

“KOMM HOFFNUNG!”: HOPE, OPERA AND DIPLOMACY
AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

by

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Abstract

The Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815 was a negotiation among European powers to establish peace after the Napoleonic Wars. The Viennese provided abundant entertainment for diplomats attending the conference. Among that entertainment was opera. A study of the *Wiener Zeitung* reveals opera performances at the major Viennese theaters of the time. Theaters offered mostly German operas, although some were French. The most popular operas included *Fidelio*, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and *Die Zauberflöte*. Analysis of these operatic scores and librettos combined with a consideration of a key performance review suggests that the theme of hope may have been what appealed to diplomats attending the Congress.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“The world requires peace,” Austrian diplomat Metternich said to Napoleon in 1812, “Today you can yet conclude peace; tomorrow may be too late.”¹ Austria and its allies later went to war with Napoleonic France and the outcome of their victory were peace talks at the Congress of Vienna. Opera had a key role in the diplomatic negotiations at the Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna took place from October 1814 to June 1815, although Congress representatives began arriving in September of 1814. The Congress was a political negotiation designed to create peace in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. The major powers of Prussia, Russia, France, England, and Austria made key decisions that led ultimately to a redistribution of land amongst them. Negotiations were arduous, but diplomats enjoyed an abundance of entertainment in Vienna. One part of the entertainment scene during the Congress was opera. Scholars have explored the ways in which music and opera can be political and diplomatic, and their arguments are important to consider in determining the relationship between opera and diplomacy during the Congress of Vienna.

1.1 Political Context of the Congress of Vienna

The succession of the events from the French Revolution to the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna are all connected. Napoleon rose to power amidst the turmoil in France. European countries were at war with each other for over two decades as Napoleon succeeded in occupying much of Europe. When Napoleon finally abdicated, representatives met at the

¹ Mack Walker, *Metternich's Europe* (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), 27.

Congress of Vienna with peace and reconciliation on their minds. Their objective was to create peace through a redistribution of land and a balancing of power.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was in 1789 and the ensuing Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars culminated in the Congress of Vienna. The French Revolution was a bloody and violent uprising of the French people with the goal to replace their oppressive monarchical government with a more democratic government. In exploring the causes and course of the French Revolution, Tim Chapman suggests that the French Revolution was a result of the King seeking unpopular ways to pay for debt that can in part be attributed to France's support of the American Revolution.² The unstable power structure in light of the King's unpopularity, the King's death, and the Terror where enemies of the Revolution were executed, gave Napoleon the power that led to expansive wars. Tim Blanning's perspective considers broader European politics. He acknowledges that prior to the French Revolution, during the entire eighteenth century, there were sixteen wars involving countries that later fought in the Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars.³ In considering this greater historical context, European countries had learned "the efficiency of war as an instrument of policy."⁴ Initiating armed conflict had become a practice in international relations, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were an extension of this practice. Despite its regularity as a policy tool, war was still negative as the massive French military campaign decimated countries across Europe.⁵

Considering Marx's theory when assessing the causes of the French Revolution is important given his theory of revolution and Blanning's breakdown of stakeholders into classes.

² Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna: Origins, Processes, and Results* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 3.

³ T.C.W. Blanning, *The Origins of The French Revolutionary Wars* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1986), 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵ David King, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harmony Books, 2008), 2.

According to Ricardo Duchesne, “a revolutionary bourgeoisie (was) growing up inside the existing feudal relations.”⁶ When other scholars argue that the bourgeoisie was not clearly defined during the French Revolution, Alpaugh argues in “A Self-Defining "Bourgeoisie" in the Early French Revolution,” the bourgeoisie did play a role in initiating uprisings that defined the revolution, including the storming of the Bastille where people constituting what he calls the military bourgeoisie, forcibly occupied the Bastille, a prison that symbolized monarchical tyranny.⁷

Despite the complexity of the French Revolution, the outcomes were concrete. Aristocratic and religious rule in France was replaced with another government. This government, from the perspective of the revolutionaries, was envisioned as democratic and enlightened in principle.⁸ France sought to spread its ideology, but ultimately invaded other countries, gaining more land and power. Its armies grew and Napoleon became a French military leader, greedy for territorial acquisition. His adversaries viewed him as relentless and uncompromising while he conquered much of Europe and the Iberian Peninsula.⁹ Yet to many French people at the time, he was heroic as he forged new laws consistent with the enlightened values of the French Revolution.

Other European nations were at war with France and Napoleon, but peace was unattainable for more than two decades. As Napoleon advanced, Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia fought him unsuccessfully. They were either defeated in battle or engaged in treaties that did not last or involved concessions and agreements that ultimately led to future conflict. For

⁶ Ricardo Duchesne, “The French Revolution as a Bourgeois Revolution: A Critique of the Revisionists,” *Science and Society* 54, no. 3 (1990): 289.

⁷ Micah Alpaugh, “A Self-Defining ‘Bourgeoisie’ in the Early French Revolution: The Milice Bourgeoisie, the Bastille Days of 1789, and Their Aftermath.” *Journal of Social History*, 47, no. 3 (2014): 696.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 699.

⁹ Walker, *Metternich’s Europe*, 27.

example, the 1802 Treaty of Amiens was designed to create peace between Britain and France. However, it opened up French trade routes to India and simultaneously forced Britain to give up overseas territories such as the West Indian Islands.¹⁰ Britain, having been slighted in the agreement, declared war on France in 1803.¹¹ In the meantime, governments sought alliances, altered alliances, and attempted to placate Napoleon. By 1814, all major European powers were at war with France. After profound losses of soldiers, Napoleon abdicated. He was exiled to Elba and the remaining European powers arranged to negotiate new territorial boundaries that would distribute power in such a way that Europe could be at peace.

To negotiate the terms of peace, European heads of state gathered at the Congress of Vienna. At first, France was left out of their decision making. However, early on, French ambassador Talleyrand made a compelling case that France should be allowed as an equal partner at the negotiating table.¹² Other European diplomats welcomed France, as they recognized that France was no longer at war with the rest of Europe. Together, they established new borders of countries, with Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia as the most powerful victors, making the decisions. This ultimately meant that less powerful countries, like Poland, were divided up between their neighbors.

The Congress of Vienna offered hope to political leaders who had been trying to cope with great despair. Between 1792 and 1802, France had led a succession of two wars on the European continent. In the War of the First Coalition, France was at war with Spain, Prussia, Italy, and Austria. The War of the Second Coalition, now led by Napoleon, involved much of the

¹⁰ David Johnson, "Amiens 1802: The Phoney Peace." *History Today* 52, no. 9 (2002): 20.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Paul Robinson Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A Biography* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 180.

European continent, Great Britain, Egypt, the Middle East, and Russia. France was the victor in both wars, resulting in the annexation of Egypt and much of Western Europe.

The Napoleonic Wars lasted from 1803 up until the end of the Congress of Vienna. Retaliation and fear of a French expansion led Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to go to war with France while Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsula, isolated Britain, and invaded Russia. European allies had success in 1813 when they defeated Napoleon at Leipzig. However, 20 years of consistent war or the threat of war in Europe and beyond along with numerous defeats left the European allied leaders with feelings of exhaustion and uncertainty.

A study of diplomats' perspectives, hopes, and goals provides information about their states of mind when they would have been at the opera, contributing to the understanding of why they liked certain operas. The main diplomatic figures at the Congress of Vienna were Klemens von Metternich of Austria, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord of France, Tsar Alexander of Russia, Wilhelm von Humboldt of Prussia, and Robert Stewart Castlereagh of England. Wilhelm von Humboldt expressed his feelings about the precarious political situation in their writings. Humboldt worked as a Prussian diplomat between 1802 and 1819, serving in Vienna from 1812 to 1814, when he became a diplomat to France. He served as Prussian minister during the Congress of Vienna. During the final years of the Napoleonic Wars, Humboldt managed what was becoming a precarious and uncertain relationship between Austria and Prussia.¹³ By 1810, Austrian foreign policy was about survival. Prussia feared that Austria would abandon Prussia to save itself.¹⁴

¹³ Ibid., 113.

¹⁴ Ibid., 131.

Humboldt had earned a reputation as a formidable opponent.¹⁵ He presented the Prussian ambition to annex Saxony and expand its territory. He was a serious and stubborn negotiator, hopeful at first that with the support of England and Austria, that any French opposition would not be powerful enough to challenge Prussia's aims.¹⁶ By the end of the Congress, when it was evident that Prussia would not gain all the territory they had wanted, and Humboldt had to compromise.¹⁷

One of Humboldt's main successes at the Congress of Vienna was drafting the rights for Jewish people. While other diplomats broke out into laughter at the notion of Jewish rights, Humboldt took the subject very seriously.¹⁸ Even as a child, Humboldt viewed himself as a "protector of the Jews" and was concerned about their rights.¹⁹ This notion came from a sense of morality. He did not openly associate with Jewish people in his adult life, and was even wary of them. Nevertheless, from a rational and moral standpoint, he saw Jewish people as being entitled to equal rights, saying that he aimed to "obtain equal rights for the Jews because he could find no rational basis for perpetuating any longer 'the old differences between Jews and Christians.'"²⁰ His efforts resulted in Jewish people maintaining rights already guaranteed to them in their existing states.

Tsar Alexander of Russia sought to maintain Russian power and gain more territory.²¹ Most notably, this meant the acquisition of Poland. Russia was the only single country that rivaled France's power and would be the hegemon in light of France's defeat. Austria and

¹⁵ Ibid., 196..

¹⁶ Ibid., 215.

¹⁷ Ibid., 216.

¹⁸ Ibid., 206.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 208.

²¹ Ibid., 192.

Prussia were both interested in limiting Russian power. As the Congress negotiations continued, Alexander gradually accepted the terms of other countries. Ultimately lost in his ambitions to secure all of Poland, but nevertheless annexed the largest portion.²²

Castlereagh of England negotiated a land settlement that left England protected from invasion by France and he sought to limit Russian power.²³ England was invested in continental peace so that it could focus its efforts on its other global territories. After all, it had acquired territories abroad from France and had lost its American colonies. Beyond that, England was not interested in territorial acquisition, rather it was interested in stability and idealism.²⁴ Stability on mainland Europe meant that England would not have to manage more conflict. They wanted to uphold liberal ideals like constitutions, free trade, and the abolishment of slavery.

Klemens von Metternich of Austria wanted to prevent both France and Russia from becoming too powerful and therefore being a threat to Austria. The suppression of its neighbors was therefore seen as key to securing peace. Metternich believed that Austria should have power that rivaled France and Russia. He was a shrewd diplomat and managed alliances very carefully during the Congress of Vienna. Despite an alliance with England, a country which supported liberal ideals, he was against the spread of liberalism because in his mind, it brought about instability.²⁵

Since France was a defeated country, Talleyrand of France had reasonable expectations that it would not become a hegemon. His main goal was to ensure that France was not too badly taken advantage of as land was redistributed.²⁶ Once a loyal comrade of Napoleon's, Talleyrand

²² Ibid., 192.

²³ Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1812-1815*. (London: G. Bell, 1931), 343.

²⁴ Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 178.

²⁵ Ibid., 166.

²⁶ Ibid.

nevertheless saw the militaristic expansion of France under Napoleon as excessive. However, France still wanted to retain a certain amount of their territorial assets to counter the mighty Russia. Ultimately France lost much of the territory they gained in the Napoleonic Wars, but that was fair in Talleyrand's mind.

Diplomats were frustrated, yet patient through nine long months of negotiations. Arduous talks went on day after day, making the regular festivities more attractive. A territorial agreement was reached. It did seem to balance power in Europe in such a way that there were inadequate means and lack of incentive for one country to attack another. Ideas of greedy territorial expansion were quashed. In the Congress of Vienna, Europe had also formalized a system of negotiation where countries could sort out problems diplomatically, without military involvement.

1.2 Diplomatic Context at the Congress of Vienna

Congress diplomats functioned as representatives, messengers, and negotiators. Their main duties were the gathering and relaying of information, negotiating, and working with other ambassadors and heads of state. As a practice, ambassadors would collect information from their home country to exchange it for information about their host country. The profession of a diplomat was specialized, and offices of foreign affairs had systems, ranks, and formal operations. The extended diplomatic networks and systems in place to manage those networks grew to a larger scale than they had before.²⁷

²⁷ Hamish Scott, "Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe." In *Cultures of Power in Europe During the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 71.

At the Congress of Vienna, the idea of balancing power was of utmost importance. To avoid conflict, it was believed that no one state should have disproportionately more power than another. Negotiations were all centered on this idea of balancing military power. While the initial focus was on balancing military power, the main focus of the Congress negotiations became the distribution of land. The term ‘power,’ as they understood it, referred to military strength and capability. However, other factors contributing to the power of a state include: alliances, the accumulation of power to counterbalance the power of another state, the size of the economy, trade networks, population, and most importantly for the purposes of the Congress, land and its political geography. For centuries, land distribution among European countries has been an impetus for both conflict and resolution, with lands both domestic and abroad.

Thus, diplomats at the Congress of Vienna focused on balancing power as a means to peace, and on establishing a formalized system of diplomacy facing a new world of greater international connectivity and military strength. The tone was one of cooperation and agreement that was against the Napoleonic military conquest of Europe. Diplomats and heads of state all played a role in the negotiations. They reached an agreement peacefully at the Congress of Vienna.

1.3 Entertainment at the Congress of Vienna

In Viennese society, the theater was an all-evening social excursion. “Men and women paid social calls or attended teas before a performance, which began around 6 or 7pm. And they met for supper or dancing afterwards, at 10-11pm.”²⁸ Beyond offering enjoyment, it “served as a

²⁸ Alice Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 70.

public meeting place where tradespeople discussed current affairs and business...(and where) foreigners made their first social contacts.”²⁹ This was so much the case that at theaters, people seemed “more concerned with their conversations than with the drama.”³⁰ Besides enjoying a wonderful performance, the Viennese theatres were a place for the public to gather and discuss. The Congress of Vienna was certainly affected by the musical culture of the city. As Alice Hanson remarked, “all were caught up in that Vienna madness which relegated politics and statesmanship to a position of decidedly secondary importance.”³¹

The theater was one of many forms of entertainment at the Congress of Vienna. Sources such as David King’s book *Vienna 1814* reveal that there were balls, sleigh rides, festivals, hunts, parades, tournaments, excursions, feasts, and salons; in addition to opera, there were performances of ballet, chamber music, orchestral music, and choral works. Musical performances were held in formal theatres and halls, and informally in salons and other small scale settings.³² The entertainment scene during the Congress of Vienna was abundant. People from more than 200 states flocked to the city during the time of the Congress.³³ They were aristocrats, national representatives, family members, and soldiers. Vienna itself was a perfect location for the Congress as Metternich noted its “enormous capacity for entertainment, (and) the perfect arena for his statesman-cum cavalier talents.”³⁴ At first, events were planned only during the first two months of the Congress, but they lingered throughout its duration. Occasions were well attended and large events such as imperial masked balls, had as many as 12,000 attendees.³⁵

²⁹ Ibid., 70.

³⁰ Ibid., 71.

³¹ Egon Gartenberg, *Vienna Its Musical Heritage* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press: 1968), 134.

³² Hilde Spiel, *The Congress of Vienna* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1968), 121.

³³ King, *Vienna 1814*, 2.

³⁴ Spiel, *The Congress of Vienna*, 88.

³⁵ Ibid.

These festivities were so prevalent that Archduke Johann documented in his diary: “Eating, fireworks, public illuminations. For eight or ten days I haven’t been able to work at all.”³⁶ People seemingly attended these spectacles to the point of exhaustion and at times it must have seemed like formal political negotiations were secondary to entertainment.

Entertainment at the Congress of Vienna was costly. Some events had admission fees that covered the cost, and at times venues charged very high prices. In some cases, events did have a political purpose. For example, an issue Great Britain pushed during the Congress was the abolishment of slavery. British Admiral Sidney Smith hosted a picnic where he charged a fee to attend. He intended that the proceeds go towards the ransom of Christian slaves from the Barbary Coast and spoke about the importance of freeing slaves.³⁷ The event began and ended with musical performances by small chamber ensembles.

Much of the entertainment was paid for by the Viennese court. Congress events are estimated to have cost the court forty million francs. In the beginning of 1815, income tax was raised by 50%, with the public begrudgingly fitting the bill for the entertainment of high-ranking foreigners.³⁸ Both the expense and the jollity of the festivities were in contrast to the bleakness of post-war Austria. French representative De La Garde wrote, “how was the solemn task facing this grand assembly, how was the seriousness of the situation to be compared to this carefree splurging on the heels of a war that seemingly had drained dry all sources of wealth and joy?”³⁹ For leaders like De La Garde, the entertainment scene at the Congress of Vienna was paramount in brightening the spirits of people dampened by memories of war and daily negotiations full of frustration and pressure.

³⁶ Ibid., 93.

³⁷ Ibid., 109.

³⁸ Ibid., 119.

³⁹ Ibid., 99.

In fact, entertainment played many crucial roles at the Congress. The entertainment venues were a place where foreign representatives could also be professional diplomats. Operatic performances, as part of the entertainment scene in general, were a place where people could form and build personal relationships. Diplomatic conversations could have taken place at the opera house and the social activities surrounding the performance. Entertainment at the Congress of Vienna was a demonstration of power for the Viennese government. The opera scene represented Viennese culture, and that is what foreigners wanted to experience. Baron Hager, the Viennese minister of police was tasked with spying on delegates in attendance at such events. He recruited, “a large network of agents and underlings to infiltrate foreign missions, maintain surveillance, and trail important dignitaries through town, carefully noting the places they visited, people they met, and anything out of the ordinary.”⁴⁰ Mostly spying took place during evening events, which would have included opera. While people would gather at opera performances and in lobbies and audience chairs, and could have discussed ideas, views, and the digestion of the daily diplomatic exchanges, the Viennese police kept track of what they heard.

There was a lightheartedness that musical entertainment provided delegates, where they could take a genuine break from the seriousness and pressure of diplomatic negotiations. Count De La Garde wrote of a participatory performance where Count Wrbona had played the role of Apollo for Mount Olympus. Wrbona had a rather silly mustache that “dominated all conversation,” and “the very Congress would have been forgotten had anyone given any thought to a Congress being held in the first place.”⁴¹ This also suggests that delegates were able to commune and converse in a friendly way separate from tensions within Congress negotiations. For Castlerough, this break gave him a chance to work on political ideas. He said to a friend,

⁴⁰ Ibid., 69.

⁴¹ Ibid., 126.

“When something preoccupies me, I go on working at it while I am doing something quite different...The results ripen amongst apparent distraction; my best ideas, my most brilliant moves come to me at a table, during conversations or while I am travelling.”⁴²

Alongside the entertainment, diplomats had rich personal lives. The mingling of diplomats outside negotiations meant that people became friendly with each other, in both platonic and romantic ways. Many diplomats had affairs. Metternich had an intense love affair with Wilhemina Dutchess of Sagan. Castlerough was also in love with Wilhemina and lamented about his obsession with her and his feelings about the other political leaders. The Russian Tsar visited Princess Catherine Bagration at her castle late at night insinuating a romantic encounter and he was known to sleep with prostitutes. He had affairs with other women in Vienna at the time that included Princess Maria Naryshkina, Princess Bagration, Countess Esterhazy-Roisin, Countess Julie Zichy, and Princess Gabrielle Auersperg. His wife was preoccupied with Prince Adam Czartoryski.

1.4 Perspectives of Opera and Diplomacy

With opera being a part of such intensive diplomatic negotiations, what is the connection between opera and diplomacy at the Congress of Vienna? Many scholars have pursued the connection between politics and opera. Most directly, opera is a form of storytelling. Thomas Grey argues that, “opera proved to be an effective vehicle for re-telling, re-living, digesting, and otherwise negotiating the experience of revolution for audiences.”⁴³ This notion specifically

⁴² Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 349.

⁴³ Thomas Grey, “Commentary: Opera in the Age of Revolution,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36, no. 3 (2006): 557.

brings into question the difficulty of political experiences for societies and individuals, surely in both a practical and emotional way. The storytelling aspect of opera gives audiences a chance to empathize with a story, and in relating their own experience to the story, they can digest political and social issues and their relationship to them in a safe environment. These difficulties are adequately confronted in opera.

Opera can be political because it has the ability to invoke feelings in the audience. In an opera performance, the audience can actually experience the event in an emotional sense as if it is really happening; however, it is in the safety of a concert hall where a feeling is unreal enough to be confronted. It can then become the object of reflection and discussion and encourage the formation of opinions and values. Those values and opinions have a place in more democratic political systems. Thomas Grey argues that aesthetics can also be the basis of political value in opera.⁴⁴ The experience of listening to and watching a live performance and the feelings, perceptions, and ideas it inspires is how opera can become connected to politics.

In another sense, opera can be political because it can directly represent culture and the nation. The genre has an orchestral basis with the addition of language and musical forms that can include folk dances. Michael Tusa argues that this allows opera to be characterized as specific to a culture or nation. When a particular opera can be connected to a collective political identity, opera can both represent political stories and appeal to a collective consciousness. The opera house can therefore be a platform where when the content is political, people can have a common experience and absorb what becomes a shared political perspective.

Celia Applegate wonderfully connects music, politics, and the nation in her book, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion*. She argues that

⁴⁴ Ibid., 567.

the St. Matthew Passion with language and story, but without the staging of an operatic performance, is political. This work offers, “a moment of consolidation, perhaps even transformation, in collective life and for many listeners, a moment of self-realization, which encompassed all that their philosophers and writers had been saying of the relationship between individuality, spirituality, nationality, and the aesthetic life.”⁴⁵ In Applegate’s perspective, both the collective and the individual are represented, which is important in defining the role of the individual in a greater society with a shared political experience. Music here can be a shared experience, and generally, shared experience is the foundation of culture. At the same time, her concept self-realization gives the individual awareness of their own thoughts with the possibility to explore and develop their viewpoints. With the consideration of Applegate’s concept of self-realization, perhaps opera is not only a vehicle of expressing politics, but for the individual, it may be able to shape their perspectives as well. When individuals within groups, and groups themselves can reflect on a common experience, shared values can be constructed.

Essays collected in *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, edited by Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet offer a multitude of perspectives from different scholars on the connection of music to diplomacy specifically. Arne Spohr suggests that music is actually a form of cultural capital given its presence at cultural events, and notes its presence at diplomatic events as early as the 17th century. Mario Dunkel demonstrates through more modern examples such as that of jazz during the Cold War, that there is a certain universality to music that bridges cultural and political divides.

⁴⁵ Celia Applegate. *Bach in Berlin : Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3.

While these scholars offer compelling arguments as to the connection between music and diplomacy, they do not fully explain the connection between opera and diplomacy specifically at the Congress of Vienna. As Appendix A reveals, popular operas during the Congress of Vienna were not always stories that either literally or figuratively depicted political or militaristic events that were on diplomats' minds. They did not explicitly represent a particular nation, despite most operas being sung in German and written by composers who had connections to the Germanic world. Opera may represent culture, but in this specific short time period and as performed for an exclusive group of people, this was not a compelling function of opera. Even in cases where arguments can be made that support the above mentioned scholars' arguments, there is still more compelling evidence that suggests that the value of opera during the Congress of Vienna was different.

In this thesis, I will argue instead is that the importance of opera to diplomats during the Congress of Vienna lies in the operas' theme of hope that propelled diplomats through times of frustration and despair and helped them to achieve their goals. This research relies mainly on a list of opera performances at the main opera houses in Vienna from September 1814-June 1815, during the time of the Congress. This list was generated from the *Wiener Zeitung* and can be found in the appendices of this document. Materials such as diplomats' memoirs, biographies, and letters provide an excellent basis for understanding their states of mind and objectives. Other relevant research on the subject and performance reviews will be considered. Analysis of the plot and score of popular operatic performances will show how powerful themes are represented.

A study of the political and diplomatic conditions show the complexity of international relations at the time, which made for arduous negotiations for Congress diplomats. The goal was to create a lasting peace, and the path to achieve that goal, as framed by Congress diplomats, was

to ensure that no one country became a hegemon. The Viennese government provided an abundance of entertainment that included opera. Generally, opera can be meaningful in such a context because it can be political and therefore diplomatic. However, I suggest that themes of hope woven through various opera served as an idealized political resolution, one was which envisioned as key to the outcome of the Congress of Vienna.

Chapter Two: Kärntnertortheater and *Fidelio*

The Kärntnertortheater was one of two royal theaters in Vienna during the time of the Congress of Vienna. The royal theaters are older than the suburban Viennese theaters and have a rich history of opera in German, Italian, and French. Their programming was influenced by external conditions such as political situations, censorship, and changes in leadership. During the time of the Congress, the repertoire list at the Kärntnertortheater shows Beethoven's *Fidelio* to have been the most popular. A study of diplomats' mindsets in conjunction with a key performance review suggest that the theme of hope is what appealed most to diplomats during the Congress.

2.1 Royal Theaters of Vienna

There was a surge of French Opera in the early nineteenth century. As is evident in Appendix A, the royal theaters of Vienna, the Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater, featured more French opera composers than did the suburban theaters from September 1814 to June 1815. Still, the majority of opera composers featured during the Congress of Vienna were either Austrian or foreign-born but had worked in Vienna. French opera did have a notable place in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Vienna, suggesting a relationship to political events of the time. A database of opera performances generated by a Dalhousie University research team shows an absence of French opera (both operas in the French language and French operas translated into German) performed in Vienna that between 1798-1802. This coincides with the War of the Second Coalition during which Vienna was at war with France.⁴⁶ French opera was reintroduced in Vienna in 1802. As relations were relatively more peaceful between Austria and France,

⁴⁶Estelle Joubert. "Visualizing Operatic Fame." Paper presented at Französische Oper in Wien um 1800, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musik, Bern University of Applied Sciences, May 2018.

French opera was featured in Vienna and appreciated by audiences. Scholars, most notably John Rice, claim that it was the Treaty of Luneville in 1801, ushering in peace between Austria and France that brought about the revival of French opera in Vienna.⁴⁷

Viennese theaters faced intense censorship at this time, especially the Royal theaters where higher standards were expected. In fact, as Raymond Erickson notes, “at no period in its history can theater have been so subject to censorship as it was in early-nineteenth-century Vienna.”⁴⁸ Censorship was heavy handed and complex, and Martin Nedbal contends that censorship “should be considered not as a force of restriction but as an element that affected artworks in ways similar to other social, political, and cultural factors, such as patronage, audience structure, and various social and political ideologies.”⁴⁹ Censorship, in Nedbal’s view, could for example alter an opera’s plot, cut musical numbers, and add scenes. In this way, the censor played the role of a creative contributor.

According to Lisa de Alwis, the practice of censorship was changing in the years leading up to the time of the Congress. Prominent Viennese censor Franz Karl Hägelin was sensitive to the aesthetic principles of the theatre and concerned with morality. He died in 1809, and the censors that came after him were simply policemen. New censorship was more restrictive in terms of what they deemed acceptable. By the time of the Congress, censorship affected the “sorts of slang used on stage, the kinds of situations that were deemed objectionable, the taboo of pregnancy, and the offensive potential of improvisation and musical phrasing.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ John Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 585.

⁴⁸ Raymond Erickson. *Schubert's Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 229.

⁴⁹ Martin Nedbal. "Mozart, Da Ponte, and Censorship: Don Giovanni and Così Fan Tutte at the Vienna Court Theater, 1798–1804," 11, no. 15 (2018): 75.

⁵⁰ Lisa de Alwis, *Censorship and Magical Opera in Early Nineteenth Century Vienna*, 73.

The Enlightenment period from the early 1700's until 1789 brought about repertoire that was not explicitly dictated by the court, but the material was censored. Governments used censorship to educate people, specifically about morality. However, after the French Revolution in 1789, during the Metternich regime, Yates contends censorship became more concerned with politics. Controlling material was important to Metternich because he believed "performance could make an immediate impact on people of all classes."⁵¹ Examples of censorship include the idea that there should be "no political event, no religious or philosophical idea treated on stage."⁵² Playwrights and composers skirted censorship through improvisation and allegory, but the opportunity for improvisation was restricted by stricter guidelines placed by the censor circa 1810.⁵³ During this time, Kärntnertheater performances were affected by the history of censorship. For example, Nedbal points out that Beethoven's *Fidelio*, a popular opera in Vienna during the time of the Congress, the character Leonore in *Fidelio* acted morally and was indeed influenced by earlier censorship involving the character Charlotte from an adaptation of Mozart's *Così fan tutte*.⁵⁴

Censorship may also have limited the expression of perspectives from the Viennese public at the time. Memoirs, biographies, and letters from heads of state provide opinions and information from a select group of people that may not have represented the views of the Viennese public at large. Available news resources provide information that would have been limited due to censorship. Additionally, opera audiences circa 1814 were not exclusively court audiences and included some of the general public. Therefore, what is known about the views on politics and also opera is restricted due to censorship.

⁵¹ W.E. Yates, *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776-1995*, (New York, Cambridge, 1996), 25.

⁵² Erickson, *Schubert's Vienna*, 230.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

2.2 Kärntnertortheater

The Kärntnertortheater was established as a national theatre within the city wall of Vienna in 1709. It was burned down in 1761 and was rebuilt. While it was under construction, the Kärntnertortheater staff staged performances at the Burgtheater. After changes in leadership, the theatre had added ballets and Italian opera in German at the turn of the century. The theatre was reorganized in 1810 following the financial difficulty brought about by the Napoleonic wars. By this time, the Kärntnertortheater had been, “designated the home of opera and ballet, and with higher prices charged in all parts of the house.”⁵⁵

Despite one of its main focuses being opera, its fine orchestra, and its location inside the city, the Kärntnertortheater hosted only thirty-four opera performances during the time of the Congress, fewer than either the theatres in Josephstadt or Leopoldstadt. However, as can be seen in the appendices, the repertory at the Kärntnertortheater was considerably more varied. The seventeen titles performed were by twelve different composers. Three quarters (eight out of twelve) of the composers featured were either Austrian or had worked in Vienna. Nearly half (five out of twelve) were French-born, with three French composers having no real association with Austria. Finally, Ondrej Holly was Czech-born and was associated with Germany and Poland, but not Austria. All of the composers featured there were living at the time or recently deceased. The popular material during the time of the Congress likely reflected the importance of hope in diplomats’ minds.

⁵⁵ Yates, *Theatre*, 49.

2.3 Hope Among Diplomats

In the era of the Congress of Vienna, hope for everlasting peace in Europe was the ideal answer to the despair caused by twenty-three years of war. During the succession of European wars, diplomats worked tirelessly to dampen Napoleon's ambitions and negotiate settlements.

Unfortunately, the agreements were ultimately only temporary, leaving the future of individual countries uncertain. For example, Austrian diplomat Metternich toyed with the fate of Prussia. At first, he wanted to stand aside and let Napoleon take the Prussian lands if Napoleon agreed to leave Austria alone.⁵⁶ This made Prussian diplomat Humboldt nervous about the fate of his nation.⁵⁷ Austrian diplomatic strategy changed in 1813 when Metternich feared that Russia would defeat France and become more powerful.⁵⁸ This resulted in the 1813 Treaty of Reichenbach where Austria agreed to declare war on France should Napoleon disregard their terms of peace.⁵⁹ While the treaty served the mutual interests of Austria and Prussia, it did not bring about peace. As war raged on between Napoleon and Russia, Austria and Prussia became involved in yet more conflict.⁶⁰

Metternich pleaded unsuccessfully with Napoleon to stop his militaristic expansion. In a private conversation between Metternich and Napoleon, Metternich said, "In order to secure peace, you must reduce your power within bounds compatible with the general tranquility, or you will fall in the contest."⁶¹ Napoleon replied, "I shall not yield one handbreadth of soil."⁶²

⁵⁶ Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 115.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Walker, *Metternich's Europe*, 27.

Metternich observed that in France there was “an immeasurable feeling of unrest amid the rejoicings for a victory of the French army, for everyone knew that these victories made new ones necessary to complete the work, the ultimate extent to which no one could foresee.”⁶³ Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh of England to his wife reveals his feelings of despair towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars and prior to the Congress. As French troops were advancing towards Chatillon, on February 28, 1814, Castlereagh wrote, “You see we do not make much progress towards Paris and...the negotiation is also at a stand still.”⁶⁴ Days later, on March 4th, he wrote in regards to his progress in diplomatic negotiations at the Congress, “I see I am in disgrace, but I do not deserve it.”⁶⁵

In May of 1814, the First Treaty of Paris was signed, declaring an armistice, France was defeated, and Napoleon was exiled. This marked the end of twenty-three years of war and the first sign of hope. As part of the treaty, countries would gather that fall for the Congress of Vienna and construct the final terms of peace.⁶⁶ The almost absurd number of banquets, balls, and entertainment reflected the celebratory feeling. Alongside the celebratory feeling, there was hope. There was hope that these negotiations, no matter how frustrating they may be at times, would bring about a lasting peace.

The practice of diplomacy itself at the Congress of Vienna was an exercise in hope. Representatives from countries gathered, presented their interests, and became signatories on a final arrangement. This was achieved democratically, leaving no major power out of decision making. Peaceful negotiations could become a new way of achieving nations’ interests instead of military invasion. Before negotiations could be successful, there was the hope that negotiations

⁶³ Prince Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich: 1773-1815* (New York: C. Scribner, 1880), 72.

⁶⁴ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1812-1815*, 506.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 507.

⁶⁶ King, *Vienna 1814*, 7.

would satiate the interests of greedy nations and provide protection to desperate ones. Before there could be a reasonable balance of power that pleased the parties, there was the hope that countries could come to an agreement on what that would look like. While negotiations were frustrating and arduous, there was enough hope to continue. That hope propelled diplomats through sometimes frustrating, daunting, and arduous negotiations that ultimately lasted nine months.

Diplomats expressed hope during the Congress of Vienna. On April 19, 1815 despite his frustration with the French council, Castlereagh wrote, “we should soon have a Peace Treaty here.”⁶⁷ He speaks of the competence of his counterparts, especially Talleyrand.⁶⁸ Towards the end of the Congress, on May 5, 1815, he was “glad to find that the sentiments which prevail both in Vienna and in London on the necessity of a change.”⁶⁹ Castlereagh was quite optimistic regarding the uncertainty of the French governmental structure. He stated on May 8th, “I do not believe that the leaders will now quarrel about principles.”⁷⁰ Prussian representative Wilhelm von Humboldt said in a letter to his wife about the negotiations, “I will continue to carry on; I do not fear their muddled state.”⁷¹

The festivities at Congress were part of what kept hope alive for diplomats. These events helped celebrate successes of the Congress, encouraging diplomats to go further. They became a place where people could gather together outside of their diplomatic meetings and mingle with joy, serving as a symbol of the Europe they hoped for. The success of *Fidelio* suggests that there was something special about this opera that resonated with diplomats. A major factor *Fidelio*'s

⁶⁷ Ibid., 544.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 545.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 548.

⁷¹ Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 205.

success at the Congress is that it fed and symbolized the hope that was the pulse of the Congress of Vienna.

2.4 *Fidelio*

The most frequently performed opera at the Kärntnertortheater was Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Crowds loved this work, which as David and Frederic Ewen remarked, was "the first opera viewed in Vienna by the crowned heads."⁷² Beethoven was popular in Vienna at the time and held many concerts during the Congress.⁷³ He was a symbol of Viennese musical genius and wrote for the Viennese people and "their love of play and their love of greenery. Something melancholy, something joyful, something passionate, something that grew."⁷⁴

The success of *Fidelio* was also evident in the scores that were available for purchase. A March 20, 1815 publication of the *Wiener Zeitung* indicates that people could buy piano solos of music from *Fidelio*, an arrangement of the overture for piano with four-hands, and a vocal score with nine voices.⁷⁵ These scores were listed in the *Wiener Zeitung* on five different dates between March and April. The availability of these arrangements speaks to the success of *Fidelio*, as they were popular enough for people to play them at home, in salons, and other private settings.

Anna Milder-Hauptmann starred in the role of Fidelio in the opera during the time of the Congress.⁷⁶ She was well respected in Vienna at the time, and among her fan base were heads of

⁷² David and Frederic Ewen, *Musical Vienna* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), 100.

⁷³ For a study on the politics of Beethoven's music in Vienna at the time of the Congress, see Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁷⁴ Gregor Dallas, *The Final Act* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996), 232.

⁷⁵ "Musikalische Anzeige." *Wiener Zeitung*. March 20, 1815.

⁷⁶ "Korrespondenz Nachrichten." *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*. September 28, 1814.

state that included Napoleon.⁷⁷ She was active in other roles as well, such as Sussmayer's *Der Spiegel*.⁷⁸ She previously played the role of Leonore in *Leonore*, Beethoven's previous version of *Fidelio*.⁷⁹ By 1816, she was appointed "prima donna" in Berlin. Perhaps her popularity contributed to the excitement of *Fidelio* for audiences, and the role she played in *Fidelio* may also have contributed to her career.

Performance reviews of *Fidelio* suggest that the theme of hope contributed to the opera's success during the Congress of Vienna. In the March 1, 1815 issue of the *Morgenblatt*, *Fidelio* was called "one of the most important phenomena of our stage [*Unter die neuesten und wichtigsten Erscheinungen unsrer Bühne gehdrt unstreitig*]." ⁸⁰ The review discusses Beethoven's genius at length, arguing that part of the allure of *Fidelio* was its rich orchestration and music that was full of emotion. Certainly the fame and talent of Beethoven in Vienna may have been connected to *Fidelio*'s popularity and repeated performances. This is especially true since the reviewer observes that *Fidelio* had more success in Vienna at the time than it did in other locations, specifically Prague. Beyond Beethoven's celebrity status and talent, the review states that story appealed to audiences because it inspired hope for the future. In particular, the character of Fidelio was a symbol of hope for audiences, as after digging a grave for her husband, she prevails and so does the adoration she has for him [*Unter die neuesten und wichtigsten Erscheinungen unsrer Bühne gehdrt unstreitig die oper des Herr v. Beethoven Fidelio...Vor Allem gelang ihr der Ausdruck des Ueberganges vom höchsten Schmerz zur neu erwachenden Hoffnung*].⁸¹

⁷⁷ F.A. Marshall, "Milder-Hauptmann." in *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ "Korrespondenz Nachrichten." *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*. March 1, 1815.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

A detailed study of the plot, score, and performance of *Fidelio*, as well as of the character development of Fidelio / Leonore herself, reveal the theme of hope audiences identified with during the Congress of Vienna. The story begins with Florestan, who after threatening to expose criminal activity of nobleman Pizarro, is imprisoned. After Pizarro advertises that Florestan is dead, Florestan's wife Leonore learns that he is still alive and in prison. She disguises herself as a male prison guard by the name of Fidelio and works under Rocco at the prison. Fidelio works alongside Jaquino who hopes to marry Rocco's daughter Marzeline. Marzeline, however, has fallen in love with Fidelio.

Upon Minister Don Fernando's visit, Pizarro and Rocco agree that he cannot see their poor treatment of Florestan, who had already been presumed dead. Pizarro plans to kill Florestan, while Fidelio secretly hopes to save him. After convincing Rocco to let the prisoners roam the garden, Fidelio accompanies Rocco to the dungeon where Florestan is being held. When Pizarro discovers the prisoners having been given free time in the garden, he is furious. Rocco reassures him that this was only for the Spanish king's name day celebration. As Fidelio and Rocco dig Florestan's grave, Fidelio recognizes Florestan and reassures him with kind words, water, and bread. As Pizarro is about to kill Florestan, Fidelio intervenes and threatens Pizarro with a gun. Just then, Don Fernando arrives and Pizarro is taken to see him. Fidelio's plan and Pizarro's corruption are exposed. Pizarro is escorted to prison while Florestan is freed and Leonore praised as a heroine.

In the March 1, 1815 review, audiences viewed the character of Fidelio as an inspiration of hope for people of Vienna.⁸² First, the theme of hope will be explored within the context of the plot and libretto. In act 1, scene 1, in the first duet, Jacquino has hope that Marzeline will

⁸² Ibid.

become his wife, and Marzeline does not want to encourage his hope, because she hopes to marry Fidelio. In Marzeline's aria in scene 2 she sings of her hope and the joy it gives her, saying, "Hope already fills my heart with unspeakable pleasure, How happy shall I be [*Die Hoffnung schon erfüllt die brust / Mit unaussprechlich süsser Lust! / Wie uglücklich wer ich welden*]."⁸³ Jacquino's hope wanes as he fears Rocco will grant Fidelio Marzeline's hand in marriage instead of his own. Fidelio joins the scene, and Rocco promises Fidelio Marzeline's hand in marriage. In a canon, Marzeline and Rocco share their hope for the couple's happy future, while Jacquino and Fidelio are in despair. Fidelio connects hope to light and shows her despair, singing, "How faint the light of hope, O! Shameless agony! [*Wie schwach der Hoffnung Schein, O namenlose Pein*]."⁸⁴ Already in the opening scene, hope is connected with light and presented alongside despair.

Marzeline and Fidelio both reference hope, and connect the concept of hope to the personal feelings it embodies. To have hope is to have pleasure, and to not have hope is to have agony. Also, hope is defined here by both the presence of it and the lack of it. Then hope is not a flat feeling of optimism, rather it is more complex and does not exist without wavering and without despair. In fact, hope comes from despair. It helps one to survive despair and gain happiness as a result. This definition of hope fits with what Congress diplomats were feeling at the time. They did have hope for a Europe that would be a peace. However, this hope had existed and sometimes waned through the despair of twenty three years of virtually constant and seemingly unending war. It also existed through the discouragement and frustration of the months-long negotiations at the Congress of Vienna.

⁸³ Ludwig v. Beethoven, *Fidelio A Grand Opera in Two Acts in German and English* (London: A. Schloss, 18--), 9.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

In the Terzett, Fidelio's despair changes to hope. Having earned the favor of Rocco, Rocco agrees to take Fidelio to see the prisoner in the depths of the prison whom she believes to be her husband Florestan. Fidelio speaks of hope and again connects it to pleasure, saying, "Thou hope! Reachest me thy balm....My desire will soon be appeased [*Du Hoffnung, reichst mir Labung dar...Gestillt wird bald mein Sehnen*]."85 Pizarro then enters the opera, learning of the Minister Don Fernando's visit to the prison to investigate unnecessary imprisonments. Though his optimism is rather macabre, Pizarro has hope that by killing Florestan, he will be spared any consequence. He experiences the pleasure that comes from hope, saying about his plan, "O joy! O! High felicity! [*O wonne! Hohes Glück!*]."86 Fidelio learns of Pizarro's plan to kill Florestan. In act 1, scene 6, in the recitative and aria "Komm Hoffnung," Fidelio expresses that she needs to rely on hope in order to save her husband. She sings:

Come hope! O! Let the final star
Of the weary one not faint;
Illumine my goal, for it be far,
Love will reach it yet.
I follow the inner impulse,
I waiver not.
Duty strengthens me
The true wife's love.

Komm Hoffnung lass den letzten stern
Der müden nicht erbleichen
Erhell' mein Ziel, seys noch so fern,
Die Liebe wird's enreichen
Ich folg' dem innem Triebe
Ich wanke nicht;
Mich stärkt die Pflicht
Der treuen Gattinn Liebe.⁸⁷

This is the most significant moment of hope in the entire opera. Fidelio pleads for hope, knowing that she cannot succumb to despair or she will not be able to save her husband. She connects hope to light, love, and strength, recognizing that this hope lies within her. She is established here as the symbol of strongest hope within the entire cast. One can imagine diplomats sitting in the audience at this moment, rooting for Fidelio and feeling encouraged and

⁸⁵ Ibid., 19-21.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 27, 29.

inspired by the strength of her hope and at the same time, identifying with the anxiety of not knowing the outcome.

Musically, Beethoven illustrates the complexity and nature of hope in this passage. As Fidelio reacts to Pizarro's plan to kill her husband, he sings about Pizarro's heartless anger. Example 1a illustrates harmonic instability to illustrate the feelings of anxiety and tension Fidelio feels in this moment.

Example 1a Beethoven, *Fidelio*, act 1, scene 4, mm. 1-17

Allegro agitato.

Abscheu-licher! woeilst du hin?

Furor! Poco Adagio.

Was hast du vor? was hast du vor in wildem Grimme? Des Mitleids

B-natural A-flat

Più moto. Allegro.

Ruf, - der Menschheit Stim-me, - ruhet nichts mehr dei-nen Ti-ger-sinn?

F major 7 A major scale key change

in tempo.

Doch

added C #

The aria begins in G minor, but after the first six measures, Beethoven introduces a B-natural and an A-flat, creating ambiguity in the key center. This ambiguity continues with an F major seventh chord, outside of the key area. After an A major scale in the low stings, there is a

modulation to A minor, but an immediate C-sharp hints at A-major. In this passage, harmonic ambiguity and rapidly changing key centers that are weakly established compliment the libretto which conveys feelings of uncertainty and disbelief about the monstrousness of Pizarro in his plan to kill Florestan.

Example 1a also shows that Beethoven reinforces the feeling of agitation through his use of tempo changes and dynamics. Within the first twenty measure of the aria, there are three tempo changes. Additionally, the tempo changes are fairly extreme. A quick allegro agitato changes to a much slower poco adagio, followed by a quicker piu moto and quick allegro that happen so close to each other, it seems to function more like an accelerando. These rapidly changing fast to slow tempos create instability and tension. Though stark dynamic contrast is a common compositional tool of Beethoven's, it is worth noting that the dynamics seem to support the tempo changes, with piano dynamic markings accompanying a sudden change to a slow tempo, and forte dynamic markings accompanying sudden tempo changes to quicker tempos.

In Example 1b, Beethoven creates calmness and happiness in using key changes to support the message conveyed in the libretto.

leuchtet mir ein Farbebogen].”⁸⁸ This is the introduction of hope into the aria, as hope has already been associated with light. After E major is firmly established and the adagio tempo set, it does not waver throughout the rest of the aria, just as Fidelio is saying she will not waver. After an absence, the horns enter notably with a victorious call, ushering in the words, “Come hope [*Komm hoffnung*],” as if hope is a victory in itself. Then begins a most beautiful affirmation of hope, love, and optimism that will ultimately free her husband.⁸⁹ Perhaps to Congress diplomats, hope calmed their tension and this musical calmness symbolized the peace that was their diplomatic goal.

Beethoven gives musical emphasis to the words “star [*Stern*]” and “illuminate [*erhell*],” as can be seen in Example 1c. At the word “star,” there is an ascending interval of a major sixth and on “illuminate,” an ascending major fourth. Ascending major intervals on words associated with light emphasize the feeling of the elevation that comes from hope.

Example 1c Beethoven, *Fidelio*, act 1, scene 4, mm. 35-49 (Fidelio’s part)

⁸⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 101.

The most significant ascending lines are on the word “reach [*reichen*]” with scale passages spanning over an octave. The idea presented in this aria that hope helps one reach a goal, is supporting the notion that hope is not an end in itself, but it is a means to an end. For Fidelio, the goal is to free her husband. For Congress diplomats, the goal was to secure an enduring peace. The word “love [*Liebe*]” is emphasized through repetition and phrasing, as if love is what can help her keep the hope she needs to achieve her goal.

As evident in Example 1d, there is tension and dynamic instability with tight intervals involving chromatics, a dramatic crescendo to a sforzando and subito piano. This kind of instability is short lived, but similar to the instability created in the beginning of the aria in Example 1a when the key center was ambiguous and there was stark dynamic contrast. The character of the music compliments Fidelio’s feeling of uncertainty. In this passage, she sings about her goal, but at this moment, it is so far out of reach. Through her optimism, there is some acknowledgement of the difficult task ahead. Just the same, diplomats dealt often with setbacks amidst their strides towards peace.

Example 1d Beethoven, *Fidelio*, act 1, scene 4, mm. 62-65

The musical score consists of ten staves. The top two staves are for the piano accompaniment, featuring dense chords and triplets. The next four staves are for the vocal line, with lyrics written below. The bottom two staves are for the piano accompaniment, continuing the dense chordal texture. Dynamics include *sfz*, *f*, and *sf*.

The Finale of act 1 serves to reinforce the theme of hope. Fidelio convinces Rocco to let some of the prisoners out of their cells to enjoy the garden. The prisoners sing of happiness and light, concepts already associated with hope. They sing, “Hope whispers to us sweetly - We shall be free, we shall find rest [*Die Hoffnung flüstert sanft mir zu / Wir werden frei, wir finden Ruh*].”⁹⁰ The scene ends with a feeling of fear and dread as Fidelio must help Rocco dig a grave for Florestan, but she is still hoping to save him.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 31.

The stage directions in act 2 indicate, “The stage represents a dark subterranean dungeon....A lamp burns [*Das Theater stellt einen unterirdischen dunkeln Kerker vor. Eine Lampe brennt*].”⁹¹ As light is connected to hope, having both darkness and light coexisting on stage is consistent with a depiction of hope as existing as an antidote to despair, and indeed existing because of despair. Florestan sings of the darkness, filth, and loneliness he experiences, creating a feeling of sinking dread. Florestan then envisions his wife, Leonore, not knowing that his wife is standing in the cell with him digging his grave, disguised as the male guard Fidelio. He sings, “And is my grave not illumined? I see that an Angel is a rosy cloud, an Angel so like Leonora my wife [*Und ist nicht mein Grab mir erhellet? Ich seh’, wie ein Engel im rosigen Duft Ein Engel, Leonoren der Gattinn so gleich*].”⁹² Florestan’s depiction of Leonore again establishes her as a symbol of hope, connecting her to light and lightness. Hope is becoming increasingly powerful as Florestan compares his wife to an angel.⁹³

The dungeon scene becomes more suspenseful as Fidelio asks for permission to give Florestan bread, and there are images of Florestan’s violently beating heart and death.⁹⁴ Yet, hope still abides. In the dungeon, Fidelio sings that Florestan’s heart “floats in joy and deepest pain [*Wie hastig pochet mir das Hertz*],” again drawing a connection between hope and despair.⁹⁵ In the meantime, Pizarro is preparing to kill Florestan, representing a fate of despair, and Don Fernando is making his way to the prison for an inspection, instilling hope. As Pizarro is about to kill Florestan, Fidelio throws herself in front of Florestan, protecting him. She reveals herself as his wife, Leonore. As Pizarro is about to kill them both, Don Fernando arrives and

⁹¹ Ibid., 39.

⁹² Ibid., 41.

⁹³ Stephen C. Meyer, “Terror and Transcendence in the Operatic Prison, 1790–1815,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 no.3 (Winter 2002): 511.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 47.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

guards come to collect Pizarro to meet the minister. It is now Pizarro who is in despair. Leonore has won. There is celebration, and absolute joy for the couple. Leonore and Florestan sing, “O nameless joy...such immeasurable joy [*O namenlose Freude...so ubergrosse Lust*].⁹⁶ This is the joy that throughout the opera has been associated with hope. They also acknowledge that their joy has not come without suffering, again making the connection between hope and despair. Don Fernando frees the prisoners, and notices Florestan whom he knows but thought was dead. He rejoices as the prisoners demand justice for the unjust Pizarro. Finally, it is Leonore who is granted the privilege of unshackling Florestan. Since her character has become a symbol of hope, we see that it is hope that has succeeded in ending despair, permanently.

Memoirs, letters, and biographies of diplomats at the Congress of Vienna reveal a concept of hope that is consistent with the manner in which it is presented in *Fidelio*. Hope helped them survive despair, and it would be the tool they needed to endure arduous negotiations for a goal they were passionate about: enduring peace. Similarly, *Fidelio* demonstrated hope that helped her through great despair. The hope was fueled by love and helped her achieve her goal to free her husband. Congress diplomats not only identified with hope as it was portrayed in *Fidelio*, they were likely inspired by it. It encouraged them to keep their own hope all the way through to achieving their goals.

With *Fidelio* being the most popular opera at the Kärntnertortheater during the time of the Congress of Vienna, it had special significance to Congress diplomats. A review in the *Morgenblatt* suggests that its significance was the theme of hope. A careful study of how hope is portrayed in *Fidelio* shows it to be a complex feeling, with despair existing alongside a strong sense of the desired outcome. This particular framing of hope is consistent with feelings of

⁹⁶ Ibid., 55.

Congress diplomats, who hoped for agreement and peace in the midst of their own periods of despair. In this sense, opera could have affected diplomats at the most personal level. A study popular operas at other theaters during the Congress shows that hope remains an important theme.

Chapter Three: Burgtheater and *Iphigénie en Tauride*

The Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater share historical connections in their administration and programming. Among all the theaters active in Vienna during the time of the Congress, the Burgtheater had the least number of opera performances. Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* was the most performed opera at the Burgtheater, an opera with both German and French connection. Research on Gluck's popularity after the French Revolution shows that his music created nostalgia for a relatively more peaceful Europe. Careful analysis of *Iphigénie en Tauride* shows that like *Fidelio*, the theme of hope as it exists alongside despair, is powerful and this may have been the reason for *Iphigénie en Tauride*'s success.

3.1 Burgtheater

In 1741, the Burgtheater opened as the Hofburgtheater and functioned as a court theatre featuring Italian and opéra comique.⁹⁷ The Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater had a history of connectedness. They were administered by the court and therefore had similar programming. Occasionally, people leased the opera houses from the court, and at those points the court had less power over the programming. For a brief time in 1761, a fire at the Kärntnertortheater meant that its actors were housed at the Burgtheater. By this time, the theater was no longer “perceived as serving the glory of the ruler and the amusement of the populace; rather, its function was specifically enlightenment,” referring to ideals of the Enlightenment such as liberalism and democracy.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, 5.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Count Giacomo Durazzo was superintendent of Vienna's royal theaters starting in 1754. According to Bruce Alan Brown, Durazzo's work resulted in a French theatrical troupe as a mainstay in the Burgtheater.⁹⁹ This was born out of the monarchy's political goals and to appeal to the, "ready-made audience of foreign diplomats, local aristocrats, and government officials."¹⁰⁰ The cost of seats at the Burgtheater was rather expensive, and Dorothea Link's account of those who purchased seats between 1782 and 1792 reflect an aristocratic audience from across all of Europe.¹⁰¹

According to Dorothea Link's research, between 1776 and 1794 the court theaters were managed by Emperor Joseph II.¹⁰² She viewed "theatre as an instrument of social policy which aimed to educate and keep the citizenry in good order by providing high-quality works in the language of the people."¹⁰³ This of course meant that the programming featured works in German, but mostly spoken drama. This ended in 1787 when Austria went to war with Turkey and the court could not manage or pay for the theaters. Leopold took over in 1791 and heavily subsidized the theaters. After a series of disagreements about financing and managing the theaters, the all-German national theater came to an end in 1794.¹⁰⁴ With the exception of the Josephine era, the Burgtheater specialized in French *opéra comique*.

Late eighteenth century repertory at the Burgtheater was still limited. The Napoleonic invasion of Vienna in 1809 brought significant financial hardship that affected the Burgtheater. It was "dilapidated state and poor condition in other respects made it wholly unsuitable for large-

⁹⁹ Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783-1792*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 454-478.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

scale productions.”¹⁰⁵ The creative teams had become demoralized.¹⁰⁶ Censorship was especially oppressive at the Burgtheater.¹⁰⁷ Directorship was changing along with a crisis of finance and identity. This could collectively explain the relatively small number of opera performances held at the Burgtheater during the Congress.

During the Congress of Vienna, there were only nine opera performances in total at the Burgtheater, and the most performed opera was Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Tauride*. Gluck, however, is unusual among popular composers in Vienna during the time of the Congress. As can be seen in the appendices, the most popular operas at every other Viennese theater were by living composers, and Gluck died in 1787. His popularity can be explained by exploring his compositional style and the associations audiences had with his work by the time of the Congress of Vienna.

In addition to having had a successful career in Vienna where he was the musical director at the Burgtheater, Gluck lived in France where he composed *Iphigénie en Tauride*.¹⁰⁸ The opera was originally written in French. While Genevan composer and philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau was dead by the time of the premier of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, its success would have shown his notion to be wrong that “the French, by virtue of their inharmonious language, could have no music of their own.”¹⁰⁹ The opera was later translated into German by August Wilhelm Iffland, who presented it as a German national opera. Musicologist Eric Schneeman claims that at this point, *Iphigénie en Tauride* was a fixture on the German stage.¹¹⁰ He studied the best

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Nathan Martin, “Iphigénie à Paris: Gluck and the Philosophes.” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (2012): 860.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 861.

¹¹⁰ Eric Schneeman, “The German Reception of Christoph Willibald Ritter Von Gluck in the Early Nineteenth Century.” 2015, 8.

French and Italian composers instead of sticking to a strict German style, creating a cosmopolitan style. His music was accepted throughout Europe and people from many European countries could identify with it. Considering his cosmopolitanism, the presence of Gluck's music in Vienna during the Congress makes sense as it appealed to an audience that came from all over Europe.

According to Schneeman, Gluck's success circa 1800 can be attributed to a number of things, but mainly nostalgia. He died in 1787, just before the hideous turmoil in Europe. He experienced success in reception during his lifetime, before the French Revolution. Gluck's operas triggered a nostalgia in people, metaphorically transporting them back to a time of relative peace and happiness in Europe. In Luise Mühlbach's novel, *Marie Antoinette and Her Son*, she paints a picture of Gluck's music, as invoking nostalgia for Marie Antoinette, the Queen of France until the French Revolution. In this text, Mühlbach represents Marie Antoinette as feeling that Gluck's music

recalled the happy by-gone times—those golden, blessed days, when the Queen of France was the friend of the arts, and when she received her early teacher, the great maestro and chevalier Gluck, in Versailles; when she took sides for him against the Italian maestro Lully, and when all of Paris divided into two parties, the Gluckistes and Lullyists, waging a bloodless war against each other. Happy Paris! At that time the interests of art alone busied all spirits, and the battle of opinions was conducted only with the pen.¹¹¹

3.2 Iphigénie en Tauride

The music of *Iphigénie en Tauride* was popular in Vienna long before the time of the Congress. According to the March 11, 1786 publication of the *Wiener Zeitung*, a four-hand clavichord reduction of the overture were for sale in Vienna.¹¹² In a January 10, 1807 edition, the

¹¹¹ Ibid., 352.

¹¹² "Neue Musiken." *Wiener Zeitung*. March 11, 1786.

arrangements from the music from *Iphigénie en Tauride* that were available for purchase included a duet, a dance, Pylades' aria with a piano accompaniment, Orestes' aria, and a piano reduction of the overture.¹¹³ By the time of the Congress, Gluck's popularity could be attributed to nostalgia and his cosmopolitan style, but that does not explain why *Iphigénie en Tauride* was the most popular. After all, unlike Beethoven, Gluck wrote many operas prior to 1800, and *Iphigénie en Tauride* was only one title among many popular Gluck operas.

Iphigénie en Tauride begins with a dramatic storm. Iphigénie is a high priestess of Tauris, living apart from her family. She was sent there magically from Greece when her father offered her up as a sacrifice. She is bothered by a vision that she had where her mother Clytaemnestra murdered her father Agamemnon, her brother Orestes murdered her mother, and then Iphigénie murdered her brother. She hopes to see her brother, who is unknowingly on route to Tauris to get the goddess Diana's statue and return it to Greece. Orestes is then found shipwrecked with his friend Pylades on the shore. Unfortunately for Orestes and Pylades, the people of Tauris have a custom of killing strangers. Orestes and Pylades are held captive and await sacrifice. Iphigénie enters and does not recognize Orestes, who tells her of the murder of Clytaemnestra by her son after she killed her husband. He says that there is one remaining daughter of the couple in Greece, named Electra. Iphigénie assumes her brother is dead and holds a funeral for him.

Iphigénie tells Orestes and Pylades that she can get King Thoas to save one of them from sacrifice, and secretly hopes that this person can return to Greece and inform Electra about Iphigénie's presence in Tauris. It is Orestes who is then to be offered as a sacrifice and Iphigénie is reluctantly preparing to stab him. Then Orestes says Iphigénie's name and the two realize that they are brother and sister. When King Thoas marches in, determined to kill Orestes and

¹¹³ "Musikalische Wochenblatte." *Wiener Zeitung*. January 10, 1807.

Iphigénie, Pylates marches in with Greeks and stops Thaos. The goddess Diana appears, demands her statue to be placed back in the Greek's hands, pardons Orestes, and sends Iphigénie back home.

Durazzo facilitated many performances of *Iphigénie en Tauride* in Vienna as early as the 1780's.¹¹⁴ It had 56 performances in Vienna between the years 1807 and 1810, when French troops had a presence in Vienna and the popularity of this work prior to the Congress, as Estelle Joubert contends, was due to the fact that both the occupying French troops and Viennese theater audiences could identify with the cultural neutrality of classical mythology.¹¹⁵ The content was far enough removed from modern Viennese politics that it passed through censorship, making it reliably good repertoire for the Burgtheater.

When *Iphigénie en Tauride* was performed in 1814 and 1815, the part of Iphigénie was played by Karoline Seidler.¹¹⁶ She was the daughter of composer Paul Wranitzky, a composer of considerable merit in Vienna. The *Wiener Zeitung* indicates that audiences received Seidler with praise. She was described as the “idol of the public [*Idol für unser Publikum*]” and was appreciated for her “wide range of voice, beautiful artful and always decent manners, (and) pleasant acting [*Ein grosser Umfang von Tonnen, Kraft, Reinheit, Biagsamkeit der Stimme, schone immer schicklich gewahlte ost sehr kunstvolle Manieren*].”¹¹⁷ Certainly the stardom of Siedler could have had an impact on the positive reception of the opera at the time of the Congress.

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre*, 3.

¹¹⁵ Estelle Joubert, “Visualizing Operatic Fame,” Paper presented at Französische Oper in Wien um 1800, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musik, Bern University of Applied Sciences, May 2018.

¹¹⁶ *Wiener allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, October 29, 1814.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

The story of *Iphigénie en Tauride* was originally written by German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. A June 20, 1815 review in the *Wiener allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* observes that Goethe's story epitomizes the greatness of German literature.¹¹⁸ This was appealing to the Viennese public. It continues to say that this opera demonstrates that the French people are guilty of looking at literature as disconnected from ordinary life, unlike the Germans. Finally, it suggests that the opera itself may not be entirely a French work as it is based on fine German literature. The mass appeal of this opera may have been that both the French and Germans identified with this work culturally, since it was of a German basis, but written and composed while Gluck was in France.

Fidelio and *Iphigénie en Tauride* have strikingly similar plots. In both operas, a woman must take risks to save a man that she loves from execution. Leonore must save her husband while Iphigénie must save her brother. Both women succeed, but not without the help of a third party that intervenes. During the Congress of Vienna, the success of the protagonists likely encouraged diplomats to persevere.

Hope is an important theme in *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and the contrast between hope and despair is intense. In *Fidelio*, Leonore's hope helped her endure, but it wavered and it came alongside despair. Similarly, Gluck creates profound despair for much of the opera, but hope grows stronger throughout the opera and ultimately prevails. Gluck depicts hope in *Iphigénie en Tauride* as a mixed feeling. It is an optimistic belief, but it can feel intangible because it exists amid chaos and despair. Therefore, hope is an emotional struggle and it is only at the end of the struggle that the result of hope can attain happiness.

¹¹⁸ *Wiener allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, November 25, 1814.

The concept of hope as a struggle and a mixed feeling would have resonated with the diplomats attending the Congress. They had already experienced so many years of seemingly unending war. There were many failed negotiations and several formal treaties that had failed to sustain peace. The Congress of Vienna offered the hope of peace, but not without arduous and often frustrating negotiations. Near the beginning of negotiations, Castlereagh, Tsar Alexander, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Metternich were hopeful that they could reach an agreement if France had no vote and limited negotiating power. This would be a struggle however as Talleyrand fought to convince others of the importance of France as an ally. Ultimately, an agreement was reached and France was given negotiating power, but not without frustration from all parties. Poland was divided among the superpowers in such a way that led Russia and Prussia to concede some of its ambitions. The Congress was where European countries had put all of their hopes for peace, but the Congress itself and all of the events that had led them there were a struggle.

Similarly, *Iphigénie en Tauride* begins with desperate despair. Establishing their innocence as women in need of respite and undeserving of this turmoil, there is already a sense of injustice. Even after they are spared from the storm, it has not delivered them from pain as Iphigénie sings “deep in my heart, alas, the storm is still raging [*mais au fond de mon cœur, Hélas! l’orage habite encore*].”¹¹⁹ Iphigénie shares her dream of the death of her parents and she and the priestesses continue sing of horror, grief, and dread. When two men wash up on their shores, Iphigénie is tasked to kill them and the darkness and terror persist. At the same time, hope is represented through prayer.

¹¹⁹Pinchgut Opera, *Pinchgut Opera Presents Gluck’s Iphigenie en Tauride* (Sydney: Playbill, 2014), 16.

Hope is mentioned more directly early on in act 1, scene 2 when a priestess encourages Iphigénie to have hope. Iphigénie responds with, “No, I have no more hope. All my days have been woven of disgrace and misfortune [*Non, je n’espère plus...D’opprobre et de malheur tous mes jours sont tissés*].”¹²⁰ She pleads to the goddess Diana for death, believing that in death there is hope for the end of her suffering. In act 2, scene 4, the hopelessness of Iphigénie and the priestesses deepens when Orestes, the brother of Iphigénie, leads them to believe that he is dead. They sing, “Alas, all our hope was in Orestes! We have lost everything, no hope is left to us [*Nous n’avons d’espérance, hélas! que dans Oreste, Nous avons tout perdu, nul espoir ne nous reste*].”¹²¹ Orestes is firmly established as a symbol for hope, as he is the connection between Iphigénie and her homeland and the true leader in Greece. However, with his death, that hope is gone. In actuality, Orestes is alive in this moment, and in the room with Iphigénie. Even though the women believe that all hope is lost, it is in fact present. However, in light of the tragic news, there is even more grief and sadness for Iphigénie and the priestesses.

In act 3, Iphigénie experiences hope truly as a mixed feeling. She sings, “My soul takes delight in sustaining the hope which has been stolen from me [*Mon âme se plaît à nourrir L’espérance qui m’est ravie*].”¹²² Then she follows with the line, “Away with these pointless fantasies [*Chassons une vaine chimère*]!”¹²³ In this moment, she is entertaining the idea of hope after such despair and recognizes it as something that feels good. However, she is still resigned to the notion that hope is worthless. Hope grows in scene 3 as Iphigénie comes up with a plan to spare one of the men and send him to Greece and deliver a letter to her sister Electra, stating that she is alive in Tauris. She chooses Orestes to go to Greece, symbolically restoring hope for

¹²⁰ Ibid., 17.

¹²¹ Ibid., 21.

¹²² Ibid., 22.

¹²³ Ibid.

herself and all of Greece. Orestes and his friend Pylade sing with great intensity of their love for each other, the joy of their friendship, and they beg for the privilege of dying to save the other. Then hope is symbolically crushed again as Orestes wins the debate and is sentenced to death.

In act 4, scene 2, the priestesses enter at the lowest point of despair in the entire opera, but the characters' feelings are still portrayed as mixed. They have prepared Orestes for execution and sing to Iphigénie, "O Diana, look with kindness on us! The victim is ready and is about to be killed. May the blood that is about to flow, and our tears, turn aside your judgment [*Ô Diane, sois-nous propice! La victime est parée, et l'on va l'immoler. Puisse le sang qui va couler, Puisse nos pleurs apaiser ta justice*]." ¹²⁴ They are devastated over the execution and they also recognize what an abysmal task this is for Iphigénie. They express compassion for themselves, Iphigénie, and Orestes, while Orestes has hope that death will bring an end to his suffering.

In Example 2a, where the priestesses announce that Orestes is ready for execution, there are elements of both despair and hope depicted, furthering the notion of hope being a mixed feeling, although despair is heavy. The scene begins in a strong and unambiguous A minor key as the priestesses ask Iphigénie to, "look with kindness on us [*Regarde avec bonté sur nous*]." ¹²⁵ There is a major sixth chord in measure eight, sustaining the feel of C major until the middle of measure 9 as they sing that the victim is ready. This is such a dark moment to have a strong major chord that we can clearly see Gluck juxtaposing despair with hope.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 25.

¹²⁵ Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride Opera En 4 Actes Partition Chant et Piano* (Paris: Choudens, 1900), 172.

Example 2a Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, act 4, scene 2, mm. 1-13

Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 66$

SOPRANI I
 O Di - a - ne, sois-nous pro - pi - ce; La vie - - -

SOPRANI II
 O Di - a - ne, sois-nous pro - pi - ce; La vie - ti - - -

PIANO
p

- - - - - *scen* - - - - - *do* - - - - - *f* *p*
 - ti - me est pa - rée, et l'on va l'im - mo - ler! O Di -
 - me est pa - ré - - e, et l'on va l'im - mo - ler! O Di -

C-major
 chord

After this section, in Example 2b, there is a grace note to a higher pitch, offering a sense of elevation, but it is on B minor chord just as they sing about the blood that is about to flow.

Later in scenes 2 and 3, in the final moments before his execution, Orestes mentions his sister Iphigénie, whom he believes is dead. Iphigénie assures him that she is his sister and she is alive. She realizes that Orestes, her brother, is alive and also the true King of Greece. There is joy among the siblings and the priestesses as the priestesses pray for the gods to save them all. Yet, the music is frenzied with a succession of minor chords. This wonderful moment of hope for the fate of Orestes, Iphigénie, and all of Greece, is marred by their current predicament. King Thoas, who ordered the execution, threatens to kill both Iphigénie and Orestes as Iphigénie protects her brother.

In act 4, scene 5, Pylade and the guards he has brought from Greece storm in to kill King Thoas. Iphigénie and the priestesses pray to the gods and root for Pylade. This is a hopeful scene, yet it is chaotic until the goddess Diana appears. In Example 2d, the score depicts the chaos of Orestes' friends struggling to save him.

Example 2d Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, act 4, scene 5, mm. 5-7

All. moderato $\text{♩} = 72$ **IPHIGÉNIE**

Grands

P.

SOPRANI I

PRÊTRESSES

Grands

SOPRANI II

Grands

CHŒUR DES GARDES DU ROI

BASSI I ET II

Ven - geons le sang de no - tre Roi! Frap -

All. moderato $\text{♩} = 72$

key change 16th notes begin

A key change from D minor to D major ushers in hope. Pylade fights King Thoas while there is a succession of rapid sixteenth notes, depicting chaos with no steady or supportive melodic line.

When Diana enters in scene 6, as is seen in Example 2e, the music halts and then calms in rhythm and dynamic as she gives her decree. This hopeful moment is back in a minor key, referencing the chaos from which it came.

Example 2e Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, act 4, scene 6, mm. 1-15

RÉCITATIF

DIANE (*Apparition*) **Moderato**

Ar - rê - tez! écou - tez mes dé - crêts é - ternels!

Moderato

p

change in rhythm

D. **Moderato**

Sey - thes! aux mains des Grecs ren - drez mes i - ma - ges:

D. Vous avez trop long - temps, dans ces climats sau - ges, Deshon - oré mes lois et mes autels.

f

à ORESTE

le prends soin de ta destinée, O - resté:

Grave

p *f*

key change

The finale is a celebration of the victory of Orestes, Iphigénie, and the Greeks. Diana calls for Orestes to return to Greece and rule it in peace, taking his sister Iphigénie with him.

Then the cast erupts with joy and the character of Gluck's music, perhaps for the first time, is purely joyful. Finally, the struggle of having hope and enduring despair has ended in happiness. The finale begins in C major. It is an unambiguous and unwavering C major throughout its duration. This key area, as we have seen, flags hopeful moments in the opera. However, previously, those hopeful moments are never sustained, as if hope is still a struggle to maintain. In the finale, the struggle of hope has earned a victory that actually has a sense of permanence. Similarly, diplomats at the Congress of Vienna must have hoped that their struggle would result in a peace.

The Burgtheater's repertoire list shows that Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* was popular among Congress diplomats. Nostalgia could have played a role in the opera's success. However, like in *Fidelio*, hope in *Iphigénie en Tauride* is a strong theme. Similarly, hope exists alongside despair, which in *Iphigénie en Tauride*, is deep and intense. Hope prevails in the end as Orestes, Iphigénie, and all of Greece benefit from the saving of Orestes' life. As hope was an important part of sustaining negotiations for diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, the theme of hope in *Iphigénie en Tauride* may have contributed to its popularity.

Chapter Four: Suburban Theaters, Repertoire, and *Die Zauberflöte*

The suburban theaters produced a large number of operas during the time of the Congress. Repertoire lists in the appendices show that these theaters favored operas in German by contemporary composers, many of whom were active in Vienna at the time. While many of the most popular operas remain obscure, what can be determined is that there is content related to politics and the theme of hope. Wolfgang Amedeus Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, also referred to as *The Magic Flute*, had considerable popularity at the time. Careful study of this opera shows that among its many appealing themes and aspects, hope remains a strong theme that could have appealed to diplomats.

4.1 Suburban Theaters

As can be seen in Appendix A, the suburban commercial theater in Josephstadt hosted the largest number of opera performances during the time of the Congress. The theater in Leopoldstadt follows as a close second, followed by the Theater an der Wien. With few operas in French, the bulk of the programming showcased German operas. The composers featured at the suburban theaters could all be considered contemporary period composers. Without drawing on for example, baroque opera, the scene at the suburban opera houses reflected the current trends of the time. With composers that were active musically in Vienna at the time dominating the musical scene, this programming was local, current, and largely Viennese. Even the smaller suburban venues were frequented by representatives at the Congress of Vienna.

This chapter will explore the suburban theaters themselves and their repertoire lists from September 26, 1814 through June 1815, when representatives were in Vienna and would have

been attending performances. The commercial theater, which includes the suburban venues, was a newer phenomenon by the late eighteenth century in Austria. Prior to 1776, court theaters dominated the musical scene and the royal court maintained control over the management of theaters. With his *Spektakelfreiheit*, Joseph II gave considerable freedom to theaters to be free entities independent of court control.¹²⁶ Many commercial theaters sprung up at this time. The importance of this shift in regards to the entertainment during the Congress of Vienna is that people independent of the court were choosing repertoire that had a greater chance of being representative of the public. Nevertheless, theaters were still accountable to the police, who could censor programs, librettos, and concert posters and discouraged politically charged material.¹²⁷ In fact, Yates claims that it is doubtful these theaters would produce anything, “counter to the norms of the court theatres” and although there was a considerable amount of parody, it served to popularize a production, not to subvert norms.¹²⁸

4.2 Josephstadt

The theater in Josephstadt was established as a commercial theater in 1788.¹²⁹ It was known for its varied programming of plays, comedy, and opera, but focused mainly on spoken theater. In fact, Josephstadt during the time of the Congress was most known for “homegrown Viennese popular comedies.”¹³⁰ Despite this reputation and its smaller size, Josephstadt had more opera performances than any other theater during the time of the Congress of Vienna. Some scholars

¹²⁶ Yates, *Theatre in Vienna*, 15.

¹²⁷ Raymond Erickson, *Schubert's Vienna*, (Connecticut, Yale University, 1997), 102-103.

¹²⁸ Yates, *Theatre*, 86.

¹²⁹ Yates, *Theatre* 16.

¹³⁰ Erickson, *Schubert*, 26.

claim that few works were premiered at Josephstadt, as it often performed works other Viennese theaters had already done.¹³¹ However, at least during the duration of the Congress, there is nothing significant to indicate that Josephstadt was simply performing what other theaters had already performed. Although Josephstadt and Leopoldstadt do indeed have some titles in common, only three out of twenty-two works were also performed first at Leopoldstadt, and just as many were performed first at Josephstadt before they were performed at Leopoldstadt. Even considering the similarities in composers featured at Josephstadt and Leopoldstadt, it appears that Josephstadt had its own unique and original programming.

Between October 26, 1814 and June 30, 1815, the theater in Josephstadt had a total of seventy-eight performances of twenty-two different operas by seven composers, making it the most active theater in the Vienna area during the time of the Congress. Congress officials, such as the King of Prussia and Russian czar attended the theater at Josephstadt, repeatedly attending performances of Müller's *Evakathel und Schnudi*.¹³²

The most performed operas were *Evakathel und Schnudi*, Ferdinand Kauer's *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann*, and Kauer's *Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt*. Again, despite its reputation of not holding premiers, Josephstadt premiered Kauer's *Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt* in March of 1815. This was nearing the end of the Congress and this work had eight performances at Josephstadt before the end of the Congress. *Evakathel und Schnudi* was performed very early on in the Congress at the theatre in Leopoldstadt only twice, and later given eight performances at Josephstadt. *Rinaldo Rinaldi, der Räuberhauptmann* was performed at no other theater during the Congress of Vienna.

¹³¹ Yates, *Theatre*, 89.

¹³² Grillpazer Gesellschaft, *Jahrbuch, Volume 14*, (Vienna, Bergland, 1904), 217-218.

The seven different composers featured at Josephstadt were Ferdinand Kauer, Wenzel Müller, Friedrich Satzenhofen, Wolfgang Amedeus Mozart, Paul Wranitzky, Franz de Paula Roser, and Vinzenz Tuczek. All seven of these composers could be called Viennese. Even the Czech-born Tuczek moved to Vienna and worked at the theater in Leopoldstadt. With the exception of Mozart and Wranitzky who were recently deceased, these composers were living and working in Vienna at the time of the Congress.

The work of Kauer and Müller collectively made up fifteen of the twenty-two opera performances at the theater in Josephstadt, which can be attributed to their active presence as directors and composers in Vienna at the time. Kauer was a prolific composer and served as Kapellmeister at the theater in Josephstadt during 1814-1815. Müller was an even more prolific composer and active musical director in Vienna, where he worked as the Kappelmeister at the theater in Leopoldstadt during the time of the Congress.

In regards to the content at Josephstadt, the popular and now obscure *Evakathel und Schnudi* is tragi-comedy that opens with a roasting elephant and features a princess who ultimately commits suicide. *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann* certainly has a political connection. The libretto is linked back to a larger body of German robber literature exploring the Robin Hoods of society who steal from the rich and give to the poor. The idea behind this kind of banditry is that it was, “a primitive form of organized social protest.”¹³³ *Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt* “acknowledged the ills of contemporary Vienna.”¹³⁴ The main character, Kratzerl, is a relatable everyday man. As Erickson notes, “the plot ultimately reinforces the status quo-the

¹³³ Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, (New York, Delacorte Press, 1969), 13.

¹³⁴ Erickson, *Schubert*, 225.

one aristocratic figure in the cast bringing plenty and happiness to all but the figure of Kratzerl challenges the authenticity of that happy ending.”¹³⁵

Kauer based *Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann* on a character from a German novel by Christian August Vulpius. Since, the novel was published in 1799, it was new literature when Kauer wrote his opera, also in 1799. It proved to be quite popular, with other composers such as Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried writing works with the same title. Robbers in this literature were viewed as protectors and defenders of the common man. They challenged morality and conventional justice and provided security. However, given the diplomats’ possible desire to find hope in the storylines of the operas they watched, perhaps the robber also offered hope for those less fortunate and those who had been taken advantage of. Without a score and performance recording, there is little opportunity for further musicological analysis.

4.3 Leopoldstadt

Leopoldstadt was established as a commercial theater in 1781. Operas by Kauer and Müller dominate the repertoire list. Out of forty-five performances in this period, the works of Kauer and Müller combined make up twenty-seven, more than half of the total performances. Kauer only had six different operas performed at Leopoldstadt while Müller had twelve different operas performed. In fact, Müller is the most frequently performed opera composer at Leopoldstadt during this period, with twenty-one of forty-five performances being his own compositions. Like Josephstadt, the composers on the repertoire list at Leopoldstadt were living or recently deceased. Germanic composers were heavily represented in the repertoire. However, unlike

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Josephstadt, Leopoldstadt featured operas by Auber and Dalayrac, French composers who did not have an immediate association with Austria.

There are several reasons for Müller's numerous performances on the repertoire list at Leopoldstadt. Müller had been associated with the theater in Leopoldstadt as a composer since 1786 when the theater was in its early days.¹³⁶ At that time, he specialized in *Singspiele*. Müller was also a prolific composer. Next, he was the Kapellmeister at Leopoldstadt during the time of the Congress and featured his own work. Joseph Gregor claims that the heart of the theater at that time was Müller's Viennese melodies.¹³⁷ Kauer's connection to the theater in Leopoldstadt may in part have been his connection to Müller. He and Müller were known to collaborate, for example in their work on the opera *Tanzmeister* prior to the Congress in 1807. His works were also featured at other theaters in Vienna at the time, as he had considerable popularity.

Circa 1800, the theater in Leopoldstadt was known for its comedy. By the time of the Congress, however, Nicolas Mathew argues that Leopoldstadt was frequented by foreign officials of the Congress because of its politically charged repertoire.¹³⁸ In fact, this theater was the Prussian King's favorite.¹³⁹ This is significant, especially considering that other theaters were closer in proximity to where foreign officials would have stayed. Yates describes Müller's *Der Burger in Wien* as having, "the germ of social satire but often also with a strain of rather sentimental local patriotism."¹⁴⁰ Since, as Mathews suggests, diplomats sought out political material, the content related to society and politics in this opera could be responsible for the opera's success in Leopoldstadt.

¹³⁶ Yates, *Theatre*, 17.

¹³⁷ Joseph Gregor, *Osterreichisches Theater*, (Wien, Donau-Verlag, 1948), 157.

¹³⁸ Nicolas Mathew. *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge, 2013), 128.

¹³⁹ Karl Rauch Verlag. *The Congress of Vienna: An Eyewitness Account* (Philadelphia, 1968), 97.

¹⁴⁰ Yates, *Theatre*, 93.

Kauer's *Antonius and Kleopatra* was the most performed opera at Leopoldstadt. Inspired by the Shakespeare story that shares the same title, it is a love story laced with battles. Beginning with the Roman battle in Alexandria, Roman Antonius falls in love with Kleopatra, the Queen of Egypt. Antonius returns to Rome and because of political alliance, marries Octavia, sister of Octavius. Octavius breaks the conditions of their peace agreement with Antonius goes to Athens. Antonius prepares for war against Octavius and returns to Alexandria to be with Kleopatra. Octavius declares war on Egypt in retaliation. There are numerous land and sea battles, and Antonius believes a rumor that Kleopatra has deceived him by bargaining with Antonius' life for a peace with Octavius. Kleopatra sends a message to Antonius that she has committed suicide. Antonius tries to kill himself but only mortally wounds himself when he hears that Kleopatra is still alive. Kleopatra then kills herself because of Antonius' fate.

Without a detailed study of the musical score of Kauer's *Antonius and Kleopatra*, it is difficult to know if and how he communicated hope in the opera musically. The theme is present in the libretto as Antonius hopes for peace, victory in battle, and to be with Kleopatra. In a sense, the broken alliance between Octavius and Antony frees Antony to be with Kleopatra. What is certain is that the narrative of *Antonius and Kleopatra* supports Mathew's claim that Leopoldstadt focused on material related to politics. Politically, diplomats would have related to its themes of broken alliances, failed peace treaties, and battles.

4.4 Theater an Der Wien

Considered a commercial theater, the Theater an der Wien, also known as the K.K. Priv Theater, was established in 1801 and was notable because of its size. It was the largest theater in Vienna

at the time of the Congress, holding 2,000 people.¹⁴¹ The Theater an der Wien was known for melodrama, spectacle, and Viennese comedy. Yates claims that the material was likely not politically subversive and did not offer much in opposition to court theater.¹⁴² This was likely, in his opinion, a result of censorship. Parody was prevalent in the theater, but only functioned to popularize.¹⁴³

Prior to the Congress, the theater underwent waves of financial difficulty possibly due to its size, and in 1806 it threatened to close. Franz II demanded it stay open, citing its usefulness “as a political vent: if the audience were safely being entertained, they could not be on the streets hatching revolution.”¹⁴⁴ He outlined the function of theater here as a distraction from revolution, as opposed to something that could incite revolution. It shortly fell under the direction of the *Gesellschaft der Kavaliers*. By the beginning of 1814, the theater had been purchased by Count Palffy and the Congress of Vienna started only a few months later. Palffy began programming more dramas, but by the time of the Congress, the Theater an der Wien, “was known for everything-spoken theater, opera, ballet, (and) magic plays.”¹⁴⁵

The number of total performances at the Theater an der Wien was thirty-one, comparable to the Kärntnertortheater and still less than Josephstadt and Leopoldstadt. *Rochus Pumpnickel* was the most performed opera at the Theater an der Wien during the time of the Congress. It should be noted that because of the limited material available, some scholars attribute the score to Ignaz Seyfried while other scholars attribute it to Mathaeus Stegmeyer.¹⁴⁶ Either way, the

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 21.

¹⁴² Ibid., 86.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴⁵ Erickson, *Schubert*, 26.

¹⁴⁶ Lisa Feurzeig and John, Siemicki, Friedrich Satzenhoven, and Franz Volkert, *Quodlibets of the Viennese Theater*. (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2008), xiv.

work was on theater programming at the Theater an der Wien since 1809 and was popular. It was quite comedic and was based on two Molière plays involving doctors and hypochondriacs, *Monsieur de Porceangnae* and *Le malade imaginaire*. *Rochus Pumpernickel* involves the question of who a doctor's daughter will marry. The father is a hypochondriac and chooses a husband for his daughter who is provincial. The daughter and her lover work to convince her father that the man he chose for her husband has numerous ailments, that he is in debt, and has two previous wives. The father's doctor takes advantage of the situation, treating the hypochondriac father and the healthy fiancé.

The score featured folk songs and was done in the tradition of Viennese folk theater.¹⁴⁷ It exhibits a certain lightheartedness, for example with the music being joyful and upbeat while the father writes a will.¹⁴⁸ In fact, there is little seriousness in the opera. It offers laughs and joy to audience members. The theme of hope is present with the daughter's hope to marry her true love, and that hope carries the entire storyline.

With Schultz's *Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Die Zauberflöte* was the second most performed opera. The original text for *Jungfrau von Orleans* was significantly altered by the censor.¹⁴⁹ It follows the story of Joan of Arc, with much of the narrative involving battles and war. The repertoire during the time of the Congress at the Theater an der Wien favored composers who had connections to the Germanic world and were either living or recently deceased. Johann Nepomuk Hummel was living and connected with Vienna, Paul Wranitzky was recently deceased and had connections to Vienna, Christian Schultz was a living German composer and the likely composer of the *Turandot* featured on the programming at the Theater an der Wien. The

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., xv.

¹⁴⁹ Yates, *Theatre*, 32.

suburban commercial theatre in Josephstadt could be called the most Viennese during the Congress of Vienna, being the only venue featuring most extensively operas in German by composers that were closely associated with Vienna.

4.4.1 *Die Zauberflöte*

The 340th performance of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* was held at the Theater an der Wien on September 28, 1814, when Congress officials would have been gathering in Vienna.¹⁵⁰ *Die Zauberflöte* was played a total of four times at the Theater an der Wien between September and January of the Congress. It offers comedic and fantastical moments within a more serious plot. The Queen of the Night offers Tamino her daughter Pamina's hand in marriage if he rescues her from the temple of Sarastro, the god of the sun. Tamino accepts and takes Papageno and a magic flute with him.

Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* was a favorite of Viennese audiences before 1814.¹⁵¹ As early as 1792, music from *Die Zauberflöte* was available for purchase as a string quartet.¹⁵² Between 1792 and 1807, the *Wiener Zeitung* listed scores for sale that included piano music, *Die Zauberflöte* for eight voices, a duet and trio with piano accompaniment, a quintet, and a female vocal solo with piano accompaniment. This indicates public interest in *Die Zauberflöte* that extended beyond the theater and into homes and salons. It also indicates that by the time of the Congress, there had already been a long-standing appreciation of the music.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 26.

¹⁵¹ Mark Berry, "Power and Patronage in Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* and *Die Zauberflöte*," in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 329.

¹⁵² "Neue Musikalien." *Wiener Zeitung*. July 28, 1792.

During the time of the Congress of Vienna, the role of the Queen of the Night was played by Therese Rosenbaum.¹⁵³ Wife of the Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, who was “a well-known diarist and secretary to Prince Nicholas Esterházy,” her performance signal just how intertwined opera and politics were at the time.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, in the news coverage of operatic performances at the time, there is no information about singers in other roles.

A performance review during the time of the Congress describes the opera as “an opera we’ve seen here so long ago, so often, and of which we have such good memories [*eine Oper, die wir hier schon so lange her, so oft, und mit so unvergesslich guter Besessung sahen*].”¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, like Gluck, Mozart is one of relatively very few composers on the theaters’ repertoire lists that had been dead more than twenty years before the Congress. The review references good memories, suggesting that there may have been a certain amount of nostalgia surrounding the work. Also by the time of the Congress, the opera had achieved international success. In the 1790’s, there was a Czech and Italian version and the opera had been performed in Russia.¹⁵⁶ *Die Zauberflöte* would have felt familiar to many diplomats, which also could have contributed to its success during the Congress.

Die Zauberflöte as opposed to any of Mozart’s other operas, fit in well at the Theater an der Wien. Mozart wrote mainly for court theater and *Die Zauberflöte* was the only opera Mozart ever wrote that was for popular audiences. In fact, the court was disapproving of this work because it was intended for non-court theater.¹⁵⁷ It had folk-like elements such as strophic songs

¹⁵³ *Wiener allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, December 3, 1815.

¹⁵⁴ Mark Nabholz, “Notes Along the Way: Pencil Embellishments from a Viennese Part Book,” in *Society for Eighteenth-Century Music Newsletter* 28 (2016), 1.

¹⁵⁵ *Grazer Zeitung*, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Berry, *Cultures of Power*, 329.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

and the humble character of Papageno.¹⁵⁸ This combined with its premiere at the suburban Freihausertheater auf der Wieden and not one of the royal opera houses, gave it a place in Viennese suburban theater.¹⁵⁹

Even though *Die Zauberflöte* was written for popular audiences, it had special appeal to aristocratic circles. After Salieri attended a performance in 1791, he “declared it ‘worthy to be performed at the greatest festival and before the greatest monarch.’”¹⁶⁰ To then be performed at the Congress of Vienna certainly honored Salieri’s perspective on the work. According to Mark Berry, the aristocratic appeal with the high order of Sarastro. To elaborate, more humble characters like Papageno and Papagena never earn a place in Sarastro’s order like the prince and princess Tamino and Pamina.¹⁶¹

Beyond its historical legacy and aristocratic appeal, the success of *Die Zauberflöte* may be attributed to the theme of hope in the opera. An analysis of a libretto and score reveal how this theme is present. In act 2, scene 8, Pamina finds Tamino as he is about to be killed. They are together, if only in death. In Example 3a, there is a key change from C minor to F major, signaling optimism. Then in the English version, they sing, “O hope fulfilled! No more we part.”¹⁶² This is an interesting moment to be singing of hope, because their death is still looming. This reinforces the concept that hope cannot be presented without despair. Diplomats could have identified with this as they struggled after years of war and in difficult negotiations at the Congress. Hope for successful negotiations and a peaceful future likely sustained them.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 336.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 328.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 329.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 342.

¹⁶² W.A. Mozart, *The Magic Flute*, (UK: Boosey & Hawkes, 1944), 163.

Example 3a Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, act 2, scene 8, mm. 86-99

PAMINA **Andante**

PAMINA is brought in.

O found at..... last! O faith - ful
 Tu - mi - no..... mein! O welch' ein

Pam. heart!
 Glück!

TAMINO

O hope.....ful - - fill'd! No more we part.
 Pu - mi - nu.....mein! O welch' ein Glück.

This despair is short lived as the couple has great hope in the magic flute. They sing, still in F major, “Its note gives light on danger’s way. That sound of magic has the power to guard us sage in death’s dread hour.”¹⁶³ The flute then becomes a symbol of hope and the only deliverance from death. It is also associated with light, which has a powerful association to hope. In Example 3b, Tamino plays the flute, entering in the new key of C major, and as the couple walk through fire, they are unscathed.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Ibid., 165.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 167.

Example 3b Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, act 2, scene 8, mm. 145-153

MARCH
TAMINO and PAMINA enter the door and are seen to pass through fire. TAMINO plays the flute.
Adagio

The musical score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. Each system has a treble clef staff for the right hand and a bass clef staff for the left hand. The right hand part is characterized by a melodic line with grace notes and trills, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes. The tempo is marked 'Adagio' and the dynamic is 'p' (piano).

The soprano line, which is the part of the flute, with grace notes, trills, and thirty-second notes, has joyful dance-like qualities. They pass through water and in the ultimate victory of light, they enter the temple of Sarastro, the god of the sun. They are victorious over the darkness, symbolized by the Queen of the Night, whose plot to destroy the temple of Sarastro is overturned.

The repertoire of suburban theaters in Vienna during the Congress of Vienna provide insight into productions of popular theater. Operas in German written by living composers were popular and had elements comedy, narratives of war and politics, and social commentary. The theme of hope is arguably present in some of the popular operas; although, without performance recordings and scores, there can be no in-depth musicological analysis. *Die Zauberflöte* was also

quite popular and the time, analysis shows that the theme of hope is present, and there is a marked victory of hope over despair.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The entertainment scene at the Congress of Vienna was so significant that it likely played a key role in defining the Congress. Identifying the most popular operas at the royal and suburban theaters during the time of the Congress of Vienna provides a complete understanding of the operatic preferences among diplomats at the time. Their popularity lies within a greater political and personal context. The European political scene was characterized by turmoil and uncertainty, and diplomats seemed to be negatively affected by that turmoil. At the same time, they had hope for a more peaceful Europe, and that hope moved negotiations forward. It is also a theme found in the popular operas at the time.

The turmoil in Europe began with the French Revolution, a prolonged and bloody attempt at establishing a government in France that was more democratic and represented the people rather than the monarchy. Within the post-revolutionary government, Napoleon rose to power and had ultimate military control. He had in mind that France would invade its neighbors and continue to expand its territories. Diplomats from the other major European powers, England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria tried to suppress Napoleon in war, but suffered over two decades of losses against France. Peace treaties were negotiated but not upheld, and Napoleon did not appear to be amenable to peaceful negotiation. European powers juggled concessions, military engagement, alliances, and appeasement in an effort to cope with continuing conflict and defeat. Finally, upon Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, there was a break in military engagement.

When Napoleon was no longer a threat, European powers saw it as a necessity to redraw boundaries from a war-torn and French occupied Europe. This was also an opportunity to balance powers among major European nations in such a way that there was a disincentive against military engagement in the future. They would do that diplomatically, without any

military involvement at the Congress of Vienna. Negotiations were supposed to last only a couple of months, but they lasted nine months as thousands of foreign representatives stayed in Vienna. Despite the optimism of a Congress actively pursuing peace, the negotiations in practice were taxing for diplomats. There was arguing and distrust among the diplomats, and countries agreed to difficult concessions in an effort to forge an agreement. Supposed progress was colored with additional problems.

The entertainment scene for foreign dignitaries at the Congress of Vienna was so massive and time consuming that it bordered on the absurd. The Viennese people paid a fifty percent increase in taxes to pay for the balls, sleigh rides, operas, ballets, concerts, feasts, and festivals. Even individuals hosted casual concerts and salons in their quarters. It was likely that every single day, there was some kind of festivity in which to partake. Diplomats frequented events for entertainment, but also in a professional capacity. Such events included discussion, networking, spying, and the opportunity to relax and decompress from a hard day of work.

Opera was one part of the entertainment scene during the Congress of Vienna and there was an abundant number of opera performances at five different theaters that diplomats could have attended. With a rich history in operatic theater and so many wonderful musicians, composers, and directors, there was a huge repertoire to choose from in Vienna when it came to operatic programming. The *Wiener Zeitung* provides a list of performances and venues that show what titles audiences were interested in (see Appendix A). Those titles were mostly from Austrian and Germanic composers in the suburban theaters of Leopoldstadt, Josefstadt, and the Theater an der Wien. In the royal theater houses, while many Germanic composers are represented, there is more French material than in the suburban venues. Living and recently deceased composers dominated the operatic scene, some of whom were directing in Vienna at

the time. The most performed opera titles were *Fidelio* at the Kärntnertortheater, *Iphigénie en Tauride* at the Burgtheater, *Antonius und Kleopatra* at Leopoldstadt, *Evakathel und Schnudi* at Josefstadt, *Rochus Pumpernickel* at the Theater an der Wien. This research has shown what it might have been about these operas that probably appealed so much to diplomats and audience members during the Congress of Vienna.

The Kärntnertortheater is an older theater with a legacy of fine German, French, and Italian opera troupes. In featuring Beethoven's *Fidelio*, they were very much taking advantage of a contemporary popular composer in Vienna. At the height of his fame, his only opera would certainly be a fixture on Viennese stage. Yet, Beethoven had only recently revised the opera, and aside from his fame and genius, something else more pertinent appealed to audiences. A review from the time suggest that the theme of hope was so powerful and important to diplomats that it explained the opera's success. Indeed, woven into the libretto, plot, character development, and score is the theme of hope.

Beethoven defined hope in his opera not as a flat and simple feeling, but with great complexity. *Fidelio*, otherwise known as *Leonore*, has to keep her hope alive through anxiety, doubt, uncertainty, and hideous despair as she digs her husband's grave. In fact, her hope wanes. Musically, Beethoven illustrated this concept of hope through rapid changes in tempo and uncertain key areas, followed by stability and consistency. *Fidelio* succeeded in the end, and as diplomats watched, they seemed likely to have identified with her. They must have understood the difficulty of maintaining hope both through war and negotiations. They watched this opera inspired by *Fidelio*, knowing that they too could achieve a difficult goal in the face of their obstacles.

Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* was a relic of a pre-Napoleonic Europe and it was for this very reason that audiences appreciated *Iphigénie en Tauride*. It was nostalgic for them: listening to Gluck, they could relive a better time. Yet, Gluck wrote many operas, so there was something especially appealing about *Iphigénie en Tauride*. The theme of hope is powerful in this opera too. The depths of despair in the opera are profound. The concept of hope as a feeling of complexity and accompanied by hardship is present and in that way, similar to *Fidelio*. Notably, the depth of despair in *Iphigénie en Tauride* is far more pronounced than in *Fidelio*. Yet, in the opera, hope prevails, Orestes and Iphigénie are reunited and the throne of Greece is safe in the hands of Orestes. Similar to *Fidelio*, the concept of hope as defined in the opera combined with the inspiration of victory that comes from hope is probably what appealed to diplomats.

Even though suburban opera theaters were farther away from the city center, diplomats would still have attended them. Leopoldstadt was known for being political. *Antonius und Kleopatra* dealt with battles, treaties, alliances, and love. Since the composer was an active director at the theater, Kauer would have written this opera to appeal to the tastes of his audiences. Without a score, musical analysis proves difficult. Aside from appealing political themes, the story has its share of hope in the love between Antonius and Kleopatra and their hope of being together. Similarly, *Evakathel und Schnudi* lacks proper scoring and performance recordings. At the Theater an der Wien, the entire plot of the rather humorous *Rochus Pumpernickel* depends entirely on the hope that a daughter can marry her one true love.

The popularity of *Die Zauberflöte* at the Theater an der Wien can be attributed to a number of factors, including the presence of the theme of hope. Mozart intended the opera to be a popular opera and not exclusively for the court. This explains its existence on suburban theater programs. It still had appeal to aristocratic audiences, however, with its story line involving

hierarchy. The culmination of hope lies in the magic flute, which after Tamino and Pamina are united, it delivers them from death and they become part of Sarastro's order.

Scholars have identified many ways in which opera can be political. Political narratives and cultural connotations are an important part of that; however, what diplomats identified with at the Congress of Vienna seems to have been more personal and to have had to do with feelings and perceptions. Hope was a critical piece of the Congress of Vienna negotiations. It was a personal and an emotional struggle for the participants, and this is how both Beethoven and Gluck defined hope. Small victories gave hope of more success. When there was discouragement and defeat, hope was the rationale behind compromises and the reason to keep talking. All the while, the tragedy of the recent past was on the minds of diplomats as they reminded themselves that hope brought them to a peaceful negotiation table. Hope to not go back to the difficulty of war kept diplomats working together. Opera became a place where diplomats could go and be inspired by hope, recharged to face the next challenge.

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APPENDIX A NUMBER OF OPERA PERFORMANCES BY THEATER

a. Kärntnertortheater

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Fidelio	Beethoven	7
Der Grenadier	Müller	5
Sargino	Paer	3
Der Dorfbader	Shneck	3
Die Schweitzer Familie	Weigl	3
Der Augenarzt	Gyrowetz	2
Die Löwenritter	Kauer	2
Die Strickleiter	Gaveoux	2
Sémiramis	Catel	2
Camilla	Paer	1
Das Waisenhaus	Weigl	1
Der Bergsturz bei Goldau	Weigl	1
Der Kosak in London	Müller	1
Der lustige Schuster	Holly	1
Die Jugend Peters des Großen	Weigl	1
Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	1
Joconde	Isouarde	1

b. Burgtheater

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck	2
Camilla	Paer	1
Das Hausgesinde	Himmel	1
Der Ring der Liebe	Umlauf	1
Die Schweitzer Familie	Weigl	1
Die Braut von Messina	Destouches	1
Fünf sind Zwei	Mosel	1
Merope	Nasolini	1

c. Leopoldstadt

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer	9
Die Bürger in Wien	Müller	3
Der Kosak in London	Müller	2
Der Nachfasching	Volkert	2
Die Schwestern von Prag	Müller	2
Die schwarze Redoute	Müller	2
Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg	Müller	2
Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen	Müller	2
Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller	2
Orpheus	Benda	2
Werthers Leiden	Müller	2
Azémia	Dalayrac	1
Das Donauweibchen	Kauer	1
Das Neusonntagskind	Müller	1
Das Pilgerhaus	Auber	1
Der Alte überall und nirgends	Müller	1
Der Bergsturz bei Goldau	Weigl	1
Der Feldtrompeter	Kauer	1
Der lustige Schuster	Holly	1
Die Bekanntschaft im Leopoldstädter -Theater	Müller	1

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Die Zauberin aus Liebe	Kauer	1
Don Juan	Mozart	1
Johann von Wieselburg	Roser	1
Otto von Löwenstein	Müller	1
Philibert und Kasperl	Kauer	1
Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer	1

d. Josephstadt

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller	13
Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer	8
Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer	8
Die Löwenritter	Kauer	7
Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer	7
Johann von Wieselburg	Roser	4
Das Sonnenfest der Braminen	Müller	3
Der Mohr von Semegonda	Kauer	3
Rudolf von Felseck	Wranitzky	3
Der Alte überall und nirgends	Müller	2
Der eiserne Mann	Müller	2
Der Körbchenflechter an der Zauberquelle	Satzenhofen	2
Die vornehmen Wirtinnen	Roser	2
Don Juan	Mozart	2
Heinrich der Stolze	Kauer	2
Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer	1
Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer	1
Das Donauweibchen	Kauer	1
Der Wald bei Hermannstadt	Wranitzky	1
Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg	Müller	1

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Goda	Müller	1
Moses in Egypten	Tuszek	1

e. Theater an der Wien

Title	Composer	Number of Performances
Rochus Pumpnickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer	7
Die Jungfrau von Orleans	Schultz	4
Die Zauberflöte	Mozart	4
Don Juan	Mozart	3
Palmira	Salieri	3
Roderich und Kunigunde	Seyfried	3
Die Eselshaut	Hummel	2
Die Hussiten vor Naumburg im Jahre 1432	Salieri	1
Johanna von Montfaucon	Wranitzky	1
Moses	Seyfried	1
Saul, König von Israel	Seyfried	1
Turandot	Blumenröder	1

APPENDIX B LIST OF PERFORMANCES AND DATES BY THEATER

a. Kärntnertortheater

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Sept 26, 1814	Sept 26, 1814	Der Grenadier	Müller
Sept 3, 1814	Set 16, 1814	Fidelio	Beethoven
Oct 4, 1814	Oct 4, 1814	Fidelio	Beethoven
Oct 18, 1814	Oct 18, 1814	Fidelio	Beethoven
Nov 3, 1814	Nov, 3, 1814	Fidelio	Beethoven
Nov 7, 1814	Nov 7, 1814	Der Grenadier	Müller
Nov 13, 1814	Nov 13, 1814	Camilla	Paer
Nov 22, 1814	Nov 22, 1814	Fidelio	Beethoven
Dec 7, 1814	Dec 7, 1814	Der lustige Schuster	Holly
Dec 14, 1814	Dec 14, 1814	Die Jugend Peters des Großen	Weigl
Jan 7, 1815	Jan 7, 1815	Der Dorfbader	Shneck
Jan 8, 1815	Jan 8, 1815	Der Kosak in London	Müller
Jan 13, 1815	Jan 13, 1815	Der Dorfbader	Schneck
Jan 14, 1815	Jan 14, 1815	Der Augenarzt	Gyrowetz
Jan 15, 1815	Jan 15, 1815	Die Schweitzer Familie	Weigl
Jan 21, 1815	Jan 21, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Jan 22, 1815	Jan 22, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Jan 31, 1815	Jan 31, 1815	Die Schweitzer Familie	Weigl
Feb 1, 1815	Feb 1, 1815	Die Strickleiter	Gaveoux

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Feb 6, 1815	Feb 6, 1815	Die Strickleiter	Gaveoux
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Der Grenadier	Müller
Feb 18, 1815	Feb 18, 1815	Fidelio	Beethoven
Mar 1, 1815	Mar 1, 1815	Die Schweizerfamilie	Weigl
Mar 2, 1815	Mar 2, 1815	Sémiramis	Catel
Mar 9, 1815	Mar 9, 1815	Der Grenadier	Müller
Mar 16, 1815	Mar 16, 1815	Sémiramis	Catel
April 25, 1815	April 25, 1815	Das Waisenhaus	Weigl
May 1, 1815	May 1, 1815	Sargines	Paer
May 6, 1815	May 6, 1815	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck
May 7, 1815	May 7, 1815	Sargines	Paer
May 9, 1815	May 9, 1815	Fidelio	Beethoven
May 21, 1815	May 21, 1815	Der Augenarzt	Gyrowetz
May 22, 1815	May 22, 1815	Der Dorfbarbier	Schenk
June 1, 1815	June 1, 1815	Joconde	Isouarde
June 5, 1815	June 5, 1815	Der Bergsturz bei Goldau	Weigl
June 6, 1815	June 6, 1815	Der Grenadier	Müller
June 20, 1815	June 20, 1815	Sargines	Paer

b. Burgtheater

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Sept 3, 1814	Sept 3, 1814	Fünf sind Zwei	Mosel
Oct 3, 1814	Oct 3, 1814	Die Schweitzer Familie	Weigl
Oct 5, 1814	Oct 5, 1814	Camilla	Paer
Jan 14, 1815	Jan 14, 1815	Das Hausgesinde	Himmel
Apr 10, 1815	Apr 10, 1815	Merope	Nasolini
Apr 19, 1815	Apr 19, 1815	Die Braut von Messina	Destouches
April 27, 1815	April 27, 1815	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck
May 1, 1815	May 1, 1815	Iphigénie en Tauride	Gluck
June 5, 1815	June 5, 1815	Der Ring der Liebe	Umlauf

c. Leopoldstadt

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Sept 16, 1814	Sept 16, 1814	Die Bürger in Wien	Müller
Oct 20, 1814	Oct 20, 1814	Die Schwestern von Prag	Müller
Oct 26, 1814	Oct 26, 1814	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Oct 26, 1814	Oct 26, 1814	Der Kosak in London	Müller
Nov 1, 1814	Nov 1, 1814	Don Juan	Mozart
Nov 3, 1814	Nov 3, 1814	Johann von Wieselburg	Roser
Nov 3, 1814	Nov 3, 1814	Der lustige Schuster	Holly
Nov 6, 1814	Nov 6, 1814	Orpheus	Benda
Nov 7, 1814	Nov 7, 1814	Orpheus	Benda
Nov 9, 1814	Nov 9, 1814	Der Alte überall und nirgends	Müller
Nov 12, 1814	Nov 12, 1814	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Nov 13, 1814	Nov 13, 1814	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Nov 22, 1814	Nov 22, 1814	Die Bürger in Wien	Müller
Nov 24, 1814	Nov 24, 1814	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Dec 2, 1814	Dec 2, 1814	Die Bürger in Wien	Müller
Dec 7, 1814	Dec 7, 1814	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Dec 11, 1814	Dec 11, 1814	Die Teufelmühle am Wienerberg	Müller
Dec 14, 1814	Dec 14, 1814	Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen	Müller
Jan 1, 1815	Jan 1, 1815	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Jan 7, 1815	Jan 7, 1815	Der Kosak in London	Müller

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Jan 10, 1815	Jan 10, 1815	Das Donauweibchen	Kauer
Jan 12, 1815	Jan 12, 1815	Azémia	Dalarac
Jan 14, 1815	Jan 14, 1815	Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen	Müller
Jan 14, 1815	Jan 14, 1815	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Jan 15, 1815	Jan 15, 1815	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Jan 26, 1815	Jan 26, 1815	Werthers Leiden	Müller
Jan 28, 1815	Jan 28, 1815	Die schwarze Redoute	Müller
Jan 29, 1815	Jan 29, 1815	Die schwarze Redoute	Müller
Jan 31, 1815	Jan 31, 1815	Der Feldtrompeter	Kauer
Feb 1, 1815	Feb 1, 1815	Die Bekanntschaft im Leopoldstädter -Theater	Müller
Feb 4, 1815	Feb 4, 1815	Die Zauberin aus Liebe	Kauer
Feb 6, 1815	Feb 6, 1815	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Feb 7, 1815	Feb 7, 1815	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Der Nachfasching	Volkert
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Werthers Leiden	Müller
Feb 21, 1815	Feb 21, 1815	Der Nachfasching	Volkert
Mar 29, 1815	Mar 29, 1815	Das Neusonntagskind	Müller
Apr 24, 1815	Apr 24, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
May 1, 1815	May 1, 1815	Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg	Müller
May 18, 1815	May 18, 1815	Die Schwestern von Prag	Müller
May 24, 1815	May 24, 1815	Der Bergsturz bei Goldau	Weigl
May 29, 1815	May 29, 1815	Das Pilgerhaus	Auber

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
June 15, 1815	June 15, 1815	Philibert und Kasperl	Kauer
June 20, 1815	June 20, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
June 26, 1815	June 26, 1815	Otto von Löwenstein	Müller

d. Josephstadt

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Sept 8, 1814	Sept 8, 1814	Johann von Wieselburg	Roser
Sept 9, 1814	Sept 9, 1814	Johann von Wieselburg	Roser
Sept 9, 1814	Sept 9, 1814	Die vornehmen Wirtinnen	Roser
Sept 16, 1814	Sept 16, 1814	Johann von Wieselburg	Roser
Sept 16, 1814	Sept 16, 1814	Die vornehmen Wirtinnen	Roser
Sept 21, 1814	Sept 21, 1814	Das Donauweibchen	Kauer
Sept 25, 1814	Sept 25, 1814	Die Teufelmühle am Wienerberg	Müller
Sept 30, 1814	Sept 30, 1814	Rudolf von Felseck	Wranitzky
Oct 2, 1814	Oct 2, 1814	Rudolf von Felseck	Wranitzky
Oct 5, 1814	Oct 5, 1814	Rudolf von Felseck	Wranitzky
Oct 18, 1814	Oct 18, 1814	Antonius und Kleopatra	Kauer
Nov 1, 1814	Nov 1, 1814	Don Juan	Mozart
Nov 3, 1814	Nov 3, 1814	Johann von Wieselburg	Holly
Nov 6, 1814	Nov 6, 1814	Heinrich der Stolze	Kauer
Nov 7, 1814	Nov 7, 1814	Heinrich der Stolze	Kauer
Nov 9, 1814	Nov 9, 1814	Don Juan	Mozart
Nov 12, 1814	Nov 12, 1814	Der eiserne Mann	Müller
Nov 13, 1814	Nov 13, 1814	Der eiserne Mann	Müller
Nov 22, 1814	Nov 22, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Nov 23, 1814	Nov 23, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Nov 24, 1814	Nov 24, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Dec 2, 1814	Dec 2, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Dec 2, 1814	Dec 2, 1814	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Dec 11, 1814	Dec 11, 1814	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Dec 14, 1814	Dec 14, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Dec 16, 1814	Dec 16, 1814	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Jan 1, 1815	Jan 1, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 2, 1815	Jan 2, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 4, 1815	Jan 4, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 4, 1815	Jan 4, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 6, 1815	Jan 6, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 6, 1815	Jan 6, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 7, 1815	Jan 7, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 8, 1815	Jan 8, 1815	Der Mohr von Semegonda	Kauer
Jan 10, 1815	Jan 10, 1815	Der Mohr von Semegonda	Kauer
Jan 10, 1815	Jan 10, 1815	Prinzessin Eigensinn und König Bröselbart	Kauer
Jan 12, 1815	Jan 12, 1815	Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann	Kauer
Jan 13, 1815	Jan 13, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 14, 1815	Jan 14, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 16, 1815	Jan 16, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 17, 1815	Jan 17, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Jan 18, 1815	Jan 18, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Jan 21, 1815	Jan 21, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Jan 28, 1815	Jan 28, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Müller
Jan 29, 1815	Jan 29, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Feb 6, 1815	Feb 6, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Feb 7, 1815	Feb 7, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Feb 8, 1815	Feb 8, 1815	Das Sonnenfest der Braminen	Müller
Feb 11, 1815	Feb 11, 1815	Das Sonnenfest der Braminen	Müller
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Der Mohr von Semegonda	Kauer
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Feb 15, 1815	Feb 15, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Feb 17, 1815	Feb 17, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Feb 18, 1815	Feb 18, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Feb 21, 1815	Feb 21, 1815	Das Sonnenfest der Braminen	Müller
Feb 21, 1815	Feb 21, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
Mar 9, 1815	Mar 9, 1815	Die Löwenritter	Kauer
Mar 13, 1815	Mar 13, 1815	Der Körbchenflechter an der Zauberquelle	Satzenhofen
Mar 16, 1815	Mar 16, 1815	Goda	Müller
Mar 29, 1815	Mar 29, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
Apr 4, 1815	Apr 4, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
Apr 10, 1815	Apr 10, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
Apr 19, 1815	Apr 19, 1815	Der Wald bei Hermannstadt	Wranitzky
Apr 24, 1815	Apr 24, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Apr 26, 1815	Apr 26, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
May 6, 1815	May 6, 1815	Der Alte überall und nirgends	Müller
May 7, 1815	May 7, 1815	Der Alte überall und nirgends	Müller
May 8, 1815	May 8, 1815	Der Körbchenflechter an der Zauberquelle	Satzenhoffen
May 9, 1815	May 9, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
May 22, 1815	May 22, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
June 1, 1815	June 1, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
June 5, 1815	June 5, 1815	Evakathel und Schnudi	Müller
June 6, 1815	June 6, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
June 15, 1815	June 15, 1815	Die Musikanten vom hohen Markt	Kauer
June 26, 1815	June 26, 1815	Moses in Egypten	Tuszek

e. Theater an der Wien

Weiner Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Sept 11, 1814	Sept 11, 1814	Saul, König von Israel	Seyfried
Sept 28, 1814	Sept 28, 1814	Die Zauberflöte	Mozart
Sept 28, 1814	Sept 28, 1814	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Oct 2, 1814	Oct 2, 1814	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Oct 14, 1814	Oct 14, 1814	Die Zauberflöte	Mozart
Oct 18, 1814	Oct 18, 1814	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Oct 20, 1814	Oct 20, 1814	Die Eselshaut	Hummel
Oct 26, 1814	Oct 26, 1814	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Nov 6, 1814	Nov 6, 1814	Roderich und Kunigunde	Seyfried
Nov 7, 1814	Nov 7, 1814	Die Jungfrau von Orleans	Schultz
Nov 9, 1814	Nov 9, 1814	Die Hussiten vor Naumburg im Jahre 1432	Weber or Salieri
Nov 12, 1814	Nov 12, 1814	Die Jungfrau von Orleans	Schultz
Nov 24, 1814	Nov 24, 1814	Roderich und Kunigunde	Seyfried
Dec 2, 1814	Dec 2, 1814	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Dec 5, 1814	Dec 5, 1814	Die Zauberflöte	Mozart
Dec 6, 1814	Dec 6, 1814	Roderich und Kunigunde	Seyfried
Dec 7, 1814	Dec 7, 1814	Don Juan	Mozart
Jan 18, 1815	Jan 18, 1815	Die Zauberflöte	Mozart
Jan 29, 1815	Jan 29, 1815	Die Eselshaut	Hummel
Feb 6, 1815	Feb 6, 1815	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
Feb 17, 1815	Feb 17, 1815	Turandot	Blumenröder

Wiener Zeitung Publication Date	Performance Date	Title	Composer
Mar 30, 1815	Mar 30, 1815	Don Juan	Mozart
Apr 24, 1815	Apr 24, 1815	Johanna von Montfaucon	Wranitzky
Apr 26, 1815	Apr 26, 1815	Palmira	Salieri
May 2, 1815	May 2, 1815	Palmira	Salieri
May 6, 1815	May 6, 1815	Die Jungfrau von Orleans	Schultz
May 19, 1815	May 19, 1815	Die Jungfrau von Orleans	Schultz
May 21, 1815	May 21, 1815	Rochus Pumpernickel	Seyfried or Stegmayer
June 4, 1815	June 4, 1815	Palmira	Salieri
June 15, 1815	June 15, 1815	Don Juan	Mozart
June 20, 1815	June 20, 1815	Moses	Seyfried