

Die Zauberfloete, Sources - contexte - reprÃ©sentations: Douze Ã©tudes rÃ©unies par Henri Vanhulst (Ã©tudes de Musicologie/Musicological Studies Book 6)

Pages: 304

Publisher: Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften; 1 edition (June 29, 2018)

Format: pdf, epub

Language: English

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Die Zauberflöte

Sources – contexte – représentations

P.I.E. Peter Lang

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Die Zauberflöte

Sources – contexte – représentations

Douze études réunies par Henri Vanhulst

Études de Musicologie

Vol. 6

Ouvrage publié avec l'aide de l'Université libre de Bruxelles.

Illustration de couverture : Programme de la représentation de *Die Zauberflöte* le 31 juillet 1829 au théâtre royal de la Monnaie (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II 62.126 A Mus).

Cette publication a fait l'objet d'une évaluation par les pairs.

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Éditions scientifiques internationales

Brussels, 2018

1 avenue Maurice, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium

brussels@peterlang.com ; www.peterlang.com

ISSN 2031-2431

ISBN 978-2-8076-0724-8

ePDF 978-2-8076-0725-5

ePub 978-2-8076-0726-2

Mobi 978-2-8076-0727-9

DOI 10.3726/b13631

D/2018/5678/47

Information bibliographique publiée par « Die Deutsche Bibliothek »

« Die Deutsche Bibliothek » répertorie cette publication dans la « Deutsche Nationalbibliografie » ; les données bibliographiques détaillées sont disponibles sur le site <<http://dnb.ddb.de>>.

Sur l'auteur

Professeur ordinaire émérite de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, **Henri Vanhulst** est membre de l'Académie royale de Belgique et président de la Société belge de Musicologie. Ses domaines de recherche vont de la Renaissance au XXe siècle.

À propos du livre

Les auteurs de cet ouvrage, musicologues de nationalité américaine, allemande, autrichienne, française et belge, y examinent *Die Zauberflöte* de Mozart sous divers aspects, depuis sa création à Vienne en 1791 jusqu'aux mises en scène mémorables de Karl-Ernst Herrmann en 1991 et de William Kentridge en 2005, en passant par les arrangements de la partition et les traductions du *Singspiel*, leurs éditions et la diffusion de l'ensemble de ces versions.

David Buch démontre que Mozart n'est pas intervenu dans l'élaboration et la rédaction du livret qui est dû au seul Schikaneder. Michael Lorenz fait l'historique du Theater auf der Wieden et détaille grâce à des actes de baptême et autres documents d'archives la nature des relations entre les époux Schikaneder et les membres de la troupe. Jean Gribenski dresse le bilan des premières éditions parisiennes tant de *La Flûte enchantée* que des *Mystères d'Isis*. Herbert Schneider et Rainer Schmusch analysent les particularités des traductions françaises et italiennes du livret. Pour ce qui est de Bruxelles avant 1815, Henri Vanhulst examine les traces de la présence du *Singspiel* à l'aide des catalogues et annonces des marchands de musique et des programmes des sociétés de concert. Alexandra Gelhay, Roland Van der Hoeven, Frédéric Lemmers, Serge Algoet et Valérie Dufour en collaboration avec Laurence Wuidar étudient les étapes marquantes des représentations du *Singspiel* au théâtre royal de la Monnaie de 1829 à 2005. *Trollflöjten*, le film réalisé en 1975 par Ingmar Bergman, inspire à Dominique Nasta une réflexion sur les conceptions artistiques du cinéaste.

L'ouvrage réunit douze études, dont deux en anglais et autant en allemand.

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[**Préface**](#)

[Henri VANHULST](#)

La réorganisation de l'enseignement supérieur en Communauté française de Belgique a conduit à une collaboration renforcée entre les universités et les établissements organisant une formation de type long non universitaire. Le Pôle universitaire européen Bruxelles – Wallonie en est l'un des résultats ; il réunit autour de l'Université libre de Bruxelles différentes institutions dont plusieurs écoles supérieures d'art de la capitale. Afin de marquer le début de cette collaboration, l'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Bruxelles, la Haute École Francisco Ferrer, le Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, l'École nationale supérieure des arts visuels La Cambre, l'Université libre de

Bruxelles ont organisé au cours de l'hiver 2006 une série d'activités sur le thème *Autour de Mozart*. Dans ce cadre, la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres nous a chargé d'organiser un colloque sur *Die Zauberflöte* qui a eu lieu les 1er et 2 décembre 2006 à l'École nationale supérieure des arts visuels La Cambre. Le Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles s'y est associé par un concert de musique de chambre illustrant par l'exécution de quelques arrangements d'extraits du *Singspiel* certains aspects abordés dans les communications.

Plutôt que de publier les textes des communications, nous avons préféré réorienter fondamentalement le contenu de l'ouvrage en l'axant sur les traductions françaises et italiennes du livret de Schikaneder et sur les représentations du *Singspiel*, tant en allemand qu'en français, au théâtre royal de la Monnaie à Bruxelles entre 1829 et 2005. Cette optique a obligé quelques auteurs à retravailler leur communication en y intégrant une documentation souvent abondante et originale. D'autres travaux, qui n'ont pas été présentés au colloque, sont venus compléter l'éventail des études consacrées aux représentations sur la scène bruxelloise. Si l'ouvrage y a gagné en unité, sa parution en a été tellement retardée que plusieurs contributeurs ont souhaité mettre à jour leur article, reportant ainsi à nouveau la publication. Nous leur en sommes néanmoins très reconnaissant et osons espérer que leur longue attente sera compensée par la cohérence des douze contributions. □ 9 | 10 □

Pour terminer nous voulons rendre hommage à Robert Wangermée, qui prit en 1964 l'initiative de créer une section de Musicologie à l'Université libre de Bruxelles, qui nous fit partager pendant nos études son intérêt pour *Die Zauberflöte*, à laquelle il consacra une étude¹, et qui ne cessa jamais de s'intéresser, voire d'apporter son aide via le Conseil de la Musique de la Communauté française de Belgique, aux activités musicologiques organisées à l'initiative de l'institution où il enseigna de 1946 à 1990.

¹ Robert Wangermée, « Quelques mystères de "La Flûte enchantée" », *Revue belge de Musicologie*, XXXIV-XXXV (1980-81), p. 147-163.

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[Die Zauberflöte from Libretto to Score](#)

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RÃ©sumÃ©

Pour la partition autographe de *Die Zauberflöte* Mozart s'est servi d'un livret qui est perdu, mais la similitude avec celui imprimé en 1791 à Vienne par Alberti fait croire qu'il disposait d'une version proche de ce dernier. Les divergences entre les deux sources sont considérées comme la preuve d'une attitude propre à Mozart lors de la composition d'un opéra. Des modifications similaires apportées à des opéras antérieurs destinés au Wiednertheater révèlent cependant qu'il s'agit d'une pratique courante. Ce fait remet en cause l'opinion généralement admise de l'intervention

de Mozart dans l'écriture du livret original – une collaboration qui aurait été inhabituelle à l'époque. D'autres anomalies peuvent s'expliquer par les particularités propres au « grosse Oper ».

*

Forty years ago, Peter Branscombe¹ enumerated the surprising number and variety of divergences between Mozart's autograph score² and Emanuel Schikaneder's printed libretto of *Die Zauberflöte*.³ One can draw few conclusions from these variants, since we possess so little information on the commission and composition of the opera, and on the practices at the Theater auf der Wieden, the stage for which the opera was first composed. The manuscript libretto that Mozart set in the first half of 1791 is lost. Ignaz Alberti's printed libretto, prepared for the first production, came later, probably coinciding with the premiere.

Important eighteenth-century sources have recently emerged to help evaluate the autograph's departures from that of the libretto, namely early librettos of Wiednertheater operas and copies of scores, prepared by a group of Viennese scribes associated with this theater. The Wiednertheater copy business, managed by Schikaneder's actor and singer Kaspar Weiss, appears on the title page of manuscript scores and in several prints.⁴ While these sources have limitations, they at least provide us with texts (and music) for Wiednertheater operas fairly close to the original productions, and allow for an illuminating comparison of textual readings.

Here I will review variant texts, musical indications and stage directions from the libretto and autograph score of *Die Zauberflöte* in light of what these new sources reveal about the practices at the Wiednertheater. The results of this investigation may offer context for Mozart's approach to Schikaneder's libretto and opera at the Theater auf der Wieden.

First a word of warning: it has often been assumed that Mozart alone was responsible for all the divergences, just as it is often assumed that he helped to write the libretto. But these assumptions are speculative. Schikaneder almost certainly had input into Mozart's decisions about how to set his libretto; after all, Schikaneder was the impresario and author, as well as the predominant actor in the opera. Schikaneder's preface to the printed libretto of his opera *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* mentions that he and Mozart diligently planned *Die Zauberflöte* together,⁵ and it seems to have been common knowledge that Schikaneder had significant input in the musical settings of his librettos, including *Die Zauberflöte*.⁶ Thus the precise role and influence of composer and librettist are not easily determined and caution seems wise in these matters.

*

Studies on the librettos of *Die Zauberflöte* reveal that successive prints were generally not corrected to conform to the readings in the scores. Newly identified Wiednertheater sources suggest this was typical for Schikaneder's librettos; the transmission of the text in the libretto remained largely separate from the transmission of the text in the score. Not only *Die Zauberflöte* but Schikaneder's other librettos were often recycled for subsequent productions without regard to the text in the score.

In comparing librettos of German supernatural operas from 1743-1791 (see Table 1) one is struck by the amount of detail in Schikaneder's librettos regarding the stage action. In the case of *Die Zauberflöte*, one finds extraordinary detail regarding music (these indications are listed in Table 2). Before attempting to explain this level of detail we might recall that librettos had multiple purposes. They were prepared for the censor as well as the composer and the audience. Librettists may have also intended their text to provide other theaters with practical instructions necessary to mount the work. But this conjecture is problematic. The original company would not want other

theaters performing a new piece too soon, and proprietary control certainly had a greater financial advantage than the potential sale of librettos and scores.

Table 1. German supernatural operas, 1743-1791

- Der Teufel ist los*, C. W. von Borck (1743), rev. C. F. Weisse (1752, 1766).
Der neue krumme Teufel, spl, J. F. von Kurz, music by F. J. Haydn, Vienna, ?1752.
Megära, die fürchtliche Hexe, Phillip Hafner, 1762-63.
Lisuart und Dariolette, oder Die Frage und die Antwort, D. Schiebeler, 1766.
Walmir und Gertraud, oder Man kann es ja probieren, Johann Benjamin Michaelis, 1769.
Je unnatürlicher, je besser, Johann Benjamin Michaelis, 1769.
Der Holzhauer, Berlin and Riga, 1772.
La fée Urgèle as *Die Fee Urgele, oder Was den Damen gefällt*. Favart, transl. Faber, 1772.
Philemon und Baucis, oder Jupiters Reise auf die Erde, G. K. Pfeffel, music by Joseph Haydn, 1773.
- Die bestrafte Rachbegierde*, Philipp Georg Bader, Eszterháza, ?1779.
Zemire und Azor, Marmontel, transl. J. H. Faber, 1775, 1776.
Der Schiffbruch, H. Graf von Spaur, Königsberg, 1778.
Das Irrwisch, oder Endlich fand er sie (=Das Irrlicht), Christoph Friedrich Bretzner, 1779.
Was erhält die Männer treu?, L. Zehnmark, 1780.
Das wütende Heer, oder Das Mägden im Thurme, Märchen, C. F. Bretzner, 1779. □ 15 | 16 □
Die Trofonius-Höhle. Casti, transl. Gottlieb Stephanie, 1785.
Der Ring der Liebe [oder] Zemirens und Azors Ehestand, P. Weidmann, 1786.
Die sieben Schwaben, publ. Munich, 1786.
Der Schleyer, Vulpius, 1786.
Der Baum der Diana, Da Ponte, anon. transl. c1787.
Hüon und Amande, F. S. Seyler, Schleswig 1789.
Oberon, König der Elfen, F. S. Seyler, arr. K. L. Giesecke, Vienna, 1789.
Selim und Zelide, oder Die Macht der Feen, anon., Prague, 1789.
Der Stein der Weisen, oder Die Zauberinsel, E. Schikaneder, Vienna, 1790.
Der Wohltätige Derwisch, oder Die Schellenkappe, E. Schikaneder, Vienna, 1791.
Kaspar der Fagottist, oder Die Zauberzither, J. Perinet, Vienna, 1791.
Der Spiegelritter, A. von Kotzebue, Frankfurt, 1791.
Sultan Wampum, oder Die Wuensche, A. von Kotzebue, Mainz, 1791.

While the censor would require enough detail to make sure that the material was not offensive to the state, the audience would need much less detail. Many indications of stage action and music are superfluous during a performance. Such specificity might be welcome by those who bought the libretto as a souvenir, but hardly a necessity. A significant level of detail however was essential for the composer, who needed such information before setting the music. How else to explain the specific instruments required at various points in the text, and the indications of short musical interjections during the dialogue? This kind of information would be of no value to the censor or the audience member, who sees and hears these events as they occur on the stage. Thus, we are left with the distinct possibility that the libretto of 1791 included early instructions mainly intended for the composer.

Table 2. Musical indications in the libretto of *Die Zauberflöte*

- Act 1
1.i (end): Man hört von fern ein Waldflötchen, worunter das Orchester piano accompagnirt.
Tamino spricht unter dem Ritornell.
1.ii: hält er mit beyden Händen ein Faunen=Flötchen, pfeift und singt.
1.v: sogleich wird ein heftig erschütternder Accord mit Musik gehört.
1.vii: [Quintetto] Während Tamino die letzten Strophen wiederholt, singt (mit unter) "Hm! Hm! Hm! etc."

1.xv: Er spielt [seine Flöte] Er hört auf, und sie fliehen.

Er spielt, Papageno antwortet von innen mit seinen Flötchen.

Er spielt, Papageno antwortet.

1.xvi: Er [Papageno] spielt, [Tamino] antwortet von innen mit seine Flöte.

1.xvii: Er schlägt sein Instrument. sogleich singt Monostatos und die Sklaven, und gehen unter dem Gesang marschmäßig ab. ... Ein starker Marsch mit Trompeten und 16 | 17 Paucken fällt ein. [...] Dieser Chor wird gesungen, bis Sarastro aus dem Wagen ist.

Act 2

2.i: Ein Marsch mit blasenden Instrumenten begleitet den Zug

sie blasen drey Mahl in die Hörner

der dreymahlige Accord in den Hörnern wird von allen wiederhohlt

der dreymahlige Accord wird wiederhohlt.

2.v: Ein schrecklicher Accord mit allen Instrumenten, Donner, Blitz und Schlag ...

[Quintetto] Papageno. (fällt vor Schrecken zu Boden; singt, da schon alle Musik stille ist.)

Dann fängt der dreymahlige Accord an.

2.vii: Aria (Alles wird piano gesungen und gespielt, als wenn die Musik in weiter Entfernung wäre).

2.xiii: Sprecher: Sobald die Posaune tönt, dann nehmt ihr euren Weg dahin.

2.xvii: Tamino (bläst auf seiner Flöte. ... die Flöte schweigt.)

2.xix: (Dreymahlige Posaunenton ... [scene with the lions]: Tamino bläst seine Flöte, kommt schnell zurück, die Löwen gehen hinein. ... Dreymahlige Posaunenton.

2.xxii: ... starker Accord.) ... Donner, Feuer, und Accord wie oben.

2.xviii: Tamino bläst seine Flöte; gedämpfte Paucken accompagniren manchmal darunter. Tamino blast ... Eine feyerliche Stille ... Sogleich fällt der Chor unter Trompeten und Paucken ein ...

2.xxii. dann ein Donnerschlag; das Feuer schlägt auß Thüre heraus; starker Akkord.

Donner, Feuer, und Akkord wie oben.

2.xxviii. Tamino bläst seine Flöte.

Tamino blast ... Eine feyerliche Stille. Dieser Anblick muß den vollkommensten Glanz darstellen. Sogleich fällt der Chor unter Trompeten und Pauken ein. Zuvor aber

2.xxix: Papageno (ruft mit seinem Pfeifchen) ... pfeift ... Duetto [...] Papageno sieht ... sich um; beyde haben unter dem Ritornell komisches Spiel.

2.xxx: ... Man hört den stärksten Accord, Donner, Blitz, Sturm ...

But why does Schikaneder's *Zauberflöte* provide so many musical indications? I believe we can point to several likely reasons. First of all, Schikaneder's generic term for the libretto was "grosse Oper", apparently the first time he used this term, with its suggestion of a big court opera. The large cast as well as the number and variety of ensembles is consistent with this genre designation. In fact, there are more ensembles than in any previous opera by Schikaneder, suggesting that this libretto was intended for Mozart, even that Mozart may have requested the ensembles. Additionally, this was the first large-scale German opera by Mozart since the highly successful *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ten years earlier. That alone made *Die Zauberflöte* a special event in the German theatrical world. □ 17 | 18 □

The poster has some unusual features that support the preceding points: Mozart's name and official title are displayed prominently, as they are on the libretto's title page. Sometimes Schikaneder did not even mention composers on his posters (for example Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon König der Elfen* of 1789). The *Zauberflöte* poster also announces the libretto with two engravings, one of Schikaneder in costume, and new "artistic" decorations by the theater painter. Finally, the title of the opera is unique in that it refers to a musical instrument. And music is a more important subject in this opera than in Schikaneder's earlier productions.

*

There are approximately fifty variants between the printed libretto and the autograph score. Some are quite significant while others are minor. These include the following:

- 1) Minor changes in words, or altered texts by obliterating the original wording, structure and rhyme.
- 2) Deletion of text.
- 3) Disregarding or altering musical indications.
- 4) Changing genre.

Three more problematic changes are:

- 5) Rhymed verse as well as prose used in accompanied recitative.
- 6) Changing the order of the strophes.
- 7) Adding text.

This list of variants needs explication. Minor variants in words or altered texts included such changes as *fein* to *rein* and *Götter* to *Göttheit*. Papageno's line in his first aria "Ich Vogelfänger bin bekannt" replaces the libretto's "Der Vogelfänger ist bekannt". In the Queen's act 2 aria, two words "Rache, – Götter!" are combined into one word "Rachegötter", creating an image not merely of revenge but of the Furies, complimenting Mozart's clever use of musical citation from Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, when the Furies sing to the aghast Orestes "il a tué sa mère!".

As for deleted text there are three texts not set in the autograph score (see Table 3). In act 1, scene 17, a four-line duet for Papageno and Pamina is eliminated following her line "Die Wahrheit! Die Wahrheit, sey sie auch Verbrechen". In act 2, scene 29, the five lines sung by the drei Knaben before their line "Nun Papageno, sieh dich um!" are cut, obliterating the rhyme in favor of dramatic effect and brevity. And in the □ 18 | 19 same scene the four final lines from the end of the duet for Papageno and Papagena are cut.

In addition to these deletions, the reading in the autograph changes the rhymed line of laughter "Ha ha ha ha ha ha" (rhyming with "tra-la-la-la"), to a stage instruction for laughter in the act 1 finale. This kind of musical laughter had been featured in Schikaneder's previous fairytale opera, *Der wohlthätige Derwisch* (early 1791), where another marchlike magic ensemble repeats itself with syllables of laughter ("ha ha ha, etc."). Here it is dervishes; in *Die Zauberflöte* it is Papageno and Pamina. One can easily imagine Mozart rejecting the idea of composing music to entire line of rhymed laughter as too unnatural.⁷

Examples of disregarding or altering musical stage directions include the end of the act 2 quintet

where Papageno “fällt vor Schrecken zu Boden; singt, da schon alle Musik stille ist”. Mozart’s score ignores this instruction and sets Papageno’s next lines “O weh! O weh! O weh!” to music. The score also disregards other stage directions such as “Eine feyerliche Stille” in act 2, scene 18, and two instances of “starker Akkord” in act 2, scene 22.

Mozart did not provide flute music for Tamino in act 2, scene 17, where the libretto indicates that “Tamino bläst auf seiner Flöte”. A flute fantasy appears in a very early flute part from the archive of the Theater an der Wien, perhaps from the Wiednertheater.⁸ In one instance a genre has been altered: the first chorus “O Isis und Osiris” in act 2 (No. 2) has been changed to an aria for Sarastro with chorus.

Table 3. Three texts not set in the autograph score

Act 1, scene 17 (finale):

Beyde.

Die Wahrheit ist nicht immer gut,
Weil sie den Großen wehe thut;
Doch wär sie allezeit verhaßt,
So wär mein Leben mir zur Last. □ 19 | 20 □

Act 2, scene 29 (finale):

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!
(*im auffahren.*)

[Nun, Papageno, sieh dich um!]

Act 2, scene 29 (finale), end of Duetto (Papageno and Papagena), four final lines.

Wenn denn die kleinen um sie spielen,
Die Ältern gleiche Freude fühlen,
Sich ihres Ebenbildes freun.
O welch ein Glück kann grosser seyn?

What about the three more problematic changes (numbers 5-7 in the list above), which may or may not be significant? The autograph includes both prose and rhymed verse as accompanied recitative. Also, recitative in the score was not always indicated as such in the libretto. Was the composer on his own in deciding whether to use recitative? There is one instance of a possible change in the order of the strophes for the aria “Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen”. But it is difficult to say whether this was Mozart’s intention; perhaps he just made a mistake in reading the libretto and had to put the second verse above the stave.

As for added text, while the libretto introduces the Three Ladies with the unrhymed line “Triumph! Triumph! sie ist vollbracht”, the autograph begins with the line “Stirb, Ungeheu’r, durch unsre Macht!” supplying the missing rhyme. A similar instance is found in act 2, scene 28, where the autograph completes Tamino’s unrhymed line in the libretto “Schließt mir des Schreckens Pforten auf” with the rhymed line “Ich wage froh den kühnen Lauf”. But as Peter Branscombe has suggested, these missing lines could well have been printing errors, for it seems unlikely that such prominent verses would not be rhymed.

*

Three Wiednertheater collaborative operas have adequate eighteenth-century Viennese sources for comparison with *Die Zauberflöte*. *Der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebürge* oder *Die zween Anton* of 12 July 1789 was Schikaneder’s first opera at the Wiednertheater. There is one surviving orchestral

score copied by Wiednertheater scribes and a matching □ 20 | 21libretto in Hamburg.⁹ These sources have no indication of use and no performing parts; this is significant because Viennese librettos were rewritten in Hamburg. These particular Viennese sources were purchased for the theater but never used. Thus, they were almost certainly unaltered readings. A printed Viennese booklet of the vocal numbers from 1790 provides the earliest dated texts for *Die zween Anton* (the sources for this opera are listed in Table 4).

Table 4. Sources for *Der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebürge oder Die zween Anton* (12 July, 1789; collaborative music: Schack and Gerl?)

(Viennese?) Manuscript Libretto:

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek, No. 15: *Die zwei Anton oder Die Gärtner, eine Oper in zwey Aufzügen von Emanuel Schikaneder.*

Viennese Manuscript Score:

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky, ND VII 348: *Die beiden Antone.*

Manuscript Libretto and Vocal Score:

Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek: Mus Hs Opern 507: *Die beiden Antone*

Earliest Viennese Vocal Texts:

Vienna, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Bibliothek, 698.427-A.ThS 200b: *Text der Arien des dummen Gärtners aus dem Gebürge, oder die zween Anton. Eine komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen. von Hr. Emanuel Schikaneder Erster Theil. Wien, 1790. Bey Matthias Ludwig in der Singerstrasse Nro. 928.* [Vocal texts for first three operas in the series]

Like the previous opera, the Viennese sources of *Der Stein der Weisen oder Die Zauberinsel* (11 September 1790 in Hamburg), also copied by Wiednertheater scribes, bear no indication of use and contain no performing parts. Moreover, a partial Mozart autograph of the famous cat duet, “Nun liebes Weibchen”, is an invaluable source for study. There are also several published versions of vocal texts.¹⁰ *Der Stein der Weisen* is particularly significant since it provided the basic two-act model for the *Die Zauberflöte*. (The sources for this opera are listed in Table 5.) □ 21 | 22 □

Table 5. Sources for *Der Stein der Weisen oder Die Zauberinsel*

(11 September 1790) (collaborative music: Henneberg, Schack, Gerl, Mozart and Schikaneder)

Viennese Manuscript Scores:

1) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky, ND VII 174

2) Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus Hs Opern 508

3) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. anon. 1451

4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Ms. 247 [partial Mozart autograph of duet “Nun liebes Weibchen”]

(Viennese?) Manuscript Libretto:

1) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theater-Bibliothek, No. 721

2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. TO 861

Earliest Viennese Vocal Texts:

Allmanach für Theaterfreunde auf das Jahr 1791 [four arias, one duet, and one chorus]

Other Printed Vocal Texts:

1) *Arien und Gesänge aus Dem Stein der Weisen oder: Die Zauber=insel. Eine heroisch=komische Oper in zwei Aufzügen*. Provenance: Frankfurt am Main, 1796

2) *Gesänge aus der Oper Der Stein der Weisen oder Die Zauberinsel* (n.n., n.d.), bearing the indication on the title page "Musik gesetzt von Herrn Mozart."

3) *Gesaenge zur heroisch-comischen Oper, Der Stein der Weisen* (n.p., 1802)

Der wohltätige Derwisch oder Die Schellenkappe from early 1791 has several Wiednertheater scores and a Viennese booklet of vocal texts from 1791, which offers printed versions from the year of the premiere (see Table 6).

One further Wiednertheater opera, Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon König der Elfen* (7 November 1789), deserves consideration. A manuscript of *Oberon*,¹¹ probably made in Johann Traeg's shop,¹² is the only known Viennese orchestral score.¹³ The earliest Viennese source for Karl Ludwig Giesecke's libretto is rather late; it was printed for a performance at the □ 22 | 23 Theater in der Leopoldstadt in 1806.¹⁴ The text however corresponds closely with earlier sources in numerous details.¹⁵

Table 6. Sources for *Der wohltätige Derwisch oder Die Schellenkappe*

(early 1791) (collaborative music: Henneberg, Schack, Gerl?)

Viennese Manuscript Scores:

1) Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus Hs Opern 509

2) Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, Nepsz. 197

3) Cesky Krumlov, Castle Archive, Zámecká knihovna, No. 49a, K. 17

4) Vienna, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, M.H. 10691 (prompters book with mostly vocal parts)

Viennese Manuscript Parts (incomplete):

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Fonds 166, TW 546A [former archive of the Theater an der Wien]

(Viennese?) Manuscript Librettos:

1) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Theater-Bibliothek, No. 142

2) Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus Hs Opern 509

3) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. TO 145

Earliest Viennese Vocal Texts:

Wien, Theater-Museum, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 698.427 A.Th. 239: *Arien und Duetten*

aus dem wohlthätige[n] Derwisch, oder die Schellenkappe (Vienna, Mathias Ludwig, 1791, No. 928)

In studying the sources of these four earlier Wiednertheater operas we can make the following observations on the modifications in Mozart's score for *Die Zauberflöte*: all four opera scores have the kind of minor changes in wording that we find in Mozart's autograph score. Original wording, structure and rhymes in the libretto can be altered. For example, we might look at the famous cat duet from *Der Stein der Weisen*, "Nun liebes Weibchen". The primary source is the partial Mozart autograph score in Paris, almost certainly taken from the original performing score, □ 23 | 24 which we can compare to readings in early librettos. The opening lines in the librettos are as follows:

Lubano: Nun liebes Weibchen¹⁶ ziehest du / Mit mir der stillen Hütte zu.

The same text is given in the early printed songbooks (both the undated print and the Frankfurt 1796 print). But in the partial autograph score and all other scores we find the text altered and the rhyme abandoned:

Lubano: Nun liebes Weibchen, ziehst mit mir, / Mit mir der stillen Hütte zu.

Only in the later songbook from 1802 do we find this and the other changes from the scores. For example, Lubano's line in the same duet "Du armes Weib, du dauerst mich" is changed to "Du armes Weibchen, dauerst mich".

Deletion of text occurs in all four earlier Wiednertheater operas, ranging from individual words to entire verses and stanzas in *Oberon* (five lines in act 1, scene 5) and *Die zween Anton*. Act 1, scene 19 of *Der Stein der Weisen* includes two rhyming lines for Lubano not found in the scores: "Ach Astromonte, steh mir bei, / Sie hauen und schießen mich zu Brei!". Similarly, the scores for *Der wohlthätige Derwisch* delete a line of text that removes an important interlocking rhyme between father and son in the single accompanied recitative in the score:

Derwisch: Sofrano!

[Deleted: *Sofrano*: Ihr Götter! Wie geschieht mir!]

Derwisch: Mein Sohn! Dein Vater spricht mit dir.

As for the elimination of musical indications, the one full opera, *Der Stein der Weisen*, has two ignored indications in act 2. In the first instance music accompanies the arrival of Lubanara and the Genie in scene 15. Music is also indicated before a magic bird is heard in scene 18. In both cases, no music appears in the scores.

One alteration in *Der Stein der Weisen* recalls the altered genre of the act 2, No. 2 chorus in *Die Zauberflöte*, "O Isis und Osiris". The librettos and all but one songbook of *Der Stein der Weisen* give a chorus as the first vocal number in act 2. The score however includes vocal solos for leading bass role, Eutifronte. Only in the 1802 songbook do we find the same text that is in the scores, as was the case for the cat duet. The Hamburg □ 24 | 25¹⁷ attributes this chorus to the Kapellmeister of the Wiednertheater, Johann Baptist Henneberg, who apparently added a solo bass part to this purely choral number, just as Mozart did for "O Isis und Osiris". In fact, the same singer received this additional music, Franz Xaver Gerl. Is it mere coincidence that the modified chorus of *Der Stein der Weisen* appears exactly in the same place as the modified chorus in *Die Zauberflöte*, namely at the start of act 2? Perhaps Mozart was refining the scheme provided by *Der Stein der Weisen*.

As for rhymed verse used for accompanied recitative, we find examples in *Der wohlthätige Derwisch*

and *Der Stein der Weisen*, which have both rhymed verse and prose texts in recitatives. And as for changing the order of the strophes, I have found no instances of this in Wiednertheater operas before *Die Zauberflöte*. But we should recall that this might not have been Mozart's intention in the aria "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen". Finally, we find the addition of new text (with new music) to the score in *Der Stein der Weisen* (act 2, No. 1; act 2, finale: four lines for Lubanara and Lubano just before the *Schlußchor*).

Conclusions

Assessing the primary sources of Emanuel Schikaneder's operas for the Theater auf der Wieden reveals that the readings in the librettos remained largely separate from the readings in the scores. The significant deletion and alteration of text in the scores suggests that the librettos represent the text prior to the composition of the score. Like other Wiednertheater scores, Mozart's autograph appears to have been based on a libretto very much like that in Alberti's 1791 print. While it has been long assumed that this print represents the libretto at a stage before Mozart wrote his music, little evidence has been advanced for this assumption. The divergences between the libretto and Mozart's score have been cited as evidence of Mozart's personal approach to opera production. But similar changes in earlier Wiednertheater operas suggest that such modifications were standard practice during the composition of the music. This fact, along with the rejecting of an unnaturally long rhymed line of laughter syllables should put into question the notion that Mozart participated in the writing of the original libretto, a collaboration that would have been unusual for this era in any event. □ 25 | 26 □

The sources of other Wiednertheater operas suggest that Mozart's approach to Schikaneder's libretto was fairly typical in most respects. However, *Die Zauberflöte* has a greater number and variety of ensembles than other Wiednertheater operas. Additionally, the many musical indications in the libretto of *Die Zauberflöte* appear to have been unusual for the time. These anomalies can be explained by the special circumstance of this "grosse Oper".

Because the modifications observed in Mozart's score are generally consistent with those in earlier Wiednertheater operas, we should not consider Mozart unusual in this regard. Rather it is the uniformly high quality of his music, along with his ingenious and dramatically efficacious solutions to the challenging aspects of the libretto, such as the many complex ensembles, that distinguish *Die Zauberflöte* as the masterpiece of its genre.

[1](#) Peter Branscombe, "Die Zauberflöte: some textual and interpretive problems", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 92nd session (1966), p. 45-63. This discussion is briefly summarized in Peter Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 79-80.

[2](#) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus. Ms. autog. Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*. The autograph is published in facsimile: *Mozart. Die Zauberflöte: Mozarts eigen Handschrift. Faksimile der autographen Partitur*, ed. Karl-Heinz Köhler (Kassel, 1979).

[3](#) *Die Zauberflöte. / Eine / große Oper in zwey Aufzügen. / Von / Emanuel Schikaneder. / Die Musik ist von Herrn Wolfgang Amade / Mozart, Kapellmeister, und wirklichem k. / k. Kammer-Compositeur. / Wien, / gedruckt bey Ignaz Alberti, 1791* (Facsimile, Graz, 1941).

[4](#) For a list of these scores see my "Der Stein der Weisen, Mozart, and Collaborative Singspiels at Emanuel Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden", *Mozart Jahrbuch*, 2000, p. 120-6 and my "Eighteenth-century Performing Materials from the Archive of the Theater an der Wien and Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*", *Musical Quarterly*, 84 (2000), p. 308-14.

[5](#) Reproduced in *Maske und Kothurn*, 1 (1955), p. 359-60.

[6](#) Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *W. A. Mozarts Biographie, nach Originalbriefen, Sammlungen alles über ihn Geschriebenen, mit vielen neuen Beylagen, Steindrücken, Musikblättern und einem Facsimile* (Leipzig, 1828; reprint: Hildesheim, 1964), p. 550.

[7](#) While laughter set to music occurs in Mozart's setting of *Le nozze di Figaro* (act 2, finale, scene 11) and *Così fan tutte* (act 1, scene 12, No. 16, terzetto), in both instances these are interjections made to occur in a more natural and spontaneous manner during an exchange between the characters.

[8](#) For a facsimile of these pages, see my "Eighteenth-century Performing Materials", p. 305.

[9](#) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, ND VII 174, and Theater-Bibliothek, No. 721.

[10](#) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Ms. 247. For details see my "On Mozart's Partial Autograph of the Duet 'Nun, liebes Weibchen,' K.625/ 592a", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), p. 53-85.

[11](#) Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen Mus. ms. 2066.

[12](#) The handwriting of two copyists in the *Oberon* manuscript are identical to a pair of scribes in the Modena copy of *Die Zauberflöte*, identified in Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2001), chapters 6 and 7, as copyists in the Viennese firm of Johann Traeg. Edge provides evidence that one of these scribes, who Edge calls "Viennese Mozart-Copyist 1", is quite possibly Traeg himself.

[13](#) This fact, among other relevant data, convinced the editors of the critical edition of the opera to select this manuscript the basic source for their edition. See Paul Wranitzky, *Oberon; König der Elfen, Singspiel in drei Akten*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Joachim Veit (Munich, 1993), 2 vols.

[14](#) *Oberon, König der Elfen. Eine romantisch-komische Oper in drey Aufzügen, nach Wielands Oberon. Von Johann Georg Karl Giesecke. Die Musik ist von Herrn Paul Wranitzky, erster Orchester-Direktor der k. k. Hoftheater. Für das kaiserl. Königl. Privil. Theater in der Leopoldstadt* (Wien, auf Kosten und im Verlag bey Johann Baptist Wallishauser. 1806), 57 pages. Copies survives in the Vienna's Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek and Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, and in Washington, DC, Library of Congress (shelfmark ML 48 S11113).

[15](#) See P. Wranitzky, *Oberon; König der Elfen*, p. 553-4.

[16](#) In the Berlin libretto the word "Schätzchen" appears instead of "Weibchen".

□ 26 | 27 □

[New Archival Documentation on the Theater auf der Wieden and Emanuel Schikaneder](#)

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RÄ©sumÄ©

Fondée sur des sources d'archives inédites, l'histoire du Theater auf der Wieden est étudiée depuis

ses débuts sous Christian Roßbach jusqu'à son déménagement en 1801. Les recherches relatives aux familles des quatorze filleul(e)s de Schikaneder et de sa femme mettent en évidence l'environnement social de l'homme de théâtre et le destin de son fils illégitime Franz Schikaneder.

*

Archival research on Mozart topics in Vienna is a constant adventure, a journey into supposedly well-known regions where a scholar often finds himself in dark, unexplored territory that according to the literature either does not yield any new information or does not exist at all. The possibility of discovering new material makes this kind of work fascinating to the point of addiction. And because this work is so time-consuming and complex results often remain incomplete. Due to the limitations of a conference paper, I will restrict myself to only two topics from among several interesting ones that concern the Theater auf der Wieden. The article is divided in two parts: first I will give a short survey of the history of the actual building of the Theater auf der Wieden and second, I will delve into Schikaneders private life in his last years. □ 27 | 28 □

The Theater auf der Wieden

The Freihaus auf der Wieden, of which the last sad remains were torn down in the 1970s, was situated in the district Wieden beyond the so-called *Glacis* south of Vienna's Inner City.¹ Being Vienna's largest single rent-raising property for a time of almost 200 years, its economic existence was based on a special legal status that had originated in the seventeenth century: in 1643 the Emperor Ferdinand III gave to Conrad Balthasar von Starhemberg a piece of land near the river Wien as a fief. Four years later Starhemberg paid to the Court 1,000 florins as the price of free tenure and was granted perpetual exemption from all tax and quarter duties. Hence the name Freihaus (literally "free house"), a name used for every building that was relieved of tax burdens. Conrad Balthasar's first house on this site was burnt down in the war against the Turks. He then built for himself a palatial residence with a private chapel and leased the various small cottages along the walls of his property to tradesmen. In the eighteenth century Count Georg Adam, raised in 1765 to the status of prince as head of his house under Empress Maria Theresia, no longer found the Freihaus site a suitable abode for his personage. When he had to rebuild it again after its near-complete destruction by another fire in 1759 he did it with a new purpose in mind. It became the biggest tenement house of its time in Vienna, with small apartments for moderately well off inhabitants, as well as the working poor, except for the better-class wing near St. Rosalia's Chapel. Tradesmen, artisans, public employees and artists living on scant private means, moved into apartments consisting of either one room and kitchen, or one room, cubicle and kitchen. On the ground floor there were shops and work areas of every description. One could find a chapel, an inn, market, cobblers, an oil press complete with mill wheel, wells, gardens, produce plots, and eventually a theater. It was a suburban community of its own, self-contained yet open to newcomers, outside the city gates of Vienna yet belonging to the town, thus becoming what in 1812 the poet Franz Xaver Gewey described as "akin to the Colosseum" and "Vienna's little Vatican".²

In exchange of a life-long annuity of 24,000 florins in favor of his elder brother, Johann Ernst, Georg Adam von Starhemberg became in 1782 the sole owner of the family's huge property. This change of leadership saw the beginning of a massive building activity on all Starhemberg □ 28 | 29 □ estates. The building of the new Freihaus developed in four stages, mainly between 1785 and 1793, but it is important to keep in mind that even after 1787 the big courtyard of the Freihaus was not yet divided by buildings and the only boundary of the garden to the south consisted of a thin fence – as can be seen on Daniel Huber's famous view of Vienna.³

Because the Freihaus was not subject to the authority of the Vienna Magistrate, the primary documents and original plans related to the building are held today by two archives outside of Vienna: the Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv in St. Pölten and the Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv in Linz. The first holds the applications and plans that had to be submitted to the Lower Austrian Government (as governing body of Vienna as part of the *Viertel unter der Enns* [Quarter below the Enns river]) and the second holds the private archive of the Starhemberg family, whose members were ultimately responsible for all of these submissions.

On 20 February 1787 the German actor and theater entrepreneur Christian Roßbach, after having been granted the approval of prince Starhemberg, filed an application to build a permanent theater near the end of the open courtyard of the Freihaus.⁴ The information that Roßbach had already taken up quarters with his ensemble in a theater hut on the Freihaus grounds is probably based on a misunderstanding of an entry in the index of the Lower Austrian Government, in which the projected theater in the Freihaus is referred to as “gemauerte Hütte” (“stonewalled hut”).⁵ Roßbach was actually running a theater shack on the Neuer Markt, a square in the City.⁶ After the death of the actor Felix Berner on 26 April 1787⁷ Roßbach decided to take over Berner’s company and transfer his comedy hut from the City to the area between the suburb Spittelberg and the Burgtor. The last performance of his troupe on the Neuer Markt took place on 6 July 1787.⁸ Roßbach’s application for the new theater in the Freihaus was accompanied by the earliest plan of the original Theater auf der Wieden. This document drawn by the *Landschaftsarchitekt* (the official architect of the Lower Austrian Government) Andreas Zach is the only plan of the theater that has ever been published.⁹

Les auteurs de cet ouvrage, musicologues de nationalité américaine, allemande, autrichienne, française et belge, y examinent *Die Zauberflöte* de Mozart sous divers aspects, depuis sa création à Vienne en 1791 jusqu’aux mises en scène mémorables de Karl-Ernst Herrmann en 1991 et de William Kentridge en 2005, en passant par les arrangements de la partition et les traductions du *Singspiel*, leurs éditions et la diffusion de l’ensemble de ces versions.

David Buch montre que Mozart n’est pas intervenu dans l’élaboration et la rédaction du livret qui est dû au seul Schikaneder. Michael Lorenz fait l’historique du Theater auf der Wieden et détaille des actes de baptême et autres documents d’archives la nature des relations entre les Schikaneder et les membres de la troupe. Jean Gribenski dresse le bilan des premières éditions parisiennes tant de *La Flöte enchantée* que des *Mystères d’Isis*. Herbert Schneider et Rainer Schmusch analysent les particularités des traductions françaises et italiennes du livret. Pour ce qui est de Bruxelles avant 1815, Henri Vanhulst examine les traces de la présence du *Singspiel* ; l’aide des catalogues et annonces des marchands de musique et des programmes des sociétés de concert. Alexandra Gelhay, Roland Van der Hoeven, Frédéric Lemmers, Serge Algoet et Valérie Dufour en collaboration avec Laurence Wuidar étudient les tapes marquantes des représentations du *Singspiel* au théâtre royal de la Monnaie de 1829 ; 2005. *Trollflöten*, le film réalisé en 1975

par Ingmar Bergman, inspire à Dominique Nasta une réflexion sur les conceptions artistiques du cinéaste.

L’ouvrage réunit douze études, dont deux en anglais et autant en allemand.

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