diesmal vorbei:
Ihr hat wer zu Leide,
Sei, was es auch sei.

Where has it gone?
It's nowhere to be seen!
It's fluttering over there!
Come back, come here!
In vain, our joy
Is gone for the moment!
Someone must have hurt it
One way or another.

8. Laßt Kränzchen uns winden,
Viel Blumen sind hier.
Wer Veilchen wird finden,
Empfängt was dafür.
Ein Mäulchen zur Gabe
Gibt Mutter, wohl zwei.
Juchheisa! Ich habe,
Ich hab' eins, juchhei!

Let us bind wreathes,
There are so many flowers!
Whoever finds violets
Will receive in return
A present from mother:
A sweetmeat or two.
Hurray, I've got one,
I've got one, hurrah!

9. Ach, geht sie schon unter,
Die Sonne, so früh?
Wir sind ja noch munter,
Ach, Sonne verzieh'!
Nun morgen, ihr Brüder,
Schlaft wohl, gute Nacht!
Ja, morgen wird wieder
Gespielt und gelacht.

Alas, is the sun
Going down so soon?
We're still lively and merry;
O sun, stay a while!
So brothers, till tomorrow!
Sleep well! Good night!
Yes, tomorrow again
We'll laugh and we'll play!⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Mozart, *Sämtliche Lieder*, ed. Ballin, 76. Translation Ballin's.

The celebratory tone of “Das Kinderspiel” is in keeping with the other two Kinderlieder Mozart published in the *Liedersammlung*, and with the contents of the collection as a whole. Each of the poems in this “Frühlingslieder” volume details the impressions of a child who is either anticipating the coming spring, praising the delights of the season, or bidding it a fond farewell. The songs glorify the simple pleasures of country living, abandon all talk of *Bildung*, and seem most concerned to represent as faithfully as possible the interior world of the child, for its own sake. As Marjorie Hirsch has remarked, the music of these proto-romantic Kinderlieder contains even fewer ornaments and melodic leaps than the galant-style settings of earlier composers like Hiller.⁶¹ In other words, they are more folk-like, in keeping with the common tendency among poets to conflate childhood with the *Volk* as twin manifestations of the imperative of simplicity and sincerity across the arts, primitivist talismans against affectation and spiritual decay.

Formally, however, “Das Kinderspiel” makes certain departures from the *Liedersammlung* prototype. The poems are usually in the first person singular, which makes “Das Kinderspiel”’s use of the first person plural somewhat unusual. The same collection of pastoral clichés appears again and again over the course of the collection—nightingales, larks, violets, roses, babbling brooks—and all are read either as evidence of God’s beneficence or as allegories of innocent morality. Again, “Das Kinderspiel” represents somewhat of a departure: here, verbs take precedence over nouns, as the children dash around in pursuit of that which strikes their momentary fancy. Finally, the majority of songs in the *Liedersammlung* catalogue the emblems of the season from a degree of cool remove, in carefully constructed sentences that progress in orderly fashion from one idea to the next. “Das Kinderspiel,” on the other hand, is an unmediated expression of the child’s interior world: it proceeds in fits and spurts, conveying all the quicksilver energy and distractability of a child at play.

This is exactly what poet Christian Adolf Overbeck was after when he first published the poem in 1781, in a collection he called *Frizchens Lieder*.⁶² In his preface to the volume, Overbeck claimed that unlike other poems that might offer the expressions of children but “with the ideas of an adult,” in *Frizchens Lieder* “a child really speaks.”⁶³ In other words, Overbeck purported to have captured an authentic

⁶¹ Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise*, 141-142.

⁶² K. 596, *Sehnsucht nach dem Frühling*, is also a “Fritz-lied” — its original title was “Fritzchen an den Mai,” and it appears in Overbeck, *Frizchens Lieder* (Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1781), 19-21. See also Freitag, *Kinderlied*, 91-92.

⁶³ “In den *Liedern für Kinder* hört man den herablassenden Lehrer, zwar meist im Ausdruck der Kinder, aber doch mit den Ideen eines Erwachsenen. Hier spricht, wenn ichs gut gemacht habe, wirklich ein Kind.” Overbeck, “Vorrede des Herausgebers,” in *Frizchens Lieder*, n.p.; quoted in Susanne Hahn, “Christian Adolf Overbeck (1755-1821): Frizchens Lieder. Hamburg 1781,” in *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1750 bis 1800*, ed. Theodor Brüggemann and Hans-Heino Ewers (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1982), 269.

Kinderton, a counterpart to the *Volkston* that so many of his fellow members of the “Göttinger Hain” (Göttingen Grove) had been trying to establish for German poetry ever since Herder’s writings on folksong began to appear.⁶⁴ In his 1773 *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*, Herder even coined the term *Kinderton*, in a discussion of Goethe’s “Heidenröslein”:

[...]n our time there is so much talk of songs for children. Do you want to hear an older German? It contains no transcendental wisdom and morality, with which children will soon enough be bombarded – it is nothing but a childish fabel-songlet.⁶⁵

After quoting passages from “Heidenröslein,” including its “kindische Ritornell,” Herder concluded, “Ist das nicht Kinderton?”⁶⁶ For all of Fritz’s “sauciness,” misbehavior, and ill-advised attachment to his beloved “Lotte”, he possessed a sincerity believed to be lacking in the child figures of Weisse and his immediate successors.⁶⁷ It is this quality that has caused Hans-Heino Ewers others to identify *Frizchens Lieder* as the watershed work in the “anti-authoritarian” strain of children’s literature, the first work to employ the naïve subject-voice of the child.⁶⁸

Ironically, however, Overbeck’s attention to the “genuine” cadences of a child’s voice ended up being farther removed from the interests of children, and more distant from a child readership, than Weisse’s work had ever been. As Overbeck asserted in the preface, “It should remain a pleasure for us adults, to see the little fellow [i.e., Fritz] wander here and there.”⁶⁹ Overbeck even went so far as to mark out fifteen of the forty-nine poems as inappropriate for child readers. This caused one chronicler of children’s authors to wonder how one could hope to keep certain poems off-limits to a child reader, and why one would wish to do so in the first place.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ On the Göttinger Hain, see Friedrich Hassenstein, “Das literarische Göttingen,” in *Göttingen: Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt, Band 2: Vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Anschluss an Preußen – Der Wiederaufstieg als Universitätsstadt (1648-1866)*, ed. Dietrich Denecke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 959-964.

⁶⁵ [...]u unseren Zeiten wird so viel von Liedern für Kinder gesprochen. Wollen Sie ein älteres deutsches hören? Es enthält zwar keine transcendente Weisheit und Moral, mit der die Kinder zeitig genug überhäuft werden – es ist nichts als ein kindisches Fabelliedchen.“ Herder, “Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder der alten Völker,” in *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst: Einige fliegende Blätter* (Hamburg: Bode, 1773), 56-57.

⁶⁶ Herder, “Briefwechsel,” 57.

⁶⁷ “Mein Frizchen – es wäre freylich besser, wenn er ein Engel hätte seyn können: aber er ist nun einmal ein Menschenkind.” Overbeck, “Vorrede des Herausgebers,” in Overbeck, *Frizchens Lieder*, n.p.

⁶⁸ Ewers, “Pippi Langstrumpf als komische Figure,” in *Komik im Kinderbuch*, 171, quoted in Hofmann, *Der kindliche Ich-Erzähler in der modernen Kinderliteratur*, 39.

⁶⁹ “Das soll denn ein Vergnügen für uns Erwachsene bleiben, den kleinen Burschen hie und da abschweifen zu sehen...” Overbeck, “Vorrede des Herausgebers,” in *Frizchens Lieder*, 4.

⁷⁰ Samuel Baur, *Charakteristik der Erziehungsschriftsteller Deutschlands: Ein Handbüch für Erzieher* (Leipzig: Johann Benjamin Georg Fleischer, 1790). The same complaint could be

A similar adult orientation pervades Mozart's setting of "Das Kinderspiel," owing chiefly to its ambiguous representation of the persona of the singer. To understand what is unusual about this setting, it will be helpful to compare Mozart's with the two previous settings of Overbeck's poem: Georg Carl Claudius' setting of 1780 and Johann Freidrich Reichardt's of 1781 (see Music Examples 3.6a and 3.6b). Both of these settings render the amphibrach metrical foot of Overbeck's poem (\sim | \sim \sim | \sim \sim) in fairly straightforward fashion: Claudius as even eighths in a 3/8 meter, with an eighth-note anacrusis; and Reichardt as a dactylic rhythm in 2/4 meter, again with an eighth-note anacrusis.

Music Example 3.6a. "Das Kinderspiel," Claudius⁷¹

14 Munter und schnell.

Wir Kin-der wir schme-cken der Freu-den recht viel, wir schä-ckern und ne-cken, ver-steht sich, im Spiel! Wir ler-men und sin-gen und ren-nen uns um, und hü-pfen und sprin-gen im Gra-se her-um.

Music Example 3.6b. "Das Kinderspiel," Reichardt⁷²

Frdlich.

Wir Kin-der, wir schmecken der Freu-den recht viel! Wir schä-ckern und ne-cken, (ver-steht sich, im Spiel!) Wir ler-men und sin-gen, und ren-nen uns um, und hü-pfen und sprin-gen im Gra-se her-um.

leveled against Campe's *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*, which endeavored to separate out material best for children ages 5-7, 8-10, and 10-12.

⁷¹ Claudius, *Lieder für Kinder mit neuen, sehr leichten Melodien* (Frankfurt, 1780).

⁷² Reichardt, *Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek*, vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1781).

For his setting, Mozart chose a 3/8 meter akin to Claudius'; however, he shortens the anacrusis from an eighth note to a sixteenth note, resulting in a breathless effect that emphasizes the unstressed syllables (*"Wir Kinder, wir schmecken...Wir schäkern, und näckern, versteht sich im Spiel"*; see Music Example 3.6c).

Music Example 3.6c. "Das Kinderspiel" (K. 598)⁷³

Munter Datiert Wien, 14. Januar 1791

1. Wir Kin - der, wir schmek - ken - der Freu - den recht viel! Wir
schä - kern und nek - ken (ver - steht sich, im Spiel!) Wir lär - men und
sin - gen und ren - nen uns um und hüp - fen und sprin - gen im -
Gra - se - her - um!

⁷³ Mozart, *Lieder, Mehrstimmige Gesänge, Kanons*, 60-61.

Mozart's rhythmic setting vividly illustrates the child's short attention span and almost overwhelmingly propulsive energy, especially in the first stanza. After all, what could be more authentically childlike than a tumble of verbs related with such excitement that the pronouns and conjunctions begin to take over in an almost breathless stream of consciousness? The hiccuping sixteenth-note anacrusis that convey that excitement, however, require a much higher degree of skill on the part of the singer than did Claudius' or Reichardt's simpler rhythms. In addition, the keyboard's two-voiced accompaniment, with its murmuring broken-chord pattern in the left hand, demands a good deal of coordination between singer and accompanist. In short, Mozart's "Das Kinderspiel," while childlike in effect, is decidedly mature in its technical demands. It is more professional, in fact, than the majority of its companions in the *Liedersammlung*, including Mozart's own two other contributions, K596 and K597. To put it another way: the more faithfully Overbeck, and after him, Mozart, sought to represent the interior life of a child, the less accessible the Kinderlied became to a child audience.⁷⁴

What "Das Kinderspiel" seems to convey, in other words, is a "Schein des Kindes" to match the "Schein des Bekannten" advocated by Schulz in the preface to his *Lieder im Volkston*. Schulz qualified the "Schein des Bekannten" thus: "In this appearance of the familiar lies the entire secret of the *Volkston*; but one must not confuse it with the familiar itself; the latter awakens boredom in all artists."⁷⁵ A similar boundary line was drawn in the rhetoric surrounding children's poetry; another member of the Göttinger Hain warned Overbeck to guard himself against sinking into the "kindisch" (childish).⁷⁶ Authenticity, it seems, had its limits.

The self-reflexive stance of "Die kleine Spinnerin" and "Das Kinderspiel" is anachronistic, but in another way, it may be interpreted as merely candid. It reflects the position of the 1791 *Liedersammlung* as a whole, standing on a threshold between music for children and music invoking childhood as a form of spiritual antidote or inoculation—between Lieder "für Kinder" and "für Kinderfreunde." This is the reason for the preternatural nostalgia expressed in "Das Kinderspiel," as when Fritz observes, "There's time enough yet for grousing! [...] If we were older we would walk around stiff-necked and cold." That critique of the aged, that sense—expressed before-the-fact, by the child himself—that time is running out on the idyll of youth,

⁷⁴ Lawrence Kramer makes a similar observation about Schubert's setting of *Heidenröslein* in "Beyond Words and Music: An Essay on Songfulness," in *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 61, quoted in Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise*, 209: "Thanks to the high note, the folk tone becomes self-conscious."

⁷⁵ Schulz, Preface, *Lieder im Volkston* [1785], quoted in Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 67.

⁷⁶ "Er darft sich hüten, daß er nicht ins Kindische oder Läppische hinabsinkt." Johann Martin Miller, letter of 1785; quoted in Hans Grantzow, *Geschichte des Göttinger und des Vossischen Musenalmanachs* [1909], *Berliner Beiträge zur Germanischen und Romanischen Philologie* 35, Germanische Abteilung No. 22 (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1970), 126. See also Schiller, *On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry*, in *Essays*, 187: "It is, moreover, not at all easy, always correctly to distinguish childish from childlike innocence."

is part of the Romantic idealization of childhood that was, in Overbeck's time, already well underway.

Just three years after the *Liedersammlung*, Friedrich Schiller claimed play for adults in his *Letters on Aesthetic Education*, coining the term *Spieltrieb* (play-impulse) to describe that which shows man at his most fully human, since it integrates the otherwise opposing drives of reason and sensual satisfaction.⁷⁷ In elevating play beyond the "mere," Schiller removed it entirely out of the realm of children. The subsequent generation of Romantics, Carolyn Steedman has argued, crafted a notion of subjectivity that wholly absorbed and superseded the child, understanding it not as indicative or even productive of the adult self, but rather as premonitory of and coexistent with it.⁷⁸ Mozart's two "Spiellieder" convey in musical terms the tensions implicit in this superimposition. While some have sought to elucidate Mozart's complicated relationship with play, an attention to those of his songs that actually thematize it, and to the repertoires and traditions from which they accumulate their meanings, reveals the complex nature of his engagement with the ideologies of childhood he helped to construct and came to embody.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Schiller, *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung* [1794], in *Essays*, 126.

⁷⁸ Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 96.

⁷⁹ See also in this respect Peter Pesic, "The Child and the Daemon: Mozart and Deep Play," *19th-Century Music* 25/2-3 (2001-02): 91-107.

Chapter 4

Enchanting Childhood in *Die Zauberflöte*

The remark was off-hand, an afterthought. In a letter of 7 October 1791 to his wife, Constanze, relating the success of *Die Zauberflöte*'s opening run, Mozart reported on the evening's three showstoppers: "As usual the duet 'Mann und Weib' and Papageno's glockenspiel in Act I had to be repeated and also the trio of the boys in Act II."¹ Historians generally assume that the trio appended by Mozart to the other two numbers is the number "Seid uns zum zweiten Mal willkommen" (Be welcomed by us for the second time). But this "niedliche Terzett" (cute trio)—as one review of the keyboard score described it—seems an unlikely choice for an encore. It is a wispy filigree of thirty-five measures, all in a thinly-textured *piano* dynamic, spare in its rhythmic profile and relentlessly homophonic.² It lacks even the melodiousness of the Singspiel's other numbers with equally plain harmonic topographies (such as, for instance, the other two encoored numbers). And it comes at a fairly unremarkable moment in the drama, as the Boys descend for a second time in their flying machine, greet Tamino and Papageno and return their magic instruments to them, and give them food and instructions, all in relatively workaday poetry. It is a modest choice, at best, for an audience favorite.

From early in *Die Zauberflöte*'s career, however the unassuming trio had a surprisingly robust presence outside the theater as an independent musical work. Three months after the premiere, the *Wiener Zeitung* announced the publication of three numbers from the Singspiel, one of which was "Seid uns."³ Two sets of pianoforte variations followed, as did adaptations of the music to new English and Italian texts; this far outstrips any of the Three Boys' other numbers (see the complete list of settings of "Seid uns" in Appendix 4.1).

The somewhat perplexing popularity of "niedliche Terzett" is just one of several notable irregularities regarding the Three Boys. At the premiere, the First Boy was portrayed by Anna Schikaneder, Emanuel's niece, who at twenty-four years of age was older even than the singer who created the role of Pamina.⁴ The Second and Third

¹ "Das Duetto 'Mann und Weib' und das Glöckchenspiel im ersten Act wurde wie gewöhnlich wiederhollet — auch im 2ten Act das knaben Terzett..." *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen: 4 (1787-1857)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 157. English version: *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, trans. and ed. Emily Anderson [1938], 2nd ed. prepared by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan (London: Macmillan, 1966), vol. 2, 966-967. Translation Anderson's.

² "Fh.," "Mozart, W.A., *die Zauberflöte*, eine Oper, fürs Klavier oder Pianoforte... Leipzig, in Commission der Breikopfschen Musikhandlung [review]," *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* Appendix to vol. 28, Part 4 (1799): 92.

³ The other two numbers were "Bei Männern" and "In diesen heil'gen." "Neue Musikalien," *Wiener Zeitung* (3 December 1791), excerpted in *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 362.

⁴ Anna Gottlieb, the first Pamina, was seventeen in 1791. Anna Schikaneder had been a member of her uncle's troupe for some time, perhaps even as a child during his *Wandertruppe* years, when Schikaneder first showed a fondness for "Kinderszenen" in bourgeois dramas and had two children officially noted as members of the troupe. Anke Sonnek, *Emanuel Schikaneder: Theaterprinzipal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber*, Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung

Boys—if they have been correctly identified— were played by two males aged fifteen and seventeen, probably local choristers recruited for the production, since they do not appear on any subsequent playbills or company rosters.⁵ While they are not mentioned in any surviving accounts of the premiere, Anna’s role as the originator of the First Boy figured prominently in nearly all her 1862 obituaries, despite the 71-year gap. Two of her obituaries even recounted an anecdote about an early performance at which Anna supposedly lost her place in the music, but then managed to find her way back. Mozart was reportedly in the audience, and “after the act, [he] clapped the child on the shoulder joyfully and said, ‘Bravo, Nannerl, bravo! Is there anything you can’t do!’”⁶

A further ambiguity regarding the Three Boys has to do with their nomenclature. The premiere playbill left them off entirely, and while they were restored to the playbill for the second performance (as “Drey Genien”), the performers’ names were not listed.⁷ In Mozart’s own entry for *Die Zauberflöte* in his *Werkverzeichnis*, he omitted both the Three Boys and the Three Ladies in his accounting of the sung roles.⁸ In Schikaneder’s

Mozarteum Salzburg 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 238. According to Tadeusz Krzeszowiak, when Schikaneder’s troupe sojourned in Augsburg in the 1778-79 season, the company consisted of 32 performers “and two children.” Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien 1787-1801: Wirkungsstätte von W.A. Mozart und E. Schikaneder – Sammlung der Dokumente* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 94. Anna would go on to be a celebrated member of the Leopoldstadttheater troupe, where she sang the Queen of the Night in an 1811 production of *Die Zauberflöte*. See Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien*, 159.

⁵ According to Hermann Abert, Franz Maurer (the Second Boy) was a later replacement for Matthias Tuscher; about Tuscher we know nothing. No further information about Maurer and “J. Handelgruber” (the Third Boy) is available. See Abert, *W. A. Mozart [1923-24]*, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1246; and Heinz Schuler, “Das Zauberflöten-Ensemble des Jahres 1791: Biographische Miszellen,” *Mitteilung der International Stiftung Mozart* 36/4 (1988): 114-115.

⁶ “Es war Anna Schikaneder dasselbe Mädchen, von welchem erzählt wird, es habe in der vorerwähnten Rolle einmal im Takte gefehlt, sich aber gleich darauf zurecht gefunden, worüber Mozart nach dem Acte hochofreut das Kind auf die Schultern klopfte und sagte: ‘Bravo, Nannerl, bravo! Aus Dir kann was werden!’” In “Nachrichten: Regensburg,” *Neue berliner Musikzeitung* 16/38 (17 September 1862): 301-302. The same anecdote is repeated almost verbatim in “Vermischtes,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 57/13 (26 September 1862): 115.

⁷ The same is true of the playbill for the first performance in Leipzig in 1 March 1793, reproduced in Brigitte Richter, “*Sehr gut und mit allem beifall gegeben: Erstaufführungen von Mozarts Opern auf dem Leipziger Theater des 18. Jahrhunderts*,” in *Mozart in Kursachsen*, ed. Richter and Ursula Oehme (Leipzig: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, 1991), 76. Playbills for the premiere and second performance in Vienna are reproduced in Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien*, 156.

⁸ The omission on the premiere playbill could be a printer error (by no means out of the question, given that the same playbill spells Pamina as “Pramina”). Or, it could be that unlike the (named) Three Slaves, the Three Boys have no spoken dialogue. The Men in Armor, however, were also left off the playbill, suggesting that the omissions may have been concessions to space constraints—especially given the enormous amount of additional text on the playbill advertising Mozart’s presence in the theater and extolling the set design. The same is possible with respect to the *Werkverzeichnis*, for which observation I am grateful to Daniel

1791 libretto, the *Dramatis Personae* lists the characters as “Drey Genien”, but they are referred to as “Drey Knaben” every time they appear in a scene; this double identification was left uncorrected in the 1793 and 1823 reprints of the libretto. Mozart’s autograph score, as well as the first full-score edition published by Simrock in 1814, both refer to the characters as “Knaben.” The ambiguity continued into the nineteenth century, with some productions identifying the characters as “Knaben” and others as “Genien.”

The few existing illustrations of the Three Boys from early performances suggests that there was also some disagreement as to how young the characters actually were imagined to be. In two sets of engravings printed in Leipzig in 1793 and Hamburg in 1795, the Boys are figured as youths (Figures 4.1a and 4.1b). But in a separate set of engravings printed a year earlier in Hamburg, the boys are quite diminutive (Figure 4.1c). Casting information for these three performances is lacking; but together with the example of “Seid uns” and the ambiguous nomenclature and iconography, the Three Boys constitute a somewhat befuddling presence in *Die Zauberflöte*.

Figure 4.1a. Three Boys, *Die Zauberflöte*, Leipzig, 1793⁹



Heartz. Schuler offers no hypotheses for the inconsistencies in the playbill. Schuler, “Das Zauberflöten-Ensemble des Jahres 1791,” 114-115.

⁹ “Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn.” Johann Salomon Richter, *Zwölf Theaterfigurinen für die Leipziger Erstaufführung der ‘Zauberflöte’* [colored engravings], 1793. Reproduced in Richter, “*Sehr gut und mit allem beyfall gegeben*,” 79.

Figure 4.1b. Three Boys, Hamburg, 1795¹⁰



Figure 4.1c. Three Boys, Hamburg, 1794¹¹



The Boys probably deserve more than the scant attention they have received thus far in the *Die Zauberflöte* scholarship. After all, they enjoy more stage- and singing time, and more narrative preeminence, than perhaps any other young characters in the history of the professional Viennese theater. They sing on four separate occasions, including their lengthy episode with Pamina in Act II, which takes place over 182 measures. They act as agents of virtually all the major turns in the plot, leading Tamino to the Temple of Wisdom, arriving just in time to save both Pamina and Papageno from suicide, and facilitating the two reunions required for dramatic closure: Pamina with

¹⁰ "Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn / Doch must du Jüngling männlich siegen." *Sieben Radierung von Hoppe* (Leipzig) (Hamburg: H. Cornelius, 1795). Reproduced in Friedrich Dieckmann, "Radierung zur 'Zauberflöte'," in *Die Zauberflöte: Max Slevogts Randzeichnungen zu Mozarts Handschrift, Mit dem Text von Emanuel Schikaneder*, ed. Friedrich Dieckmann (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1990), 192.

¹¹ "Vierter Act / Pamina / Führt mich hin, ich möcht' ihn Sehen / Die Gen. Komt wir wollen zu ihm / gehen." Set of seven engravings published by J. C. Zimmer to commemorate the November 1793 Hamburg performance under Friedrich Ludwig Schröder. Reproduced in Dieckmann, "Radierung zur 'Zauberflöte,'" 189. This production expanded the Singspiel from two acts to four, hence the appellation "Vierter Act."

Tamino, and Papagena with Papageno.¹² Interpretively, they act as a check against the tendency to exaggerate the polarization of Sarastro and the Queen of the Night: more than any other characters, they move between the realms of “good” and “evil” with striking nonchalance, and even appear to be agents of both.

David Buch, one of the few to consider the Three Boys’ music at any length, observes that the whimsical nature of “Seid uns” “seems to allude to childhood,” and suggests elsewhere with respect to *Die Zauberflöte* that, with psychological insight replacing the “hackneyed nineteenth-century view” of Mozart as eternal child, “we might want to speak again of the spirit of childhood in Mozart’s work.”¹³ It is worth pressing these associations, grounding them in the more specific inquiry as to why the figure of the child seems to elide so easily with that of the genie. The Boys are at once idealized and utterly human: their arrested growth makes them otherworldly, and their unflagging compassion makes them exemplary. But they do not traffic in the spectacular or marvelous so much as in the sympathetic: they observe the “mortals” narrative with keen interest and interact with them rhetorical persuasion and delightful harmony. In examining some of the sources of, and sequels to, *Die Zauberflöte*’s Three Boys, I hope to address the implications of the narrative trope in which adults allow themselves to be led, liberated, and even redeemed by magical children, and what it means to sing in concert with them.

Precursors to the genie, such as cupids, zephyrs, angels, and *putti*, appeared in the earliest operas; and ever since the mid-sixteenth century such figures had been iconographically rendered as childlike.¹⁴ *Die Zauberflöte*’s genies, however, find closer

¹² Five lines from Schikaneder’s printed libretto that were never set by Mozart expand even further the role of the Three Boys in the reunion of Papageno and Papagena. The lines, which come immediately before the Boys’ “Papageno, sieh dich um!”, are as follows: “Komm her, du holdes, liebes Weibchen! / Dem Mann sollst du dein Herzchen weihn! / Er wird dich lieben, süßes Weibchen, / Dein Vater, Freund, und Bruder seyn! / Sey dieses Mannes Eigenthum!” See Emanuel Schikaneder, *Die Zauberflöte. Eine große Oper in zwey Aufzügen* (Vienna: Ignaz Alberti, 1791), 102. Gernot Gruber hypothesizes that these and two other passages of text were left unset either because they were too naïve and moralizing, or because they adversely affected the dramatic momentum. See Gruber, “Zum vorliegenden Band,” in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/19, ed. Gernot Gruber and Alfred Orel (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), xiv.

¹³ David Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theater* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 350; and Buch, “Fairy Tale Literature and *Die Zauberflöte*,” *Acta Musicologica* 64/1 (1992): 49.

¹⁴ The entry “Genius” in Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon* cites Vincenzo Cartari’s *Imagini dei dei degli antichi* (Venice, 1556) among the earliest depictions of genies as boys. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste...*, vol. 10 (“G-Gl.”) (Halle and Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1735), 879. Web, 22 April 2011, <<http://www.zedler-lexikon.de/blaettern/zedlerband.html?seitenzahl=457&bandnummer=10>>. For a summary of the history of the genie and related characters in Viennese theater, see Moriz Enzinger, *Die Entwicklung des Wiener Theaters vom 16. zum 19. Jahrhundert: Stoff und Motive* (Berlin: Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1918-19), vol. 1, 61-64.

antecedents in an oriental fairy-tale tradition that emerged in Europe with the 1704 publication of Antoine Galland's *Mille et une nuits*.¹⁵ The mid-eighteenth-century exotic *opéras féeries* of Jean-Philippe Rameau and François Francoeur, drawing on Galland, frequently included genie characters. Yet as in French Baroque opera, these genies were usually fairly marginal to the overall narrative, and often did not sing (or if they did, it was as a chorus).¹⁶

The 1780s saw a resurgence of interest in the oriental fairy-tale, and its first flowering in Germany, prompted largely by Christoph Martin Wieland's epic poem *Oberon* and a new German translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* by Johann Heinrich Voss.¹⁷ For the first time, German composers began to draw on these collections as source material for Singspiel. For Schikaneder's part, the oriental *Märchenoper* was something of a house specialty: in 1789, the Theater auf der Wieden premiered the Singspiel *Oberon, König der Elfen* (*Oberon, King of the Elves*), based on Wieland's poem.¹⁸ And Mozart was no stranger to oriental fairy-tale literature and opera: he was acquainted with Wieland from his time in Mannheim, had read and enjoyed the *Arabian Nights* as a youth, and owned copies of Wieland's *Oberon* as well as a score to Grétry's *opéra comique Zémire et Azor*.¹⁹

The most relevant source for *Die Zauberflöte*'s fuller treatment of its genie characters, however, is the story collection on which Schikaneder's libretto was most directly based: the acclaimed three-volume *Dschinnistan*, compiled and largely written by Wieland.²⁰ As Buch notes, the collection's very title translates as "Land of the Genies," and genies appear in several of the tales, where they are everything from

¹⁵ *Les Mille et une nuits* was first translated into German in abridged form in 1706, and then in full beginning in 1710. See Ernst-Peter Wieckenberg, *Johann Heinrich Voss und 'Tausend und eine Nacht'* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), 19.

¹⁶ Examples from this tradition include *Zéлиндор, roi des sylphes* (Francoeur and Moncrif, 1745), *Zaïs* (Rameau and Cahusac, 1748), *Zoroastre* (Rameau and Cahusac, 1749), *Les Génies tutélaires* (Francoeur and Moncrif, 1751), and *Alcindor* (Dezède, 1787).

¹⁷ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Oberon: Ein Gedicht in vierzehn Gesängen* (Weimar: Carl Ludolf Hoffmann, 1780); and *Die Tausend und eine Nacht*, trans. Johann Heinrich Voß (Bremen; J. H. Cramer, 1781-85), 6 vols. See Wieckenberg, *Johann Heinrich Voß und 'Tausend und eine Nacht,'* 18; and Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests*, 251-252 and 290-295; and Buch, "Fairy Tale Literature and *Die Zauberflöte*."

¹⁸ (Paul Wranitzky and Karl Ludwig Giesecke, prem. Vienna, Theater auf der Wieden, 7 November 1789). There are two genies in *Oberon*, but theirs are spoken roles and they are little more than provider figures. The performers who portrayed the genies are unknown. The troupe also performed Schikaneder's oriental "Zauberkomödie mit Arien und Chören" *Die schöne Isländerin, oder Der Muffti von Samarkanda* (composer unknown [score lost], prem. 22 April 1790), about which role information is not readily available. See Buch, *Magic Flutes*, 295n and 335-336.

¹⁹ Buch, "Fairy-Tale Literature and *Die Zauberflöte*," 48, and *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests*, 316. Buch cites Mozart's letter to his sister of 21 July 1770: "ich habe die Tausend und eine Nacht in italienischer Sprache von unserer Hausfrau zu Rom schenken bekommen; es ist recht lustig zu lesen." *Zémire et Azor* had been revived in 1787, in German translation, at the Kärntnertheater and the Burgtheater.

²⁰ Wieland, *Dschinnistan, oder*

helper figures – as in “Der goldene Zweig” (The Golden Bough) and “Das Labyrinth” – to romantic heroes – as in “Adis und Dahy.” Genies are also present in each of the five Viennese Singspiels based on *Dschinnistan* (see Appendix 4.2). We cannot know whether Wieland intended for *Dschinnistan* to serve as a resource for opera librettists; but given his notable collaborations with composer Anton Schweitzer in the 1770s, and Schikaneder’s successful adaptation of his *Oberon* in 1789, it stands to reason that Schikaneder would turn to *Dschinnistan* for material for his theater.

Two of the Singspiels that predate *Die Zauberflöte – Der Stein der Weisen, oder die Zauberinsel* (The Philosopher’s Stone, or the Magic Island) and *Kaspar der Fagottist, oder die Zauberzither* (Kaspar the Bassoonist, or the Magic Zither) – feature prominent roles for genies, in which their music-making is figured as a key element in their protective or emancipatory power.²¹ Neither of the source tales for these two Singspiels feature genie characters, however; the librettists thus went to the trouble of importing them from other tales in *Dschinnistan*. *Der Stein der Weisen*’s prominent Genie was originated by Anna Schikaneder, and she must have acquitted herself well, since her subsequent role in *Die Zauberflöte* is even lengthier and more technically demanding.

Here again, despite the adult performer, the role was figured as childlike. In an engraving from the 1791 *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde*, the Genie is comparable in stature to the child actors who played Eutifronte’s dwarfs – even though, at twenty-three, Anna would have been three years older than the actress portraying Lubanara (Barbara Gerl, the first Papagena; see Figure 4.2). The engraving thus illustrates not an actual, but an idealized mise-en-scène.

²¹ The next *Dschinnistan* Singspiel, Schikaneder’s *Der wohlthätige Derwisch oder Die Schellenkappe* ((The Benevolent Dervish, or The Cap and Bells, [collaborative score], prem. Vienna, Wiednertheater, February or March 1791), includes a Genie, but only in an optional “alternate ending” in the manuscript score associated with the Munich performance in 1794 (D-Mbs. St. Th. 382). Here, in an aria and accompanied recitative, the Genius takes on the traditional *deus ex machina* role and reverses the disfiguring curse that has been visited on the scheming anti-heroine. The Genius was apparently portrayed by a Mad[ame] Rosenberg. See David J. Buch, “Critical Report,” in *Der wohlthätige Derwisch (Vienna, 1791)*, ed. Buch, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era 81* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2010), 211-212.

Figure 4.2. Detail, engraving from *Der Stein der Weisen* (Act II, Scene 15): Eutifronte's dwarfs, Genie, and Lubanara²²



As with the Hamburg engraving from *Die Zauberflöte*, this one for *Der Stein der Weisen* depicts the Genie leading an adult character out of danger—a predictable image, perhaps, for the character-type. While his first appearance is as a herald and messenger of his master, the good magician Astromonte, the Genie subsequently intervenes in the plot in a manner that anticipates *Die Zauberflöte*, rescuing and reuniting almost all of the major characters in the drama without any apparent direction from Astromonte or anyone else. He warns the hero, Nadir, and his sidekick, Lubano, against eating poisoned food from the evil magician Eutifronte; he helps Lubano's newlywed, Lubanara, escape from the evil magician Eutifronte's dwarfs, and banishes them to hell; he reunites Nadir with Lubano and with Astromonte, who then turns out to be Nadir's long-lost father; and finally, he grants the philosopher's stone to Nadir and Nadine.

As striking as is the Genie's dramatic presence, his music is even more so: its extent, complexity, and diversity is unprecedented for such a character. He enjoys six entrances over the course of the Singspiel, singing in all of them but one (Act II, Scene 15, the scene depicted in the engraving), and in that one, his spoken dialogue is still accompanied. Many of his appearances coincide with those of the magic bird he often carries, whose music thus comes to stand for both of these creatures of the air. This consistent musical frame sets the Genie apart from the other characters in the Singspiel, almost as though his character was essentially bound up with music.

²² From *Allmanach für Theaterfreunde auf das Jahr 1791* (Vienna: Matthias Ludwig, 1791), reproduced in *Schikaneders heroisch-komische Oper Der Stein der Weisen – Modell für Mozarts Zauberflöte: Kritische Ausgabe des Textbuches*, ed. David J. Buch and Manuela Jahrmärker, Hainholz Musikwissenschaft 5 (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002), 61. This is one of just three scenes from *Der Stein der Weisen* chosen for engraving; the other two are an unidentified aria for Lubano, and Act I, Scene 14 (Lubanara, Lubano, and Eutifronte), reproduced in *Schikaneders heroisch-komische Oper*, 36-37.

In the Genie's most extended scene (Act II, Scene 25), music acts as his chief means for successfully rescuing Nadir. The number in question—"Fort, armer Jüngling"—is one of the few passages in *Der Stein der Weisen* that has been attributed to Mozart, and it is the only one of his with a direct counterpart in *Die Zauberflöte* (the episode with Pamina and the Three Boys, about which more later in this chapter). As the scene opens, Nadir has just watched his beloved Nadine die accidentally by his own hand.²³ The Genie arrives on the scene, and urges the distraught hero to come away with him:

GENIUS: Fort, armer Jüngling, eile von hier, Eh' die Verzweiflung dich umschließt.	Away, poor youth, haste from here, Ere despair surrounds you.
NADIR: O laßt mich an den heil'gen Ort; Ich sterbe wo Nadine ist.	O leave me in this holy place; I die where Nadine is.
G: O folge meinem Rat Und fliehe diesen Ort. Ich weiß du wirst mir's danken. Komm, eile mit mir fort!	O follow my advice And flee this place. I know you will thank me. Come, hurry away with me!
G: Komm, folge meinem Rat N: Ich komm und folge deinem Rat	Come, follow my advice I come and follow your advice
G: Und fliehe diesen Ort. N: Ich fliehe diesen Ort.	And flee this place. I flee this place.
G: Einst wirst du mir es danken. N: Ich folge dir, ich folge dir,	Soon you will thank me. I follow you, I follow you,
G: Komm, eile mit mir fort! N: Ich komm und eile mit dir fort!	Come, hurry away with me! I come and hurry away with you! ²⁴

Given the text, the call-and-response setting is fairly predictable. But there is something significant missing from the text that the music must supply on its own: namely, a clear motivation for Nadir's change of heart. The Genie's vague promise "I know you will thank me" is rather impoverished, rhetorically; consequently, it is left to the music to amplify the message (see Music Example 4.1). The modulation from c minor to the relative *Eb* major at the Genie's line "O folge meinem Rat" registers the subtle shift in the Genie's message, from "flee this place" to "flee with me." And Nadir falls into step behind this charismatic invitation, filling in the Genie's pauses at the repeat of the C-major section with obbligato echoes. Music, in other words, appears not just to illustrate, but also to produce Nadir's relatively blind faith; or, to put it

²³ Eutifronte's diabolical intervention to guide the fatal arrow shot to his planned target, Nadine, prefigures *Der Freischütz*.

²⁴ Modified from *Schikaneder's heroisch-komische Oper*, 67-68.

dramaturgically, music coaxes the audience to suspend its disbelief and follow the Genie.

Music Example 4.1. Excerpt, “Fort, armer Jüngling” (Genie, Nadir),
from *Der Stein der Weisen* (Act II, Scene 25)²⁵

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 284-292) includes parts for Cl. 1, 2 in Bb; Gen.; Ndr.; Vn. 1, 2; Va.; and B. The Genie's part has lyrics: "O... fol- ge... mei- nem Rat und flie- he... die- sen Ort. Ich weiß, ich ist." The second system (measures 292-299) includes parts for Cl. 1, 2 in Bb; Bn. 1, 2; Gen.; Vn. 1, 2; Va.; and B. The Genie's part has lyrics: "weiß, du wirst mir's das- ken. Komm, komm, ei- le... ei- le... mit mir". The third system (measures 299-306) includes parts for Cl. 1, 2 in Bb; Bn. 1, 2; Gen.; Ndr.; Vn. 1, 2; Va.; and B. The Genie's part has lyrics: "fort. Komm fol- ge... mei- nem Rat und... flie- he..." and the Nadir part has lyrics: "Ich komm und fol- ge dei- nem Rat;". Dynamics include *f*, *p*, and *a2*.

²⁵ *Der Stein der Weisen*, ed. David Buch, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era 76 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007), 278-279.

Music Example 4.1 cont'd.

The image shows a page of a musical score, labeled '305' at the top left. It contains eight staves of music. The top two staves are for Clarinets 1 and 2 in B-flat. The third staff is for Bassoons 1 and 2. The fourth staff is for the Genie (Gen.), with German lyrics: 'die- sen Ort. Einst wirst du mir, du mir es dan- ken.' The fifth staff is for the Ndr. (Nandor), with lyrics: 'ich fol- ge die- sen Ort. Ich fol- ge dir, ich fol- ge'. The bottom four staves are for Violins 1 and 2, Viola, and Bass. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Between *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*, Schikaneder's rival Carl Marinelli produced a *Dschinnistan*-Singspiel at the Leopoldstadttheater. *Kaspar der Fagottist* seems to have been intended to directly challenge, or at least capitalize on, the popularity of Schikaneder's popular *Dschinnistan*-Singspiels; and its "little genie" Pizichi – played by the actor Johann Handel – may very likely have been conceived as a rival to Anna Schikaneder's *Genie*.²⁶ Librettist Joachim Perinet certainly seems to be attempting to outdo Schikaneder in the prominent role he gives to both Pizichi and his music. From his name, which references the string technique *pizzicato*; to his appearance playing the magic bassoon that he gives to Kaspar, the comic hero; to his short but significant aria in Act III; to the final chorus, in which he is hoisted on the shoulders of the ensemble, who close the Singspiel with "Vivat, vivat Pizichi!", this character was meant to steal the show, and to steal it in song.²⁷

In the absence of any biographical information on Handel or illustrations from the production, it is difficult to know how Marinelli or his audiences would have understood Pizichi.²⁸ But he is frequently referred to in the libretto as "allerliebster

²⁶ The premiere of *Kaspar* took place less than a month after the still-popular *Der Stein der Weisen* had experienced its first revival, on or around 12 May. See Buch, "Kontext, Inhalt und Aufführungsgeschichte," in *Schikaneders heroisch-komische Oper Der Stein der Weisen – Modell für Mozarts Zauberflöte: Kritische Ausgabe des Textbuches*, ed. David J. Buch and Manuela Jahrmärker, Hainholz Musikwissenschaft 5 (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002), 83. A daily chronicle of performances at the Theater auf der Wieden is not available for this time period, so there is no way to know how many performances of *Stein der Weisen* made up its initial run.

²⁷ Peter Branscombe discusses *Kaspar der Fagottist* in *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 29-34.

²⁸ All we know about Johann Handel is that he also performed in *Der hochgeehrte Herr Vetter* (19 Oct 1801), so he was a member of Marinelli's troupe for at least ten years. Angermüller,

Junge" (dearest youth), "Spitzbübl" (little rascal), "Maulwurf" (mole), "kleiner Affe" (little ape), and other diminutives. And in subsequent productions, children often took on the role, to similar critical reaction as the Three Boys.²⁹

Kaspar der Fagottist, like *Die Zauberflöte*, was based on the *Dschinnistan* tale "Lulu, oder die Zauberflöte," in which the magic flute "has the power to win the love of all who hear it, and to incite or still all passions that its player wishes."³⁰ Self-referential numbers therefore abound, from an aria about waltzing to a comic duet depicting a bassoon lesson; and emotions are often allegorized musically, especially by the romantic heroine, Sidi.³¹ The magical effects of music are made explicit in Act III, when the hero Armidoro's magic zither begins to play on its own, scaring away two of the villains. And the preoccupation with music-making as both enchanting and protective is personified in Pizichi's own close association with music. In his aria, he reassures Armidoro and Kaspar that they will prevail by means of a musical analogy (see Music Example 4.2):

Prinz, die Saiten wohlgespannt
Pizichi ist Sekundant,
Pizichi hilft aus der Noth
Schlägt die Zither, bläst Fagott.

Prince, the strings are well-stretched
Pizichi is second-in-command,
Pizichi helps out from need
Strike the zither, blow the bassoon.³²

Wenzel Müller und "sein" Leopoldstädtertheater, 195. Marinelli's company in 1793 contained 17 adult male, 13 adult female performers, and 10 boys and 6 girls. Johann Friedl, *Vertraute Briefe zur Charakteristik von Wien* [1793], quoted in Tadeusz Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater in Wien 1787-1801: Wirkungsstätte von W. A. Mozart und E. Schikaneder – Sammlung der Dokumente* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 26.

²⁹ See, for instance, "Linz. Aufgeführte Stücke im Monat Dezember 1795," *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* (1796): 196: "Hr. Erfurt, der heute den Kaspar mit besonderer Laune, und die kleine Mlle. Schlögel als Piziki, den sie so allerliebste, als sonst die Mlle. Riesam, spielte, wurden herausgerufen."

³⁰ Quoted in Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte*, 30. Translation Branscombe's.

³¹ The aria and duet are, respectively, "Ein Walzer erhitzt den Kopf und das Blut" (Kaspar, II/3); "Lieber Kaspar lehre mich doch!" (Zumio and Kaspar, II/12). After hearing a Romance sung by Bosphoro, Sidi exclaims, "Du harmonirst in meine Seele" (You harmonize in my soul; I/2, following "Ihr lieben guten Leuten hört"); later, Sidi sings an aria that includes the line "Holde Liebe, deine Stimme / Tönet mächtiglich in mir" (Sweet love, your voice / Resounds strongly in me; from "Alles liebet, was da lebet," III/5).

³² Joachim Perinet, *Kaspar, der Fagottist, oder: die Zauberzither* [1791], reproduced in *Die Maschinenkomödie*, ed. Otto Rommel, Deutsche Literatur: Reihe Barock, Band 1 (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1935), 251.

**Music Example 4.2. “Prinz, die Saiten wohlgespannt” (Pizichi),
from *Kaspar der Fagottist* (Act III, Scene 10)³³**

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the aria "Prinz, die Saiten wohlgespannt" (Pizichi) from the opera *Kaspar der Fagottist*. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line for Pizichi and a piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked "Andantino". The score includes lyrics in German and Italian. The piece concludes with an "Allacca" section for the Trompetten & Pauken.

Wenzel Müller’s musical setting of this modest arietta could not be more slight. And yet as with “Seid uns,” the arietta was encored, at a 1794 performance of *Kaspar* in Graz.³⁴ Pizichi was such a crowd-pleasing character, in fact, that a year after the premiere of *Kaspar*, Perinet and Müller gave him a “spin-off” *Singspiel*, *Pizichi, oder Fortsetzung, Kaspars des Fagottisten*.³⁵ Again, Johann Handel played Pizichi, this time as a “männliche Genius” who wants nothing more than to prove he is no longer a child and that he can successfully woo himself a wife. In order to accomplish this Papageno-esque goal, however, he trots out numerous twee clichés, winking to the audience in asides while referring to himself as “eines armen Findelkind” (a poor foundling), “einen armen Vogel” (a poor bird), “eine Puppe” (a doll), and “ein Zeißig” (a finch).³⁶ These

³³ D-Mbs St.th.216, 77, reproduced in *Das Opernprojekt: Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770 und 1830*, Web, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 20 December 2010, <http://www.oper-um-1800.uni-koeln.de/einzeldarstellung_scan.php?id_werke=90&id_scan=29&herkunft=>

³⁴ “...Mlle. Schak, als Piziki, mußte die Ariette: ‘Prinz die Saiten wohlgespannt,’ zweimal repetiren. Spielt ihre Rolle überhaupt vortrefflich.” In “Grätz, Aufgeführte Stücke im Monat Oktober 1794,” *Allgemeines europäisches Journal* 2/2 (Brünn: Joseph Georg Trassler, 1794): 350.

³⁵ *Pizichi* premiered at the Theater an der Leopoldstadt on 2 Oct 1792.

³⁶ The first quotation comes from Act I, Scene 8, the rest from Act II, Scene 2; Joachim Perinet, *Pizichi, oder: Fortsetzung, Kaspars des Fagottisten. Ein Original-Singspiel in drey Aufzügen mit Maschinen und Flugwerken* (Vienna: Mathias Andreas Schmidt, 1792), 19 and 43-45, respectively. Toward the end of the *Singspiel*, Pizichi even manages to convince the buffo Zumio that he is

numerous familiar symbols of preciousness all come in for mockery as the lustful Pizichi employs them in the service of his amorous pursuits. But in lampooning them, *Pizichi* demonstrates the pervasive nature of the new ideology of childhood innocence, confirming as though in relief the hold it had taken in the popular imagination.

Mozart saw *Kaspar der Fagottist*, mentioning it in a letter of 12 June 1791 to Constanze: “To cheer myself up I then went to the Kasperle Theatre to see the new opera ‘Der Fagottist’, which is making such a sensation, but which is shoddy stuff.”³⁷ Mozart may have been unimpressed with *Kaspar*, but he and Schikaneder nevertheless seem to have followed their rivals’ lead in increasing the prominence of the genie character. In fact, if *Kaspar* was the Marinelli theater’s answer to *Der Stein der Weisen*, *Die Zauberflöte* ups the ante considerably. The musical complexity of the Three Boys’ parts is staggering: the complex counterpoint, chromaticisms, modulations, and rhythmic hockets of a passage like “Doch sieht Verzweiflung quält Pamina” (But see, despair torments Pamina) from the Act II Finale far outweigh any advantage the singers might have enjoyed from the addition of two supporting voices (see Music Example 4.3).

Music Example 4.3. Excerpt, “Bald prangt, den Morgen zu verkünden”
(Three Boys), from *Die Zauberflöte* (Act II, Scene 26)³⁸

his own son, skewering in the process the familiar conventions of the sentimental family recognition scene. I am grateful to Mary Ann Smart for the observation about Papageno.

³⁷ “Ich ging dann, um mich aufzuheitern, zum Kasperl in die neue Oper ‘Der Fagottist,’ die so viel Lärm macht, Aber es war nichts daran.” Translation in *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, vol. 2, 954.

³⁸ Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, ed. Gernot Gruber and Alfred Orel, Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/19 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 269-272.

Music Example 4.3 cont'd.

kommt, lasst uns bei Sei-te gehn, da-mit wir, was sie ma-che, sehn, da-mit, da-mit wir, was sie ma-che,
 lasst uns bei Sei-te gehn, da-mit wir, was sie ma-che, sehn, da-mit wir, was sie ma-che,
 lasst uns bei Sei-te gehn, da-mit wir, was sie ma-che, sehn, da-mit wir, was sie mache, was sie ma-che,

PAMINA. (zum Dolch).
 Du al-so bist mein Bräuti-gam? Durch dich voll-end' ich meinen Gram! (bei Seite)
 sehn. (Sie gehen bei Seite) Welch'dunkle Wor-te sprach sie
 sehn. Welch'dunkle Wor-te sprach sie
 sehn. Vello. Welch'dunkle Worte sprach sie

These were challenging roles, and they were understood as such for decades. One review of an 1818 Leipzig production observed that “the Terzetts of the Ladies and Boys were sung valiantly,” while an account of an 1821 Frankfurt production hailed “three little Bambergers, siblings of our Pamina, [who] sang these difficult parts incredibly solidly and purely, especially little Eva, a lovely girl, who had the first part.”³⁹

The idea of having three genies instead of one was not a pure invention of Schikaneder and Mozart. Rather, they borrowed it from several stories in *Dschinnistan*, chiefly Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel’s “Die klugen Knaben” (The Clever Boys).⁴⁰ In this tale, another variant on the oriental-rescue narrative, the hero Salamor despairs of rescuing his beloved, Alide, from the miserable tyrant Soffra until he remembers

³⁹ “so waren auch die Terzette der Damen und Knaben wacker eingesungen.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (20 January 1819): 54. “Drey kleine Bambergers, Geschwister unserer Pamina [given in the article only as “Dlle. Bamberger”], sangen diese schwierige Partie ungemein sicher und rein, besonders die kleine Eva, ein liebliches Mädchen, welche die erste Stimme hatte.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 16 (18 April 1821): 277.

⁴⁰ Einsiedel was also responsible for the tales “Der Zweikampf” (The Duel), “Das Labyrinth,” and “Die Prinzessin mit der langen Nase.” See Egon Komorzkyński, “Zauberflöte und *Dschinnistan*,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1954): 177-194. Buch identifies two other *Dschinnistan* tales as sources for the boys: “Timander und Melissa” and “Das Labyrinth.” See Buch, “Fairy Tale Literature and *Die Zauberflöte*”: 42.

a story he had once heard in his earliest youth. According to that story, there lived in a distant land three boys, whom a spell preserved in everlasting childhood, who, however, because of their wisdom were called “the clever boys,” and who were sought by all the inhabitants of the land in all important matters for advice.⁴¹

In other words, the Clever Boys are not genies—they are simply boys, whose frozen childhood has given them the wisdom of the aged along with the innocence of the child. This is an important factor in their magic, for it means that the Boys embody the dialectical synthesis of the child’s purity of spirit and the adult’s wisdom, that key Enlightenment desideratum that persisted into the nineteenth century. William Blake referred to the synthesis as “organized innocence,” Novalis called it “*der frische Blick*” (fresh sight), and Samuel Taylor Coleridge called it “freshness of sensation,” writing:

To carry on the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood; to combine the child’s sense of wonder and novelty with the appearances, which every day for perhaps forty years had rendered familiar . . . this is the character and privilege of genius.⁴²

But of course, it is not enough that the Clever Boys merely exist; they have to be sought out. To do so is a psychological undertaking for Salamor: he must summon these characters out of a story he was told “in his earliest youth,” to conjure them into existence out of the force of his own memory, his deep need for assistance, and his will to find guidance. The means by which Salamor finally succeeds in locating the Boys is equally psychological: as he approaches the borders of “the land to which he hastens” (Einsiedel leaves the geography tantalizingly underdetermined), he begins to hear more and more people talk of the Clever Boys. Finally, he is led to the grove where they sit under three silver palm trees with golden leaves.⁴³ For the remainder of the tale, Salamor allows himself to be guided by the boys; and even though doing so causes him to be killed, they bring him back to life.

This recuperation of the inner child, out of the recesses of memory, was an invention of the Enlightenment: it is the autobiographical consequence of the reevaluation of childhood, one Carolyn Steedman has elaborated in her survey of the

⁴¹ “...eine Volks-Sage ein, von der er in seiner frühesten Jugend einst gehört hatte. Vermöge derselben sollten in einem fernen Reich drey Knaben wohnen, die ein Zauber in immerwährender Kindheit erhielt, die aber ihrer Weisheit wegen die klugen Knaben genennt, und von den Einwohnern des Landes in allen wichtigen Angelegenheiten um Rath gefragt würden.” Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel, “Die klugen Knaben,” in *Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen. Theils neu erfunden, theils neu übersetzt und umgearbeitet von C. M. Wieland, Dritter Band* [1789] (Winterthur: [s.n.], 1810), 52.

⁴² Blake, *Songs of Innocence and Experience* [1789/1794]; Novalis, *Fragmente* [n.d.]; and Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* I [1817]; cited in M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton, 1971), 378-379. I am grateful to Nicholas Mathew for this reference.

⁴³ “Ehe er noch die Grenzen des Landes, welche er zueilte, betreten hatte, fand er seinen Glauben bestätigt...” Einsiedel, “Die klugen Knaben,” in *Dschinnistan...Dritter Band*, 52.

Mignon figure.⁴⁴ To allow oneself to be guided by one's inner child required a certain leap of faith, even in the twilight years of the Age of Reason. Wieland's preface to the first volume of *Dschinnistan* addresses this issue, setting forth genies not only as the harbingers of a better kind of person, but as the representatives of a willingness to submit, in an increasingly secular age, to events one cannot explain rationally:

It seems to be one of the finest devices in this genre of poetry, that one establishes genii and fairies as beings of a higher order and citizens of another world, whose nature, mode of action, and history always has something mysterious, secret and inexplicable for us; [it is, furthermore, very effective] when our events are woven into theirs through a still higher and more secret order of things (which we call Fate), and without knowing how or why it is possible, we hand over the tools through which Fate shows itself to be good.⁴⁵

Within *Die Zauberflöte's* narrative, the characters who follow the Three Boys do so with a leap of faith, in a counterpart to the somber, highly formalized submission represented by the trials of initiation. The Boys are, as Papageno calls them, "Wegweiser," but the path they lead their charges on is not so much an "emergence...from self-imposed immaturity" (to quote Kant's famous definition of Enlightenment), but rather an informed return to it—a kind of reverse *Bildungsroman* for which they themselves are the exemplars.⁴⁶

This urgent desire for an authentic rapport with the child, one that would transform both parties, underpins much of the children's music of the late eighteenth century. And it arguably finds its zenith in *Die Zauberflöte's* quartet for the Three Boys and Pamina. After the Three Boys rescue Pamina from suicide and convince her to follow them to Tamino (the moment immortalized in the Hamburg engraving, Figure 4.1c), all four characters turn to the audience and deliver another of the Singspiel's many maxims, in a triumphant quartet that lasts for nearly forty measures:

<p>Zwey Herzen, die von Liebe brennen, Kann Menschenohnmacht niemahls trennen. Verloren ist der Feinde Müh; Die Götter selbst schützen sie.</p>	<p>Two hearts that burn with love Can never be parted by human frailty. Gone is the enemies' trouble; The gods themselves protect them.</p>
---	---

⁴⁴ Steedman, *Strange Dislocations*.

⁴⁵ "Es scheint einer der feinsten Kunstgriffe in dieser Gattung von Dichterey zu seyn, daß man die Genien und Feen als Wesen einer höhern Ordnung und Bürger einer andern Welt einführt, deren Natur, Wirkungsart und Geschichte für uns immer etwas räthselhaftes, geheimes und unerklärbares hat; auch alsdann wenn unsre Begebenheiten durch eine noch höhere und geheimere Ordnung der Dinge, (das was man Schicksal nennt) in die ihrige eingeflochten, und wir, ohne zu wissen wie und warum Werkzeuge abgeben, wodurch das Schicksal ihnen Gutes erweist." [Wieland], "Vorrede," in *Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen. Theils neu erfunden, theils neu übersetzt und umgearbeitet, Erster Band* (Winterthur: Heinrich Steiner, 1786), xiii-xiv.

⁴⁶ See Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment? [1784]," in *What is Enlightenment?*, 58

The joyful hymn-like texture of this passage, and the spare instrumental counterpoint, allows the ringing of the four soprano voices to be heard to full effect (see Music Example 4.4). The “Zwei Herzen” quartet, in other words, represents a moment of genuine concord between young and old. And after this moment of radiant naïveté, the subsequent reharmonization of the “Zwei Herzen” passage in the relative minor in the orchestral introduction to the Men in Armor chorale seems diminished, its terrifying power mitigated by the strong memory of its previous iteration in the major (see Music Example 4.5).

Music Example 4.4. Opening measures of “Zwei Herzen, die von Liebe brennen” (Pamina and Three Boys), from *Die Zauberflöte* (Act II, Scene 27)⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, 281-282.

Music Example 4.5. Opening measures of “Der, welcher wandert diese Strasse” (Men in Armor), from *Die Zauberflöte* (Act II, Scene 28)⁴⁸

In deciding to be led by the Boys, and in renouncing despair in favor of hope, Pamina has already passed the arguably greater trial. Only once she has done so is she able to recover the flute’s provenance, in order to pass it on to Tamino. And that recovery unfolds in much the same manner as Salamor’s in “Die klugen Knaben” – as though out of the recesses of her deepest memory. In the Finale, Mozart and Schikaneder could just have had Pamina return the flute to Tamino and insist on joining him for the trials of fire and water. Instead, they assign her a startling revelation about the flute’s provenance—“carved by my father in a magic hour [...] out of the thousand-year-old oak” – but one that is by no means new to Pamina; rather, it appears she has always known it, perhaps subconsciously, calling it up when it is most needed.⁴⁹ In a sense, Pamina steps outside the narrative here and becomes a kind of disinterested author, or a “Fourth Boy,” if you will—even echoing in her passages the Three Boys’ multiple references to the “Bahn,” or path.⁵⁰ She becomes the new “Wegweiser,” though without having to forsake sexual experience—or any other form of maturation, for that matter—in order to effect narrative magic.

⁴⁸ Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, 287.

⁴⁹ “Es schnitt in einer Zauberstunde / Mein Vater sie aus tiefstem Grunde / Der tausendjäh’gen Eiche aus / Bei Blitz und Donner, Sturm und Braus.” This moment is discussed in Marianne Tettlebaum, “Whose Magic Flute?” *Representations* 102 (2008): 76-93; and in Jessica Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart’s Operas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 35-43.

⁵⁰ Compare Pamina’s lines in the Finale—“Spiel du die Zauberflöte an; / Sie schütze uns auf unsrer Bahn” and “Nun komm, und spiel’ die Flöte an, / Sie leitet uns auf grauser Bahn”—to the Act I trio for the Boys, “Zum Ziele führt dich diese Bahn,” and Act II’s “Bald prangt, den Morgen zu verkünden, / Die Sonn’ auf goldner Bahn.”

Only now can the flute show its greatest power, at the moment of *Die Zauberflöte*'s sparest simplicity. Critics who lament the trials as anticlimactic neglect Pamina's provenance narrative, and the significance of the presence of the Three Boys. The childlike sublime, that "spirit of childhood" identified by Buch, is what is limned by the final flute solo.⁵¹ Its unassuming melody is the ultimate in "edle Einfalt" (noble simplicity) – the very quality imputed to the child.⁵²

Süß, wie der weiche Ton der Flöte
Der sich durch Abend-Fluhren zieht,
So ist des Lebens Morgenröte,
Die, *Kind*, auf deinen Wangen glüht.

Sweet, like the soft sound of the flute
That wafts through evening meadows,
So is the dawn of life,
That glows, *child*, on your cheeks.⁵³

In the years following *Die Zauberflöte*, genies were a common feature at the Theater auf der Wieden. In 1792, *Der Zauberdrachen, oder Etwas für den Fasching* (The Magic Dragon, or Something for Carnival) included a part for a genie and "a tiny ghost."⁵⁴ Schikaneder then wrote parts for two genies in his *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* (The Mirror of Arcadia).⁵⁵ The genies' duet, "Wir sind nur noch Bübchen," employed the same kind of auto-exoticizing language used by Pizichi in his eponymous *Singspiel*, winning accolades from critics in the process.⁵⁶ Following all these proto-sequels, Schikaneder finally produced an actual sequel to *Die Zauberflöte* in 1798: *Der Zauberfloete zweyter Theil unter dem Titel: Das Labyrinth oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen* (The Magic Flute Part Two under the title: The Labyrinth, or The War of the Elements).⁵⁷ The "Drey Genien" returned, as did all of the major characters from the original *Singspiel*.⁵⁸ And there is

⁵¹ See for instance Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 96-102; see also the discussion in Tettlebaum, "Whose Magic Flute?": 84-86.

⁵² Sulzer, "Einfalt," in Johann George Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln* (Leipzig: M. G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771), vol. 1, 295.

⁵³ Friedrich Justin Bertuch, "Die Jugend [excerpt]," from *Wiegenliederchen* [1772], reproduced in *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung: Eine Textsammlung*, 215.

⁵⁴ Composer unknown, libretto by Friedrich Sprenger, prem. Vienna, Theater auf der Wieden, 29 January 1792. See Buch, *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests*, 308n.

⁵⁵ Franz Xaver Süssmayr, prem. Vienna, Theater auf der Wieden, 14 November 1794.

⁵⁶ "Meine Liebstückchen sind die Arie *Pum Pum*, und die zwey Duet *Fari Giri Giri*, und *Lallalla Trallalla* [i.e., "Wir sind nur noch Bübchen"], welches letztere zwey himmlische Genien singen." Hilarius Gaffer [pseudonym, perhaps for editor Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard], "Ueber Schikaneders neueste Oper, der Spiegel von Arkadien," *Olla Potrida* ??/3 (Berlin, 1795), 69-70. The Genies were played by two siblings, the children of a member of the company known only as "Herr Weiß." A playbill from a subsequent performance, on 30 January 1795, lists "Kleine A[r]ndrasch" and "Kleine Weiß" as the performers. See Krzeszowiak, *Freihaustheater*, 321.

⁵⁷ Peter Winter, prem. Vienna, Freihaustheater auf der Wieden, 6 December 1798.

⁵⁸ As with the original *Die Zauberflöte*, the librettos and scores for *Das Labyrinth* vary in their nomenclature, some calling the boys "Knäbchen" and others "Genien." See Emanuel Schikaneder, *Der Zauberfloete zweyter Theil unter dem Titel: Das Labyrinth oder Der Kampf mit den*

even a redux of the rescue quartet with Pamina, which, while not as compelling as Mozart's original, certainly recalls its main contours (see Music Example 4.6):

DIE GENIEN:
Kämpfe mit den Elementen
Wandle durch die Luft ihm nach.

GENIES:
Battle with the elements
Wander through the air after him.

PAMINA:
Durch die Wolken hinzuschwinden
Bin ich Arme viel zu schwach!

PAMINA:
Disappear through the clouds
Poor me, I am far too weak!

G: Wirst du länger hier verweilen,
Schleppt dich Tipheus zum Altar.

G: If you stay here any longer,
Tipheus will carry you to the altar.

P: Gute Götter! Ich will eilen,
Schütztet mich in der Gefahr!

Good gods! I will hie me hence,
Protect me in my danger!⁵⁹

Music Example 4.6. Excerpt from Finale,
Das Labyrinth (Act II, Scene 20)⁶⁰



Elementen, Eine große heroisch-komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen..., ed. Manuela Jahrmärker and Till Gerrit Waidelich, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Schriftenreihe zur Musik 7 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), 127n.

There is no information regarding the originators of the Genius roles, but in a playbill for the first performance in Frankfurt (30 March 1806), the performers are listed as Christine Amberg, Helena Amberg, and Friz Jacobi. Playbill in the collection of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, reproduced in Schikaneder, *Der Zauberfloete zweyter Theil*, Abb. 14.

⁵⁹ Schikaneder, *Der Zauberfloete zweyter Theil*, 71. Tipheus, King of Paphos, is Tamino's rival for Pamina's hand.

⁶⁰ Peter Winter, *Das Labyrinth, oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen: Eine grosse Oper. Clavierauszug von J. Henneberg* (Bonn: Simrock, 1799[?]), 162-163.

Music Example 4.6 cont'd.

While images of benevolent, tutelary genies reigned in Vienna, a more pessimistic romanticization of the child was underway elsewhere. In Goethe's never-realized sequel to *Die Zauberflöte*, on which he labored off and on from 1794 to 1800, a more impossibly perfect image of childhood prevails.⁶¹ As the *Singspiel* opens, Tamino and Pamina have already borne a child, who has been imprisoned in a gilded coffin by the envious Queen of the Night. After Tamino and Pamina successfully pass through yet another trial of fire and water, their child suddenly calls out to them from inside the coffin—in a miracle that evokes Christ calling out from inside Mary's womb in the Cherry-Tree Carol. Here, though, the child's herald-like utterance is delivered coldly, as the "Kind" refers to himself in the third person with preternatural self-awareness:

DAS KIND (*im Kästchen*):
 Die Stimme des Vaters,
 Des Mütterchens Ton
 Es hört sie der Knabe
 Und wachet auch schon.

THE CHILD (*in the casket*):
 The voice of the father,
 The mother's sound
 The boy hears these
 And already watches as well.⁶²

⁶¹ On Goethe's sequel, see Robert Spaethling, *Music and Mozart in the Life of Goethe* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1987), 123-148.

⁶² Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "'The Magic Flute', Part II," trans. Eric Blom, *Music & Letters* 23/3 (1942): 253.

Tamino and Pamina's reaction to this proclamation is delight, and particularly, aural delight:

PAMINA UND TAMINO: O Seligkeit, den ersten Ton Das Lallen seines Sohns zu hören! [...] O laßt uns ihn noch einmal hören Den süßen Ton.	PAMINA AND TAMINO: O bliss, to hear the first sound Of the babble of his son! Oh, let us hear it once again The sweet sound. ⁶³
---	--

But when the child finally emerges in a burst of light, there is no tearful, sentimental reunion, no harmonious trio. The guards hold Pamina and Tamino back as the child—now referred to, tellingly, as “Genius”—delivers his triumphal aria with a note of indifference, even bitterness and disdain, and then flies away just at the moment the guards thrust their spears at him.

Jane Brown understands the pessimism of this provisional ending as a reflection of Goethe's disillusionment about sequels and returns. “In Mozart,” she writes, “both magic instruments and children are agents of love that connect humans to one another and to nature. In the sequel...children give no more real pleasure and are no more harmonizing influences than the instruments.”⁶⁴ Brown identifies this as the first in a series of “unresurrected” children in Goethe, which she imputes to the author's increasing disillusionment regarding art and politics in a post-Revolutionary age.⁶⁵ But perhaps Goethe's Genius is also indicative of something else: the endpoint of Enlightenment optimism regarding childhood. Unlike the Three Boys, this child never grows naturally into his childhood, but emerges from his womb-like casket fully-formed, and disappears almost as soon as he emerges. Able to be heard, but not embraced, he is a figure of longing, of rupture, of paradise out of reach.⁶⁶ Outside forces threaten him even before he is born, and the only way he may escape annihilation is to fly away. No longer does he join his parents in song or play, but instead calls out to them from across an unbridgeable chasm. At the same time, the very presence of the Genius is figured as holy, an untouchable being enveloped in light. He embodies the aphorism attributed to Novalis: “Wo Kinder sind, da ist ein goldenes Zeitalter” (Where children are, there is a golden age).⁶⁷ This is the child as Christ-figure, as “Wunderkind” in the original, religious sense of the word. And *Die Zauberflöte*, for all its intimations of another way, ended up as its forebear.

⁶³ Goethe, “‘The Magic Flute’, Part II”: 253.

⁶⁴ Jane Brown, “The Monstrous Rights of the Present,” conference paper, “After the Magic Flute” (University of California, Berkeley, 2010), 14.

⁶⁵ The others are Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795-96, about which see Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations*), Otilie in *Elective Affinities* (1809), and Euphorion in *Faust, Part II* (1832). See Brown, “The Monstrous Rights of the Present,” 19.

⁶⁶ See in this context Hirsch, *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise*.

⁶⁷ Novalis, *Fragmente vermischten Inhalts*, in *Novalis Schriften*, ed. Friedrich Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck (Berlin: Realschule, 1802), vol. 2, 527.

At the same time as Goethe was struggling to reframe *Die Zauberflöte* for the Age of Disenchantment, Ludwig Tieck was referencing the Singspiel in his meta-comedy, *Der gestiefelte Kater* (Puss in Boots). The diegetic audience begins to suspect that the play they are watching is, in fact, *Die Zauberflöte*, and they soon clamor for a staging of the Trials of Fire and Water. In the epilogue, the Poet tries to deliver an epilogue, but the audience reacts with skepticism. They do not wish to set aside their learning, nor to suspend their disbelief. In the process, they deliver a referendum not just on Mozart and Schikaneder's Singspiel, but on the pedagogical project and even, arguably, the Enlightenment as a whole.

Dichter: [...] Ich wollte nur den Versuch machen, Sie alle in die entfernten Empfindungen Ihrer Kinderjahre zurückzusetzen, daß Sie dadurch das dargestellte Märchen empfunden hätten, ohne es doch für etwas Wichtigeres zu halten, als es sein sollte.

I only wanted to make the effort to restore all those distant feelings from your childhood, that you had felt through the fairy tale just performed, but without taking it for something more important than it should be.

Leutner: Das geht nicht so leicht, mein guter Mann.

That's not so easy, my good man.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Ludwig Tieck, *Der gestiefelte Kater, ein Kindermärchen in drey Akten mit Zwischenspielen, einem Prologe und Epiloge von Peter Leberecht* (Berlin: Carl August Nicolai, 1797). See Meinhold Günter, *Zauberflöte und Zauberflöten-Rezeption: Studien zu Emanuel Schikaneders Libretto Die Zauberflöte und seiner literarischen Rezeption*, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Germanistik* 34 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 165-167.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ONLINE DATABASES

- 18th Century German Literature Online. First Editions and Complete Editions from the Early to Late Enlightenment.* Web. De Gruyter. <<http://db.saur.de/DLO>>
- Die Augsburger Friedensgemälde.* Web. Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. <<http://www.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/dda/graph/friedensgemaelde/>>
- Johann Heinrich Zedlers Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste.* Web. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Digitale Bibliothek. <<http://www.zedlerlexikon.de>>
- Musikland Tirol.* Web. Institut für Tirolischer Musikforschung. <<http://www.musikland-tirol.at/printable/mozartit/tirolspraesenzinmozoeuvre/zaide.html>>
- NDB/ADB Deutsche Biographie.* Web. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. <<http://www.deutschebiographie.de/pnd133931021.html>>
- Das Opernprojekt: Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770 und 1830.* Web. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. <<http://www.oper-um-1800.uni-koeln.de/>>
- Pictura Paedagogica Online.* Web. Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung des Deutschen Instituts für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung and Institut für Angewandte Erziehungswissenschaft und Allgemeine Didaktik der Universität Hildesheim. <<http://www.bbf.dipf.de/virtuellesbildarchiv/index.html>>
- Retrospektive Digitalisierung wissenschaftlicher Rezensionsorgane und Literaturzeitschriften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem deutschen Sprachraum.* Web. Universitätsbibliothek Bielefeld. <<http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufklaerung/>>
- Wörterbuchnetz.* Web. Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften an der Universität Trier. 2011. <<http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/>>

PERIODICALS

- Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*
Augspurgische Ordinari Postzeitung
Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes
Der Greis
Der Kinderfreund
Leipziger Zeitungen
Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek
Neue berliner Musikzeitung
Neue Zeitschrift für Musik
Der Nordische Aufseher
Theater-Journal für Deutschland
Wochenschrift zum Besten der Erziehung

PRINTED LIBRETTI, PLAYS, AND MUSIC SCORES

- Bock, Johann Christoph. *Es ist Friede. Ein ländliches Drama in inem Aufzuge von J. C. Bock. Zur Feyer des Friedenschlusses zu Teschen.* Leipzig: S. L. Crusius, 1779.
- Collé, Charles. *La Partie de chasse de Henri IV, comédie en trois actes et en prose* [1766], Paris: Gueffier, 1775.
- Der Stein der Weisen.* Ed. David Buch. Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era 76. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007.
- Dodsley, Robert. *The King and the Miller of Mansfield: A Dramatick Tale.* London: T. Cooper, 1737.
- Hiller, Johann Adam. *Die kleine Aehrenleserin, eine Operette in einem Aufzuge, für Kinder. In Musik gesetzt, und mit zwo begleitenden Violinen zum Druck gegeben, von Joh. Adam Hiller.* Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1778.
- _____. *Lieder für Kinder, vermehrte Auflage. Mit neuen Melodien von Johann Adam Hiller.* Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1769.
- Das Milchmädgen und die beiden Jäger: eine Operette.* Mannheim: Christian Friedrich Schwann, 1771.
- de Moissy, Alexandre Guillaume. *Les Jeux de la petite Thalie, ou nouveau petits drames dialogués sur des proverbes, Propres à former les moeurs des Enfans & des jeunes Personnes, depuis l'âge de cinq ans jusqu'à vingt.* Paris: Bailly, 1769.
- _____. *Spiele der Kleinen Thalia. Oder: Neue kleine dramatische Stücke über Sprüchwörter: zur Bildung der Sitten der Kinder und jungen Leute von fünf bis zwanzig Jahren.* Berlin: C. F. Himbürg, 1770.
- Mozarts Zauberflöte und ihre Dichter: Schikaneder, Vulpius, Goethe, Zuccalmaglio: Faksimiles und Editionen von Textbuch, Bearbeitungen und Fortsetzungen der Mozart-Oper.* Ed. Werner Wunderlich, Doris Ueberschlag, and Ulrich Müller. Wort und Musik: Salzburger Akademische Beiträge, Libretti 4. Anif: Mueller-Speiser, 2007.
- Ein musikalisches Singspiel, genannt: Das Serail. Oder: Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft in der Slavery zwischen Vater, Tochter und Sohn.* Bozen: Karl Joseph Weiß, 1779.
- Perinet, Joachim. *Kaspar, der Fagottist, oder: die Zauberzither* [1791]. Reproduced in *Die Maschinenkomödie.* Ed. Otto Rommel. Deutsche Literatur: Reihe Barock, Band 1. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1935.
- _____. *Pizichi, oder: Fortsetzung, Kaspars des Fagottisten. Ein Original-Singspiel in drey Aufzügen mit Maschinen und Flugwerken, von Joachim Perinet. Die Musik ist vom Hrn. Wenzel Müller, Kapellmeister dieses Theaters. Aufgeführt auf dem k.k. priv. Marinellischen Theater.* Vienna: Mathias Andreas Schmidt, 1792.
- Rode, August. *Kinderschauspiele.* Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1776.
- Rosenbaum, Christian Ernst. *Lieder mit Melodien.* Altona und Lübeck: David Iversen, 1762.
- Schikaneder, Emanuel. *Die Zauberflöte. Eine große Oper in zwey Aufzügen.* Vienna: Ignaz Alberti, 1791.
- _____. *Der Zauberfluoete zweyter Theil unter dem Titel: Das Labyrinth oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen, Eine große heroisch-komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen...* Ed. Manuela

- Jahrmärker and Till Gerrit Waidelich. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Schriftenreihe zur Musik 7. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992.
- Schikaneders heroisch-komische Oper *Der Stein der Weisen – Modell für Mozarts Zauberflöte: Kritische Ausgabe des Textbuches*. Ed. David J. Buch und Manuela Jahrmärker. Hainholz Musikwissenschaft 5. Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002.
- Schummel, Johann Gottlieb. *Kinderspiele und Gespräche*. Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1777-78. 3 vols.
- Sedaine, M. [Michel-Jean]. *Le Roi et le fermier: comedie en trois actes, mêlée de morceaux de musique*. Paris: Claude Herissant, 1762.
- Seidel, Carl August. *Sammlung von Kinderschauspielen mit Gesängen*. Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1780.
- Tieck, Ludwig. *Der gestiefelte Kater, ein Kindermärchen in drey Akten mit Zwischenspielen, einem Prologe und Epiloge von Peter Leberecht*. Berlin: Carl August Nicolai, 1797.
- Weisse, Christian Felix. "Die Jagd." In Weisse, *Komische Opern*, vol. 3. Carlsruhe: Christian Gottlieb Schmieder, 1778.
- Winter, Peter. *Das Labyrinth, oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen: Eine grosse Oper. Clavierauszug von J. Henneberg*. Bonn: Simrock, 1799[?].

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES AND SOURCE COLLECTIONS

- Basedow, Johann Bernhard. *Ausgewählte Schriften*. Ed. Hugo Göring. Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 1880.
- _____. *Das Elementarwerk: Ein geordneter Vorrath aller nöthigen Erkenntniß; Zum Unterrichte der Jugend, von Anfang, bis ins academische Alter, Zur Belehrung der Eltern, Schullehrer und Hofmeister, Zum Nutzen eines jeden Lesers, die Erkenntniß zu vervollkommen; In Verbindung mit einer Sammlung von Kupferstichen, und mit französischer und lateinischer Uebersetzung dieses Werkes*. Dessau, 1770. 3 vols.
- Baur, Samuel. *Charakteristik der Erziehungsschriftsteller Deutschlands: Ein Handbuch für Erzieher*. Leipzig: Johann Benjamin Georg Fleischer, 1790.
- Campe, Joachim Heinrich. *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*. Hamburg: Heroldschen Buchhandlung, 1779-1784. 12 vols.
- Chodowiecki, Daniel. *62 Bisher Unveröffentlichte Handzeichnungen zu dem Elementarwerk von Johann Bernahrd Basedow*. Foreword by Max von Boehn. Veröffentlichung der Prestel-Gesellschaft 10. Frankfurt: Prestel-Verlag, 1922.
- Desboulmiers, Jean-Augustin-Julien. *Histoire du théâtre de l'opéra comique*. Paris: Lacombe, 1770. 2 vols.
- Diderot, Denis. *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*. Trans. and ed. Geoffrey Bremner. London: Penguin Books, 1994.
- "Die Augsburger Friedensgemälde." Medienserver der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Accessed 30 October 2008. <<http://www.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/dda/graph/friedensgemaelde/>>
- Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen. Theils neu erfunden, theils neu übersetzt und umgearbeitet, Erster Band*. Winterthur: Heinrich Steiner, 1786.

- Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen. Theils neu erfunden, theils neu übersetzt und umgearbeitet von C. M. Wieland, Dritter Band* [1789]. Winterthur: [s.n.], 1810.
- Ellrod, Friedrich A. *Sammlung erbaulicher und geistreicher alter und neuer Lieder, oder vollständigeres Gesang-Buch* [1762]. Bayreuth: Senfft, 1765.
- Ewers, Hans-Heino, ed. *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung: Eine Textsammlung*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980.
- Fritsch, Theodor, ed. *J. B. Basedows Elementarwerk [1770] mit den Kupfertafeln Chodowieckis u. a.: Kritische Bearbeitung in drei Bänden*. Leipzig: Ernst Wiegandt, 1909. 3 vols.
- Garnier, F[elix] X[aver]. *Nachricht von der im Jahre 1758 von Herrn Felix Berner errichteten jungen Schauspieler-Gesellschaft, von den bis jezt gethanenen Reisen, von der Aufnahme und dem Zuwachse derselben, einigen Anhängen, und vielen am Ende beigefügten Silhouettes von Schauspielern und Schauspielerinnen dieser Gesellschaft. Mit Bewilligung und Beitrag des Herrn Berner*. Vienna: Johann Joseph Jahn, 1786.
- Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1757.
- Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*. Ed. Jürgen Stenzel. Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker, 1989). 12 vols.
- Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854-1960. Web. 6 July 2009. <<http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/WBB/woerterbuecher/dwb>>
- "H. H." [author unknown]. "Von Pantomimen." In *Literarischer Briefwechsel, oder, Aufgefangene und curieuse Briefe*. Ed. "Philomusus." Frankfurt: Johann Adolph Stock, 1746.
- Hardach-Pinke, Irene and Gerd Hardach, eds. *Deutsche Kindheiten: Autobiographische Zeugnisse 1700-1900*. Kronberg: Athenäum, 1978.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von. "On Recent German Literature: First Collection of Fragments [1767]." In *Selected Early Works, 1764-1767: Addresses, Essays, and Drafts; Fragments on Recent German Literature*. Ed. Ernest A. Menze and Karl Menges. Trans. Ernest A. Menze with Michael Palma. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.
- _____. "Viertes Wäldchen" [1769, unpublished]. In *Sämmtliche Werke*. Ed. Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1878. Vol. 4.
- _____. "Ueber das Schuldrama, wie auch Abbts Beweis, daß die sittlich vollkommenen Charaktere auf der Bühne Ungeheuer seyn." Part 3 of "Ueber Thomas Abbts Schriften – Zweites Stück – Aus der Handschrift" [1768]. In *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*. Ed. Bernhard Suphan. Berlin: Weidmann, 1877. Vol. 2.
- _____. *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur* [1767]. *Fragmente. Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben. Schriften zur Literatur 1*. Ed. Regine Otto. Berlin: Aufbau, 1985.
- _____. *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst: Einige fliegende Blätter*. Hamburg: Bode, 1773.
- Hiller, Johann Adam. *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange*. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1774.
- _____. *Treatise on vocal performance and ornamentation* [1780]. Trans. and ed. Suzanne J. Beicken. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

- Kant, Immanuel. "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment? [1784]." In *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*. Ed. James Schmidt. Philosophical Traditions 7. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Khevenhüller-Metsch, Rudolf Graf and Dr. Hanns Schlitter, eds. *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisters, 1742-1776 – Vol. 5 (1758-1759)*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1911.
- Krause, Christian Gottfried. *Von der musikalischen Poesie*. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752.
- Kyburz, Abraham. *Catechetische Kinder-Bibel, oder heilige Kirchen- und Bibel-Historien ... herausgegeben von einem aufrichtigen Kinder-Freund*. Bern: Johannes Bondeli, 1744.
- The Letters of Mozart and His Family*. Trans. and ed. Emily Anderson [1938]. 2nd ed. prepared by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan. London: Macmillan, 1966. 2 vols.
- Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education and Of the Conduct of the Understanding*. Ed. Ruth W. Grant and Nathan Tarcov. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996.
- Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*. Ed. Otto Erich Deutsch. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961.
- Müller, Johann Heinrich Friedrich. *Theatererinnerungen eines alten Burgschauspielers [1802]*. Ed. Richard Daunicht. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1958.
- Reichardt, Johann Friedrich. *Ueber die Deutsche comische Oper, nebst einem Anhang eines freundschaftlichen Briefes über die musikalische Poesie*. Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1774.
- Reyre, Joseph. *L'ami des enfants*. Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1765.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile or On Education*. Trans. and ed. Christopher Kelly and Allan Bloom. The Collected Writings of Rousseau 13. Hanover: University Press of New England, 2010.
- _____. *Émile, ou de l'éducation*. The Hague: Jean Néaulme, 1762.
- _____. *Letter to d'Alembert and Writings for the Theater*. Ed. Bloom, Charles Butterworth, and Christopher Kelly. The Collected Writings of Rousseau 10. Hanover: University Press of New England, 2004.
- Salzmann, Christian Gottholf. *Ameisenbüchlein oder Anwendung zu einer vernünftigen Erziehung der Erzieher*. Schnepfenthal: Buchhandlung der Erziehungsanstalt, 1806.
- Schiller, Friedrich. *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet [1784]*. In *Friedrich von Schillers Sämmtliche Werke*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1818. Vol. 2.
- _____. *Essays*. Ed. Walter Hinderer and Daniel O. Dahlstrom. The German Library 17. New York: Continuum, 1993.
- [Schummel, Johann Gottlieb]. *Fritzens Reise nach Dessau*. Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1776.
- Schütze, Johann Friedrich. *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte*. Hamburg: J. P. Treder, 1794.
- Stenzel, Jürgen, ed. *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*. Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker, 1998.
- Sulzer, Johann George [sic]. *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln*. Leipzig: M. G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771.
- Weisse, Christian Felix. *Kleine lyrische Gedichte*. Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1772.

_____. *Christian Felix Weißens Selbstbiographie. Herausgegeben von dessen Sohne Christian Ernst Weiße und dessen Schwiegersohne Samuel Gotlob Frisch. Mit Zulätzen von dem Leztern.* Leipzig: Georg Voß, 1806.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Abbate, Carolyn. *In Search of Opera.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Abert, Hermann. *W. A. Mozart* [1923-24]. Trans. Stewart Spencer. Ed. Cliff Eisen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Abrams, M. H. *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature.* New York: Norton, 1971.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* [1960]. Trans. Robert Baldick. New York: Knopf, 1962.
- Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words* [1962]. Rev. ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Bauman, Thomas. *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Betzwieser, Thomas. *Exotismus und Türkenoper in der französischen Musik des Ancien Régime: Studien zu einem ästhetischen Phänomen.* Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 21. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1993.
- _____. "Mozarts Zaide und Das Serail von Friebert. Genese und Datierung von Mozarts Singspiel im Licht neuer Quellen." *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2006): 279-296.
- _____. "Zwischen Kinder- und Nationaltheater: Die Rezeption der Opéra-Comique in Deutschland (1760-1780)." In *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts: Inszenierung und Wahrnehmung von Körper, Musik, Sprache.* Ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte and Jörg Schönert. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1999.
- Boberski, Heiner. *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg (1617-1778).* Theatergeschichte Österreichs 6, Salzburg Heft 1. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.
- Bowers, Toni. *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture 1680-1760.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Boynton, Susan and Roe-Min Kok, eds. *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006.
- Branscombe, Peter. *W.A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brown, Jane. "The Monstrous Rights of the Present." Conference paper, "After the Magic Flute" (University of California, Berkeley, 2010).
- Brown, Penny. "Improvising Virtue: Performative Morality in Moissy's *Théâtre d'éducation*." *French Studies* 60/3 (2006): 320-334.
- Brüggemann, Theodor and Hans-Heino Ewers, eds. *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1750 bis 1800.* Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1982.
- Buch, David. "Die Hauskomponisten am Theater auf der Wieden zur Zeit Mozarts (1789-1791)." *Acta Mozartiana* 48/1 (2001): 75-82.

- _____. "Eighteenth-Century Performing Materials from the Archive of the Theater an der Wien and Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*." *Musical Quarterly* [**: **] (2000): 287-322.
- _____. "Fairy-Tale Literature and 'Die Zauberflöte'." *Acta Musicologica* 64/1 (1992): 30-49.
- _____. *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theater*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- _____. "Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9/3 (1997): 195-232.
- Burkhardt, Johannes and Stephanie Haberer, eds. *Das Friedensfest: Augsburg und die Entwicklung einer neuzeitlichen Toleranz-, Friedens- und Festkultur*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000.
- Butt, John. *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Calmus, Georgy. *Die ersten deutschen Singspiele von Standfuss und Hiller*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908.
- Cardi, Carola. *Das Kinderschauspiel der Aufklärungszeit: Eine Untersuchung der deutschsprachigen Kinderschauspiele von 1769-1800*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983.
- Carlson, Marvin. "Il re alla caccia and Le Roi et le fermier: Italian and French treatments of class and gender." In *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*. Ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster. Cambridge Studies in Opera. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Charlton, David. *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Chatelain, Marie-Claire. "La figure galante de Philomèle." In *Philomèle: Figures du rossignol dans la tradition littéraire et artistique*. Ed. Véronique Gély, Jean-Louis Haquette, and Anne Tomiche. Clermont-Ferrand, Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2006.
- Chua, Kevin. "Dead Birds, or the Miseducation of the Greuze Girl." In *Performing the "Everyday": The Culture of Genre in the Eighteenth Century*. Ed. Alden Cavanaugh. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.
- Clark, Caryl. "Reading and Listening: Viennese *Frauenzimmer* Journals and the Sociocultural Context of Mozartean Opera Buffa." *Musical Quarterly* 87/1 (2004): 140-175.
- Colvin, Sarah. *The Rhetorical Feminine: Gender and Orient on the German Stage, 1647-1742*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Cook, Daniel Thomas. "Editorial: When a Child is Not a Child, and Other Conceptual Hazards of Childhood Studies." *Childhood* 16/5 (2009): 5-10.
- Corneilson, Paul. "Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: A Context for Mozart's Songs K. 596-598." Unpublished conference paper. 2010.
- Coward, David. *The Philosophy of Restif de la Bretonne*. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 283. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991.
- Cuillé, Tili Boon. *Narrative Interludes: Musical Tableaux in Eighteenth-Century French Texts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

- Davis, James Herbert. "Restif, Nougaret, and the Child Actors." In *The Stage in the 18th Century*. Ed. J. D. Browning. Publications of the McMaster University Association for 18th Century Studies 9. New York: Garland, 1981.
- _____. *The Happy Island: Images of Childhood in the Eighteenth-Century French Théâtre d'éducation*. New York: Lang, 1987.
- Dettmar, Ute. *Das Drama der Familienkindheit: Der Anteil des Kinderschauspiels am Familiendrama des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: W. Fink, 2002.
- Deutsch, Otto Erich. *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* [1961]. Trans. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965.
- Dieke, Gertraude. *Die Blutezeit des Kindertheaters: ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte des 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts*. Emsdetten: Lechte, 1934.
- Doderer, Klaus, ed. *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Personen-, Länder- und Sachartikel zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1975-1982. 4 vols.
- Douthwaite, Julia V. *The Wild Girl, Natural Man, and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Eckardt, Jo-Jacqueline. *Lessing's Nathan the Wise and the Critics: 1779-1991. Literary Criticism in Perspective*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993.
- Edelstein, Dan. *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Einstein, Alfred. "Die Text-Vorlage zu Mozarts 'Zaide'." *Acta Musicologica* 8:1-2 (1936): 30-37.
- Eisen, Cliff and Simon P. Keefe, eds. *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Ellis, Markman. "Suffering Things: Lapdogs, Slaves, and Counter-Sensibility." In *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*. Ed. Mark Blackwell. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007.
- Enzinger, Moriz. *Die Entwicklung des Wiener Theaters vom 16. zum 19. Jahrhundert: Stoff und Motive*. Berlin: Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1918-19. 2 vols.
- Fass, Paula, ed. *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*. New York: MacMillan, 2004. 3 vols.
- Feigl, Susanne and Christian Lunzer. *Das Mädchen-ballett des Fürsten Kaunitz. Kriminalfälle des Biedermeier*. Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1988.
- Fischer, Ernst, Wilhelm Haefs, and York-Gothart Mix, eds. *Von Almanach bis Zeitung: Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800*. Munich: Beck, 1999.
- Fischer, Albert. *Kirchenlieder-Lexikon: hymnologisch-literarische Nachweisungen über ca. 4500 der wichtigsten und verbreitetsten Kirchenlieder aller Zeiten in alphabetischer Folge nebst einer Übersicht der Liederdichter* [1878]. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967. 2 vols.
- Freitag, Thomas. *Kinderlied: Von der Vielfalt einer musikalischen Liedgattung*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001.
- Fried, Michael. "Absorption: A Master Theme in Eighteenth-Century French Painting and Criticism," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9/2 (1975-76): 139-164.
- _____. *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

- Friedlaender, Max. *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert; Quellen und Studien*. Stuttgart: J. G. Gotta, 1902. 3 vols.
- Gerstner, Daniela. *Das Kinderballett von Friedrich Horschelt: ein Beitrag zur Wiener Ballettgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Ph.D. thesis, Salzburg University, 1997.
- Gier, Helmut, ed. *350 Jahre Augsburger Hohes Friedensfest. Katalog der Ausstellung der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 22. Juli bis 22. Oktober 2000*. Augsburg: Stadt Augsburg, 2000.
- Görner, Karl von. *Der Hans Wurst-Streit in Wien und Joseph von Sonnenfels*. Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1884.
- Gramit, David. *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Grantzow, Hans. *Geschichte des Göttinger und des Vossischen Musenalmanachs* [1909]. Berliner Beiträge zur Germanischen und Romanischen Philologie 35, Germanische Abteilung No. 22. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1970.
- Grosrichard, Alain. *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East* [1979]. Trans. Liz Heron. London: Verso, 1998.
- Gruber, Gernot. "Zum vorliegenden Band." In Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*. Neue Mozart Ausgabe II/5/19. Ed. Gernot Gruber and Alfred Orel. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970.
- Gubar, Marah. *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Gustafson, Susan E. *Absent Mothers and Orphaned Fathers: Narcissism and Abjection in Lessing's Aesthetic and Dramatic Production*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995.
- Hadamowsky, Franz. *Wien Theater Geschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkriegs*. Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1988.
- Hart, Gail. *Tragedy in Paradise: Family and Gender politics in German Bourgeois Tragedy, 1750-1850*. Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1996.
- Hassenstein, Friedrich. "Das literarische Göttingen." In *Göttingen: Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt, Band 2: Vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Anschluss an Preußen – Der Wiederaufstieg als Universitätsstadt (1648-1866)*. Ed. Dietrich Denecke. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002.
- Head, Matthew. "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/2 (1999): 203-254.
- Heckle, Gerold. "'Ein lehrreiches und nützliches Vergnügen' – Das Kauf- und Lesepublikum der Kinderzeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts." In *Wege zur Kommunikationsgeschichte*. Ed. Manfred Bobrowsky and Wolfgang R. Langenbacher. Schriftenreihe der deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 13. Munich: Ölschläger, 1987.
- Hemmings, F. W. J. "Child Actors on the Paris Stage in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Theatre Research International* 12/1 (1987): 9-22.

- Henrick, Harry. "The Child as a Social Actor in Historical Sources: Problems of Identification and Interpretation." In *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* [2000]. Ed. Pia Christensen and Allison James. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Heywood, Colin. "Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary – and an Epitaph?" *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3/3 (2010): 341-365.
- Hilton, Mary and Jill Shefrin, eds. *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*. Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.
- Hinton, Thomas R. *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque: A Study of the Continuo Lied*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Hirsch, Marjorie. *Romantic Lieder and the Search for Lost Paradise*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Hofmann, Regina. *Der kindliche Ich-Erzähler in der modernen Kinderliteratur: eine erzähltheoretische Analyse mit Blick auf aktuelle Kinderromane*. Frankfurt: Lang, 2010.
- Huff, Steven. "Lotte's Klavier: A Resounding Symbol in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*." *The Germanic Review* 49 (1984): 43-48.
- Hull, Isabel. *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Hunter, Mary. "The *Alla Turca* Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio." In *The Exotic in Western Music*. Ed. Jonathan Bellman. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- _____. "'Pamela': The Offspring of Richardson's Heroine in Eighteenth-Century Opera." *Mosaic* 18/4 (1985): 61-76.
- Hunter, Mary and James Webster, eds. *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hurrelmann, Bettina. *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit: Soziale Erziehung in der Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung am Beispiel von Christian Felix Weißes 'Kinderfreund' 1776-1782*. Information zur Sprach- und Literaturdidaktik, 5. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1974.
- Iacuzzi, Alfred. *The European Vogue of Favart: The Diffusion of the Opéra-Comique*. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1932.
- Isherwood, Robert M. *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Jonnes, Denis. "Solche Väter: The Sentimental Family Paradigm in Lessing's Drama." *Lessing Yearbook* 12 (1981): 157-174.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla. "New Worlds for Children in the Eighteenth Century: Problems of Historical Explanation." *History of the Human Sciences* 3/1 (1990): 69-83.
- Joubert, Estelle. *Opera, Politics and the Public Sphere in Enlightenment Germany*. Ph.D. these, Oxford University, 2007.
- _____. "Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller's Comic Operas and the Public Sphere." *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/2 (2006): 213-230.

- Kahn, Victoria, Neil Saccamano, and Daniela Coli, eds. *Politics and the Passions, 1500-1850*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Kittler, Friedrich. *Discourse Networks 1800/1900* [1985]. Trans. Michael Metteer with Chris Cullens. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Köberle, Sophie. *Jugendliteratur zur Zeit der Aufklärung: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jugendschriftenkritik*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1972.
- Komorzkynski, Egon. "Zauberflöte und Dschinnistan." *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1954): 177-194.
- Krämer, Jörg. *Deutschesprachiges Musiktheater im Späten 18. Jahrhundert: Typologie, Dramaturgie and Anthropologie einer Populären Gattung*. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1988. 2 vols.
- Kramnick, Isaac, ed. and intr. *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Lamb, Edel. *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre: The Children's Playing Companies (1599-1613)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Leppert, Richard. *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Lerer, Seth. *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Lier, Hermann Arthur. "Nicolini." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 23 (1886): 632-635. Web. 25 February 2008. <<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd133931021.html>>
- Lippman, Edward. *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Löffler, Karin and Ludwig Stockinger, eds. *Christian Felix Weisse und die Leipziger Aufklärung*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2006.
- Lowe, Robert W. *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'Opéra de College*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1966.
- Luehrs, Phoebe M. *Der Nordische Aufseher. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der moralischen Wochenschriften*. Ph.D. thesis, Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg. Heidelberg: Rössler and Herbert, 1909.
- Mai, Anne-Kristin. *Christian Felix Weiße (1726 -1804): Leipziger Literat zwischen Amtshaus, Bühne und Stötteritzer Idyll*. Beucha: Sax-Verlag, 2003.
- Mairbäurl, Gunda. *Die Familie als Werkstatt der Erziehung: Rollenbilder des Kindertheaters und soziale Realität im späten 18. Jahrhundert*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983.
- Mauser, Wolfram. "Maria Theresia: Mütterlichkeit: Mythos und politisches Mandat (Hofmannsthal, Sonnenfels, Wurz)." In *Mutter und Mütterlichkeit: Wandel und Wirksamkeit einer Phantasie in der deutschen Literatur. Festschrift für Verena Ehrlich-Haefeli*. Ed. Irmgard Roebeling and Wolfram Mauser. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996.
- Maza, Sarah. "The Rose-Girl of Salency: Representations of Virtue in Prerevolutionary France." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22/3, "The French Revolution in Culture" (1989): 395-412.
- Meinhold, Günter. *Zauberflöte und Zauberflöten-Rezeption: Studien zu Emanuel Schikaneders Libretto Die Zauberflöte und seiner literarischen Rezeption*. Hamburger Beiträge zur Germanistik 34. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001.

- Melzer, Sara E. and Kathryn Norbert, eds. *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Mittler, Elmar and Wolfgang Wangerin, eds. *Nützliches Vergnügen: Kinder- und Jugendbücher der Aufklärungszeit aus dem Bestand der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen und der Vordemann-Sammlung*. Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2004.
- Möhrmann, Renate, ed. *Die Schauspielerin: Zur Kulturgeschichte der weiblichen Bühnenkunst*. Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 2000.
- Neumann, Friedrich-Heinrich. "Zur Vorgeschichte der Zaide." *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1962/63): 216-247.
- Nicholson, Eric A. "The Theater." In *A History of Women in the West, vol. 3: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*. Ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993.
- O'Brien, John. *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Trans. Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955.
- Patterson, Michael. *The First German Theatre: Schiller, Goethe, Kleist and Büchner in Performance*. Theatre Production Studies. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Perkins, David. *Romanticism and Animal Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Pape, Walter. *Das literarische Kinderbuch : Studien zur Entstehung und Typologie*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981.
- Parsons, James. "The Eighteenth-Century Lied." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*. Ed. Parsons. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Pesic, Peter. "The Child and the Daemon: Mozart and Deep Play," *19th-Century Music* 25/2-3 (2001-02): 91-107.
- Pintarelli, Silvia Spada. "Una nuova serie orientale di Carl Henrici al Museo di Bolzano." In *Festschrift Nicolò Rasmo: Scritti in onore*. Ed. Silvia Spada Pintarelli. Bolzano: Comune di Bolzano, Assessorato alla cultura, 1986.
- Plagnol-Diéval, Marie-Emmanuelle. *Madame de Genlis et le théâtre d'éducation au XVIII^e siècle*. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 350. Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1997.
- Prilisauer, Birgit. *Das Kinderschauspiel der Aufklärung – die Intentionen der Autoren im Kontext der Zeit*. M.Phil. Thesis, Universität Wien, 2009.
- Pucci, Suzanne Rodin. "The Discrete Charms of the Exotic: Fictions of the Harem in Eighteenth-Century France." In *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*. Ed. George Sebastian Rousseau and Roy Porter. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Pyatt, Janet Best. *Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Music Dramas of Johann Heinrich Rolle (1716-1785)*. Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1991.
- Rehle, Brigitte. *Aufklärung und Moral in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989.

- Reiss, Gunter and Mechthild von Schoenebeck. *Musiktheater für Kinder und Jugendliche: ein kommentiertes Stückeverzeichnis*. Bonn: VdM, 1988.
- Richter, Brigitte. "Sehr gut und mit allem beifall gegeben: Erstaufführungen von Mozarts Opern auf dem Leipziger Theater des 18. Jahrhunderts." In *Mozart in Kursachsen*. Ed. Richter and Ursula Oehme. Leipzig: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, 1991.
- Richomme, Charles. "Les Théâtres d'enfants." *Le Monde Dramatique: Histoire des Théâtres Anciens et Modernes* (Paris: Bureau du Monde Dramatique, 1837): 385-91.
- Richter, Dieter. *Das fremde Kind: Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters*. Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1987.
- Riley, Matthew. *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Root-Bernstein, Michèle. *Boulevard Theater and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984.
- Rose, Jacqueline. *The Case of Peter Pan, or, The Impossibility of Children's Fiction*. London: Macmillan, 1984.
- Schuler, Heinz. "Das 'Zauberflöten'-Ensemble des Jahres 1791: Biographische Miszellen." *Mitteilung der International Stiftung Mozart* 36/4 (1988): 95-124.
- Schäffer, Gottfried. *Das fürstbischöfliche und königliche Theater zu Passau (1783-1883): Beiträge zur Theaterkultur in der fürstbischöflichen Residenzstadt Passau und deren Nachwirkung im 19. Jahrhundert*. Neue Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Ostbairische Heimatforschung 33. Passau: Verlag des Vereins für Ostbairische Heimatforschung, 1973.
- Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Schilling-Sandvoß, Katharina. "Kinderlieder des 18. Jahrhunderts als Ausdruck der Vorstellungen vom Kindsein." In *Geschlechtsspezifische Aspekte des Musiklernens*. Ed. Hermann J. Kaiser. Musikpädagogische Forschung 17. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1996.
- Schott, Walter. *Das k. k. Taubstummen-Institut in Wien 1779-1918: Dargestellt nach historischen Überlieferungen und Dokumenten mit einem Abriss der wichtigsten pädagogischen Strömungen aus der Geschichte der Gehörlosenbildung bis zum Ende der Habsburgermonarchie*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1995.
- Scott, Virginia. *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France: 1540-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Schultze, Hermann. *Das Deutsche Jugendtheater*. Emsdetten: Lechte, 1960.
- Sichardt, Gisela. *Das Weimarer Liebhabertheater unter Goethes Leitung: Beiträge zu Bühne, Dekoration und Kostüm unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung Goethes zum späteren Theaterdirektor*. Weimar: Arion, 1957.
- Sonnek, Anke. *Emanuel Schikaneder: Theaterprinzipsal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber*. Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg 11. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999.
- Spaethling, Robert. *Music and Mozart in the Life of Goethe*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1987.
- Steedman, Carolyn. *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

- Stewart, Philip. *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image & Text in the French Eighteenth Century*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.
- Straub, Kristina. *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Stuckey, Priscilla. "Light Dispels Darkness: Gender, Ritual, and Society in Mozart's 'The Magic Flute.'" *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 11/1 (1995): 5-39.
- Tettlebaum, Marianne. "Whose Magic Flute?" *Representations* 102 (2008): 76-93.
- Tyler, Linda. "'Zaide' in the Development of Mozart's Operatic Language." *Music & Letters* 72/2 (1991): 214-235.
- Waldoff, Jessica. *Recognition in Mozart's Operas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Wetmore, Kevin J., ed. *Catholic Theatre and Drama: Critical Essays*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2010.
- Wieckenberg, Ernst-Peter. *Johann Heinrich Voss und 'Tausend und eine Nacht.'* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002.
- Wild, Reiner. *Die Vernunft der Väter: Zur Psychographie von Bürgerlichkeit und Aufklärung in Deutschland am Beispiel ihrer Literatur für Kinder*. Germanistische Abhandlungen 61. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1987.
- Yates, W. E. *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776-1995*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Yolton, John W. "Locke: Education for Virtue." In *Philosophers on Education: Historical Perspectives*. Ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Zampelli, Michael. "'Lascivi Spettacoli': Jesuits and Theatre (from the Underside)." In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Ed. John W. O'Malley, et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Zeidler, Jakob. *Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas*. Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voß, 1891.
- Zelizer, Viviana. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1. Principal eighteenth-century children's troupes active in France and Germany, and the Turkish- or seraglio-set works in their repertoire¹

Troupe/Impresario	Period of activity	Turkish- or seraglio-set works in repertoire (if any)
Troupe de Drouin	1731-1740s	
Piccoli Hollandesi (Nicolini)	1742-53, 1771-73	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Die türkische Lustbarkeit</i> (ballet)
Franz Joseph Sebastiani	1756-68	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Das Serail</i> (Singspiel, Sebastiani)
Felix Berner	1761-87	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Die drei Sultaninnen</i> (Singspiel, after Favart/Gibert, <i>Soliman Second</i>) • <i>Zemire und Azor</i> (Singspiel, after Grétry/Marmontel) • <i>Das Serail</i> [a.k.a. <i>Der Renegat</i>] (Singspiel, Anon./Friebert) • <i>Die Pilgrime von Mekka, oder Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft</i> (Singspiel, after Gluck/Dancourt, <i>La rencontre imprévue</i>) • <i>Der Kaufmann von Smyrna</i> (Lustspiel, Brahm) • <i>Arlequins Sklaverei</i> (ballet) • <i>Das Ringen der Türken</i> (ballet) • <i>Der prächtige Sultan</i> (ballet) • <i>Die Eifersucht im Serail oder der großmüthige Sultan</i> (ballet, after Noverre)
Johann Joseph Brunian	1763-79	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Der bezauberte Turban oder: die befreyten Sklaven</i> (komische Zauberoper)
Théâtre de l'ambigu-comique (Nicholas-Médard Audinot)	1769-84?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Le Sérail à l'encan</i> ("pièce turque en un acte", Sedaine de Sarcy) • <i>Le Bazar ou le marche turc</i> (pantomime) • <i>Le Sultan généreux</i> (comedy, 3 acts, Dorvigny)
Mme Fleury	1781-90	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Zémire et Azor</i> (opéra-comique, Grétry/Marmontel)
Constantini		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i> (Mozart/Stephanie)
Théâtre de petits comédiens (Beaujolais)	1786-88	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Aline et Zamorin, ou L'amour turc</i> (opéra bouffon, Rigel/Dancourt)

¹ Based on Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*; and Richomme, "Les Théâtres d'enfants."

Appendix 1.2. Members of the Berner Troupe²

#	Male or female	Year joined	Age at time	Where joined troupe	Year left	Age at time	Where left troupe	Total years with troupe
1	F	1761	6	--	1775	20	Augsburg	14
2	M	1761	12	--	1761	12	Grumbach, Swabia	< 1
3	M	1761	12	Weißenhorn, Swabia	1777	28	Vienna	16
4	F	1762	9	Rotenburg am Neckar	1781	28	Augsburg	18
5	M	1762	12	Rotenburg am Neckar	1774	24	Pest	12
6	F	--	5	--	1782	--	--	--
7	M	1763	7	--	1772 (died)	16	--	9
8	M	1763	5	Dam im Elsaß	1765 (died?)	7	Uechtland	2
9	M	1763	5	Landau	1764 (died)	6	Schlettstadt	1
10	M	1763	6	Fortlouis	1772 (died)	15	Cremsir in Mähren	9
11	F	1763	13	Schlettstadt	1764	14	Colmar	1
12	M	1765	7	Straßburg	1780	22	--	15
13	F	1764	8	Mannheim	1777	21	Vienna	13
14	F	1765	5	Straßburg	1783	23	--	18
15	F (Rosalia Renth[in])	1769	5	Raab, Hungary	1783	19	--	14
16	F	1768	12	Viertelzillau	1776	20	Preßburg	8
17	M	1769	6	Graz	1782-4	19-21	--	13-15
18	M	1770	6	Varazdin	1787	23	Vienna ³	17
19	M	1770	12	Neustadt	1772 (died)	14	Cremsir in Mähren	2
20	M	1770	12	Neustadt	1770	12	Penzing	< 1
21	F (Margaretha Liskin d. ä.)	1772	5	Penzing	1786-7	19-20	--	14-15
22	M	1771	5	Budweis, Bohemia	1774 (died)	8	Pest	3
23	M	--	5	Comorn	1787	--	Vienna	--

² Based on Garnier, *Nachricht*, 20-26; reproduced in Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 92-101.

³ The troupe was dissolved in Vienna in 1787 following Berner's death. This and other performers listed as leaving the troupe in Vienna in 1787 were thus members until its dissolution.

24	M	1773	8	Pest	1786	21	--	13
25	M	1775	6	--	1779	10	--	4
26	M	1772	11	Hungarian Radisch [?]	1777	16	Vienna	5
27	F	1775	5	Penzing	1781	11	Augsburg	6
28	F (Jeanette Berner)	1776	--	Preßburg	1777 (died)	1	Amstätten, Oberösterreich	--
29	F (Elisabeth Berner)	1776	--	Preßburg	1780	--	Freiburg, Uechtland	4
30	M	1776	12	Vienna	1780	16	Bern	4
31	M	1777	15	Vienna	1787	25	Vienna	10
32	F (Theresia Liskin d. j.)	1777	5	Vienna	1787	15	Vienna	10
33	F	1777	12	Vienna	1787	22	--	10
34	F	1777	10	Linz	1787	20	--	10
35	M	1777	15	Straubing	1779	17	Sommershausen	2
36	M	1778	14	Nürnberg	1778	14	Bayreuth	< 1
37	F	1779	14	Würzburg	1780	15	Freiburg im Breisgau	1
38	M	1780	13	Freiburg im Breisgau	1783-4	16-17	--	3-4
39	F	1780	12	Freiburg im Breisgau	1787	19	Vienna	7
40	M	1780	6	Freiburg im Breisgau	1782	8	Dinkelsbühl	2
41	M	1780	9	Freiburg im Uechtland	1787	16	Vienna	7
42	M (Franz Garnier)	1781	12	Heidelberg	1787	18	Vienna	6
43	F	1782	8	Schwabach	1787	13	Vienna	5
44	M	1782	6	Schwabach	1787	11	Vienna	5
45	F	1782	5	Schwabach	1787	10	Vienna	5
46	M	1781	9	Nürnberg	1787	15	Vienna	6
47	F	1782	6	--	1783	7	Eichstätt	1
48	F	1782	--	--	1783	--	Eichstätt	1
49	F	1783	8	Eichstätt	1787	12	Vienna	4
50	M	1783	9	Neuburg	1787	13	Vienna	4
51	M	1783	4	Passau	1787	7	Vienna	4
52	F	1784	12	Bozen	1787	15	Vienna	3
53	F	1785	4	Budweis	1787	6	Vienna	2
54	M	1785	5	Krems	1786-7	6-7	--	1-2
55	M	1786	--	--	1786	--	--	< 1
56	F	1786	--	--	1786	--	--	< 1
57	M	1786	12	Graz	1787	13	Vienna	1

Appendix 2.1. Principal Kinderschauspiele and Kinderoperetten, 1769-1799⁴

Year	Author/ Editor	Includes Song Texts?	Title of Play, Collection, or Periodical	City of Publica- tion
1769	Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel	no	<i>Dramatische Kinderspiele:</i> 1. Damon und Pythias 2. Die Belagerung von Glocester 3. Die Gefahren der Verführung	Straßburg
1770	Alexandr e de Moissy (trans. anon.)	no	<i>Spiele der kleinen Thalia:</i> (20 short plays, titles in German not available)	Berlin
1772	Johann Jakob Engel	no	<i>Der Edelknabe. Ein Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge</i>	Frankfurt and Leipzig
1773	Johann Gottlieb Schumme l	?	<i>Lustspiele ohne Heyrathen:</i> 1. Die unschuldige Frau oder viel Lermen um Nichts 2. Das Duell 3. Der Würzkrämer und sein Sohn	Wittenberg and Zerbst
1774- 1777	Ed. Johann Lorenz Benzler	?	<i>Niedersächsisches Wochenblatt für Kinder,</i> incl. 1. Der Orbis pictus 2. Der Edelknabe (Engel) 3. Der wohlthätige Unbekannte 4. Carlchen 5. Das Geburtstagsgeschenck 6. Der Ausgang 7. Die Rückkunft, oder das falsche Datum	Hannover
1775- 1782	Christian Felix Weisse	yes (and some individual song settings)	<i>Der Kinderfreund, incl.</i> 24 plays	Leipzig
1776	August von Rode	yes	<i>Kinderschauspiele:</i> 1. Das Geburtstagsgeschenck 2. Die Abreise 3. Der Ausgang, oder die Genesung	Leipzig
1776- 1778	Johann Gottlieb Schumme l	no	<i>Kinderspiele und Gespräche, incl.</i> 1. Die Probe der kindlichen Liebe 2. Der Flatterhafte 3. Die Lehrer	Leipzig
1777	David Jani	yes	<i>Kleine Lustspiele für junge Leute, nicht für Theater gemacht:</i> 1. Der Zerstreute 2. Alles wider Vermuten, oder die	Halle

⁴ Based chiefly on Dettmar, *Das Drama der Familienkindheit*, 253-256; *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1750 bis 1800*; and Dieke, *Die Blütezeit des Kindertheaters*, 158.

			Unglücklichen (mit Gesang) 3. Die Jagd [not the same as Weisse's]	
1777	Johann Hinrich Röding	?	<i>Der großmüthige Bauernknabe. Ein Spiel für Kinder</i>	Hamburg
1778	C. F. Weisse	yes	<i>Sechs Schauspiele für Kinder:</i> 1. Edelmuth in Niedrigkeit 2. Die Geschwisterliebe 3. Die kleine Aehrenleserin 4. Der Geburtstag 5. Die Schadenfreude 6. Das Tressenkleid	Munich
1778-81	Christian Gotthilf Salzmann	?	<i>Unterhaltungen für Kinder und Kinderfreunde</i> 1-4, incl. 1. Denk, daß zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt, als du!	Leipzig
1778-1784	Joachim Heinrich Campe	?	<i>Kleine Kinderbibliothek, incl.</i> 1. Die bestrafte Eitelkeit 2. Das Aderlassen (Garnier) 3. Der leichtsinnige Knabe (Weisse)	Hamburg
1779	Johann Michael Friedrich Schulze	?	<i>Die wahre Liebenswürdigkeit oder das Geburtstagsgeschenk</i>	Berlin
1779	Friedrich Karl Adolf von Trützschler	?	<i>Lydia. Ein Schauspiel für Kinder in dreien Aufzügen</i>	Leipzig
1780	Johann Heinrich Röding	yes	<i>Kleine Spiele und Gespräche für Kinder, incl.</i> 1. Der entlarvte Ruprecht 2. Wunderschön ist Gottes Erde Und werth darauf vergnügt zu seyn 3. Durch Fleiß und Tugend erwirbt man sich Nutzen und Ehre 4. Der gedemüthige Stolz	Hamburg
1780	Carl August Gottlieb Siedel	yes	<i>Sammlung von Kinderschauspiele mit Gesängen:</i> 1. Der Neujahrstag 2. Das Besserungsmittel 3. Die Reise auf Schulen 4. Tugend bleibt nicht unbelohnt	Göttingen
1780-1782	Mme von Genlis (trans. C. F. Weisse)	?	<i>Der Frau Gräfinn von Genlis Erziehungstheater für junge Frauenzimmer. Aus dem Französischen. 4 Bde. (24 plays)</i>	Leipzig
1781	Christian Friedrich Sander	?	<i>Der kleine Herzog. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen</i>	Dessau
1781	Johann Georg Beigel	yes	<i>Das Rondo. Lustspiel mit Gesang</i>	Leipzig

1781	Christian Löper and Johann Friedrich Schink		<i>Kinderkomödien:</i> 1. Hanns bleibt Hanns, oder der Bauer ein Fürst. Nach dem Franz. 2. Schakespear [sic] in der Klemme oder wir wollen doch auch den Hamlet spielen (Schink) 3. Das Pfand, ein jüdisches Familiengemälde (Schink) 4. Der Sturm oder die bezauberte Insel. Nach Shakespeare (Schink) 5. So geht's, wenn man dem Gesinde die Aufsicht der Kinder überläßt (Löper)	Vienna
1782	Georg Carl Claudius	?	<i>Kinder-Theater:</i> 1. Edelmuth 2. Der Ball. Oder Beurtheile den Menschen nicht nach dem Aeußerlichen 3. So siegt die Unschuld 4. Der Besuch 5. Lyda oder der doppelte Traum	Frankfurt and Leipzig
1782	Franz Xaver Jann	?	<i>Etwas wider die Mode. Gedichte, und Schauspiele ohne Caressen, und Heurathen, für die studirende Jugend</i>	Augsburg
1782	Ed. Ernest Ludwig Sartorius	?	<i>Theater für die Jugend:</i> 1. Der Würzkrämer und sein Sohn (Schummel) 2. Das Geburtstagsgeschenk (Rode) 3. Die Belagerung von Glocester (Pfeffel) 4. Denk, daß zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt, als Du! (Salzmann) 5. Der Edelknabe (Engel) 6. Das Besserungsmittel (Anon.)	Frankfurt
1783	C. F. Sander	?	<i>Pusillana, ein Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen</i>	Dessau
1784	[Anon.]	?	<i>Das Mitgefühl, eine Familienscene in elf Auftritten</i>	Lüneberg
1784-92	C. F. Weisse	yes	<i>Briefwechsel der Familie des Kinderfreundes (incl. 13 plays/Singspiels)</i>	Leipzig
1786	Peter Adolph Winkopp	?	<i>Der neue Kinderfreund, eine Monatsschrift</i> (4 vols.), incl. 1. Junker Carl 2. Die kleine Maler	Vienna
1786	Johann Jakob Engel	?	<i>Der dankbare Sohn, ein ländliches Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge</i>	Leipzig
1787	"von einer englischen Dame" (trans. C. F. Weisse)	?	<i>Dramen zur Belehrung junger Frauenzimmer,</i> 1. Theil	Leipzig
1787	"von einer	no	<i>Dramen zur Belehrung junger Frauenzimmer,</i> 2. Theil:	Leipzig

	englische n Dame“ (trans. C. F. Weisse)		1. Die mütterliche Schwester 2. Der Sieg der Vernunft 3. Der Kontrast	
1790	C. A. G. Seidel	?	<i>Schauspiele für die Jugend:</i> 1. Die bestrafte Eitelkeit 3. Der Geburtstag des Lehrers 3. Der wahrscheinliche Verdacht	Weißenfels and Leipzig
1792	Christian Felix Weisse	yes	<i>Schauspiele für Kinder. Aus dem Kinderfreunde besonders abgedruckt (24 plays and Singspiels in 3 vols.)</i>	Leipzig
1793	Benedikt Josef Maria von Koller / Friedrich Karl Sannens	yes	<i>Kinderschauspiele. Ein Neujahrgeschenk für gute Kinder:</i> 1. Die kindliche Liebe macht Helden 2. Der edelmüthige Denunciant 3. Der Invalid, oder der Geburtstag	Vienna
1793- 1794	Friedrich Carl Lang	yes	<i>Frohe Abende. Ein Geschenk rechtschaffner Eltern, Verwandten und Lehrer, für gutgeartete Söhne und Töchter:</i> 1. Der Gute Sohn 2. Der Luftball 3. Der Tugend Werth und Lohn 4. Armuth und Seelengröße	Frankfurt
1794	Mrs. Pinchard (trans. C. F. Weisse)	?	<i>Dramatische Unterhaltungen zur Belehrung und zum Vergnügen junger Personen. Von der Verfasserin des blinden Kindes [Mrs. Pinchard]</i>	Leipzig
1794	Fr. Karl Sannens	?	<i>Der edelmüthige Denunziant. Ein Kinderschauspiel in fünf Aufzügen.</i>	Vienna
1799	Georg Carl Claudius	?	<i>Neue Kinderspiele</i>	Leipzig

Appendix 2.2. Musical Settings of Christian Felix Weisse's Kinderoperetten

Title	Composer	Year/Location of First Performance	Published Score or Manuscript
<i>Das Denkmal in Arkadien</i>	J. A. Hiller	1782	[lost]
<i>Das Findelkind</i>	Georg Benda	Near Gotha, 1787	Leipzig: Schmickertschen, 1787
<i>Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft</i>	Johann Adam Hiller	Leipzig, 1779	Leipzig: S. L. Crusius, 1779
<i>Die Friedensfeyer</i>	Johann André	Leipzig, 1779	[lost?]
<i>Die kleine Aehrenleserin</i>	Michael Haydn	Salzburg, 1788	D-Mbs VII/09/765/Möl
<i>Die kleine Aehrenleserin</i>	Johann Adam Hiller	[unknown]	Leipzig: S. L. Crusius, 1778
<i>Die Schadenfreude</i>	Johann André	Berlin, 1778	D-B Mus.ms. 611
<i>Die Schadenfreude</i>	Johann Kellner	Kassel, 1782	[lost?]

**Appendix 2.3. Poems, Lieder, Plays, and Singspiels on the Subject of
the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-1779)**

Date	Genre	Title	Author(s)	Published/ Performed
29 Aug 1778	Lied	“Kriegeslied von Gleim”	Johann Ludwig Wilhelm Gleim (musical setting by Johann Philipp Kirnberger)	<i>Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung</i> Issue 35 (Berlin)
23 May - 27 Jun 1778	Play with song	<i>Der Abschied</i>	Weisse	<i>Der Kinderfreund</i> 11/151-156 (Leipzig)
1779	Poem	“Die Wiederkehr des Friedens. Eine musikalische Idylle im März 1779”	Anon.	<i>Deutsches Museum</i> vol. 2 (Leipzig)
13 March 1779	Poem	“Liedchen auf die Friedenshoffnung”	Christian Felix Weisse	<i>Der Kinderfreund</i> 14/193 (Leipzig)
8 May - 19 Jun 1779	Play	<i>Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft</i>	Weisse	<i>Der Kinderfreund</i> 15/201-207 (Leipzig)
1779	Singspiel	<i>Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft</i>	M: Johann Adam Hiller / T: Weisse	Leipzig
1779	Singspiel	<i>Die Friedensfeyer, oder die unvermuthete Wiederkunft</i>	M: Johann André / T: Weisse	Leipzig
1779	Play	<i>Es ist Friede</i>	Johann Christoph Bock	Leipzig
24 May 1779	“Vorspiel mit Gesang”	<i>Friedrichs glorreichster Sieg</i>	M: André / T: Anon.	Berlin, Döbbelin’s troupe
29 May 1779	Poem	“Friedensfeier”	Anon.	<i>Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung</i> Issue 22 (Berlin)
4 Sep 1779	Play	<i>Die Friedensfeier</i>	Anon.	<i>Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung</i> Issue 36 (Berlin) also performed at Hamburg Theater

				by Ackermann's troupe
1780	Poem	"Friedenslied"	Wessely	<i>Neueste Mannigfaltigkeiten: Eine gemeinnützige Wochenschrift mit Kupfern (Berlin)</i>
1780	Poem	"Ode, bey Gelegenheit des zu Teschen am 13ten May 1779 geschlossenen Friedens"	Anon.	<i>Neueste Mannigfaltigkeiten</i>
1780	Poem	"Singgedicht"	Anon.	<i>Neueste Mannigfaltigkeiten</i>
30 Jan 1780	Ballet	<i>Das liebste Opfer Friedrichs</i>	M: Johann André	Berlin, Döbbelin's troupe
1780	Play	<i>Friedensfest 1779</i>	Georg Claudius	<i>Kleine Unterhaltungen: Ein Weihnachtsgeschenk für Kinder (Leipzig)</i>
1781	Poem	"Kriegslied, im Jahr 1778"	Claudius	<i>Kleine Kinderbibliothek vol. 5 (Hamburg)</i>
1781	Poem	"Friedenslied, im Jahre 1779"	Claudius	<i>Kleine Kinderbibliothek vol. 5 (Hamburg)</i>

Appendix 2.4a. "Friedensgemälde 1770: Allegorie auf Augsburg und seine Jugend"⁵



“In der Mitte sitzt die weibliche Verkörperung Augsburgs mit dem Stadtwappen, vorne werden Kinder über die Geschichte der Stadt während des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs [...] belehrt. Weinenden und seufzenden Kindern bringt ein Engel den Westfälischen Friedensschluss, links neben der Verkörperung Augsburgs jubeln Kinder mit Palmzweigen. [...] Daraus ist der Reimerklärung zufolge zu lernen, daß Gottvertrauen letztlich belohnt wird, und zugleich werden die Kinder ermahnt, Gott auch durch die Beachtung seiner Gebote für den Frieden gebührend zu danken, damit sie ihn auch weiterhin genießen können.”⁶

⁵ *Augsburgisches Friedens-Gedächtnis, Das ist: Alle so gennante Friedensgemählde...* (Augsburg; Johann Michael Roth, 1790), Bildtafel 119. Reproduced in *Die Augsburger Friedensgemälde*, Web, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, 1 June 2008, <<http://media.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/node?id=38276#>>

⁶ Helmut Gier, “Friedensgemälde,” in *350 Jahre Augsburger Hohes Friedensfest. Katalog der Ausstellung der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 22. Juli bis 22. Oktober 2000*, ed. Helmut Gier (Augsburg: Stadt Augsburg, 2000), 113.

Appendix 2.4b. “Friedensfeyer in Nürnberg: Schönheit und Jugend bringen Wrangeln den Oehlzweig und den Lorbeerkrantz” (1792)⁷



“Es war ein rührendes Schauspiel, als die Freude selbst die kleinen Knaben in Nürnberg auf ihre Steckenpferde setzte, und sie in Reih und Gliedern zum Rathhause führte. Ein reizendes Mädchen im Kleide der Unschuld, ging vor ihnen her. Sie trug in der einen Hand einen Palmzweig, in der andern einen Lorbeerkrantz. Vor dem Rathhause wurden sie von den Feldherren Carl Gustav Wrangel, Pfalzgraf Carl Gustav, und dem kaiserlichen General Piccolomini empfangen, beschenkt und geliebkoset. Dann führten die Ältern sie zum allgemeinen Fest; alles eilte zur Feyer des unvergeßlichen beglückenden Tages.”⁸

⁷ Johann Georg Penzel [ill.], *Historisches Taschenbuch für Damen* (1792): 62/63. Web, 10 July 2011, <http://www.bbf.dipf.de/cgi-opac/bil.pl?t_direct=x&fullsize=yes&f_IDN=b0095766berl&transit=getback%3Dstdmask%26f_sw%3Dfriedensfeyer%26t_kombi%3DSuche%2Bstarten>

⁸ “Erklärung der Kupfer,” *Historisches Taschenbüch für Damen*: 64.

Appendix 3.1. Kinderlieder collections, 1766-1799⁹

Year	Title	Text	Music	Published
1766	<i>Kleine Lieder für Kinder zur Beförderung der Tugend. Mit Melodien zum Singen beym Klavier. 1. Theil</i>	Christian Felix Weisse	Johann Adolph Scheibe	Flensburg
1766	<i>Kleine Sing- und Spielstücke fürs Clavier von verschiedenen Meistern. Dritte Sammlung</i>	C. F. Weisse?	J. A. Scheibe	Berlin
1768	<i>Kleine Lieder für Kinder zur Beförderung der Tugend. Mit Melodien zum Singen beym Klavier. 2. Theil</i>	C. F. Weisse	J. A. Scheibe	Flensburg
1769	<i>Lieder für Kinder, vermehrte Auflage. Mit neuen Melodien von Johann Adam Hiller</i>	C. F. Weisse	Johann Adam Hiller	Leipzig
1772	<i>Lieder für Kinder mit neuen Melodien von Gottlob Gottwald Hunger</i>	C. F. Weisse	Gottlob Gottwald Hunger	Leipzig
1773	<i>Kleine Lieder für kleine Maedchen</i>	Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann	Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann	Berlin and Königsberg
1774	<i>Neue Melodien zu G. W. Burmanns Kleinen Liedern für kleine Mägdchen</i>	G. W. Burmann	Christian Friedrich Schale	Berlin
1774	<i>Lieder eines Mägdchens, beym singen und claviere</i>	F. A. C. Werthes	?	Münster
1774	<i>Fünfzig geistliche Lieder für Kinder, mit Claviermäßig eingerichteten Melodien, zum Besten der neuen Armenschule zu Friedrichstadt</i>	?	J. A. Hiller	Leipzig
1775	<i>Wiegenliederchen für deutsche Ammen, mit Melodien</i>	?	Ernst Wilhelm Wolf	Riga
1777	<i>Kleine Lieder für kleine Jünglinge</i>	G. W. Burmann	G. W. Burmann	Berlin and Königsberg
1780	<i>Lieder für Kinder mit neuen sehr leichten Melodieen</i>	?	Georg Carl Claudius	Frankfurt
1781	<i>Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek mit Melodieen, bey dem Klavier zu singen, 1. und 2. Theil</i>	[various]	Johann Friedrich Reichardt	Hamburg
1782	<i>Sammlung der Lieder aus dem Kinderfreunde, die noch nicht componiert waren, mit neuen Melodien von Johann Adam Hiller</i>	C. F. Weisse	J. A. Hiller	Leipzig

⁹ Based on Matthew Head, "‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch’: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/2 (1999): 203-254; *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Von 1750 bis 1800*; Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Studien* (Stuttgart: J. G. Gotta, 1902), 3 vols.

1787	<i>Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek mit Melodien, bey dem Klavier zu singen. 3. Theil</i>	[various]	J. F. Reichardt	Wolfenbüttel
1787	<i>Faßliche Melodien zu Rudolf Christoph Loßius Lieder und Gedichte ein Etui für Kinder. Mit und ohne Clavierbegleitung gesellschaftlich zu singen</i>	Rudolf Christoph Loßius	Georg Peter Weimar	Erfurt
1789	<i>Versuch einiger Lieder mit Melodien für junge Klavier-Spieler. 3 Theile</i>	?	Hering	Leipzig
1789	<i>Zwölf Kinderlieder</i>	?	J. H. Egli	Zurich
1790-1801	<i>Gesänge zur Beförderung Vaterländischer Tugend. Neujahrs Geschenk ab dem Musiksaal an die Zürcherische Jugend. 12 Stücke</i>	[various]	[various]	Zurich
1790	<i>Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek mit Melodien, bey dem Klavier zu singen. 4. Theil</i>	[various]	J. F. Reichardt	Braunschweig
1791	<i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: "Winterlieder"</i>	[various]	[various]	Vienna
1791	<i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: "Frühlingslieder"</i>	[various]	[various]	Vienna
1792	<i>25 Lieder für Kinder von Spielmann</i>	Spielmann	Vinc. Maschek ("mit F. Duschek gemeinschaftl. gesetzt")	?
1795	<i>Lieder mit Melodien für Kinder</i>	?	Georg Friedrich Wolf	Leipzig
1798	<i>Kinderlieder und Melodien</i>	?	Karl Gottlieb Horstig	Leipzig
1799	<i>Lieder für die Jugend. I. Neue Lieder geselliger Freude. 1. Heft</i>	?	J. F. Reichardt	Leipzig
1799	<i>Lieder für Kinder zur Bildung der Sitten, und das Geschmacks im Singen. 1. Abtheilung</i>	Erasmus Seidel	Erasmus Seidel	Prague

Appendix 3.2. Mozart's seven known Kinderlieder¹⁰

K.	Title (Incipit)	Author / Publication Information	In Campe KKB? ¹¹	Mozart setting composed	Mozart setting first published
53	<i>An die Freude</i> ("Freude, Königinn der Weisen")	Johann Peter Uz / Uz, <i>Sämtliche Poetische Werke</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig: 1768)	No	Vienna, ca. 1768	<i>Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht</i> , vol. 3 (Vienna: Rudolph Gräffer, December 1768)
529	<i>Des kleinen Friedrichs Geburtstag</i> ("Es war einmal, Ihr Leutchen")	Johann Eberhard Friedrich Schall / <i>Pädagogische Unterhandlungen</i> , vol. 5 (Dessau: 1778)	Yes - vol. 1 (1779, rev. ed. 1782)	Prague, 6 Nov 1787	[posthumous, 1799]
531	<i>Die kleine Spinnerin</i> ("Was spinnst du, fragte Nachbar Fritz")	[unknown]	No	Vienna, 11 Dec 1787	<i>Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder</i> , ed. Josef May and Johann Strommer, vol. 1 (Vienna: A. Schraembl, 1787)
552	<i>Lied beim Auszug' in das Feld</i> ("Dem hohen Kaiser-Worte treu")	[unknown]	No	Vienna, 11 Aug 1788	<i>Angenehme und lehrreiche Beschäftigung für Kinder</i> , vol. 4 (1787)
596	<i>Sehnsucht nach dem Frühlinge</i> ("Komm, lieber Mai, und mache")	Christian Adolph Overbeck / <i>Vossische Musenalmanach für 1776</i>	Yes - vol. 1 (1779, rev. ed. 1782)	Vienna, 14 Jan 1791	<i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: Frühlingslieder</i> , ed. Placidus Partsch (Vienna: Ignaz Alberti, 1791)
597	<i>Der Frühling</i> ("Erwacht zum neuen Leben")	Christoph Christian Sturm / <i>Lieder und Kirchengesänge</i> (Hamburg: 1780)	Yes - vol. 4 (1783) [but <u>not</u> in 1 st ed., 1779]	Vienna, 14 Jan 1791	<i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: Frühlingslieder</i>
598	<i>Das Kinderspiel</i> ("Wir Kinder, wir schmecken")	C. A. Overbeck / <i>Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1777</i> , ed. Johann Heinrich Voß (Göttingen: 1777)	Yes - vol. 1 (1779, rev. ed. 1782)	Vienna, 14 Jan 1791	<i>Liedersammlung für Kinder und Kinderfreunde: Frühlingslieder</i>

¹⁰ Based on Ernst August Ballin, "Zum vorliegenden Band," in Mozart, *Lieder, Mehrstimmige Gesänge, Kanons*, vii-xx.

¹¹ Mozart had volumes 1, 2, 4, and 5 of Campe's 1782 revised edition of *Kleine Kinderbibliothek* in his library at the time of his death. See Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 510.

Appendix 4.1. Settings of “Seid uns zum zweitenmal Willkommen,”
from *Die Zauberflöte*, 1791-1800

Year	Published	Title or Description	Composer	Notes
1791-1792	Vienna: [s.n.]	individual numbers from ZF (“Seid uns” among the first three numbers published)	Mozart	
1792	Vienna: Artaria	6 variations on “Seid uns”	Joseph Gelinek	reprinted in 1801 by Cappi from Artaria plates
1793	Berlin: Hummel	<i>Six Themes par Mozart</i> – includes set of 3 variations on “Seid uns” (4 other MF variations: “Der Vogelfänger,” “Du feines Täubchen,” “Bey Männern”)	Friedrich Joseph Kirmair	None of the other 5 themes are Three Boys numbers – reprinted in 1797 by Schott in Mainz
1795	London: Corri, Dusseck & Co.	<i>Eight English and Italian Canzonetts & Duets</i> (includes “Adieu”/“La partenza”, based on “Seid uns”: “Adieu thou softly flowing stream”/“Partir convien’ erbette e fior”)	Domenico Corri	None of the other 7 selections are Three Boys numbers – printed as a solo number in 1800 by Rhames (Dublin) - full set of 8 reprinted 1801 by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis
1797	London: Robert Birchall	“Fled, fled, are all the Dreams of Youth, Air and Accompaniment”		
1800	London: Robert Birchall	<i>Già fan ritorno: a favorite trio, in the opera of Il flauto magico</i>		

Appendix 4.2. Singspiels based on Wieland's *Dschinnistan*, 1790-1799

Title of Singspiel	Theater and Premiere Date	Composer / Librettist	Main Source Story/Stories in <i>Dschinnistan</i>
<i>Der Stein der Weisen, oder die Zauberinsel</i>	Theater auf der Wieden 11 September 1790	[collaborative] ¹² / Schikaneder	"Nadir und Nadine," vol. 1
<i>Der wohlthätige Derwisch, oder Die Schellenkappe</i>	Theater auf der Wieden February or March 1791	Unknown [collaborative] / Schikaneder	"Die Prinzessin mit der langen Nase," vol. 3
<i>Kaspar der Fagottist, oder Die Zauberzither</i>	Theater an der Leopoldstadt 8 June 1791	Wenzel Müller / Joachim Perinet	"Lulu oder die Zauberflöte," vol. 3
<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Theater auf der Wieden 30 September 1791	Mozart / Schikaneder	"Lulu oder die Zauberflöte," vol. 3
<i>Die Zauberfloete zweyter Theil, unter dem Titel: Das Labyrinth, oder Der Kampf mit dem Elementen</i>	Theater auf der Wieden 12 June 1798	Peter Winter / Schikaneder	"Das Labyrinth," vol. 2

¹² The collaborative score was composed by many of the actors and musicians who performed *Die Zauberflöte*: Johann Baptist Henneberg, Benedict Schack, Franz Xavier Gerl, Emanuel Schikaneder, and Mozart himself. Many of these figures also probably collaborated on *Der wohlthätige Derwisch*. See Buch, "Introduction," *Der wohlthätige Derwisch*, xi-xii.