

Singing Arminius, Imagining a German Nation:
Narratives of the *liberator Germaniae* in Early Modern Europe

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Introduction

Constructing the German and the Persistence of Arminius

Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubii infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. unde habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.

—Tacitus, *De origine et situ germanorum*.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mädchen!
Zorn blickt mein blaues Aug' auf den,
Es hasst mein Herz
Den, der sein Vaterland verkent! [*sic*]

—F. G. Klopstock, “Vaterlandslied.”

der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland sein Auge ist blau
er trifft dich mit bleierner Kugel er trifft dich genau

—Paul Celan, “Die Todesfuge.”

Whether for good or ill, the writings of the Roman historian Tacitus—especially his *De origine et situ germanorum*, commonly referred to as *Germania*—have proven an especially influential source in the shaping of a German cultural identity. Indeed, Arnaldo Momigliano counts *Germania* “among the hundred most dangerous books ever written” on account of the misuse it has received after its re-discovery and publication in the fifteenth century.¹ Since that time, it has provided patriots, nationalists, and tyrants with ethnographic validation of how “Germans” ought to look and how they ought to behave. The epigraphs that open this introduction represent the contribution of three voices to a motif that has become a prominent feature of the German narrative. To be sure, this narrative is only one of the many that constitute Germany, yet its centuries-old pedigree has proven especially formidable: it is the story of the blue-eyed German. We who are

¹ Arnaldo Momigliano, “Some Observations on Causes of War in Ancient Historiography,” in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies*, 5 vols. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957-1958), 1:199, quoted in Anthony R. Birley, introduction to *Agricola; and Germany*, by Cornelius Tacitus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxxviii. See also Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011).

engaged with the study and teaching (i.e., the promotion and dissemination) of German culture inevitably confront cultural pre-conceptions such as this one, whether in the classroom or among the public at large. For the ethnic stereotype of the blue-eyed, blond-haired German has achieved widespread recognition—no doubt due to the role it played in the racist ideologies of the National Socialists—even though it does not accurately reflect a significant percentage of the German population. So where does the blue-eyed German come from, and how do we account for the continued acceptance of this notion?

If stories make the world, as I argue, then every story also craves a beginning—a point of orientation that provides a reference for understanding the story’s subsequent narrative development.² While a biological scientist may present a valid explanation for the physical characteristics of blue-eyed northern Europeans, the answer produced from this phenomenological approach is essentially different from the kind of narrative context I wish to establish here. In this vein, the origins of the blue-eyed German can rather be found in the ancient writings of Tacitus, who asserts that “all” the various peoples of Germania share a common appearance, including blue eyes and reddish-gold hair. Certainly there are enough Germans today with blue eyes and reddish hair to lend some credence to this hyperbolic statement, even if Tacitus himself never visited the area known as Germania.³ Yet apart from whatever grain of truth may be present here,

² In recent decades the links between culture and narration have attracted increased attention. On narrative as a cultural form of understanding, see Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009) and *The Practice of Cultural Analysis: Exposing Interdisciplinary Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); on theories of history and narrative, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); on the relationship between narrative and culture in an anthropological context, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); on concepts of narrative and psychology, see Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

³ While critics of Tacitus tend to use this fact to discount the validity of his ethnography, it should be noted that one need not have traveled into Germania to have encountered Germani, especially since the Roman emperors kept bodyguards of Germanic extraction in their service. See Heinz Bellen, *Die germanische Leibwache der römischen Kaiser des julisch-claudischen Hauses* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1981), and Michael A. Speidel, “‘Franke bin ich...’: Germanische Verbände im römischen Heer,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Konflikt*, ed. Stefan Burmeister and Heidrun Derks (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2009), 241-247. Modern archaeological findings also confirm Tacitus’s reports of reddish hair and the *Suebenknoten* hairstyle; see Karl Schlabow, “Haartracht und Pelzschulterkragen der Moorleiche von Osterby,” *Offa* 8 (1949): 3-7; and Birte Haak, “Einige Bemerkungen zum so genannten

Tacitus's account is less concerned with biology than it is with sociology. For Tacitus does not only mention eye and hair color, but also the fearsome physical strength of these people: their eyes are not only blue (“caerulei”) but fierce (“truces”) as well; their bodies are huge and ready to perform acts of violence (“magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida”). Blue eyes connote savageness in the Roman color scheme.

Later generations would typically read more innocence and naïveté into blue eyes than Tacitus did (evident, for example, in the German expression “blauäugig”), but the ambivalent echoes of the Roman's narrative motif still can be heard in the voices of later storytellers. Although the German maiden of Klopstock's patriotic ode begins with the innocent assertion “Mein Aug' ist blau und sanft mein Blick,” already in the second stanza (quoted in the introduction's second epigraph), her seeming gentleness has quickly turned to anger, hatred, and eventually to the firm denunciation of the one who does not properly respect the fatherland. The extent to which Klopstock's intent here can be judged as expressing a sincere patriotism or an ironical view of patriotic fanaticism is open to debate. With Celan, however, the critique of Germany is more readily apparent. Tacitus's evocation of savagery through physical characteristics finds keen expression in “Todesfuge,” as the motif of the blue eye returns as emblematic of a personified Death, ready to deal in violence. The image is all the more powerful when we know the kind of cultural resonance contained within the narrative of the blue-eyed German, originated by Tacitus.

Seeing themselves as the direct descendents of the allegedly indigenous peoples described by Tacitus, Germans since the sixteenth century have likewise laid claim to the (positive) ethnographic attributes recorded in *Germania*—among them courage, love of freedom, moral integrity, loyalty—as constituting a part of their own character. This supposed heritage of racial purity, however, was also capable of engendering a sense of insularity. Already instrumentalized against those perceived as outsiders and corrupters of an unbroken tradition, the ultimate exploitation of Tacitus's *Germania* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to the justification of social ostracization and

‘Suebenknoten,’” in *Zweiundvierzig: Festschrift für Michael Gebühr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stefan Burmeister, Heidrun Derks and Jasper v. Richthofen (Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf, 2007), 175-180.

even genocide. In the wake of the horrors of the National Socialist regime, one might wonder whether this text should still contribute anything meaningful to the narrative of Germany? The answer would seem to be yes. Indeed, it has managed to survive the counter-attacks of those who attempt to discredit its influence by charging an over-reliance on secondhand sources and literary topoi, as well as those who assert that the modern Germans have only a tenuous ancestral link with the ancient Germanic peoples described by Tacitus.⁴ It is clear that Tacitus's approach to ethnography differs fundamentally from that of our own time, yet *Germania* still remains a foundational text for the study of Germany, as its inclusion on the syllabi of many an undergraduate survey course in German history and culture will attest.⁵ Our attitudes toward Tacitus and our ways of reading his texts have certainly changed in the course of the past several centuries, yet he remains important—even valid—for like no other source, he provides a perceived beginning for the story.

As the hot-off-the-press editions of *Germania* circulated throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, German humanist scholars in particular were intrigued by this tantalizing documentation of an ancient culture and were quick to declare themselves the descendants of Tacitus's Germani. Coming during a time of increased power struggles between the Roman Catholic Church and the German princes, the publication of Tacitus's writings provided convenient ammunition against those Church authorities such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) who claimed that the Germans owed their rise out of barbarism to the civilizing influence of the Holy Church.⁶ Tacitus provided the

⁴ An extensive examination of the historic entanglements associated with the terms Germanic versus German (*germanisch* vs. *deutsch*) can be found in Heinrich Beck et al., eds., *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung 'germanisch-deutsch'* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).

⁵ A classic textbook for intermediate-level learners of German is Reginald H. Phelps and Jack Madison Stein, eds., *The German Heritage* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1958). The selection of readings begins with excerpts from Tacitus's *Germania* (in German translation). It offered me my own introduction to Tacitus and *Germania* as an undergraduate German major at the University of Minnesota Morris. Likewise, the introductory course in German Culture and Civilization for undergraduate German majors at the University of Minnesota Twin Cities also includes Tacitus's *Germania* on its reading list.

⁶ Although Piccolomini wrote his essay *De ritu, situ, moribus et conditione Germaniae descriptio* (also known as *Germania*) in 1458, it was not published until 1496 in Leipzig. On Piccolomini and his influence on the reception of Tacitus among the German humanists, see Herfried Münkler and Hans Grünberger, "Enea Silvio Piccolominis Anstöße zur Entdeckung der nationalen Identität der 'Deutschen,'" "

Germans with favorable—though not always flattering—evidence attesting to their own long history of a society that co-existed with the height of the Roman Empire. While pre-dating the introduction of Christianity, the humanists argued, the culture of the ancient Germanic peoples nevertheless emphasized strong moral principles and possessed the very laudatory virtues that Tacitus lamented as lacking among his own contemporary fellow Romans. In their charges of corruption, luxury, and vice among the ranks of the Catholic Church, the German humanists regarded such a comparison of the essential moral character of the ancient Germani vis-à-vis that of the Romans as both apt and timely. Yet taken by itself, *Germania* proved limited in its ability to inspire and unite the various German princes in a show of common force against the influence of the Roman Church. It contained no named figures from the various ancient ethnic groups, no singular personalities among whom an inspirational leader could be identified. This all changed in the early sixteenth century, however, as the further re-discovery and publication of classic Latin and Greek sources brought to light a series of long ago conflicts between imperial Rome and insubordinate Germania, led by a charismatic Germanic chieftain called Arminius.⁷ The attraction of these accounts and the impulse to draw historical parallels with the present time proved irresistible, as a rebellious priest from a small Saxon university town was launching his own assault on Rome. The Latinized Arminius was re-dubbed with the more German-sounding name Hermann, and the foundation narrative of the early Germans had attained its heroic protagonist.⁸

in *Nationenbildung: Die Nationalisierung Europas im Diskurs humanistischer Intellektueller* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 163-184; and Christopher B. Krebs, *Negotio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).

⁷ Only his Latin name has been transmitted. Some speculation has suggested that it may in fact mean “the blue-eyed one,” from the Latin *armenium*, mentioned by Pliny as a vivid blue pigment, the product of a certain kind of stone (lapis lazuli?) found in Armenia. It is worth noting that the Latin name of Arminius’s brother is Flavius (“the golden-haired one”).

⁸ The primary accounts of Arminius and the Germanic conflicts with Rome are found in four major sources: Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.117-122; Florus, *Epitoma de Tito Livio* 2.30; Tacitus, *Ab excessu divi Augusti* (commonly called the *Annals*) 1.3.5-6; 1.55-71; 2.7; 2.26.2-5; and 2.88; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 56.18.1–56.24.6. Among the more important minor sources are Strabo, *Geographica* 7.1.2-4; and Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 23. The invention of the name Hermann has often been accredited to Martin Luther, in whose writings can be found references to “Hermannus” and “Herman.” Whether Luther was indeed the first to bestow this name on Arminius is debatable, but it

*

Arminius was born, probably sometime between 18 and 16 BCE, into a chieftain family of the Cherusci, one of the northern tribes that populated the area of northern Germania on both sides of the Weser river, north of the Harz mountains and east of modern Hanover.⁹ Having been raised in the service of Rome as a hostage of peace (customary in Roman-occupied Germania), Arminius received training in the imperial army, attained officer status, and was even bestowed with Roman citizenship.¹⁰ Toward the end of the first decade of the first century CE, he returned to his native Germania, where by this time the Roman Empire had established a secure foothold in the territories just beyond the Rhine, and was preparing to expand its hegemony farther eastward towards the Weser and Elbe rivers. The implementation of this expansion was entrusted to Publius Quinctilius Varus, whom Emperor Augustus had appointed governor of Germania in 7 CE. Because of his status as the commander of a Cheruscan auxiliary of the Roman army, Arminius had gained the trust and respect of his military superiors, including Varus, with whom he fostered a conciliatory relationship.¹¹ Secretly, though, he was plotting an insurgence against the Roman occupation. While the motives for this betrayal remain obscure, Arminius was able to assemble a coalition of northern Germanic tribes (Cherusci, Marsi, Chatti, Bructeri, Chauci, and Sicambri), lure Varus and the Roman army into a geographically inescapable trap in the fall of 9 CE, and mount a decisive surprise attack at the “saltus Teutoburgiensis.”¹² The Roman losses proved

certainly originated among the circle of German humanist reformers. See Jacques Ridé, “Arminius in der Sicht der deutschen Reformatoren,” in *Arminius und die Varusschlacht: Geschichte–Mythos–Literatur*, ed. Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woessler, 3rd ed. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), 239-248.

⁹ Tacitus’s description of the Cherusci in his *Germania* does not refer to Arminius, but rather emphasizes the rather ignoble decline of this tribe after years of warfare with the neighboring Chatti. See *Germania* 36.

¹⁰ Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.118.2.

¹¹ Cassius Dio reports that Arminius and his father Segimer often dined and kept company with Varus (*Historia Romana* 56.19.2).

¹² Attempts to determine the actual site of this battle have been on-going since the 16th century. Tacitus refers to the site of Varus’s defeat as the “saltus Teutoburgiensis” in *Annals* 1.60.3. Recent archaeological investigations (since 1987) strongly suggest the region of Bramsche-Kalkriese, near Osnabrück—an area that Theodor Mommsen had already posited in the nineteenth century—as the battle site. See Theodor Mommsen, *Die Örtlichkeit der Varusschlacht* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung,

devastating: three legions (the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth) as well as several cavalry units and six cohorts of auxiliaries were annihilated in the ensuing battle, with the number of casualties on the Roman side being estimated at over twenty thousand.¹³ Faced with humiliating defeat, Varus himself committed suicide. Those who survived the massacre fled westward to the established Roman fortifications, yet in the immediate aftermath of the *clades Variana*, as the Roman historians dubbed it, eventually all Roman establishments east of the Rhine were abandoned and destroyed. The rout was complete.

For some, the significance of this event—known in English as the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and variably as the *Varusschlacht*, *Hermannsschlacht*, or *Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald* in German—is still considered so momentous as to mark the birth of German history, even the origin of Germany itself. An extreme example can be found in such “new pagan” organizations as the “Deutschgläubige Gemeinschaft e.V.,” which was founded in the year 1902 n.T. (“nach Teutoburg”)—i.e., in 1911—and which continues to date its newsletters according to this conceptual calendar.¹⁴ Yet it is not only among such marginal groups that the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest continues to claim recognition (and incite controversy) as the beginning of a national narrative.

1885); Wolfgang Schlüter, “Neue Erkenntnisse zur Örtlichkeit der Varusschlacht? – Die archäologischen Untersuchungen in der Kalkrieser-Niewedder Senke im Vorland des Wiehengebirges,” in *Arminius und die Varusschlacht: Geschichte–Mythos–Literatur*, ed. Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woesler, 3rd ed. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), 67-95; Stephan Berke, “‘haud procul’: Die Suche nach der Örtlichkeit der Varusschlacht,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Mythos*, ed. Stephan Berke et al. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2009), 133-138; Günther Moosbauer and Susanne Wilbers-Rost, “Kalkriese und die Varusschlacht: Multidisziplinäre Forschungen zu einem militärischen Konflikt,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Konflikt*, ed. Stefan Burmeister and Heidrun Derks (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2009), 56-67; and Achim Rost, “Das Schlachtfeld von Kalkriese: Eine archäologische Quelle für die Konfliktforschung,” in *ibid.*, 68-76.

¹³ The extent of Roman losses is recorded in Velleius 2.117.1. The modern estimate of 20,000 takes into account the size of the various military divisions as well as the unknown number of civilians and slaves who were accompanying the march (see Cassius Dio 56.20.2).

¹⁴ See Uwe Puschner, “One People, One Reich, One God: The völkische Weltanschauung and Movement,” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute London* 24 (2002): 5-28, as well as his *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich: Sprache–Rasse–Religion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001).

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In 2006 the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin opened its new permanent exhibition entitled “Deutsche Geschichte in Bildern und Zeugnissen,” with the stated intent to provide visitors the opportunity for personal, critical engagement with the artifacts, people and ideas that mark “two thousand years of the German past.”¹⁵ Given the range of the timeline, it is perhaps not surprising that Arminius and the Germanic insurrection of 9 CE are represented as part of the “German” past, but to what end? Here it is important to note that the overall conceptualization of this exhibit was informed by the mission statement of the museum, which emphasizes the following goals:

Das Museum soll Ort der Besinnung und der Erkenntnis durch historische Erinnerung sein. Es soll informieren, die Besucher darüber hinaus zu Fragen an die Geschichte anregen und Antworten auf ihre Fragen anbieten. Es soll zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung anregen, aber auch Verstehen ermöglichen und *Identifikationsmöglichkeiten bieten*.¹⁶

The exhibit has been subjected to intense scrutiny since its opening, especially regarding the extent to which it successfully implements and achieves the aforementioned principles. The critiques have been largely negative.¹⁷ In deliberately avoiding a didacticizing approach, the exhibit’s curators prefer to let the objects speak for themselves, allowing visitors to formulate their own questions and interpretations—in effect, offering them “opportunities for identification.”¹⁸

¹⁵ <http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/staendige-ausstellung/index.html> (accessed November 24, 2009).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

¹⁷ For an overview of the conceptualization of the exhibit and a useful synthesis of its reviewers’ critiques, see Olaf Hartung, “Dingwelten zwischen Ästhetik und Erkenntnis. Zur Dauerausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museums,” in *Zeitgeschichte-online, Thema: Geschichtsbilder des Deutschen Historischen Museums. Die Dauerausstellung in der Diskussion*, ed. Jan-Holger Kirsch and Irmgard Zündorf, July 2007, URL: http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/portals/_rainbow/documents/pdf/dhm_hartung.pdf (accessed November 24, 2009).

¹⁸ “Die Geschichtsvermittlung erfolgt also absichtsvoll nicht in belehrender Form und mit dem Anspruch auf absolute Wahrheiten, sondern als Anleitung zur eigenen Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit im Hinblick auf die Fragestellungen unserer Zeit.” See <http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/staendige-ausstellung/index.html> (accessed November 24, 2009).

Yet the museum's reluctance to engage in the fashioning of a distinct cultural narrative works to the detriment of the exhibit. Particularly at issue has been the lack of contextualization for the exhibit's more than eight thousand artifacts, as well as the question of how to understand the term "deutsch"—a descriptor that becomes increasingly problematic the further one delves into the proposed two thousand years of "deutsche Geschichte." The extended timeline adopted by the exhibit becomes all the more problematic when a pedagogical stance and historical contexts are lacking and must be inferred by the visitor. Thus when we encounter Arminius and the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest at the beginning of this long history, we might well wonder what sort of "opportunity for identification" is inspired in the visitor.¹⁹ The exhibit features a replica of the Roman battle mask that was unearthed in archaeological excavations of the ancient battlefield in Bramsche-Kalkriese, near Osnabrück. This site has received widespread (though not unanimous) recognition in recent years as the staging ground of the Varusschlacht—the "Urknall" of German history, as Hans Ottomeyer, general director of the Deutsches Historisches Museum, has described the event.²⁰ It is clear that Ottomeyer considers the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest to be a defining moment—perhaps even *the* defining moment—in German history "weil mit Arminius, dem Cherusker, für uns schlagartig die Geschichtsschreibung beginnt. Tacitus berichtete vor 2000 Jahren erstmals über die Germanen. Kalkriese, das ergrabene historische Schlachtfeld, ist das deutsche Troja, unser Urknall."²¹ Here the beginning of the German story is expressly linked with historiography, although a foreign observer first supplied this "foundation

¹⁹ This raises the question of why Corinna Hesse's 2008 audio book *Deutschland hören*—which also tackles the subject of German identity over the course of a similar "long history"—has received critical praise while the Deutsches Historisches Museum's similar efforts have been panned. To be sure, there is more at stake when a public cultural institution commits itself to a high-profile exhibition than when an independent record company produces an eighty-minute audio book. The nature of the medium and the "artifacts" (visual versus aural) may play a role here as well. Yet I would also argue that the museum's very reluctance to assume a clear pedagogical position weakens the impact of the exhibit's intended effect—indeed, one could say that there is no single intended effect, but rather a multiplicity of possible interpretations. The narrative presented by Hesse, however, is both more compact and more tightly conceived, drawing on recurring motifs to present its story.

²⁰ Matthias Matussek and Matthias Schulz, "Vaterland in der Vitrine," *Der Spiegel* 21 (May 22, 2006), 168-172.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

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DIE GEBURT DER DEUTSCHEN

Vor 2000 Jahren:
Als die Germanen
das Römische
Reich bezwangen

GEHEIMSACHE IRAK-KRIEG
US-Militärs enthüllen die wahre
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Figure 1. Cover design of *Der Spiegel* No. 51/2008 (December 15, 2008). © 2008 DER SPIEGEL. Reprinted with permission of SPIEGEL-Verlag.

narrative” which by no means enjoyed an unbroken continuity over the span of two thousand years.

Nevertheless, the alleged seminal importance of the year 9 CE for the course of German history continues to find reiteration. The cover of the December 15, 2008, issue of *Der Spiegel* features a detail of a nineteenth-century painting depicting Arminius (prominently sporting winged headgear) engaged in armed hand-to-hand combat with a Roman soldier. The issue’s headline reads “Die Geburt der Deutschen,” and superimposed behind the figure of Arminius are the billowing black, red and gold colors of the German flag (see figure 1).²² The historian and journalist Tillmann Bendikowski strikes a similarly provocative stance in the title of his recent book, *Der Tag, an dem Deutschland entstand: Geschichte der Varusschlacht*.²³ His thesis, however, intentionally places the book’s title in an ironic light, as he explores the impact of narrative traditions in creating historical memory. There are, he argues, two forces at work in shaping our understanding of the Varusschlacht: the events that constituted the battle itself and the subsequent reception history of that battle—and only through the latter do we gain access and assign meaning to the former. It is through narratives that the opportunities for identification are found. “Deutschland ist eine Erzählung,” asserts Bendikowski in an interview by Maria Hinz at the 2009 Leipziger Buchmesse, and “wenn wir Deutschland als Erzählung verstehen, dann steht am Anfang dieser Erzählung diese Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald.”²⁴

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The current debates over the significance of the year 9 CE and how the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest stands in relationship with a historic genealogy either of the German nation as a people or of the German nation-state as a political entity tend to overlook the fact that 9 CE marks not so much the final victory as the opening gambit in

²² See *Der Spiegel* 51 (December 15, 2008), front cover.

²³ Tillmann Bendikowski, *Der Tag, an dem Deutschland entstand: Geschichte der Varusschlacht* (Munich: C. Bertelsmann, 2008).

²⁴ Excerpts from this interview can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dam5owRbKrg> (accessed December 8, 2009).

the conflict with Rome. For the humanists and many of those who contributed to the modern reception of Arminius, it was this victory over Varus that established the mighty reputation of their adopted Germanic warrior. Yet the story of Arminius does not end with the Varusschlacht; rather this event marks the beginning of seven further years of open hostilities with Rome, as the empire reacted to the Varian disaster and renewed efforts to subdue the peoples of rebellious Germania. Bolstered by his success, Arminius had managed to secure a sphere of influence beyond that of his own tribe, yet the resulting coalition of northern tribes was by no means all-encompassing or stable. While his ultimate political aspirations are subject to conjecture, Arminius's efforts to secure an alliance with Marbod, the chieftain of the southerly-based Marcomanni, indicate a pan-Germanic interest.²⁵ This attempt at forming a partnership, however, proved unsuccessful (Marbod refused the severed head of Varus, which he had received as part of the invitation to join forces with Arminius, and forwarded it to Rome).²⁶ Arminius also faced opposition closer to home, among those who favored fostering closer relations with Rome. Foremost of these was Segestes, another Cheruscan chieftain, who had supported Varus, even warning him against the treachery of Arminius and the planned uprising.²⁷ Varus had chosen to ignore this counsel, possibly attributing it to the elder Cheruscan's personal vendetta against Arminius, who had been pursuing Segestes's daughter Thusnelda.²⁸

In the years 14–16 CE, the Roman general Germanicus (great-nephew of Augustus and adopted son and heir of Tiberius) led a series of military campaigns into Germania from bases on the Rhine, conducting raids and massacres of revenge against the Germanic tribes under Arminius. The results of these attacks, though often incurring

²⁵ See Peter Kehne, "Der historische Arminius...und die Varusschlacht aus cheruskischer Perspektive," in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Mythos*, 104-113; and Peter Kehne and Vladimir Salač, "König Marbod: Ein Germanenreich in Böhmen," in *ibid.*, 114-122.

²⁶ Velleius 2.119.5. See also Vladimir Salač and Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, "Ritual, Politik, Kommunikation. Oder: was geschah mit dem Kopf des Publius Quinctilius Varus?," in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Mythos*, 123-132.

²⁷ Velleius 2.118.4; Tacitus, *Annals* 1.55.2.

²⁸ Tacitus, *Annals* 1.55.3. The name Thusnelda (Θουσνέλδα) appears only in Strabo 7.1.4.

large numbers of casualties, were mixed and largely indecisive, due to the differences in martial protocol between the disciplined Roman army and irregular guerrilla fighters.²⁹ One of Germanicus's major achievements, however, was the capture of Arminius's wife Thusnelda, who had been handed over to the Roman forces by her father Segestes in 15 CE, and was brought back to Rome as a hostage.³⁰ Germanicus also visited the gruesome site of the Varus's defeat, where he ordered a proper burial of the remains of those who had perished six years previously. In the course of his punitive expeditions he additionally managed to regain two of the three legionary eagles lost in that battle.³¹ Yet ultimately Germanicus could not succeed in establishing Roman hegemony in Germania. Following indecisive results and heavy losses in 16 CE, Germanicus was denied his request to continue military action in Germania the following year. Instead, Tiberius proclaimed the mission accomplished and Germania subdued. Germanicus was recalled from the Rhine and feted with a triumphant procession in Rome, in which loot and hostages from the campaigns—including Thusnelda—were presented as evidence of victory over the Germanic barbarians. In fact, Rome had chosen to leave its adversaries to their own devices, designating the Rhine as the eastern boundary of the transalpine empire and abandoning aspirations for eastward expansion.³² “Long may the barbarians continue,” writes Tacitus in reference to the destruction of the Bructeri by neighboring Germanic tribes, “if not to love us, at least to hate one another.”³³ Such inter-tribal (and inner-tribal) conflicts ultimately led to the downfall of Arminius as well. In the years following Germanicus's withdrawal, tensions flared between Arminius and Marbod and war broke out, forcing Marbod's retreat. Finally at the age of thirty-seven, Arminius

²⁹ See *Annals* 1.63-64. The Germanic warriors would simply disperse and run off into the forest (see Cassius Dio 56.21.4).

³⁰ *Annals* 1.57.4 and 1.58.5-6.

³¹ *Annals* 1.60.3. See also Reinhard Wolters, “Rache, Anspruch und Verzicht: Die römische Germanienpolitik nach der Varuskatastrophe,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Imperium*, ed. Herwig Kenzler et al. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2009), 210-216.

³² This is not to say, however, that Romans never set foot east of the Rhine again. Evidence of a Germanic-Roman skirmish in the 3rd century CE was discovered in the district of Northeim (Lower Saxony) in 2008. See Michael Geschwinde et al., “Roms vergessener Feldzug: Das neu entdeckte Schlachtfeld am Harzhorn in Niedersachsen,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Konflikt*, 228-232.

³³ Tacitus, *Germania* 33, translation by Birley, *Agricola; and Germany*, 54.

himself fell victim to assassination at the hands of his own clan, which perhaps felt he was becoming too powerful.³⁴

Yet despite this ignoble end, and despite the ease with which a Roman historian could have exploited the questionable character of Arminius to brand him not only a traitor but a tyrant as well, Tacitus's summation instead makes the case for an overall positive judgment. Arminius was "without question the liberator of Germania" ("liberator haud dubie Germaniae"), he writes of Rome's adversary, who "is still sung today among the barbarous peoples."³⁵ Already the mythicization of Arminius had begun, as his life and deeds became transformed into narrative, both in the written accounts of Tacitus and in the oral traditions of the Germanic peoples.³⁶ From the sixteenth-century humanists to the twenty-first-century curators of the Deutsches Historisches Museum and the editors of *Der Spiegel*, the testimony of Tacitus has left an indelible mark on the reception of this ancient chieftain and his role in the narrative that is Germany.

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With the multiple exhibitions, book publications, scholarly lectures and cultural events accompanying the two-thousandth anniversary of the Varusschlacht in 2009, this narrative legacy attracted increased attention as the German public was invited to re-visit and re-assess its significance and implications. German chancellor Angela Merkel, who together with Hans-Gert Pöttering (President of the European Parliament), Jürgen Rüttgers (Premier of North Rhine-Westfalia), and Christian Wulff (Premier of Lower Saxony) acted as honorary project director for the anniversary exhibition "IMPERIUM KONFLIKT MYTHOS. 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht," comments in her introductory greeting to the exhibition catalog that "dieses neu erwachte Interesse ist nicht ausschließlich archäologischer Natur. Es zeugt vielmehr von einer gewachsenen Sehnsucht nach historischer Verortung. Immer mehr Menschen spüren: Geschichte,

³⁴ Tacitus, *Annals* 2.88.2-3.

³⁵ "caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes," *ibid.*

³⁶ Concerning the possible nature and form of these songs, see Otto L. Jiriczek, "Die Arminiuslieder bei Tacitus," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 6 (1914), 113-117.

Traditionen und Erfahrungen sind ein wichtiger Teil unserer nationalen und kulturellen Identität.”³⁷ As we have seen in previous examples, once again the importance of the battle is expressly tied to narrative, the construction of which is effected through history, traditions, and experiences. While Merkel emphasizes the role of this narrative in shaping a common sense of German cultural (and national) identity, Pöttering (appropriate to his office) casts his net wider to capture its European implications. He points to the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest as constituting “ein nicht nur herausragendes deutsches, sondern europäisches kulturgeschichtliches Ereignis.”³⁸ In the wake of their defeat, he argues, the Romans were forced to alter their imperial aspirations in north-central Europe—a decision that ultimately permitted the further development of the cultural diversity that still characterizes Europe, for better or for worse. As a spokesperson for the continued peaceful prosperity of a united, multicultural Europe, Pöttering perceives the relevance of the Varusschlacht in the lesson it can provide Europeans today: “Nicht der Krieg, sondern der Frieden ist der Ernstfall Europas. Das ist die wichtige Botschaft, die wir aus der Geschichte lernen können.”³⁹

Thus the Arminius narrative has become a plaidoyer for peace. Certainly the level of critical engagement with its subject matter and the shift of its focus set this anniversary year apart from previous Arminius-themed celebrations, which tended toward pompous displays of national chauvinism on the one hand (such as the dedication of the Hermannsdenkmal near Detmold in 1875) and spectacles of homespun historicism on the other (the nineteen-hundredth anniversary of the battle in 1909).⁴⁰ To be sure, there was no shortage of costumed Romans and barbarians milling about during the family-oriented

³⁷ Angela Merkel, “Grußwort,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Imperium*, 12. The same greeting is reprinted in the other two volumes (*Konflikt* and *Mythos*).

³⁸ Hans-Gert Pöttering, “Grußwort,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Imperium*, 13. As with Merkel, the same greeting appears in all three volumes.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ See Thomas Nipperdey, “Zum Jubiläum des Hermannsdenkmals,” in *Ein Jahrhundert Hermannsdenkmal, 1875-1975*, ed. Günther Engelbert (Detmold: Naturwissenschaftlicher und Historischer Verein für das Land Lippe, 1975), 11-31; Peter Veddeler, “Nationale Feiern am Hermannsdenkmal in früherer Zeit,” in *ibid.*, 167-182; Dirk Mellies, “‘Symbol deutscher Einheit’: Die Einweihungsfeier des Hermannsdenkmals 1875,” in *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht: Mythos*, 222-228; and Dirk Mellies, “Politische Feiern am Hermannsdenkmal nach 1875,” in *ibid.*, 263-272.

“HermannTage” held at the Hermannsdenkmal on a May weekend in 2009, and hundreds of reenactors staged skirmishes during the “Römer- und Germanentage” at Kalkriese in mid-June of 2009.⁴¹ Yet the slate of cultural events organized in conjunction with this two-thousandth anniversary also drew special attention to a careful scrutiny of the German past and the political implications of the Arminius narrative as a part of that heritage. After the disaster of National Socialism, all mythicized political symbols were rejected as unusable, tainted by Nazi ideological exploitation.⁴² Arminius, or rather Hermann—remembered not only as a freedom-fighter and the symbol of German national unity and strength, but also as the expeller of unwanted foreigners—was not immune to this cultural iconoclasm.

That the buildup around the two-thousandth anniversary of the Varusschlacht was not viewed, however, as an opportunity for the rehabilitation of Arminius’s national image is most evident in the term used to describe the event: what was once popularly known as the “Hermannsschlacht” was firmly displaced with “Varusschlacht.”⁴³ Indeed, in the exhibitions Arminius himself was often marginalized as the focus broadened to include an examination of the budding Roman civilization in Germania, the distinguished lineage and military career of Varus, or the material culture of the various Germanic tribes. An insightful adaptation of Grabbe’s *Die Hermannsschlacht*, performed with the subtitle “Eine deutsche Betrachtung” at the Landestheater in Detmold, downplayed the individual heroism of its title character. Instead, it integrated diverse figures and quotations from throughout German history as counterpoint to an abridgment of Grabbe’s drama, creating an ironic commentary on the continual manipulation of such mythicized national themes as patriotism, just war, and personal sacrifice in the name of the fatherland.

⁴¹ See <http://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de/varusschlacht-2000-jahre-varusschlacht/veranstaltungshighlights/2000-jahre-varusschlacht-veranstaltungen.html> (accessed November 30, 2009); and <http://www.varusschlacht2009.de/varusschlacht-veranstaltungen.html> (accessed November 30, 2009).

⁴² See Herfried Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2009).

⁴³ *Varusschlacht*, while more reflective of the Latin *clades Variana*, is still not completely satisfactory. A more literal translation of the Latin would be “Varus-Niederlage,” since the event was not really an organized battle. These distinctions are, however, of little importance to the earlier reception history of Arminius and Varus, in which the battle was often depicted as a coordinated military offensive.

Through participation in the pedagogical curriculum offered by the Lippisches Landesmuseum in Detmold, school children were also invited to explore and expose the roots of the Arminius mythos. These presentations, with titles such as “Dem Mythos auf der Spur,” “Komm, wir lassen Mythen platzen!,” “Biete Sockel, suche Helden!” and “Die Germanen: Mythos und Wahrheit,” reflected the exhibition’s endeavor to de-mythicize the figure of Arminius/Hermann.⁴⁴ Detmold, which had assumed center stage in the nineteenth-century project to glorify this “Nationalheld,” was now prepared—if not to disavow the legacy of their main tourist attraction—at least to interrogate the myth-building process and to cut their hero down to size. Perhaps the most blatant manifestation of this trend could be detected in the merchandizing tie-in known as the “zwermann,” a forty-centimeter cross between the Hermannsdenkmal and a garden gnome (*Gartenzwerg*), which thoroughly infantilized its subject, rendering it a piece of innocuous kitsch.⁴⁵

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The re-packaging of Arminius in family-friendly wrappings and the anniversary year’s orientation toward the promotion of peace and understanding between peoples also found expression in the programming of musical works as part of the commemoration’s cultural calendar of events. This in itself is not unexpected, as music typically plays a central role in all kinds of public festivities; yet the choice of compositions further reveals the current attempts to re-assess and rewrite the Arminius narrative. New works were commissioned, among them *Kleiner Germane in Rom*, a children’s musical depicting Arminius as a boy growing up in Rome (with a talking shield and sword as his companions); and *Thusnelda*, billed as a “Mitmachoper für Kinder” and featuring music from Mozart’s *Entführung aus dem Serail*.⁴⁶ Targeting an audience of children (and in the

⁴⁴ See Katrin Winter, ed., *Ausstellung mit Rahmenprogramm. Imperium Konflikt Mythos. 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Mythos* (Detmold: Lippisches Landesmuseum, 2009).

⁴⁵ See <http://www.zwermann.info/home.html> (accessed December 8, 2009).

⁴⁶ Details about the musical programs scheduled in conjunction with the 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht anniversary can be found at <http://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de/varusschlacht-2000-jahre-varusschlacht/veranstaltungshighlights/2000-jahre-varusschlacht-veranstaltungen.html> (accessed December 1, 2009) and at <http://www.hermann2009.de/index.php?id=252> (accessed December 1, 2009). The

case of the former, enacted by children), these works received daytime performances in Kalkriese and Detmold, respectively; their influence was thus limited to a local sphere. A more ambitious project, yet also consciously drawing on regional resources, was composer Mitsch Kohn's *Varus-Sinfonie*, a four-movement work for orchestra, soloists, children's choir and two choruses, that received its premiere in Kalkriese on the opening weekend of the exhibition IMPERIUM KONFLIKT MYTHOS in May 2009.⁴⁷ The representation of the Varusschlacht in this composition is surely unique in the reception history of Arminius. Devoid of all nationalistic bombast, cries for freedom, and glorification of battle, the work focuses instead on the explicit longing for peace, the human pain and suffering caused by war, and the sorrow of the mothers and children who are left behind. Echoing Hans-Gert Pöttering's sentiments, it is reflective of the new, interdependent Europe in which the preservation of peace trumps the folly of war.

Overall, however, the musical reception of Arminius is an area that received comparatively little attention in the anniversary year, in spite of advance advertising that seemed to place it in a more central position. Besides the new works mentioned, a few older ones were revived. Max Bruch's oratorio *Arminius* (1875) was included in the musical programming scheduled by the museum at Kalkriese. Excerpts from George Frideric Handel's 1737 opera *Arminio* were featured in a concert performance entitled "Hermann meets Händel" (performed in Bielefeld and Kalkriese); the complete work received an additional semi-staged production by the Hochschule für Musik in Detmold in October 2009. In Meiningen, repeat performances were given of the 2008 staged production of a little-known Arminius opera from 1732, attributed to Francesco Rinaldi. Strangely, however, no German opera company expressed interest in reviving the opulently staged 2007 Amsterdam production of Heinrich Biber's late seventeenth-century opera *Chi la dura la vince* (also known as *Arminio*), despite the prominent inclusion of costumes and video footage from this production in the Detmold MYTHOS exhibit. While this sampling may appear significant, it is by no means reflective of the

programs were also published as printed brochures through the Museum und Park Kalkriese and Die Lippe Tourismus & Marketing AG.

⁴⁷ See <http://www.varus-sinfonie.de/home.html> (accessed December 1, 2009).

dozens of composers and compositions that constitute the musical reception of Arminius and the Varusschlacht—a legacy that encompasses over three hundred years of music history, both German and Italian language texts, and almost every vocal genre from opera and oratorio to art songs and popular songs. If the two-thousandth anniversary of the Varusschlacht was touted as an event of momentous historical significance both to Germany and to Europe, why then was this significant body of international material neglected?

Three main reasons can be identified. The first is the lack of name recognition, an especially important consideration in today's classical music market. Among the numerous composers who dealt with the subject of Arminius, only a handful are known to the general public today; many remain obscure even among music historians. Where a marketable name does pop up—for instance, in Handel's case—the corresponding work is eagerly performed, even when it does not represent the best of either its composer's output or the subject matter's treatment. The lack of name recognition, however, also extends to the very subject itself. Had Mozart or Wagner given an operatic voice to Arminius, both the role and the story could have potentially become as well known as that of Don Giovanni or Siegfried. With the exception of Max Bruch, however, none of the nineteenth-century composers who dedicated extended musical works to this topic enjoys an ongoing reputation today. Moreover, popular opera guides—which tend to reinforce a canon of major composers and works beginning with the late eighteenth century—allot scant attention to the opera seria, the genre in which depictions of Arminius especially flourished.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Gustav Kobbé's *Complete Opera Book* was first published in 1919 and has undergone several revisions and expansions in subsequent years, but not a single Arminius opera will be found among its listings. See The Earl of Harewood and Antony Peattie, eds., *The New Kobbé's Opera Book*, 11th ed. (New York: Putnam, 1997). By contrast, two Arminius operas (by Handel and Hasse) appear in Amanda Holden, ed. *The New Penguin Opera Guide* (London: Penguin, 2001); this guide is an abridgement of Amanda Holden et al., eds., *The Viking Opera Guide* (New York: Viking, 1993). Even Stanley Sadie's standard opera reference work, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), contains only one entry dedicated to an Arminius opera (Handel's *Arminio*). Among German opera guides, the representation of these works is equally scarce. None will be found in Michael Venhoff, ed., *Harenberg Kulturführer Oper*, 5th ed. (Mannheim: Brockhaus, 2006), a popular mass-market opera guide. Ulrich Schreiber's more scholarly five-volume *Opernführer für Fortgeschrittene* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988-2007) devotes one page to Biber's *Chi la dura la vince*; the existence of Steffani's *Arminio* and Hasse's *Arminio* are mentioned

Another reason, directly related to the first, is the scarcity of readily available performance material. Reflecting the survival rates of baroque opera as a whole, much of the music for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operatic treatments of Arminius is lost; only the printed libretti from these productions survive, along with a few scattered arias. Where extant, the majority of the music manuscripts have not been edited, let alone examined in any great detail. Once again, Handel's *Arminio* is one of the handful of these works available in a modern edition, making it easily available for performance.⁴⁹ The one public concert dedicated to an exploration of baroque opera portrayals of Arminius—with the catchy alliterative title “Hermann meets Händel”—initially promised more than just an attempt to capitalize on the coincidence of two anniversaries (2009 also marked two hundred and fifty years since Handel's death). “Neben Stücken aus der bekannten Oper ‘Arminio’ von Georg Friedrich Händel,” reads an advance blurb for the concert, “stellt [Herbert Feuerstein, the concert's narrator and host] ...die schönsten Auszüge aus den Arminio-Opern von Johann Adolf Hasse, Franz Biber und Alessandro Scarlatti vor.”⁵⁰ In fact, the concert was dedicated almost exclusively to Handel's *Arminio* (with a few choruses from Handel's English oratorios thrown in for good measure in order to give the assembled choir something to sing). Only the inclusion of the opening sinfonia

only in passing. The even larger eight-volume *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, edited by Carl Dahlhaus (Munich: Piper, 1987), has articles on only two (the works by Biber and Hasse).

⁴⁹ George Frideric Handel, *Arminio* (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, n.d.). Johann Adolph Hasse's 1745 version of *Arminio* has also been published in a critical edition. See Hasse, *Arminio*, ed. Rudolf Gerber, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik 27-28* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957-1966). A facsimile edition of the manuscript score for Biber's opera has also appeared. See Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, *Chi la dura la vince (Wer ausharrt, siegt): Dramma musicale in drei Akten: Faksimile der Partitur Hs 560 aus dem Besitz des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum*, ed. Sibylle Dahms, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg, Faksimile-Ausgaben 10* (Salzburg: Silke Verlag, 2004). An edition of the recently identified surviving arias from Georg Philipp Telemann's *Germanicus* (1704/1710) has been published by Michael Maul (Beeskow: ortus, 2010). Although the piano-vocal scores for numerous nineteenth-century works are extant (see appendix), only a couple of these have been reprinted in a modern edition. Pre-nineteenth century music publications are generally rare. The music publishing industry in London was a leader in this respect—Walsh published the overture and arias from Handel's *Arminio* (1737), as well as collections of arias from the non-Handelian *Arminio* (1714) and *Arminio* (1760). In Germany, a piano-vocal score of Johann Heinrich Rolle's oratorio *Hermann's Tod* was published in 1783, and during this time Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen's numerous songs and choruses from Klopstock's Hermann dramas were published in Copenhagen and Kiel.

⁵⁰ Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land—Museum und Park Kalkriese, *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht. Open-Air Musikveranstaltungen* (Bramsche-Kalkriese: Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land—Museum und Park Kalkriese, 2009), 6.

of Hasse's *Arminio*, the brief final chorus of this work, and the dramatic trio that closes its second act prevented the concert from being devoted entirely to Handel. None of the "most beautiful passages" from Biber's opera or the surviving arias from Scarlatti were heard, presumably because the organizers only later realized what a paucity of material there was, or because they were unable to obtain this material. Thus almost by default, Handel's version of *Arminio* has become the touchstone for assessing how the Arminius narrative was adapted into operatic form in the eighteenth century. In fact, though, the work is one of Handel's weakest operatic efforts, undermined by the severe cuts made to the libretto's recitative, which carries the content of the story.⁵¹

The story of Arminius itself constitutes the third major barrier contributing to the neglect of these works. "Es ist schon erstaunlich, dass die Geschichte des Arminius und der Germanenkriege in der italienischen Oper des 18. Jahrhunderts Karriere machte," comments Klaus Kösters in the opening sentence to a chapter entitled "Arminius als Opernheld."⁵² Why should this be so "amazing"? Perhaps the juxtaposed images of a highly stylized aristocratic entertainment and a rough-hewn freedom fighter are too incongruous. Perhaps it is the image of a pelt-clad barbarian singing in Italian. Such reactions are of course colored more by the familiar historicist tendencies (and parodies) of nineteenth-century opera than they are by an understanding of the baroque opera seria genre. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Arminius operas have attracted an amused curiosity precisely because they do not seem to conform to the nationalist narrative into which Arminius was subsequently co-opted. They are then frequently dismissed as being conventional works of their genre that contribute nothing to the reception history of Arminius—a history that is almost always defined in national (i.e., German) terms. For example, Jost Hermand critiques the treatment of the Roman/Germanic conflicts in Biber's *Chi la dura la vince* on exactly this count: "Für Raffaelini [the librettist] und Biber war das Ganze sicher nur *ein* Stoff unter anderen, der

⁵¹ See Anthony Hicks, "Arminio," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O900199> (accessed December 9, 2009).

⁵² Klaus Kösters, *Mythos Arminius: Die Varusschlacht und ihre Folgen* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2009), 99.

sich zwar durch das Motiv der ‘bewährten Beständigkeit’ als zeitgemäß empfahl, aber keine spezifisch nationale Ausrichtung enthielt.”⁵³

Given the predisposition to fit Arminius into this kind of conceptual framework, it is perhaps ironic that those Arminius operas of the nineteenth century that do more closely correspond to the sentiments of a nationalist project have also received almost no attention.⁵⁴ The reason for this neglect no doubt lies in these works’ unsavory smack of national chauvinism that has become politically distasteful in today’s Germany. The one nineteenth-century work that was resurrected for the two-thousandth anniversary occasion was Max Bruch’s oratorio *Arminius*. While the choice of this work—like Handel’s *Arminio*— could be attributed in part to the ready availability of performance materials, it is also worth noting that an oratorio presents fewer problems from a production standpoint than does an opera. It requires no expensive scenery or costumes and is not subject to the controversial deconstructing tendencies of the so-called *Regietheater* specialists. After all, how might an opera company legitimately justify an expensive staging of an overtly nationalistic work such as Heinrich Hofmann’s 1877 opera *Armin*? Even in the case of Bruch’s equally antiquated patriotic oratorio, the anniversary year provided the only real justification for its revival.⁵⁵

Ultimately the case for these works has failed because the narratives they tell no longer provide the “opportunities for identification” that they once did. For though the now canonical works of the nineteenth century have managed to establish themselves as a mainstay of the current theatrical and operatic repertoire by virtue of their perceived high poetic and musical merits, they are rarely presented “as written.” In fact, it would seem that they have earned their status as “classics” in every sense but in staging. The content

⁵³ Jost Hermand, *Glanz und Elend der deutschen Oper* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 30.

⁵⁴ An exception is Barbara Eichner, who has incorporated analyses of Heinrich Hofmann’s *Armin* (1877) and Karl Grammann’s *Thusnelda* (1881) into her studies of German nationalism and gender. See “Schwert und Schild und Dolch und Gift: Germanische Heldin und welsche Primadonna,” in *Diva—Die Inszenierung der übermenschlichen Frau. Interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu einem kulturellen Phänomen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rebecca Grotjahn, Dörte Schmidt and Thomas Seedorf (Schliengen: Argos, 2011), 230-246.

⁵⁵ See Matthias Schwarzer, notes for *Max Bruch: Arminius* (Rheinische Kantorei/Göttinger Symphonie Orchester/Hermann Max), cpo CD 777 453-2 (2009).

is still there, but the way we see it has changed. The sometimes inspired, sometimes absurd interpretations given to the productions of these works are intended to enrich, challenge, or even undermine the audience's experience of the piece—in short, to establish the continued relevance of an old narrative. In the case of Arminius, we have seen numerous examples of how the continued relevance of this old narrative is still asserted by a wide variety of voices, even as the ways in which this narrative is told are re-evaluated and reshaped. The era of a nationalist narrative that encourages a polarizing dichotomy of us-versus-them has been supplanted by an era in which narratives of cooperation and reconciliation between peoples and nations form the backbone of a united Europe.

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The nation-state known as Germany did not exist prior to 1871, and even after that time was known officially as the “Deutsches Reich,” still consisting of multiple kingdoms and principalities until 1918. To speak of a German national identity can therefore be misleading if the definition of a nation is restricted by modern geographic borders. Yet the newly minted empire of 1871 also constituted only an imperfect realization of a previously imagined “Teutschland.” “Was ist des Teutschen Vaterland?” asks Ernst Moritz Arndt in a poem that later became a popular patriotic song in the era of Bismarck's wars of unification. Arndt's answer includes not just Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria, but Switzerland and Austria as well: “So weit die teutsche Zunge klingt / Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt, / Das soll es seyn! / Das, wackrer Teutscher, nenne dein!”⁵⁶ Yet because German-speaking Austria and Switzerland did not become a part of this “Deutsches Reich,” the use of the word “German” or “deutsch” has accrued national overtones, hemmed in by the political boundaries of “Germany” or “Deutschland.”

It is indeed difficult to overcome the weight of modern connotations, yet the historical roots of these terms reveal insights into the ever-shifting development of a German social identity. The origins of the word *deutsch* can be traced to the Old High

⁵⁶ Ernst Moritz Arndt, “Des Teutschen Vaterland,” in *Lieder für Teutsche* (n.p., 1812), 99-101. A digitalization of this edition is available at <http://books.google.de/books?id=Q2g6AAAACAAJ&dq> (accessed December 9, 2009).

German *diutisc*, which was used to distinguish “those who speak the language of the people” from those who spoke Latin, the language of the educated.⁵⁷ It therefore initially denoted a social group, but not one that was specifically linked with a regional or ethnic identity. Only later (around the tenth century) did the writers of Eastern Francia begin to make a distinction between their language (*diutisc*) and that of their western neighbors (*frenkisg*).⁵⁸ Throughout the Middle Ages, though, no singular *Deutschland* existed as a political entity; rather one spoke of *die deutschen Länder*. These multiple German lands constituted the majority of what was known as the Holy Roman Empire, which by the end of the fifteenth century had appended “of the German Nation” (*Nationis Germanicae*) to its name.⁵⁹ Especially after the Thirty Years’ War, this “nation” of autonomous principalities and imperial cities was markedly different from modern perceptions of a centralized nation-state.⁶⁰ Indeed, how one may have identified oneself was more likely dependent on immediate parochial loyalties, social status, trade, or religious affiliation than on any overarching sense of supra-regional cohesiveness. Still today, a strong sense of local pride, often accompanied by such precise self-identificatory

⁵⁷ Cognates include Gothic *thiudisko*, Old Saxon *thiudisc*, Old English *Þēodisc*, medieval Latin *theodiscus*, and modern Italian *tedesco*. See Hans Eggers, ed., *Der Volksname Deutsch, Wege der Forschung* 156 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970); and Helmut Berschin, *Deutschland—ein Name im Wandel. Die deutsche Frage im Spiegel der Sprache* (München 1979).

⁵⁸ While Otfrid translates Lat. *theodisce* with OHG *frenkisg* in his *Evangelienbuch* (ca. 865), the later *Annolied* (ca. 1080) contains the word *diutsch*: “Si hiezin un vehtin wider diutsche lant” (“They decreed a battle against German lands”).

⁵⁹ The name of the empire after its founding in the tenth century was *Regnum Francorum orientalium*, or simply *Regnum Francorum*. The name *Sacrum Imperium* first appeared in the mid-twelfth century as a result of the investiture controversy, thus asserting the holiness of the empire without the intervention of the pope. Only in the mid-thirteenth century did the name become *Sacrum Romanum Imperium*. The additional tag *Nationis Germanicae* was used in a 1486 peace treaty signed by Emperor Friedrich III. Its first official use was at the opening of the Reichstag in 1512 under Emperor Maximilian I, who called the assembly for the “Erhaltung [...] des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Teutscher Nation.” On the history of the Holy Roman Empire, see for example Ernst Schubert, *König und Reich: Studien zur spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1979), Karl Otmar von Aretin, *Das Alte Reich 1648-1806*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993-2000), Georg Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit 1495-1806* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1999), Klaus Herbers and Helmut Neuhaus, *Das Heilige Römische Reich: Schauplätze einer tausendjährigen Geschichte 843-1806* (Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2005).

⁶⁰ The name “Teutschland,” which frequently appears in early modern literature, conveys not so much a common political identity as a perceived cultural one, based on geography and language.

labels as Ostberliner, Niederrheinländer or Obersteirer, notably supercedes a much vaguer feeling of a common national identity, let alone a European one.

For the Germans are in effect an “imagined community,” as they have always been since Caesar and Tacitus first recorded their impressions of the Roman empire’s northeastern “neighbors.”⁶¹ Although Tacitus’s ethnography is in some senses concerned with calling attention to the particularities that distinguish the various Germanic tribes from each other, at other points it considers them a cohesive group. Particularly in the myth of the blue-eyed German we have seen the legacy of these generalizing tendencies. Likewise in his assessment of Arminius, Tacitus paints with a broad brush, proclaiming Rome’s adversary the undisputed liberator, not just of his own Cherusci or even of those tribes that lent him their support, but of an entire geographically defined area east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, known to the Romans as Magna Germania.⁶² The ease with which this narrative and its pan-Germanic hero fed the nationalist political ideology of Pan-Germanism in the nineteenth century is already evident in the writings of the sixteenth-century German humanist scholars. Their interests and efforts can also be classified as pan-German, even if the founding of a new nation-state was far from their agenda. For at the core of any nationalist movement lies the presupposition that there exists a group of people with a common social identity, and the belief that this group deserves political recognition. It would make no sense, for example, to rally the call for a nation-state without an idea of the people who will constitute its members. Put another way, nation-building programs are underpinned by the question of whose social identity will receive reinforcement through the construction of a political entity. This identity is

⁶¹ Benedict Anderson coined the term “imagined community” to describe a feature of nationalism. See his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London/New York: Verso, 1991). The etymological significance of the Latin word *Germani* as applied to the Germanic peoples attracts ongoing discussion. As an adjective, *germani* is simply the plural of *germanus* (from *germen*, “seed” or “offshoot”), with the additional meaning “kindred” or “genuine.” Caesar, in his *Belli Gallici*, uses the term in two slightly differing ways: one to describe the peoples of Germania who were not Gauls, and one to denote the *Germani Cisrhenani*, a group of peoples in north-western Gaul, who cannot be clearly identified as either Celtic or Germanic. See Heinrich Beck, ed. *Germanen, Germania, germanische Altertumskunde* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998). The Latin *germanus* (“sibling, brother or sister by blood”) has entered the Romance languages as Italian *germano-a*, Catalan *germà, germana*, Spanish *hermano-a* and Portuguese *irmão-a*.

⁶² These boundaries are established in the first chapter of Tacitus’s *Germania*.

not a result of the nation-state; it is rather a pre-condition to the formation of a nation-state. Because a “social identity” therefore exists both within and without the presence of a nation-state, I employ this term to convey the broader and often varied nuances of Germanness under consideration in this study.⁶³

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This dissertation, which focuses on the reception of Arminius in the cultural and political context of the early modern Holy Roman Empire (ca. 1640–1800), presents the first part of a planned full-length study examining musical representations of this figure and the narratives produced about him. While such a focus on musical works may seem arbitrary, it is worth noting my decision to focus specifically on this body of material. As I explain further in the following investigation, previous scholarship on the musical reception history of Arminius has been limited to a few articles or chapters within the context of a broader subject. These discussions either survey the general gestalt of the Arminius operas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or analyze a specific opera within a certain composer’s oeuvre.⁶⁴ Many of these studies contain erroneous information about the complicated history of certain opera libretti and productions. This misinformation, left uncorrected, has continued to be propagated in subsequent work by others. None of these works contains an accurate or complete list of all Arminius operas,

⁶³ Anderson argues in a similar vein, yet he frames the discussion in terms of a “national” identity rather than a “social” one. I believe this distinction is important, because a specifically national identity constitutes only a part of one’s larger social identity. See also Craig Calhoun, “Social Theory and the Politics of Identity,” in *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 9-36; and Margaret R. Somers and Gloria D. Gibson, “Reclaiming the Epistemological ‘Other’: Narrative and the Social Constitution of Identity,” in *ibid.*, 37-99.

⁶⁴ For the former, see Arno Forchert, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne,” in *Ein Jahrhundert Hermannsdenkmal. 1875-1975*, ed. Günther Engelbert (Detmold: Naturwissenschaftlicher und Historiker Verein für das Land Lippe, 1975), 43-58; Paola Barbon and Bodo Plachta, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Arminius und die Varusschlacht. Geschichte—Mythos—Literatur*, Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woesler, eds. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003), 265-290; Jost Hermand, *Glanz und Elend in der deutschen Oper* (Köln: Böhlau, 2008), 21-34; Rudolf Hüls, “Der *Arminio* des Antonio Salvi: ein barocker Bestseller auf dem Markt für Opernlibretti,” *Lippische Mitteilungen aus Geschichte und Landeskunde* 77 (2008), 37-71; Robert C. Ketterer, *Ancient Rome in Early Opera* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 132-149. For the latter, see Colin Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque: Agostino Steffani and his Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Winton Dean, *Handel’s Operas, 1726-1741* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).

let alone other musical treatments of the subject. Only rarely, with Handel's *Arminio* presenting a notable exception, is the role of music itself discussed, let alone the contexts of production and reception.

The contribution of this dissertation to the fields of German Studies and European Studies is significant in that it seeks to challenge traditional notions of literary or music history based on modern national boundaries, and to broaden an understanding of the Arminius reception by exposing the European roots of the story of Arminius and the conflict with Rome. The narratives that emerge from the European reception of the ancient Greek and Roman historians comprise in fact a plurality of stories surrounding the figures of Arminius, Segestes, Thusnelda, Varus and Germanicus. Through an examination of this diversity of cultural texts that contribute to a musical reception history, I hope to gain a more nuanced understanding of what it means to “sing Arminius” in different times and places and how these narratives contribute to distinct forms of social identity.

The figure of Arminius is regarded throughout this study as the palimpsest onto which cultural discourses and images of Germanness repeatedly imprint themselves. Previous work on the reception history of Arminius has tended to focus on a small group of literary texts, all written in German or by German-speaking authors. This canon typically comprises the treatments of the subject by Ulrich von Hutten (*Arminius*, 1519/1529), Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (*Großmütiger Feldherr Arminius*, 1689-90), Johann Elias Schlegel (*Herrmann*, 1743), Justus Möser (*Arminius*, 1749), Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (trilogy of Hermann-dramas, 1769-1787), Heinrich von Kleist (*Die Hermannsschlacht*, 1808/1821), and Christian Dietrich Grabbe (*Die Hermannsschlacht*, 1838).⁶⁵ Interpretations of these works, especially the dramas of the eighteenth and

⁶⁵ Ulrich von Hutten, *Arminius Dialogus Huttenicus. Quo homo patriae amantissimus, Germanorum laudem celebravit* (Haguenau: Johann Setzer, 1529); Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, *Großmütiger Feldherr Arminius oder Hermann, als ein tapfferer Beschirmer der deutschen Freyheit, nebst seiner durchlauchtigen Thußnelda in einer sinnreichen Staats-, Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte dem Vaterlande zu Liebe, dem deutschen Adel aber zu Ehren und rühmlichen Nachfolge in zwey Theilen vorgestellt, und mit annehmlichen Kupffern gezieret* (Leipzig: J.F. Bleditsch, 1689-1690); Johann Elias Schlegel, *Herrmann, ein Trauerspiel*, in *Die Deutsche Schaubühne* 4, ed. Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1743), 1-68; Justus Möser, *Arminius: Ein Trauerspiel* (Hannover/Göttingen: J.W. Schmid, 1749); Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Hermanns Schlacht: Ein Bardiet*

nineteenth centuries, emphasize their context in the development of an overt nationalist project, culminating in the formation of the German empire/state.⁶⁶ While these approaches are certainly valid, their interpretive framework inevitably highlights only a portion of the canvas, leaving other important material on the margins. A case in point can be found in the example of Austria. Especially since 1945, the attempts to assert a distinctive “Austrian” identity and to renounce a “German” one have been accompanied by political and cultural animosity, as apparent among politicians and historians as it is in the general public.⁶⁷ The idea of an Austrian Arminius reception would strike most contemporary Austrians as incongruous.⁶⁸ Yet in fact, the Arminius mythos has a long connection with the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, especially in the eighteenth century, and even enjoyed widespread recognition and popularity into the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

The emphasis on the perceived “Germanness” of this figure has led moreover to the neglect or dismissal of works not produced in German-speaking central Europe. With

für die Schaubühne (Hamburg/Bremen: J.H. Cramer, 1769); *ibid.*, *Hermann und die Fürsten: Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne* (Hamburg: Herold, 1784); *ibid.*, *Hermanns Tod: Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne* (Hamburg: Benjamin Gottlob Hoffmann, 1787); Heinrich von Kleist, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, in *Kleist: Hinterlassene Schriften*, ed. Ludwig Tieck (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1821), 109-242; Christian Dietrich Grabbe, *Die Hermannsschlacht* (Düsseldorf: J.H.C. Schreiner, 1838).

⁶⁶ See, for example, Richard Kuehnemund, *Arminius, or, The Rise of a National Symbol in Literature, from Hutten to Grabbe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1953); Hans Peter Herrmann, “‘Ich bin fürs Vaterland zu sterben auch bereit.’ Patriotismus oder Nationalismus im 18. Jahrhundert? Lesenotizen zu den deutschen Arminiusdramen 1740-1808,” in *Machtphantasie Deutschland: Nationalismus, Männlichkeit und Fremdenhaß im Vaterlandsdiskurs deutscher Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 32-65; and Gesa von Essen, *Hermannsschlachten: Germanen- und Römerbilder in der Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998).

⁶⁷ An implicit assertion, for example, in William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) is the independent development of Austrian culture apart from Germany. Cultural divisions are also emphasized in the mass-market, tongue-in-cheek *Xenophobe’s Guides* series (Oval Books), which is devoted to a look at national stereotypes. The Austrians and the Germans each receive their own volume.

⁶⁸ During a year’s stay in Graz, I was told on more than one occasion that my subject (if it elicited any kind of recognition at all) was something from *German* history, implying minimal relevance to Austria.

⁶⁹ One of the first literary reception histories of Arminius was in fact written by an Austrian. See Paul von Hofmann-Wellenhof, “Zur Geschichte des Arminius-Cultus in der deutschen Literatur. Eine literarhistorische Abhandlung,” parts 1 and 2, in *36. Jahresbericht der steiermärkischen Landes-Oberrealschule in Graz über das Studienjahr 1886/87*, ed. Franz Ilwof (Graz: Steierm. Landes-Oberrealschule, 1887), 1-52. The third part of this history appeared in its own separate publication in conjunction with the following year’s annual report; see Paul von Hofmann-Wellenhof, *Zur Geschichte des Arminius-Cultus in der deutschen Literatur. Eine literarhistorische Abhandlung*, part 3 (Graz: Steierm. Landes-Oberrealschule, 1888).

the commemoration of the two-thousandth anniversary of the Varusschlacht oriented towards a broader cross-cultural European outlook, a re-evaluation of this narrow view is underway. Yet while the French reception of Arminius is beginning to receive increased contextual treatment, the Italian reception still has attracted little serious attention.⁷⁰ This disregard is likely due in part to the fact that operatic texts are typically excluded from literary histories, even though Italian-language operas make up the bulk of the eighteenth-century Arminius reception. In addition, traditional literary (and musical) histories tend to restrict themselves to modern national and linguistic boundaries, which in the case of German historiography has resulted in the exclusion of works not written in German or by germanophones, even though such works may have been produced and performed in German-speaking lands.

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From Tacitus's report we can only imagine how those original ancient songs about Arminius may have served as a catalyst for social identification "apud barbaras gentes." Several generations after the fact, did those past events continue to define a society's self-understanding? Were they viewed with pride or regarded as folly? Had they already become embellished with mythic significance? Over the course of the past five hundred years, Arminius has continued to be sung by many voices, each with its own story to tell. In the following investigation we will hear some of their echoes.

⁷⁰ On the French reception, see Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 88-98; 131-138.

Part One

Arminius and the Emperor: Habsburg Representational Practices

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi.

—Virgil, *Aeneid*.

Wisset Jhr nicht / daß heute zu tage die Teutsche den Römern / mit nichten aber die Römer den
Teutschen zu gebieten haben? Der jtzregierender Römischer Käyser ist ein gebohrner Teutscher
und kein Römer oder Wälscher. Und ... schon länger den 800. Jahre haben die Teutsche das
Römische Käyserthum regieret und besessen.

—Johann Rist, *Das Friedewünschende Teütschland*.

Austriae est imperare orbi universo
Austria erit in orbe ultima
Austria est imperium optime unita
Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untertan

—A.E.I.O.U., Habsburg motto.

To the extent that the figure of Arminius has heretofore attracted scholarly attention for his role as a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera hero, the attendant discussion has been framed by the question of Germanness. For some commentators the nature and manifestation of this Germanness has fallen short of expectations. In the first attempt at a cumulative survey of these works thirty-five years ago Arno Forchert concludes: “In einer so beschaffenen Gattung, der alles Urtümlich-Natürliche Anathema war, konnte eine Handlung aus heidnisch-germanischer Vorzeit kaum mehr bedeuten als einen zusätzlichen koloristischen Effekt, während das Ziel der Darstellung unverändert blieb: auf angenehme, dabei Sinne und Verstand in gleicher Weise befriedigende Art zu unterhalten.”¹ Restricting the rhetorical function of these works to the level of light entertainment, Forchert regards the highly stylized and increasingly codified conventions of the Italian *dramma per musica* or *opera seria* as an inhospitable environment for the “Projektion nationaldeutscher Vorstellungen”—a way of thinking that constitutes in his

¹ Arno Forchert, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne,” 56.

view the primary motivation for any kind of interest in the Arminius narrative.² This restrictive nationalist view is also echoed more recently by Jost Hermand, who criticizes the dramaturgical structure and musical forms of Italian baroque opera for their repetitive predictability and orientation toward resolving the interpersonal conflicts of an elite group of elevated personages at the expense of raising a broader populist consciousness.³ Hermand laments the absolutist atmosphere in which “eine Begeisterungsstimmung für ein positiv empfundenes Germanentum” was unable to develop in the opera seria, and dismisses the presence of Germanic figures and the stereotyped moral virtues assigned to them in these works as void of a “spezifisch nationale Ausrichtung.”⁴ Instead he suggests that exotic elements—whether Germanic, Asian or African was inconsequential—furnished just the right spice of variation for opera composers who by the late seventeenth century “[empfanden] den römischen Stoffbereich bereits als reichlich abgedroschen.”⁵ Paola Barbon and Bodo Plachta, whose often-cited article on the eighteenth-century Arminius operas builds on the work of Forchert, also acknowledge the potential for operatic novelty afforded by the presence of a Germanic freedom fighter. According to this view the opera stage remains the domain of fantasy, ruled by artifice and populated with interchangeable protagonists: “Die Figur des Arminius gab damit neben den Figuren des Odysseus oder Orpheus, des Xerxes, Mithridates, Alexander und Cäsar, des Cato oder des Helden der Olympiade und vielen anderen die Folie für alltagsferne Bühnenhandlungen ab, die [...] die Konventionen der opera seria bzw. des *dramma per musica* variationsreich erfüllten.”⁶

Barbon and Plachta continue, however, with a statement that stands in noteworthy opposition to the charges leveled by Forchert and Hermand:

Zudem bot die Geschichte des Arminius als Symbol altdeutscher Tugend, nationaler Größe und heldischer Gesinnung über seine privaten Verstrickungen hinaus noch den Vorzug des Vaterländisch-Historischen; sie erlaubte neben dem

² Ibid., 43.

³ Jost Hermand, *Glanz und Elend der deutschen Oper*, 29.

⁴ Ibid., 30-33.

⁵ Ibid., 31.

⁶ Paola Barbon and Bodo Plachta, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne des 18. Jahrhunderts,” 265-266.

wohlbekannten antiken und arkadisch-pastoralen Dekor die Einführung einer neuen Kulisse, jener des deutschen Waldes, und konnte auch den sich anbahnenden Bemühungen um eine deutsche, gegenüber italienischen und französischen Vorbildern eigenständigere Librettistik entgegenkommen.⁷

While the tenor of this statement implies that the choice of Arminius as an operatic subject was neither arbitrary nor devoid of “national” interests in the eighteenth century, it is not integrated into a larger argument advancing this claim and receives little further development in their discussion; indeed, elsewhere in the article the interpretations of individual Arminius operas tend to resonate more with the critical observations made by Hermand.

Nevertheless the notion of the German “Nationalheld” Arminius defecting to the Italian opera seria remains just incongruous enough to invite continued speculation about his portrayal and the extent to which its Germanness can be salvaged. “Wieso aber wurde dem Befreier Germaniens ausgerechnet in der italienischen Barockoper, also gewissermaßen kulturell in ‘feindlichem’ Umfeld, ein Denkmal gesetzt?” asks Rudolf Hüls in a recent article.⁸ Far from evoking a facetious or ironic tone, this question is immediately followed by a rather surprising word of assurance: “Die Antwort liegt auf der Hand: Salvi [the librettist] schrieb für den Hof in Florenz, und dort regierten die ‘germanischen’ Habsburger. Insoweit konnte das Libretto mit wohlwollender Aufmerksamkeit und Akzeptanz rechnen.”⁹ If Hermand’s firm refutation of any recognizable German orientation in these works represents one pole of the argument, then Hüls’s equally strong claim creates the impression of an overly compensatory effort on their behalf. Yet the latent concern underpinning both arguments is similar, in that it centers on the construction of social identity and the perceived loss of Germanness in a figure that is supposed to epitomize that quality. Because the figures of opera seria do not assert a national identity apart from the absolutist monarchical system that generates

⁷ Ibid., 266.

⁸ Rudolf Hüls, “Arminius-Germanicus: ein Paradigmenwechsel in der Barockoper,” in *Musicus Discologus 2. Musiche e scritti per l’80° anno di Carlo Marinelli*, ed. Maria Emanuela Marinelli and Anna Grazia Petaccia (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2007), 388-389.

⁹ Ibid., 389.

them, Hermand can dismiss them and the entire genre itself as unworthy models of identification both for the development of German opera as a distinct national art form and for the development of a German social identity, which is understood in nationalist terms. Hüls, on the other hand, by asserting a clear identificatory aspect between the opera seria and its patrons, perceives an intimate connection between the subject matter of a libretto and the ultimate success of an operatic performance. In the case of the Arminius operas it is the quality of Germanness that he identifies as the primary criterion justifying the 1703 performance of Salvi's *Arminio* for Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany (whose great-grandmother, Maria Maddalena, was born a Habsburg). Yet in spite of the Habsburg connections both past and present, one may well wonder whether the libretto's alleged celebration of Germanic virtues alone furnished the key to its acceptance at the Tuscan court and elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.

In a second, more extensive survey of the origins and pan-European development of the Arminius figure in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera, Hüls again offers a summation of the narrative's appeal to contemporary audiences, with special reference to the adaptation by Salvi. Here he takes care not to overstate the case:

Salvi hat Arminius als eine Person rezipiert, die an Fürstenhöfen des 18. Jahrhunderts für Freiheitsliebe und Menschlichkeit stand, die an Ideale glaubte und für die Unabhängigkeit ihrer Landsleute eintrat, die schließlich auch ein Stück germanisches Selbstbewusstsein verkörperte. Hingegen war Varus eine wahrhaft tragische Figur, die freilich im Untergang noch Größe bewies. Segestes stand für den Verrat am eigenen Volk. Der Mythos des Arminius wurde den Zeitgenossen musikalisch als Spiegel vorgehalten. Wer die Tendenz nicht erkennen wollte, konnte sich in seinem gesellschaftlichen Rahmen immerhin an einem exzellenten Opernereignis erfreuen. Aber mit Arminius konnten sich insbesondere die Habsburger identifizieren, wenn sie sich in ihrem universalen Herrschaftsanspruch von den "römischen" Franzosen abgrenzen wollten.¹⁰

Hüls emphasizes here an implicit system of symbolic representation at work in the Arminius operas, ranging from individual characters' exemplification of personal virtues and social alliances (e.g., Arminius possessing a kind of "Germanic" self-understanding) to large-scale allegorical implications, such as a perceived Habsburg equation of the early

¹⁰ Rudolf Hüls, "Der *Arminio* des Antonio Salvi: ein barocker Bestseller auf dem Markt für Openlibretti," *Lippische Mitteilungen aus Geschichte und Landeskunde* 77 (2008): 70-71.

modern French with the ancient Romans. What he does not mention, however—what in fact none of the studies of these operas has previously acknowledged and explored in depth—is the narrative traditions that cast the Habsburgs not only as “Germans,” but “Romans” as well. The titles of Holy Roman Emperor (the reigning monarch in Vienna) and King of the Romans (bestowed on the heir apparent to the imperial throne) both belonged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to (Austrian) Germans—the very Habsburg family before whose members staged productions of the conflicts between Germania and Rome were being enacted.

When seen through the interpretive lens of the earlier Humanist and Protestant fashionings of Arminius as the ultimate opponent of Rome, as well as the later nationalist movements that claim Arminius as the thoroughly German nemesis of foreign invaders, the assertion of a paradigm that maintains the compatible existence of a “Roman-German” or “German-Roman” identity is not immediately self-evident and may even appear ill-fitting at first glance. I assert, however, that such an expanded identifiatory label offers a more productive means of evaluating a significant portion of the Arminius operas produced in the Holy Roman Empire than has been accomplished by previous studies. The contextualization of these operas has been largely confined to their place within the (literary) reception history of Arminius, where they have been evaluated on the extent to which their narrative construction conforms to other Arminius narratives produced in environments fostering German interests. In this first section of Part 1, I take an alternate approach as I explore the connotations and implications of a dual identity as it relates to the Habsburg dynasty’s self-conceptions circa 1700, and the ways in which an understanding of this duality affects interpretations of the Arminius operas that were dedicated to representatives of the Habsburg family, performed at courts where Habsburg influence was immediate, or sanctioned under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. As always the importance of cultural narrative traditions in shaping identity plays a central role in this discussion. In this case, we begin by examining a series of complementary worldviews that exerted such a hold on the medieval and early modern imagination that they constituted the foundation on which the concept of the Holy Roman

Empire was built and a significant justification for its continued existence: the “mission of Rome,” the “four monarchies,” and the “translatio imperii.”¹¹

The salient feature linking all three of these narratives appears in the primary and ongoing importance accorded to the idea of Rome as the basis for authority, whether religious or secular.¹² The first epigraph that opens Part 1 draws attention to the beginnings of this tradition in the *Aeneid*, as Jupiter decrees the gods’ divine favor on the eternal city of Rome, whose dominion is destined to know no end. The privileged status of Rome continues to be asserted by early Christian commentators such as Eusebius and Orosius, who identify links between the height of the empire’s halcyon days under Augustus and the birth of Christ, justifying the role of Rome in salvation history through an equation of the *Pax romana* with the *Pax Christi*.¹³ Thus the introduction of Christianity to the Romans, according to the Roman Christian poet Prudentius (fl. ca. 400), should be regarded positively as a natural extension of the divine favor that first subdued the world under the authority of the empire for the very purpose of preparing it for the rise and triumph of the universal religion.¹⁴

This new mission of Rome as the conqueror of hearts and minds through the promulgation of the Christian faith was reinforced by other biblically-based narrative traditions that attempted to discern the processes of world history in its course from creation to Last Judgment. In addition to the periodization schema of the “six ages,” definitively codified by Augustine in *De catechizandis rudibus*, another system based on the rise and fall of “four monarchies,” established by Jerome’s commentary on the book

¹¹ My discussion of these narratives is indebted to the excellent survey provided by Judith Popovich Aikin, *The Mission of Rome in the Dramas of Daniel Casper von Lohenstein: Historical Tragedy as Prophecy and Polemic* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1976), 37-82.

¹² Notwithstanding medieval anti-papal attacks and sixteenth-century Protestant polemic that cast Rome as the Whore of Babylon (based on an interpretation of Revelation 17:10) and the Pope as the Antichrist, the authority of Rome managed to re-assert itself through the developments of post-Tridentine Catholicism and maintain its cachet in a large segment of the European West. The division—both geographic and ideological—between Protestant and Catholic Europeans and their orientation to the concept of Rome points to a noteworthy difference in the reception of the Arminius narrative in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as I discuss further in the second part of this study.

¹³ See Aikin, *Mission of Rome*, 41-42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41. See also Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum—Gegen Symmachus*, ed. and trans. Hermann Tränkle, *Fontes Christiani* 85 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

of Daniel, represented Christian interpretations of the world's ordained progress toward the second coming and millennial reign of Christ.¹⁵ In each case the present Christian era marks the final stage of history before the beginning of the end times. The system of the four monarchies is especially relevant here because of the explicit and central function of Rome in its worldview. Jerome's commentary on the allegorical interpretation of the dream visions in Daniel, especially that of the four beasts rising out of the sea as signifying the succession of four great earthly kingdoms, provides an explication laden with eschatological significance. Jerome identifies the four kingdoms as the Assyrian (Babylonian), the Persian (Mede), the Macedonian (Greek), and the Roman empires—the last of which will be the greatest and will endure until the return of Christ.

Although the barbarian (i.e., Germanic) sack of Rome in 410 may have felt like the end of the world for those living at the time, the eventual collapse of the eternal city and its vast empire did not usher in the end times as prophesied by the interpretation of Daniel's four beasts—even if it did dampen the importance of the four monarchies narrative for several centuries. Around 1100, however, an apparent revival of interest in this system—with some modifications to Jerome's interpretation—is evident in chronicles and exegetical writings, including the *Annolied* (ca. 1050) and the *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1150), appearing in the German-speaking Holy Roman Empire.¹⁶ This context is significant, for the *Annolied* and the *Kaiserchronik* also participate (if indirectly) in the cultivation of a political theory closely linked with the tradition of the four monarchies. This theory—the *translatio imperii*—asserts that the power of rule can be transferred from one group of people (“nation”) to another within the same monarchy.¹⁷ Thus according to such a worldview, the sack of Rome in the fifth century did not precipitate the destruction of the fourth and final world monarchy; its authority was rather transferred to another group of people—namely the Germans.

¹⁵ Daniel 7:1-27. For Jerome's commentary, consult Migne PL 25.527c-534d.

¹⁶ See Aikin, 50.

¹⁷ For a comprehensive study of the origins and development of the theory of *translatio imperii*, see Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958).

In actuality of course one cannot speak of the unbroken tradition of an office that had been vacant in the West since 476, yet the papal bestowal of the old imperial title (“Imperator Augustus”) on the Frankish king Charles in 800 inspired claims of a *translatio imperii* to the Franks, and a similar coronation of the Saxon king Otto I in 962—establishing the Holy Roman Empire—likewise empowered the Germans to see themselves as the legitimate successors of Rome. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, amid the political struggles accompanying the concurrent rise of the Habsburg imperial dynasty and the papacy, as well as the subsequent conflicts between Roman Catholicism and German Protestants, the narrative tradition of the four monarchies and the *translatio imperii* provided ample rhetorical ammunition for all factions engaged in the struggle to define the authority of Rome in religious or secular terms.¹⁸ Though it did not go unchallenged, the four monarchies paradigm continued to hold considerable influence in conservative historical and political thought throughout the domains of the Holy Roman Empire even into the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Concerning the German-speaking part of the empire, the nineteenth-century literary historian Hermann Hettner asserts that an indoctrination of the four monarchies system permeated all levels of education, from schoolbooks to university courses. “Noch im Jahre 1666,” he notes, “wurde für Sachsen durch Johann Georg II das strengste Festhalten dieser Behandlungsweise ausdrücklich befohlen,” and as late as 1728 a theology professor in Wittenberg published a defense of

¹⁸ A crucial argument in this controversy over the power relationship between the emperor and the pope centered on the so-called Donation of Constantine, a forged document from the eighth or ninth century in which Emperor Constantine supposedly transfers authority over Rome and the western part of the empire to the pope. The papacy cited this decree as justification of its superiority to imperial authority, which, it argued, the pope had the power to bestow but never to relinquish.

¹⁹ Some notable challenges to the four monarchies tradition and the idea of the continued existence of the Roman empire under German rule are found in the writings of Hermann Conring (1606–1681). See Michael Stolleis, ed., *Hermann Conring, 1606–1681: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983) and Constantin Fasolt, ed. and trans., *Hermann Conring’s New Discourse on the Roman-German Emperor* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005). The secularizing impulse evident in the seventeenth century leads to new understandings of space and time, and by the end of the century some historians such as Christoph Cellarius (1638–1707) advocate a division of history into three periods: ancient, medieval, and modern. See Christian Seebald, *Libretti vom “Mittelalter”*: *Entdeckungen von Historie in der (nord)deutschen und europäischen Oper um 1700* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009), 15–22. The older interpretations of history based on the theories of the four monarchies and the six ages continue to coexist for a time alongside the newer views.

the four monarchies schema “mit allem Aufwand scholastischer Gelehrsamkeit.”²⁰ Moreover, it is on the foundations of this system that the seventeenth-century Italian chronicler Antonio Foresti builds the premises of his massive *Mappamondo Istorico*, reinforcing an understanding of the divinely revealed ordering of history and the importance of Rome—“destinata dal Cielo al dominio dell’universo”—in accomplishing both the work of Christian salvation and secular rule.²¹ By asserting the complementary roles accorded to the pope and the emperor—a union of the “two cities” (the *Ecclesia Christi* and the *Imperium Romanum*) that were in Augustine’s view irreconcilable—Foresti’s project also recalls that of the medieval imperial historian Otto of Freising.²² Thus Foresti accordingly heralds the present emperor, Leopold I, as the primary defender of the Christian faith—“l’Eletto da Dio a rialzare le glorie del Christianesimo [*sic*] sù le ruine del Maometismo.”²³

This intimate connection between the Habsburgs’ self-understanding as the destined inheritors of an ancient imperial legacy and as the pious defenders of the Catholic religion was carefully fostered and managed through representational images and narratives—the *Medienstrategien*, as Jutta Schumann has called them—produced by the court in order to assert and promote its claims to authority.²⁴ Many seventeenth-century images of Leopold I tellingly illustrate the juxtaposition of these characteristics.

²⁰ Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1872; repr., Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1961), 1:221-222. Cited in Aikin, 60.

²¹ See Antonio Foresti, *Mappamondo istorico, cioè Ordinata narrazione dei quattro sommi imperii del mondo da Nino primo imperator degli Assirii, fino al regnante Leopoldo austriaco, e della monarchia di Christo da s. Pietro primo papa fino a nostri di* (Parma, 1690), 2:3. Cited in Aikin, 56-57.

²² On the influence of Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* in western political thought, see Dorothy F. Donnelly, ed., *The City of God: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995). Otto’s reception of Augustine in the *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* is contextualized in Hans-Werner Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984).

²³ Foresti, *Mappamondo*, 2:756. Cited in Aikin, 57.

²⁴ See Jutta Schumann, *Die andere Sonne: Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003). Other valuable studies examining the cultivation of classical, mythic, and religious imagery in connection with the Habsburg dynasty include Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), and Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

One such image, by the Regensburg artist Benjamin von Block, depicts the emperor crowned with a laurel wreath and wearing an armored breastplate beneath his robe, on which the imperial motif of the double-headed eagle is visible.²⁵ The symbols of earthly secular and ecclesiastical power—the scepter and globus cruciger—are placed in his hands, and the imperial crown rests behind his shoulder. Outside the oval frame lie the invisible powers that support the emperor’s rule, symbolized by the omniscient eye of God and the two arms reaching out of the clouds, wielding each a scepter and a sword. The inscription below the portrait provides the identification of these latter forces: *consilio* and *industria*, the two virtues that comprise Leopold’s motto (*Spruchbild*). Another image, created by the Augsburg engraver Philipp Kilian, emphasizes the global scope of the Habsburg influence and Leopold’s status as a world leader.²⁶ An inscription spanning the top edge of the world map reads “Majus nil continet orbis” (“Nothing greater sustains the spheres”); this statement also designates the graphic point of intersection between the secular depiction of Leopold, dressed again in Roman armor, and the divinely-bestowed qualities of *consilio et industria*, which seem to extend the scepter and sword in an effort to implant their pommels in the earth below. The paraphernalia depicted in the lower left and right foreground areas are weighted in opposition: on the right lie the spoils of war waged against the Ottoman Turks: two kettledrums, an exotic sword hilt, and a shattered shield inscribed with a pseudo-Arabic script. On the left are displayed various symbols denoting the Christian West: a censer and cross at the fore, surrounded by representations of the learned arts and sciences. The messages conveyed through this composite image reinforce the essential qualities of divine sanction and secular authority endowed in the imperial office as well as Leopold’s triumphs against his enemies and his dedication to pursuits of cultural enrichment.

²⁵ The image is reprinted in Schumann, 542. Schumann provides the following archival source credit: “Brustbild Kaiser Leopolds I. in rundem Lorbeerahm von Benjamin von Block (vor 1690); Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster — Porträtarchiv Diepenbroick, Inv. Nr. C-500783 PAD; Foto: S. Ahlbrand-Dornseif,” 529.

²⁶ The image is reprinted in Schumann, 541. Schumann provides the following archival source credit: “Brustbild Kaiser Leopolds I. von Philipp Kilian; Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster — Porträtarchiv Diepenbroick, Inv. Nr. C-500780 PAD; Foto: S. Ahlbrand-Dornseif,” 528.

In the dissemination of carefully composed images such as these, the importance of the arts themselves as an *instrumentum regni*—a channel for the legitimation of political authority—cannot be overstated. Examples of representations linking the Habsburg dynasty with the iconography of mythic and historic narratives can be found in all forms of artistic expression for which the Holy Roman Emperors supplied their patronage, including sculpture, painting, architecture, courtly festivities, theater and opera, to which we once again turn our attention. Along with the pastorals populated by amorous nymphs and shepherds, the allegorical morality plays depicting the struggle between virtues and vices, and the dramatizations of the mythic entanglements among the pantheon of gods and demi-gods—all of which demanded large expenditures of resources and contributed to the court’s prestige—an interest in operas with historical or pseudo-historical subject matter is also apparent at the imperial court in Vienna during the reigns of Leopold I (1658–1705), Joseph I (1705–1711), and Karl VI (1711–1740).²⁷ These historical subjects were deliberately selected in order to reflect the interests of the royal house and to support the self-image of the dedicatee—an important consideration in light of the fact that operatic performances were typically commissioned to celebrate the birthdays and name-days of members of the imperial family. Although they do not predominate the repertoire, operatic works based on specific episodes and figures from Roman history are not uncommon, and as *instrumenta regni*, such works easily conform to the political program of a court whose imagined ancestral ties to Rome comprised an essential aspect of its social identity.²⁸

Outside Vienna, this privileged image of the emperor and the accompanying status of the imperial office became increasingly more difficult to assert amid the loose

²⁷ See Franz Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof. Mit einem Spielplan, 1625-1740* (Vienna: A. Sendl, 1955), and Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985).

²⁸ Some examples of the “Roman” operas performed at the Viennese court include *La monarchia latina trionfante* (1678), *Enea in Italia* (1678), *Il Romolo* (1702), *La clemenza di Augusto* (1702), *Il ritorno di Giulio Cesare vincitore della Mauritania* (1704), *La Conquista delle Spagne di Scipione Africano il Giovane* (1707), *Li sacrifici di Romolo per la salute di Roma* (1708), *Il Costantino* (1716), *La clemenza di Tito* (1734). For a recent study of the adaptation of Roman subject matter in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian opera, see Robert C. Ketterer, *Ancient Rome in Early Opera* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

federation of principalities, duchies, bishoprics, and other domains that constituted the Holy Roman Empire. Many of these provincial courts fostered similar systems of artistic patronage in an effort to bolster their own prestige, and the use of the same classical, mythological and historically-inspired imagery characterize their absolutist aspirations and claims to authority.²⁹ The free imperial cities such as Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Nuremberg, however—with their historic ties and present obligations to the emperor in Vienna—served as hospitable venues for the cultivation of the imperial image. This was especially true in Hamburg, which had become the leading center north of the Alps for public opera in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. As Dorothea Schröder has shown, politics and opera at Hamburg were closely intertwined, and important developments within the House of Habsburg did not pass without due commemoration at the theater on the Gänsemarkt—even without the presence of the monarch himself.³⁰ The production and reception of these *Huldigungswerke* thus demonstrate a symbiotic relationship between Hamburg and the emperor. Through these lavish spectacles in honor of the imperial party, the city hoped to ensure the continuation of the privileges it enjoyed within the empire; at the same time the Habsburg image benefits from its public display.

Similar political motivations are apparent in the case of the Nuremberg opera *Arminius, Der Teutschen Erz-Held* (1697), the production of which was commissioned to coincide with the seven-year anniversary of Joseph I's coronation as King of the

²⁹ See T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 53-77. For studies related to ceremonial and opera productions at other early modern German courts, see, for example, Sara Smart, *Doppelte Freude der Musen: Court Festivities in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel 1642-1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989); Erich Reimer, *Die Hofmusik in Deutschland, 1500-1800* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1991); and Juliane Riepe, “‘Essential to the reputation and magnificence of such a high-ranking prince’: Ceremonial and Italian Opera at the Court of Clemens August of Cologne and other German Courts,” in *Italian Opera in Central Europe, Volume 1: Institutions and Ceremonies*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy and Reinhard Strohm (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006), 147-175.

³⁰ Official emissaries typically attended these performances, and reported back to the emperor with a copy of the libretto. See Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie, 1690-1745* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). Some examples of these works include *Ancile Romanum* (1690), celebrating the coronation of Joseph I as King of the Romans; *Tempel des Janus* (1698), in honor of the Treaty of Ryswick and the victory of the Grand Alliance over France in the Nine Years' War; *Herkules und Hebe* (1699), celebrating of the marriage of Joseph I and Wilhelmina Amalia; and *Carolus V.* (1712), on the occasion of Karl VI's accession to the imperial throne.

Romans.³¹ Christoph Adam Negelein (1656–1701), a Nuremberg merchant and prominent member of the “Pegnesischer Blumenorden” literary association, adapted his German-language libretto from Jean de Campistron’s *Arminius*, a French classicist *tragédie* first published in 1684.³² Negelein’s knowledge of this play is evidence of the fact that by the final decade of the seventeenth century, the figure of Arminius had attained considerable notoriety across Europe both in the literary and artistic imagination as well as through embodied dramatic portrayals. Following a few cameo appearances as an alternately disoriented and displeased revenant in the war-torn *Teutschland* of the 1640s (e.g., in works by Moscherosch, Schottelius, and Rist), European consumers of the fashionable galant historical novel had encountered him as a courtly hero in La Calprenède’s popular *Cléopâtre* (1646–1658)—whether in the original French editions or in English, Dutch, Italian, or German translation.³³ In the 1670s and early 1680s, Daniel

³¹ Due to a series of delays, the premiere was postponed until February 1697. Currently the most detailed examination of this work and its context is found in Markus Paul, *Reichsstadt und Schauspiel: Theatrale Kunst im Nürnberg des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 533-542. This opera has strangely found little resonance in the Arminius reception literature. Hofmann-Wellenhof accords this “triviale Oper” only a disparaging comment as “reine Nachahmung,” though he does mention “die Verhimmelung Kaiser Leopolds, auf welche das der Römischen Majestät gewidmete Werk hinausläuft” as “ein neu hinzukommendes Moment” (see Hofmann-Wellenhof, *Zur Geschichte des Arminius-Cultus*, I. and II. Theil, 48). Forchert, however, is apparently unaware of its existence (see Forchert, 47), and Kösters devotes only a single page to Negelein’s work in his discussion of Arminius as a baroque opera hero (see Kösters, 106).

³² Christoph Adam Negelein, *Arminius, Der Teutschen Erz-Held [...]* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1697). The composer of the now-lost music is unknown, though Brockpähler (*Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland*, 304) suggests Johann Löhner as a possible candidate. As the basis for Negelein’s work, see Jean Galbert de Campistron, *Arminius, tragedie* (Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684); for a modern edition see Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Tragédies (1684-1685): Arminius, Andronic, Alcibiade*, ed. Jean-Philippe Gersperrin and Jean-Noël Pascal (Toulouse: Société de Littératures Classiques, 2002). Campistron’s drama also served as the basis for Antonio Salvi’s long-lived libretto *Arminio* (1703).

³³ Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Visiones de don Quevedo: Wunderliche und warhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt [...]* (Strasbourg: Mülbien, 1642); Johann Rist, *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland* (Augsburg, 1647); Justus Georgius Schottelius, *Neu erfundenes Freudenpiel, genandt Friedens Sieg [...]* (Wolfenbüttel: Buno, 1648); Gautier de Coste, chevalier de la Calprenède, *Cléopâtre* (Paris: Courbé, 1647-58). The English translation of *Cléopâtre* appeared as *Hymen’s praeludia, or, Love’s master-piece [...]* (London: 1652-65); the Dutch as *Cléopâtre* (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1689-90); the Italian as *La Cleopatra* (Venice: Francesco Storti, 1655), as well as another apparently complete edition also published at Venice in 1697; the German translation was the last on the market, as *Der vortrefflichen Egyptischen Königin Cleopatra curiöse Staats- und Liebes-Geschicht [...]* (Hamburg: Erythropel, 1700-1702). The novel continued to be re-issued into the eighteenth century. On La Calprenède’s novel, Moscherosch’s satire, as well as Georges de Scudéry’s play *Arminius ou les frères ennemis* (1642), see Kösters, 82-94.

Casper von Lohenstein was engaged in the compilation of his massive Arminius novel, even as the first operatic treatments of Arminius and Germanicus commanded the stages of Italian opera houses from Venice and Milan to as far south as Sicily.³⁴ At least one attraction to this set of figures and their stories lay in their adaptability to the colorful generic characteristics of Venetian carnival opera, with plot twists hinging on cases of mistaken identities, and lovers separated and reunited by dramatic spectacles, whether natural or supernatural.³⁵ Yet while the appeal of the historical romance genre cannot be overlooked in the context of these works, it would be a mistake to restrict the European interest in these Arminius narratives only to these elements. Indeed the full title of Lohenstein's posthumously published novel reveals to a fuller extent the broad spectrum encompassed by this figure:

Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius oder Hermann, als ein tapfferer Beschirmer der deutschen Freyheit, nebst seiner durchlauchtigen Thußnelda in einer sinnreichen Staats-, Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte dem Vaterlande zu Liebe, dem deutschen Adel aber zu Ehren und rühmlichen Nachfolge in zwey Theilen vorgestellt, und mit annehmlichen Kupffern gezieret.

In relating this “Staats-, Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte” for the love of the fatherland and to the honor of the German nobility, Lohenstein superimposes another layer by casting the whole as a *roman à clef*, the decoding of which reveals none other than Leopold I and the Habsburg imperial dynasty in central roles.³⁶

Negelein's opera, appearing only a few years after Lohenstein's novel, capitalizes on this equation between Arminius and Leopold, as the title page makes clear from the juxtaposition of their names: “Arminius Der Teutschen Erz-Held. In einer OPERA aufgeföhret / und Der Römischen Käyserlichen Majestät LEOPOLD dem Grossen

³⁴ See the Catalog Index of Musical/Dramatic Works in Appendix A, entries I.01 (*Germanico sul Reno*) and I.02 (*Il Germanico al Reno*). Within the context of this discussion, the adaptation of Giulio Cesare Corradi's libretto for performance in Palermo (I.01.1683) is particularly noteworthy due to its allegorical prologue that foresees a future time when the Austrian Habsburgs, under the leadership of Leopold, will defeat the Ottoman empire.

³⁵ See, for example, Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

³⁶ The foundational work examining these aspects of Lohenstein's novel is Elida Maria Szarota, *Lohensteins Arminius als Zeitroman: Sichtweisen des Spätbarock* (Bern: Francke, 1970).

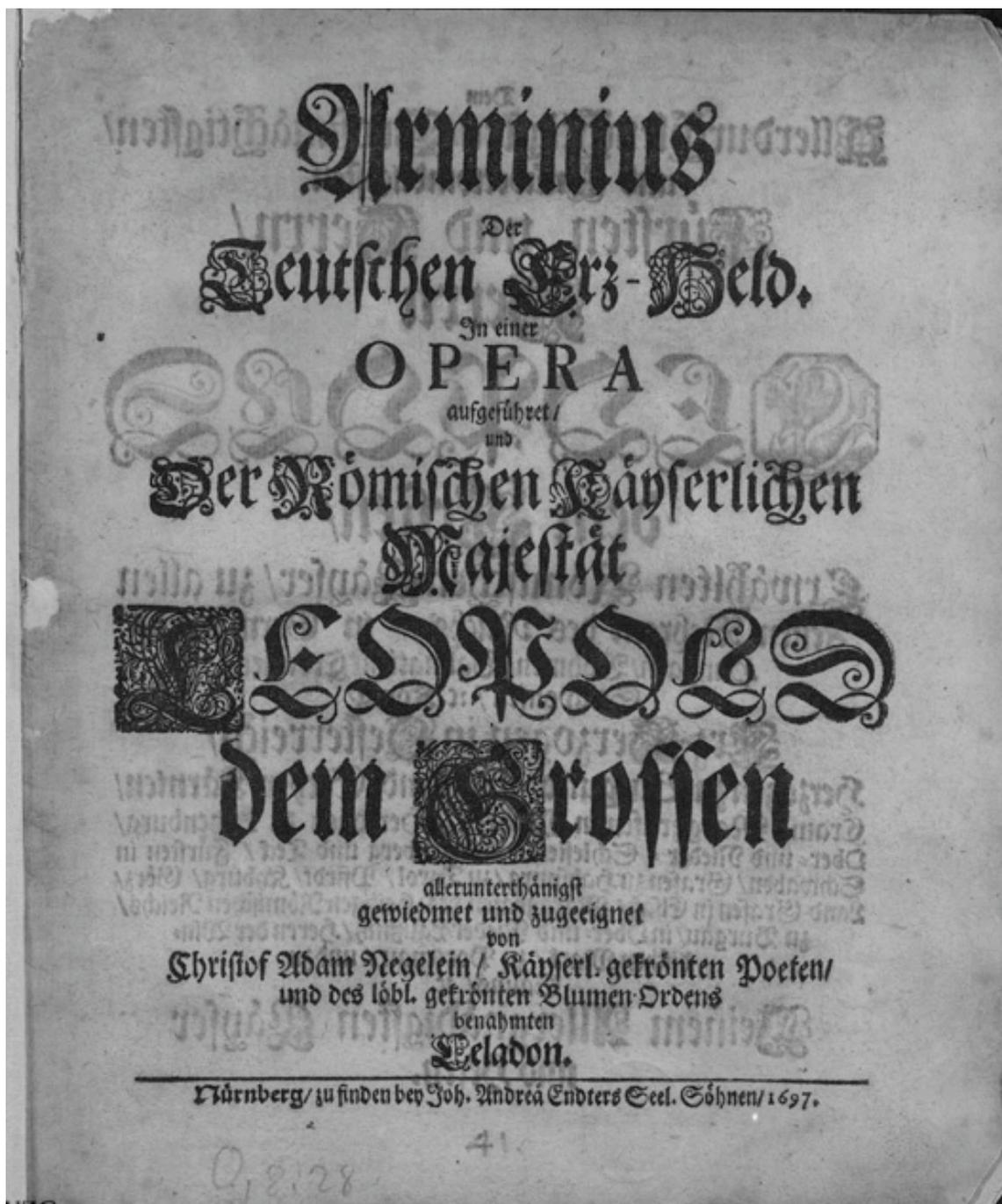


Figure 2. Title page to *Arminius Der Deutschen Erz-Held* (1697). Source: Klassik Stiftung Weimar–Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek/O 8:28. Reprinted with permission.

allerunterthänigst gewiedmet und zugeeignet [...]” (see figure 2).³⁷ This relatively succinct dedication is followed by another full-page tribute “Dem Allerdurchleuchtigsten / Großmächtigsten / und Unüberwindlichsten Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn LEOPOLD dem Ersten / Erwählten Römischen Käyser / zu allen Zeiten Mehrern des Reichs / in Germanien / Hungarn / Böhmen / Dalmatien / Croatien / Slavonien / etc. König / Erz-Herzogen in Oesterreich / [...],” completed by a lengthy series of Leopold’s titular relationships with the various geographic territories to which his hereditary prerogative extends.³⁸ Negelein thus emphatically lauds Leopold in his esteemed position as “Roman Emperor,” while also linking him to Arminius as his typological counterpart—a figure whose role as “der Teutschen Erz-Held” simultaneously casts him as the arch-enemy of Rome. The apparent dissonance generated by these two assertions may strike us as irresolvable, yet it is precisely the coincidence of the Roman and the German in the figure of Leopold—and to a wider extent the Holy Roman Empire—that attracts Negelein to the narrative of Arminius as a fitting subject for an opera in honor of the imperial institution.

The libretto’s prefatory address provides Negelein with the opportunity to establish the relationship between Arminius and Leopold by means of historical analogy. He begins with a rhetorical strategy involving the extrapolation of imagined but probable scenarios as the consequences of an established event:

So betrübt dorten Käyser Augustus / als Er des Varus Niederlage vernommen / die ungedultige Klag-Worte: *Vare, o Vare! redde Legiones!* wiederholte; so freudig wird man dazumal in der Teutschen Heer den Jubel-Ruff Lang lebe unser Siegs-Fürst Arminius! vervielfältiget haben. Es ist auch nicht zu zweiffeln / es werden alle redlich-teutsche Herzen / diesem Überwinder / unter tausend andern Glückseligkeiten / auch angewünscht haben / daß sein erhaltener so einträglicher Sieg ihm gar das Römische Kayserthum nachziehen und eintragen möge!³⁹

³⁷ Negelein, [i]. Since the front matter of the libretto is unpaginated, I have chosen to assign bracketed Roman numerals to these pages, beginning with the title page.

³⁸ Negelein, [ii].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, [iii-iv]. It is notable that Negelein slightly misquotes Suetonius in rendering Augustus’s famous response to the Varian disaster (“*Quintili Vare, legiones redde!*”), and that later in the preface he only cites Tacitus’s *Annals* as the source of the historical account. It is quite possible that he was quoting the phrase from memory, or that it had entered common parlance in this form. In either case we might infer a general awareness of the historical event among a certain educated public.

The laments of Augustus, whose imperial authority has been severely undermined by the loss of his legions, are echoed by the victory cries of the German army, who proclaim the legitimacy of a new monarch, as the acclamation “lang lebe” indicates. Negelein thus projects imperial fantasies through these corollaries and imagines that already at the time of Varus’s defeat, the notion of a tangible *translatio imperii*—even if it needed to happen by force—motivated “alle redlich-teutsche Herzen” to unite in support of the one who strove after the Roman Empire, not with the intent to destroy but rather to possess it (“daß sein [...] Sieg ihm gar das Römische Kayserthum nachziehen und eintragen möge”). That this transfer of power did not in fact come to pass during Arminius’s lifetime is attributed to the treachery of his allies, not the power of his enemies.⁴⁰ Expounding on the Tacitean narrative, Negelein emphasizes that Arminius “niemal gar geschlagen / noch überwunden worden seye,” just as Leopold remains the “Unüberwindlichster Kayser und Herr” who, worthy of the sacrifices of Arminius, now serves as the staunch protector of German interests:

Arminius / der sichs / für seine Teutschen / so sauer werden lassen / siehet sich eben dem am liebsten wiedmen und unterwerffen / der sich um Teutschland am meisten verdient hat. Wem ist dieses aber mehr verbunden / als dem höchst-bezepterten Erz-Haus Oesterreich? Wem sonderbarer / als Seinem Grossen Kayser Leopold / bey dessen beglückter Regierung / der Himmel alle alte und neue Wünsche treu-teutscher Herzen miteinander zu erfüllen / augenscheinlichste Sorge trägt?⁴¹

This intimate connection between the imperial office and the interests of the Germans is further emphasized in the prologue to the opera, which is sung by the allegorical figure of Germania (“die durchleuchtigste Teutonia”). In the absence of other material related to the work’s performance, it is indeed fortunate that this episode is not only described with great detail in the libretto, but also elaborately represented in an engraving included as the frontispiece (see figure 6). Teutonia, dressed “in ihres

⁴⁰ See Negelein, [iv].

⁴¹ Ibid., [v]. For his part, Leopold’s own reputation as “unüberwindlich” largely alludes to his victories against the Ottoman Empire.



Figure 3. Frontispiece to *Arminius Der Teutschen Erz-Held* (1697), engraver unknown. Source: Klassik Stiftung Weimar–Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek/O 8:28. Reprinted with permission.

Landes alt-heroischer Tracht,” with a lance in one hand and a “Tartsche” in the other, takes her place in an environment that serves as a “*theatrum emblematicum*,” the scenery filled with the same iconographic symbols of imperial authority that were prominent in the depictions of Leopold discussed above. “Bey ihrem Auftritt,” the description continues,

Zieret die Bühne / zur rechten Seiten / Seiner Römisch=Käyserl. Majestät
Leopold deß Grossen Spruch-Bild / mit der Beyschrift: *Consilio & Industria*. Mit
Rath und Fleiß.

Auf der andern Seiten der Bühne erhellet Seiner Röm. Kön. Maj. Josephs Spruch-
Bild / mit der Umschrift: *Amore & Timore*. Mit Lieb und Furcht.

Auf der Bühne stehet ein mit einem Teppicht bedeckter Tisch / auf welchem sich
der Käyserl. Ornat auf einem Küssen vorstellet; der Teppicht bemerket das alte
Wappen der Stadt Nürnberg / woselbst solche Reichs-Kleinodien verwahret
werden.

Den obern Theil der Bühne erfüllen lauter Trophäen und Sieg-Zeichen. Und lasset
sich ein Adler (das Käyserthum bedeutend) aus den Wolken hernider / der den
Erz-Herzogl. Oesterreichs. Wappen-Schild in den Klauen hält; wie es alles besser
auf vornen-anstehendem Kupffer-Blat ausgedruckt zu sehen ist.⁴²

Teutonia explicates each of these emblems in turn through various combinations of recitative and perhaps arioso sections, to judge from the rhyme schemes of the poetry and the differences in typeset and indentation in the libretto.⁴³ Reflecting on the mottos “*Consilio et Industria*” and “*Amore et Timore*” she finds the inspiration for *da capo* arias in praise of Leopold and Joseph, as well as one exhorting Nuremberg itself (“*Noris*”)—as the guardian of the imperial regalia—to join with her in according due homage to

Dem Grossen Käyser / der uns nützt /
mit Seegen unsre Gränzen schützt!⁴⁴

⁴² Negelein, [viii]. On the concept of the “*theatrum emblematicum*” see Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (Munich: Beck, 1964).

⁴³ In the absence of the music, it is of course difficult to determine the exact nature of this recitative. Negelein notes in his preface to the reader, however, that due to the lack of clear rules for the construction of German opera libretti, he has chosen to look both to the French and the Italian opera for models, combining them as suits his purposes: “[ich habe] mich / wie andere vor mir / meist befeissen wollen / sowol in den Versen / als Arien / bald die Italiäner / bald die Frantzosen (derer Manieren ich nicht nur gelesen / sondern auch auf ihren Bühnen gehört) dergestalt nachzuahmen / daß ich verhoffe / es werden solcher Theatralischen Vorstellungen Erfahne mir zu zugeben belieben / daß ich meinen Zweck / erstgedachte beyde in ihren Würden bleibende fremde Arten / in meinem Teutschen miteinander zu vermischen / einiger massen erreicht habe” [vii].

⁴⁴ Negelein, 3.

In the final section of the prologue, Teutonia turns her attention to the hero of the present opera, Arminius, whom she recognizes as

Mein Held / den ich nie satt gepriesen!
Der uns den Weg zum Reich / so sieg-reich / hat gewiesen!⁴⁵

The past heroic deeds of Arminius function here as a typological allegory for the path to the present empire, with the implication of historic continuity and inevitability. It is important to note that such an interpretation conforms to the tenets of the *translatio imperii* and four monarchies narrative traditions—the imperial institution itself has not been created *ex nihilo* by the Germans, but rather the eternal authority of Rome has passed into their custody. Teutonia—as well as the audience, whom she includes by use of the plural pronoun (“uns”)—is the beneficiary of this ordained *Verhängnis*, but does not claim sovereignty for herself.⁴⁶ Thus the personification of Germania stands amid the emblems of the Reich, forming part of the same picture, while still remaining an independent figure. She points instead to her own emblematic eagle as the bearer of the Austrian heraldic shield: “Seht! wie erfreut mein Adler-Bild / hält Seiner Erz-Herzogen Schild.”⁴⁷ That this eagle also wears a crown (though not the imperial crown, which reposes on the table below) marks the privileged status accorded to Germania among the other realms encompassed by the empire, as long as the imperial power resides within the house of Austria: “Doch hat sich meine Brust vergnügter nie gesprühet /,” she exclaims, “als jetzt / da Leopold des Reiches Zepter führet!”⁴⁸

Thus having entreated the favor of the duly lauded emperor on the present performance, Teutonia relinquishes the stage to the characters of Negelein’s drama, the content of which adheres to the same *dramatis personae* and five-act construction of Campistron’s work almost scene-for-scene. While the recitatives often correspond to (abridged) translations of the French model, a significant innovation on Negelein’s part

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ On the concept of *Verhängnis* in relation to the *translatio imperii* tradition, see Gerhard Spellerberg, *Verhängnis und Geschichte: Untersuchungen zu den Trauerspielen und dem “Arminius”-Roman Daniel Caspers von Lohenstein* (Bad Homburg: Gehlen, 1970).

⁴⁷ Negelein, 2.

⁴⁸ Ibid. The Holy Roman Emperor simultaneously held the title King in Germany.

lies in his adaptation of this text to fit the dramatic devices of the operatic genre, which necessitates the composition and insertion of arias. The function of these arias (in addition to providing the opportunity for greater musical variety and lyricism) is to illuminate aspects of the character or to serve as a commentary on the action of the drama through reflection on an image or moral truth that seems particularly apt under the current circumstances.⁴⁹ In exploiting this feature of the operatic genre Negelein erects a kind of meta-narrative plane over his source material exposing the underlying themes of the work. For aside from the love intrigues that play out on the surface of the plot, a deeper concern with the problem of loyalty and treachery is also evident at the core of Campistron's *tragédie*.⁵⁰ Through his aria texts, many of which are built around the assertion of proverbial and moralistic messages, Negelein explicitly links certain characters with the positive or adverse ethical implications of their behavior.

Consequently, as is the case in most of the eighteenth-century Arminius operas, it is not the Roman Varus who emerges as the true villain of the work, but rather the "German" Segestes ("Fürst der Catten"), whose crafty manoeuverings and shifting loyalties mark him as an ignoble and morally suspect figure. Indeed the decisions and severe nature of Segestes's character form the catalyst for the majority of the drama's ensuing interpersonal conflicts. It is Segestes who breaks the promised betrothal between his daughter Ismenia and Arminius, seeing instead a politically advantageous opportunity to ally himself with the occupying Roman forces by marrying her to Varus. The sudden enmity that then flares up between the families of Segestes and Arminius also negatively impacts the relationship of Sigmund (Segestes's son) and Polixena (Arminius's sister), who are likewise torn apart. Varus, on the other hand, is portrayed sympathetically on account of his unwavering *Kaisertreue*, as evidenced in the aria "Wie lieblich ist es Leib und Leben / dem Vaterland zum Dienst ergeben."⁵¹ He recognizes that Segestes's hatred

⁴⁹ Another purpose—to provide a showcase for the virtuosic talents of the singers—becomes increasingly important in the course of the eighteenth century.

⁵⁰ See Dorothy F. Jones, *Jean de Campistron: A Study of his Life and Work*, Romance Monographs 32 (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1979).

⁵¹ Negelein, 18.

of Arminius stems from jealousy, and hesitates to take drastic action against his rival, knowing how such an act will turn Ismenia, whom he genuinely loves, against him.⁵² When Segestes finally spurs him on to engage Arminius in battle, Varus does so both for the sake of personal honor and out of duty to the empire: “Wolan! ich will Augustens Willen / und meine Rach an ihm erfüllen!”⁵³ Though victory in this conflict must belong to Arminius, the fall of Varus is not reported as a shameful act: “Er starb,” says his friend Tullus, “als ein recht-römischer Held!”⁵⁴ Segestes, whose machinations had fully centered on the prospect of an ultimate Roman victory, regards himself as *persona non grata* among his former allies and cannot bring himself to accept the gracious gesture of pardon and reconciliation that Arminius extends to him—sentiments that find expression in the aria “Ich kan mich in diß Glück nicht schicken!”⁵⁵

Yet while the “Teutschen” remain the adversaries of the Romans within the context of the drama, the closing chorus expresses a typological orientation that looks to the future, as all join in singing together:

Ach! wollte der Himmel / wornach wir nun streben /
 uns redlichen Teutschen der Römer Reich geben!
 auch solches erhalten / durch unsere Hände /
 bis alle vergehet: bis an der Welt
 Ende.⁵⁶

The celebratory arias and chorus that close the work are unique to Negelein’s libretto, and the message of this final chorus stands in notable contrast to the closing couplet of Campistron’s drama, in which Arminius proclaims: “De mes libérateurs reconnaissons le zele, / Et consacrons à Rome une haine immortelle.”⁵⁷ This change in tone echoes the influence of the *translatio imperii* tradition, as the “redlichen Teutschen” express their

⁵² Ibid., 51-52.

⁵³ Ibid., 55.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 69.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 72.

⁵⁷ Campistron, *Arminius*, lines 1535-1536.

desire not to declare everlasting enmity towards Rome, but rather to become the worthy recipients of its imperial legacy on account of their perceived superior moral character.

The depiction of this noble ethos finds expression in the figure of Arminius, who as “der Teutschen Erz-Held” also epitomizes the very virtues (*virtutes*) that constituted the ideal model for public and private behavior in ancient Roman tradition—e.g., *fides*, *justitia*, *clementia*, *fortitudo*, and *pietas*.⁵⁸ In contrast, the treacherous figure of Segestes displays notable deficiencies in these same categories. In a breach of *fides* he deliberately breaks the bonds of loyalty and trust both within his family and between clans; by scornfully refusing to consider the pleas brought to him by his children, he lacks a sense of *clementia* and *justitia*; and by eagerly turning his back on his own people out of opportunistic motives, he violates the ideals of *pietas*. This latter virtue—which can be rendered as “duty” or “devotion,” and which in Roman thought encompassed the obligations due to one’s homeland, kin, and the gods—had also attained an especially important significance during the Counter-Reformation and into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as part of the Habsburg dynasty’s cultivation of a self-understanding infused with a distinct *Pietas Austriaca*.⁵⁹ Through practices of religious devotion, both in public ceremony and private ritual, the Habsburgs reinforced their commitment to the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church and confirmed their role as defenders and preservers of the universal faith. In the creation and propagation of this image, the Habsburgs were aided by the Jesuits (Society of Jesus), whose aggressive proselytism on

⁵⁸ On the ancient Roman virtues and their role in the development of a personal and political code of ethics, see Donald Earl, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (1967; repr., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), and Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵⁹ On the role of the traditional Roman virtues in Christian contexts, see Harold Mattingly, “The Roman ‘Virtues,’” *The Harvard Theological Review* 30 (April 1937): 103-117; James D. Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); James Wetzel, *Augustine and the Limits of Virtue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Brian Harding, *Augustine and Roman Virtue* (New York: Continuum, 2008). The classic study of *Pietas Austriaca* is Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1959). On the Habsburg codex of virtues within the context of musical activity at court, see Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, “‘...dedicata alla Sacra Cesarea Maestà...’: Joseph I. (1678-1711) und Karl VI. (1685-1740) als Widmungsträger musikalischer Werke—zum historischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Umfeld der Widmungskompositionen,” in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 41, ed. Othmar Wessely (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), 95-177.

behalf of the Catholic Church also provided a means for solidifying Habsburg political power across the far-flung territories of the empire.⁶⁰ The baroque theater—with its infusions of music, dance, and spectacular stage effects—provided an especially productive medium for the realization of the Jesuits’ pedagogical objectives at the institutions under their supervision.⁶¹ As teaching aids, these Latin dramas offered instruction in the classic rhetorical principles of oratory and gesture, while also providing spiritual edification through the presentation of their subject matter—whether heroic tales of Christian martyrs or historical exempla of hubris-filled tyrants—as a moral (and mortal) struggle between virtue and vice.

In the case of *Amor Patriae; sive Arminius, Germaniae Defensor*, written by the Jesuit Johann Baptist Adolph (1657–1708) and performed in Vienna before the imperial family in the summer of 1701, this struggle is portrayed on two complementary planes. The historical conflicts between Arminius and Germanicus following the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest constitute the action of the three-act drama, while the the musical prologue, intermezzos, and epilogue depict a series of corresponding allegorical battles over the fate of Germania.⁶² In the first of these struggles, the personifications Concordia and Fidelitas (both sopranos) protect the “Atlas Germaniae, portans orbem sui Imperij” (silent role) against the insidious assaults of Mars and Dolus (both basses).⁶³ Musically the delineation of these figures and their adversarial positions are clearly conveyed

⁶⁰ Some recent studies examining the political and religious entanglements of early modern Europe include Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Elaine Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-Century Vienna* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); and Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil: Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgischen Monarchie* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2007).

⁶¹ On the Jesuits’ place in the context of baroque theater, see Elida Maria Szarota, *Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Drama des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Francke, 1976). For an overview and index of the subject matter portrayed in Jesuit drama, see Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: eine Periochen-Edition* (Munich: Finke, 1979-87), and Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande. Répertoire chronologique des pièces représentées et des documents conservés* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983-84).

⁶² Johann Baptist Adolph, *Amor Patriae / sive / Arminius, / Germaniae Defensor*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Vindob. 9809 (fol. 26r-83r). Also included in the manuscript is the music by Johann Bernhard Staudt for the prologue, intermezzo choruses, and two songs.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 28r-38v.

through the assignment of high voice types, major tonalities, and reiterative ritornellos to the positive forces of concord and fidelity, while low voices and a tendency toward minor keys designate the perpetrators of deceit and war. In the intermezzo following the first act, the cunning *Ambitio*—deceptively sung by a soprano in an apt compositional choice—feigns friendship in a plot to usurp *Regalis Gloria* (soprano) from her throne, but *Gloria* ultimately thwarts this effort, subjecting her opponent to public humiliation.⁶⁴ In the second intermezzo *Mars* makes a return appearance, this time scheming to snatch away the royal apple from *Majestas* (tenor). By refusing surrender and calling on the aid of his allies, *Majestas* preserves the symbolic apple, even as the defeated *Mars* is transformed into an encaged parrot and compelled to repeat the crime-doesn't-pay moralizing pronouncements of *Concordia*.⁶⁵ This intermezzo serves as a commentary on the preceding act of the drama proper, in which *Arminius*—having experienced an unexpected defeat in battle against Germanicus's forces—demonstrates *pietas* (and *consilio*) by seeking the advice first of his uncle *Inguiomer* and then of the priestess *Velleda*. *Arminius*, following the trajectory of character development that typically marks the protagonists of Jesuit drama, attains the true rewards of virtue only by setting aside the illusions of self-sufficiency and self-importance engendered by pride and the flattering acclamations of the young chieftains. Thus through the necessary assistance of allied forces, *Arminius* (and *Majestas*) are able to preserve the integrity of their realms against the destructive forces of discord and treachery. The final scene of the third act celebrates this unity, as all the chieftains (except *Segestes*, whose poisonous influence has been rooted out) pledge through a blood covenant their everlasting support of *Arminius* in maintaining peace and security in the fatherland. Echoing these sentiments in the concluding epilogue, *Alemannia* (alto) rejoices with *Concordia* and *Fidelitas* over the preservation of *Glory* and *Majestas*, as well as the defeat of *Mars*, *Dolus*, and *Ambitio*, through the achievements of the heroic *Virtus Arminii* (tenor).⁶⁶ In assigning the same voice types both to this role and *Majestas*, their equation becomes implicit; similarly

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 43r-49v.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 57r-64v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 72r-82r.

perceptible throughout the allegorical narratives is a kind of vertically-oriented aural schema, which relegates the vices to the depths, cutting them off from Alemannia while surrounding her with the protective shields of monarchical strength from beneath and ethical virtue from above.

Considering both its subject matter and the performance context, it is clear that *Amor Patriae* upholds and endorses an overtly pro-imperial stance. In asserting that the integrity of Germania depends on the *virtus* of Arminius and the united strength of a coalition of like-minded (but subordinate) princes, the work advocates an idealized model of the Holy Roman Empire as a centralized political system, in which the office of the emperor is invested with primary authority. In reality, the confirmation of particularism especially in the wake of the Thirty Years' War had made such claims increasingly unrealistic, as the individual states asserted their own rights against imperial prerogatives. While ultimately successful in his calls for German support in the defensive military campaigns against France as well as the Ottoman Turks, Leopold had struggled mightily and conceded much to convince the territorial princes to pledge their assistance. The resulting victories and the re-affirmation of Habsburg hegemony in Hungary and southeastern Europe surely evoked imperial associations among audiences of both Adolph's *Amor Patriae* and Negelein's *Arminius*, as the extended string of Leopold's royal appellations attests. Here we see Leopold (and by extension the House of Habsburg) as the new Arminius—a German to whom the authority of Rome has been given over.

Leopold, however, was already sixty-one years old at the time the Jesuit school staged its performance of *Amor Patriae* in 1701, and the next generation of the House of Habsburg—represented by the twenty-three year old Joseph, King of the Romans—was waiting in the wings, standing in need of proper examples and instruction in the way of rulers. It is notable that for the first time in over a century, the Jesuits remained excluded from a direct influence in this process; indeed, Joseph's education had been entrusted to decidedly anti-Jesuit tutors.⁶⁷ This fact invites speculation about the degree to which Adolph may have used the opportunity of a theatrical performance to gain the ear of the

⁶⁷ See Charles W. Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1979), 11.

Habsburg heir—whose attendance at this production is stated on the manuscript’s title page. Some clues in this direction emerge through the play’s portrait of Arminius as a young man in his mid-twenties, eager to engage in martial activity on behalf of the fatherland (i.e., Germania, or by extension the empire), and surrounded by a group of admiring young princes who look to him as their leader. Overtly pro-German messages pervade the work—consistent with Joseph’s education at court and a resurgence of interest in the assertion of a distinct German consciousness in the face of encroaching French influence.⁶⁸ Yet in spite of anti-Roman sentiments expressed by the German characters in *Amor Patriae*, the Roman figures maintain and demonstrate several positive qualities. Germanicus, for example, is portrayed as a just and responsible leader who understands the destructive consequences of war and, in a sober assessment of the cost of his campaign, chooses to withdraw his troops in order to avoid further senseless carnage. His final scene depicts him celebrating a joyous reunion with his brother, whom he had believed captured or dead at the hands of the enemy. Even the sneaky Roman spy Volumnus—who infiltrates the German camp, tries to sow seeds of discord among the German forces, and plots with Segestes to murder Arminius—faces his inevitable execution with a martyr’s dignity, justifying his actions through his own “amor patriae.”

There is no allusion to a *translatio imperii* in this work; the united Germania that Arminius acts to preserve in the face of divisive forces exists as a distinct empire whose continued prosperity depends on the loyalty of its constituent princes. Yet Roman ideals and virtues, diffused through a Christian context, remain an integral aspect of this German identity, since the idea of Rome and the office of Roman Emperor represent the highest notions of rule and authority. In his patriotic *Ehren-Ruff Teutschlands*, the court historian (and Joseph’s tutor) Hans Jacob Wagner von Wagenfels acknowledges the power invested in the Roman imperial title—“Dann Käyser seyn/ heist nichts anders/ als der gröste Herr der Erden seyn/ dieser aber ist jener/ der die gröste Macht in Händen hat [...]”—even as he breaks with the traditional interpretation of the four monarchies

⁶⁸ See, for example, Hans Jacob Wagner von Wagenfels, *Ehren-Ruff Teutschlands/ der Teutschen/ und Ihres Reichs* (Vienna: Johann Jacob Mann, 1691). On anti-French sentiment at the Habsburg court, see Ingraio, 31-34.

narrative and denies the *translatio imperii* from the Romans to the Germans.⁶⁹ Instead he interprets the coronation of Charlemagne as the new beginning of the fourth and final world power, the (German) Holy Roman Empire, and claims

daß die vorige Römische Monarchie auf unsere Teutschen nicht seye umbleget worden/ noch habe können umbleget werden; Sondern das unsere Teutsche Monarchie ein gantz anders/ und zwar das vierdte Welt-Reich seye/ welches keinem der vorigen ni [*sic*] Würden/ Hochheit und Majestät außweicht: ja sie viel mehr/ gleich wie bald anzeigen werde, in Macht und Herrligkeit übertrifft.⁷⁰

This apparent break with other contemporary conservative historiographies in the interpretation of the four monarchies theory cannot be dismissed out of hand as an aberration, especially in light of Wagner's court position and his influential role in the education of Joseph. However it is important to note that while the emphasis here is decidedly pro-German, it is not necessarily anti-Roman.⁷¹ In elevating the status of the Germans to that of the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans, Wagner emphasizes the importance accorded to the Germans and their empire in the pre-ordained salvation history of the world. He simply states what must have seemed perfectly obvious among pro-imperial adherents. After all, the centuries-old traditions as well as the current reality of the institution known as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation were undebatable. There was also no doubt that this empire was being run not by Romans but by Germans, no matter how much they styled themselves as the inheritors of Rome.

Indeed *Arminio*, a “poemetto drammatico per musica” performed on the occasion of the twenty-eighth birthday of the now Emperor Joseph I, endorses an understanding of the Habsburg role in this historical *Verhängnis* that perhaps reflects the pedagogical influence of Wagner von Wagenfels on his royal pupil.⁷² Joseph had assumed the

⁶⁹ Wagner von Wagenfels, 631.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 635. See also Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*, 293-294.

⁷¹ Wagner's work is, however, decidedly anti-French. See Aikin, *Mission of Rome*, 59, who suggests this alteration of the four monarchies tradition was a reponse to the pro-Bourbon, anti-Holy Roman Empire historiography of the French bishop and theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet in his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1679, published 1682).

⁷² Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, *Arminio*, in *Poemi Drammatici* (Bologna: Constantino Pisarri, 1706), 1:253-273. The existence of a printed libretto from the performance itself is unknown, although a manuscript libretto is held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden. For a synopsis of the work, see Catalog Index I.07.

imperial title upon the death of his father in 1705, and following the prescribed period of mourning during which court festivities were suspended, the summer of 1706 witnessed the first dramatic productions of the new monarch's reign.⁷³ As the first of these works to be dedicated to Joseph in his capacity as "Augustissimo Imperador de' Romani," *Arminio* represents an intriguing choice of subject matter through which to honor the new Roman Emperor. As we have seen in the case of Negelein's *Arminius*, an equation—either implied or explicit—between the eponymous protagonist and the dedicatee typically characterizes systems of artistic patronage. In occasional works such as this one, destined to be performed one time only and in the direct presence of the monarch whose name it purports to extol, this equation becomes all the more obvious and consequential. We must assume then that the narrative of Arminius was deliberately chosen or designated as an appropriate subject for this particular occasion, in spite of the apparent oppositional dialectic it establishes between Rome and Germania, and the implications of this opposition for regarding Arminio as an allegorical representation of Joseph.

For the historical précis that introduces the drama emphasizes in no uncertain terms the decided enmity between Arminio and Rome: "Arminio Principe de' Cherusci fu Capo, e Condottiero di quante Nazioni ricusavano nella Germania, e nelle altre Provincie vicine di sottoporsi al giogo Romano, avendo anche, alla testa loro, trucidato tre Legioni col loro Comandante Quintilio Varo."⁷⁴ The contextual exposition—drawing on Tacitus's *Annals*—continues by stressing the fact that in the face of Roman oppression, Arminio and his wife Tუსnelda exhibited admirable courage and fierce loyalty to their homeland. To interpret this resistance against the "Roman yoke" as an anti-imperial message, however, overlooks the fact that Arminio himself is described as the leader of a de facto Germanic empire ("Condottiero di quante Nazioni [...] nella Germania, e nelle altre Provincie vicine"). Since Joseph was also the head of a such a "German empire," we perhaps may wish to see here the clash of two mighty empires as an allegorical comment on current events. Indeed, amid the conflicts between the Habsburgs and Bourbons in the

⁷³ See Lowell Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and His Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 118-119.

⁷⁴ Bernardoni, *Arminio*, 255.

ongoing War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), it could be tempting to read the work as a veiled depiction of Joseph I and the Holy Roman Empire (Arminio and Germania) set against the expansionist threats of Louis XIV and France (Germanico and Rome). While such an interpretation can be carried out to a degree, it ultimately falls short of achieving full satisfaction, especially in light of the sudden narrative twist that occurs at the end, which throws any attempt at a consistent allegorical explication of the characters into disarray.

To arrive at this key point necessitates a brief summary of Bernardoni's single-act "poemetto drammatico" and the musical setting by Antonio Maria Bononcini.⁷⁵ The main plot of the composition concerns the efforts of Arminio (alto) to liberate his beloved Tusnelda (soprano) from the Roman commander Germanico (tenor), into whose custody she has been delivered by her father, the turncoat Segesto (bass). In exchange for his wife's freedom, Arminio proposes to return the Roman eagle standards he captured in the defeat of Varus's legions. Germanico rejects this offer, and instead demands that Arminio make peace with Rome and submit to imperial authority in exchange for Tusnelda. Torn between the preservation of Germania's freedom and the love for his wife, Arminio (rather surprisingly) begins to concede defeat to Germanico. He is stopped, however, from this ignoble sacrifice by Tusnelda, whose devotion to her homeland, forcefulness of will, and sheer spite so impress Germanico that he grants her release. Germanico declares that he will instead engage Arminio in armed combat to settle the matter and put an end to hostilities. Significantly it is at this point that the established dramatic (and musical) structure of the work disintegrates.

This structure is based on the conventional alternation between recitative and aria sections that characterizes the Italian *dramma per musica* by the later seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. During this time, as the musicologist Lorenzo Bianconi expresses it, the aria achieves primary importance as "the minimum 'semantic unit'" through which librettists and composers, with an economy of words and an

⁷⁵ *Arminio* marks A.M. Bononcini's first composition for the imperial court at Vienna, where his brother Giovanni Battista had already established a reputation; previously he had been active at the Spanish court under Karl III (Joseph's brother, and later Emperor Karl VI).

abundance of musical invention, elaborate individual emotionally-heightened moments experienced by the characters.⁷⁶ While the dramaturgical function of this semantic unit is subject to variation (e.g., interior monologue or aside versus direct address to other characters), its rhetorical function always lies in the expression of affect. As each aria is musically distinct and corresponds to the personal state of a particular character, the number and affective variety of a character's arias also convey his or her relative importance in the work; taken as a whole, these semantic units thus work to create a composite portrait of the individual figures in the drama. Of the twenty-two arias and one duet that comprise *Arminio*, all but two adhere to a da capo (ABA) structure of the poetic and musical material.⁷⁷ Unlike the construction of many da capo arias in eighteenth-century opera, however, Bernardoni does not divide his texts into two strophes reflecting contrasting emotional states. The B section therefore does not reflect a strong affective change in the text or the music (though shifts in tonality are evident); the resulting cumulative rhetorical effect of each aria is thus more reiterative than oppositional. Since Bernardoni's aria sections are also well-integrated into the action of the drama, with most of the texts conveying a message directed toward other characters and influencing the subsequent course of the scene, they assume a greater dramaturgical importance than the "exit aria" conventions of eighteenth-century opera.

In asserting that Bernardoni regards the da capo aria as the medium for the delivery of a rhetorically effective message in *Arminio*, we need to look at the exceptions to prove the rule. The first occurs in the aria "Suol così nel seno a i mari," in which Arminio contemplates the ethical dilemma presented to him by Germanico's stated terms for Tusnelda's release. He likens this conundrum to a ship that crashes into the rocks in an effort to elude capture by pirates, and it is fitting that the rambling nature of the aria text—reflective of Arminio's uncertain state of mind—should contain no recapitulation of either a ritornello or a da capo section. This inconclusive aspect is in fact noted by

⁷⁶ See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 204.

⁷⁷ In the score (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs. 17.647), the repeat (i.e., "da capo") of the A section is always written out, even when it corresponds exactly to the first A section.

Tusnelda, who responds with some concern: “Ed esser può, che incerto/ Penda ancor tra la Gloria, e tra la Sposa/ Il Cor d’Arminio?”⁷⁸ In Tusnelda’s mind there is no doubt as to which option represents the greater good—she in fact would rather remain a prisoner than see her husband betray his homeland by pledging allegiance to Germanico and Rome. At her instigation, Arminio finally finds the courage to defy Germanico in what represents the most notable (and noticeable) breach of the rhetorical and musical conventions established throughout the work: he interrupts Germanico’s aria of vengeance for the death of Varus. This interruption is apparent even from Bernardoni’s text, which prints the aria stanza as follows:

Più non erri Ombra insepolta,
 Di vendetta ognor pregando,
 Questo brando
 A lui la giura.
 Io saprò⁷⁹

The first four lines, which create a complete sentence, correspond to the A section of the aria; the B section, however, remains an incomplete statement, as indicated by the ellipsis punctuation. In setting this text to music, Bononcini emphasizes the break with convention all the more by setting up the listener’s expectations for a full-fledged da capo aria, as an outline of the musical structure illustrates (table 1; see also example 1a):

Table 1. Plan of pseudo-da capo aria “Più non erri Ombra insepolta” (*Arminio*, 1706)

Measures:	1-6	7-16	17-18	19-32	33-38	39-41
Section:	Ritornello	A1 (Text A)	Interlude	A2 (Text A with elaboration)	Ritornello	B (Text B)
Harmonic Progression:	i (a minor)	i-III	III-i	i-III-i	i	III

The first five sections of this aria as outlined in table 1 correspond to the classic da capo aria form, consistent with the structure of almost every other aria of the work. Missing, however, is a significant B section, and the “da capo” itself, which typically

⁷⁸ Bernardoni, *Arminio*, 268.

⁷⁹ Bernardoni, *Arminio*, 272.

Example 1a-b. *Arminio*, P.A. Bernardoni/A.M. Bononcini (Vienna, 1706).
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.17.647, fol. 139v-142r.

Example 1a. Final aria of Germanico: "Più non erri Ombra insepolta."

Vivace

Vln., Ob. unisoni

Vla.

B.c.

7

Vln. *p*

GERMANICO.

Più non er - ri Om - bra in - se - pol - ta, di ven - det - ta ogn - or pre - gan - do, que - sto bran - - - - -

13

tutti

do a lu - i la giu - ra.

19

Ob. soli

Più non er - ri Om - bra in - se - pol - ta, di ven - det - ta ogn - or pre - gan - do, que - sto bran - - - - -

25

do, a lui la giu - ra. Que - sto bran - do, que - sto bran -

31

tutti

do, que - sto bran - do, a lui la giu - ra.

37

Io sa - prò... io sa - prò... sa - prò... sa - prò...

Example 1b. Recitative of Arminio.

ARMINIO.

Non è for - se, an - cor si - cu - ra la tua vit - to - ria, e se non nien - te an - ti - co, O - ra - co - lo.

6 6+

would have entailed a repeat of the first five sections. For shortly after the start of the incomplete B section comes the moment I have called the disintegration of the work's dramatic and musical structure, as Germanico's aria—which by this point is centered in C major—is challenged by Arminio's recitative, occasioning an unprepared harmonic shift first to a D-major first-inversion chord (emphasizing the dissonance of the tritone between C and F#), which then resolves to a root-position G-minor triad. These progressions fittingly emphasize how Arminio hijacks the discourse with his announcement that Germanico's visions of vengeance may be premature, as the arrival at G minor mocks the very word "vittoria" (see example 1b). Moreover, it is not only in the interruption of the aria and the sudden change of tonality that we witness a drastic shift in the nature of the drama—in fact, the drama itself is abruptly aborted, as the characters step outside their roles in the portrayed historical narrative and begin to sing about the future. Arminio, whose ultimate victory or defeat at the hands of Germanico remains unresolved within the context of the summer evening's serenata, instead speaks of a time when "Germani Eroi" will be destined to rule the world, and of a certain German warrior who one day will exceed the imperial glory once held by Rome:

Non è forse ancor sicura
 La tua vittoria, e se non mente antico
 Oracolo, che già sacro è tra noi,
 Non terrà sempre Roma il fren del Mondo,
 E' il Ciel lo serba anche a' Germani Eroi.
 Più dir ti voglio: Vn souruman Guerriero,
 Che sul Danubio un giorno aurà la Cuna,
 Vincer deve in grandezza, & in virtude
 Quanti sul Tebro mai giunsero in prima
 Alla suprema Imperial Fortuna;
 E di GIVSEPPE il forte,
 Che tal sarà il suo Nome,
 Andrà per ogni lido
 In quell'età sempre immortale il grido.⁸⁰

To close an occasional work with a laudatory coda in honor of the dedicatee is certainly not unusual, and indeed the reference to Joseph's birthday would be entirely expected within the performance context. I do think it merits notice, however, that it is

⁸⁰ Bernardoni, *Arminio*, 272-273.

Arminio himself who relates this praise to Joseph, directing the attention away from the unfinished narrative of an ancient conflict and toward the monarch who will bring about the final resolution to the story. Joseph thus becomes in effect the seventh character in the drama, as Tusnelda sings her aria about the one who will follow in his eminent father's footsteps, destined to magnify his legacy; and all the characters join with her in the final chorus, eager to hasten the glorious day that sees the birth of Joseph. The preceding dramatic action therefore serves not so much as an allegorical representation of current events and personalities, but rather as a self-conscious precursor that points to the assured future triumph of the German-controlled empire. Subsequent generations, it asserts, will receive the benefits that Arminio was never fully able to realize in his conflicts with Rome: control of the world order will not rest with Rome forever, but instead will be entrusted (by divine sanction) to "German heroes." Whether this transfer of power alludes to the four monarchies tradition as interpreted by Wagner von Wagenfels (i.e., that the Holy Roman Empire is distinct from the ancient Roman Empire), or reflects the more conservative view that places the Habsburg emperors within a continuum of power that includes the Caesars, is difficult to ascertain and need not overly concern us. Indeed the two narratives can be considered variations on the same theme, since they both arrive at the identical end result: a German (Austrian) Roman Emperor. The synopsis that precedes the libretto text summarizes the ending of *Arminio* in this way: "Dalla risposta, che daranno Arminio, e Tusnelda alle minacce di Germanico, si passa acconciamente alle lodi dell' AUGUSTISSIMO IMPERADORE REGNANTE."⁸¹ While they celebrate Joseph in his capacity as holder of the imperial title (with its allusions to Rome), the text also makes clear that the center of this empire is no longer the Tiber but rather the Danube, and that the Germans have exceeded even the glory of ancient Rome.

⁸¹ Ibid., 257. Reinhard Strohm briefly refers to this scene, but does not elaborate on its allusions to the *translatio imperii*. See his "Romanità and Italianità: Ancient Rome in the *Dramma per Musica*, c. 1600-1730," in *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614-1780, Volume 2: Italianità: Image and Practice*, ed. Corinna Herr, Herbert Seifert, Andrea Sommer-Mathis, and Reinhard Strohm (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 27.

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It could be argued that Negelein's *Arminius, der Teutschen Erz-Held*, Adolph's *Amor Patriae*, and Bernardoni's *Arminio*—all produced within the span of a decade—represent anomalies in the eighteenth-century reception history of Arminius, especially within the category of musical-dramatic works. It is true that after 1706, almost thirty years would pass before another work on the subject of Arminius received a performance in Vienna. In addition, none of the other eighteenth-century adaptations of the story as a *dramma per musica* contains an overt celebration of its dedicatee as part of the work proper.⁸² Yet, as other scholars have noted with some consternation, the subject continued to enjoy widespread popularity over the course of the century on the Italian peninsula—exactly the place where an interest in such a “German” hero seemingly confounds expectations. In addressing this concern, I have hitherto proposed that within the context of the Holy Roman Empire, the Arminius narratives assert a different kind of German identity than that which arises in the nineteenth century. Because of its orientation toward Rome—both the ancient model of the Roman Empire, as well as the traditions of the Catholic Church—we might call this identity the “Romanized German” or even the “Germanized Roman,” depending on the particular interpretation of historical processes such as the four monarchies tradition and the theory of *translatio imperii*. In the final section of Part 1, I briefly explore the further application of this interpretation to some of the eighteenth-century Arminius operas that were produced on the Italian peninsula and within a similar cultural milieu: namely, the predominance of a Roman Catholic worldview, and in many cases, the direct or indirect political impact of Habsburg hegemony.

As an initial caveat, it bears mention that approaching the history of the Italian peninsula in the early modern era is commensurate with attempting to assemble an all-

⁸² The 1732 and 1740 Viennese productions of *Arminio* (text adapted from Antonio Salvi, music by Francesco Rinaldi) were not performed at court, but rather at the Theater am Kärntnertor for a public audience; see the respective entries under Catalog Index I.06. The only other eighteenth-century Arminius operas that include an appended laudatio (“licenza”) explicitly directed toward the patron are *Il Germanico Marte* (Salzburg, 1721; Catalog Index I.10) and the two productions of *Arminio* (Catalog Index I.12) mounted in Dresden (1745) and Warsaw (1761).

purpose history of “Germany” during the same period. Overrun by invaders and occupying forces, traded and acquired as the spoils of war, inherited through marriage alliances, almost every one of the numerous Italian city-states, principalities, duchies, and republics had changed hands at some point before national unification in the 1860s, subjugated to the political strategizing of the great European powers of France, Spain, and Austria. Any attempt to encompass the sphere of Habsburg influence in eighteenth-century Italy would thus necessarily exceed the scope of both this section and this dissertation, since this is not primarily a work of political history.⁸³ I also do not wish to argue here that the Arminius operas produced within specific political contexts in Italy present allegorical depictions of current conflicts between any combination of opposing forces (corresponding to the occupier “Rome” versus occupied “Germania”)—though in some cases they may have done so. Such readings of individual operas have been suggested before, as for example in Ursula Kirkendale’s interpretation of a 1705 Genoese production of *Arminio* (Catalog Index I.06.1705). Kirkendale considers the protagonists of the opera in light of contemporary personalities involved with the recent Italian campaigns of the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession:

The Romans who invaded Arminio’s German country reflect the Imperial troops in Italy. Arminio, like the Duke [Ferdinando Carlo of Mantua], is frightened out of his native castle. Varus may well be Prince Eugene [of Savoy]. The German prince Segest who collaborates with the Romans, although his daughter is married to Arminio, corresponds to the powerful Victor Amédée, Duke of Savoy ... At the beginning of 1703 he had left no more doubt that he was going to turn with his troops from the French to the Imperial party ... Ferdinando Carlo was, of course, the first to be attracted by the glorification of Arminio, whose fate was his own except for the victorious end that he could only long for.⁸⁴

⁸³ On aspects of the political and social relationships between the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian states during this period, see, for example, Karl Otmar von Aretin, “Reichsitalien von Karl V. bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches. Die Lehensordnungen in Italien und ihre Auswirkungen auf die europäische Politik,” in his *Das Reich. Friedensordnung und europäisches Gleichgewicht 1648-1806* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1986), 76-163; Paolo Chiarini and Herbert Zeman, eds., *Italia-Austria: alla ricerca del passato comune—Österreich-Italien: auf der Suche nach der gemeinsamen Vergangenheit*, volume 1: 1450-1796 (Rome: Istituto italiano di studi germanici, 1995); and Matthias Schnettger and Marcella Verga, eds. *L’Impero e l’Italia nella prima età moderna—Das Reich und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bologna: Il mulino; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006).

⁸⁴ Ursula Kirkendale, “The War of the Spanish Succession Reflected in the Works of Antonio Caldara,” *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964): 228-229. The abridged quotation as printed here is found in Colin

However, as the opera in question is neither dedicated to the Duke of Mantua, nor contains any allusion to these current political events in the libretto (which received multiple musical settings and performances over the course of several decades), such an overly-determined interpretation can proceed at best only with caution.⁸⁵

Returning to Rudolf Hüls's suggestion that the appeal of the Arminius narrative in Habsburg-controlled Italy lay in its inherent Germanness, some qualification is also necessary. In his primary example, Hüls misrepresents his case by regrettably citing the 1703 production of Antonio Salvi's *Arminio* in Tuscany, because "dort regierten die 'germanischen' Habsburger."⁸⁶ Though nominally an imperial fief even after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was in fact not under direct Habsburg control at the beginning of the eighteenth century—at least not any more so than the numerous German sovereign states that comprised the empire. Ancestral marriage alliances between the houses of Medici and Habsburg aside, the libretto for this performance at the villa in Pratolino (just outside Florence) makes no overt mention of Germanness as a quality that the character of Arminio shares in common with the work's patron, the Grand Prince Ferdinando. The libretto does not even include a proper letter of dedication, and though the librettist does refer to Arminio as an "acerrimo Difensore della Libertà" (an admirable quality for any virtuous leader to emulate), it is unlikely that Ferdinando's interest in this figure lay principally in any perceived Germanness displayed through it.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, we should not entirely dismiss Hüls's proposition on the basis of a faulty proof. But in order to investigate if and in what respect these operas afforded an opportunity for German self-identification, we need to determine whether there were any Germans in the audience—or at least, who in the audience was perceived as being German.

Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque: Agostino Steffani and his Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 243.

⁸⁵ The libretto's frontispiece does, however, depict the coat of arms of the Gonzaga dynasty (the ruling family of Mantua). See figure 28 in Catalog Index I.06.1705.

⁸⁶ Hüls, "Arminius-Germanicus," 389.

⁸⁷ See *Arminio. Damma per musica rappresentato nella Villa di Pratolino*. (Florence: Pietro Antonio Brigonci, 1703), [iii].

In this respect, early modern Italians probably would have identified the Austrian Habsburgs as the most obvious and immediate “German” influence in their political affairs. The historian Matthias Schnettger, in his work on the relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian states (*Reichsitalien*) during the early modern period, has emphasized the contradictory stances adopted by pro-imperial and anti-imperial Italian factions in their attitude toward these Habsburg claims to authority on the Appenine peninsula.⁸⁸ Here, too, questions over the nature of this “Roman Empire” run by Germans focus on the role of the four monarchies tradition and the *translatio imperii*. Whereas one outspoken defender of Genoese autonomy in the seventeenth century complains that the “German emperors” prided themselves on being “masters of the world, as if they were the descendents of Augustus,” the conservative imperial historian Galeazzo Gualdo reinforces the notion of a continuous Roman Empire—in spite of the changes it had undergone through the centuries—because “die kaiserliche Autorität, Majestät und Würde substantiell unverändert geblieben sei.”⁸⁹ Regardless of particular internal attitudes toward the allegiances owed to the empire and the perceived legitimacy of the emperor’s jurisdictional status on the Italian peninsula, the outward formalities always acknowledge the emperor as “Sacra Caesarea Majestas” (S.C.M.), or “Sacra Caesarea Catholica Majestas” (S.C.C.M.), and the empire as the “Sacrum Romanum Imperium.” Yet it was also clear that the Habsburgs were more German than they were Roman.

Of the over thirty productions of operas based on Arminius narratives that received performances on the Italian peninsula during the course of the eighteenth century, approximately one quarter of these were expressly dedicated to or supported by

⁸⁸ See for example Matthias Schnettger, “Impero romano—Impero germanico. Italienische Perspektiven auf das Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Imperium Romanum—Irregulare Corpus—Teutscher Reichs-Staat: Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiographie*, ed. Matthias Schnettger (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002), 53-75.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 67-69. The German quotation is Schnettger’s paraphrase of Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Trattato Universale delle notizie dell’Impero* (Vienna: Michael Thurnmeyer, 1674), 1. The Genoese patriot is Raffaele Della Torre, whose critical sentiments are expressed in *Al curioso del vero* (Genoa, 1655), 13: “[...] i quali predicano l’Imperatori Tedeschi Padroni del Mondo, come se fossero successori d’Augusto” (quoted in Schnettger).

members of the imperial family or territorial rulers with direct ties to the Habsburgs. The information presented in table 2 provides an overview of these works.

Table 2. Eighteenth-century Arminius operas produced in Habsburg-controlled *Reichsitalien*

Production [Catalog Index reference]	Dedicatee	Occasion
ARMINIO (Naples, 1714) [I.06.1714]	[Maria Barbara], Countess of Daun and Vicereine of Naples	Birthday
ARMINIO (Milan, 1730) [I.06.1730]	Empress Elisabeth Christine; Wirich Philipp von Daun, Governor of Milan	Birthday of the empress
LA GERMANIA TRIONFANTE IN ARMINIO (Milan, 1739) [I.06.1739]	Maria Theresia, Archduchess of Austria and Grand Duchess of Tuscany	Official state visit
ARMINIO IN GERMANIA (Florence, 1741) [I.11.1741]	Maria Theresia, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, etc.	Birthday
ARMINIO (Florence, 1749) [I.06.1749]	Emperor Francis I	Carnival season
L'ARMINIO (Mantua, 1785) [I.15.1785]	Archduke Ferdinand (son of Francis I & Maria Theresia) and Maria Beatrice d'Este	Wedding(?)
L'ARMINIO (Florence, 1790) [I.15.1790a]	Peter Leopold (son of Francis I & Maria Theresia), King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, etc.	Autumn opera season
ARMINIO (Naples, 1792) [I.15.1792]	Queen Maria Carolina (daughter of Francis I & Maria Theresia) and King Ferdinand IV of Naples	Birthday of the queen

Note: The Kingdom of Naples and the bulk of the Duchy of Milan (including the city of Milan itself) were transferred from Spanish to Austrian possession in 1714 as per the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (ending the War of the Spanish Succession). With the extinction of the Medici family following the death of Grand Duke Gian Gastone in 1737, Tuscany passed to Francis III, Duke of Lorraine, who was married to Maria Theresia of the House of Habsburg. In 1745, Francis was elected Holy Roman Emperor (as Francis I).

Although not all of these works contain dedicatory letters that elaborate on the particular choice of subject matter and its relevancy for the current occasion, the few that do provide such information reveal important clues linking the narrative of Arminius with notions of German social identity. The impresario for the 1714 production of *Arminio* in Naples addresses the dedicatee (the “Contessa di Daun” and Vicereine of Naples) with a

brief characterization of the work's dramatic content, which recounts “le gloriose azioni d'un antico Eroe Germano, che posponeva intrepidamente la vita al pregio della libertà, da lui stimato inestimabile, e superiore ad ogni più elevata grandezza.”⁹⁰ The fact that this willingness to place the ideals of liberty ahead of all other aspirations is attributed to an “Eroe Germano” should be understood, however, as more than simply a neutral description of the character. For the dedication continues by implying a special link between the countess and Arminius, since this hero comes “di quel Cielo medesimo, nel quale traeste i vostri gloriosi Natali.”⁹¹ Indeed both the Neapolitan vicereine (née Maria Barbara, Countess of Herberstein) and her husband Count Wirich Philipp von Daun hailed from beyond the Alps—she was born into a Styrian noble family, while he was a native Viennese, with ancestral ties to Koblenz. As the representatives of the new Habsburg authority in Naples—which had been formally transferred to direct Austrian control that same year—the viceroy and his wife are nevertheless marked foremost by their German aristocratic status rather than their official capacity within the Kingdom of Naples. This emphasis on a perceived German identity is apparent from the libretto's title page, on which the style “Contessa di Daun” appears in a more prominent position and typeface than “vice-regina in questo Regno” (see figure 4). That an opera on the subject of an explicitly German figure was chosen as appropriate for the occasion of the German vicereine's birthday thus suggests something more than coincidence; indeed it rather points to a conscious connection (at the very least on the part of the impresario) between the “Germanness” of this narrative and the perceived German social identification of its dedicatee.

Following his tenure as Viceroy of Naples (and a brief appointment as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands), Wirich Philipp von Daun continued his political and diplomatic service to the Austrian Habsburgs by holding the governorship of Milan from 1728 to 1733. It is in this capacity that he appears as the addressee of a dedicatory letter

⁹⁰ *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo a' 19 novembre 1714. Dedicato al merito sublima dell'eccellentiss. signora Contessa di Daun etc. vice-regina in questo Regno* (Naples: Michele Luigi Muzio, 1714), [5].

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, [6].



Figure 4. Title page to *Arminio* (Naples, 1714). Source: Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna: A.V.Tab.I.F.III.55.7. Reprinted with permission; further reproduction or duplication prohibited.

for a Milanese performance of *Arminio* in the summer of 1730. Although the thirty-ninth birthday of the Holy Roman Empress Elisabeth Christine provided the ostensible occasion for the production, the empress herself was likely not in attendance, and in fact she receives only marginal attention in the libretto's dedication. Instead the impresarios focus on the compatibility of their opera's hero with the qualities and accomplishments of Daun himself, whom they accordingly hail as a new Arminius:

Frà pubblici universali applausi nel felicissimo Natalizio giorno della Nostra sempre AUGUSTA REGNANTE, ecco ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNORE si produce sù queste Scene quell' Arminio, che nelle età passate a fronte del Romano Impero seppe con tanta intrepidezza, e valore sostenere la libertà, e gloria della Germania. Se volgere un solo sguardo vi degnarete a questo Eroe, in Arminio ben presto potrete rinvenire VOI STESSO; mentre d'eguale virtù, e prudenza munito in tante sì gloriose, e rinomate imprese con quanti, e quali trionfi presso diversi altri Regni, e Provincie, non che nella Germania, reso vi siete invitto, ed ammirabile. Se il vostro forte braccio fù terrore di tanti, e sì possenti Nemici dell' Augustissimo Austriaco Soglio, ora ove altri pongono le mete, con la vostra gran mente intraprendete insolito sentiero a nuovi meriti, e vittorie.⁹²

Prior to his political appointments, Daun had greatly distinguished himself during the War of the Spanish Succession in his capacity as Austrian Field Marshal, winning fame through the leadership he displayed in the successful defense of Turin during the siege of that city by the French in 1706.⁹³ On account of his fine character, Daun had even found a place in *L'arpa discordata*, the early eighteenth-century Piedmontese poem that chronicles the siege of Turin: "Il generale Daun con il suo valore;/ con il suo buon cuore e con la sua saggezza/ con i Torinesi e con le proprie truppe/ si comporteva da padre/ inquadrando la Milizia/ con la clemenza e la giustizia."⁹⁴ The dedicatory language of

⁹² *Arminio. Drama da rappresentarsi nel Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano in occasione di celebrarsi il giorno natalizio della Cesarea Cattolica Maestà di Elisabetta Cristina imperadrice, regina delle Spagne, etc. etc.* (Milan: Giuseppe Richino Malatesta, 1730), [iii-v].

⁹³ For recent scholarship on the siege of Turin, see Fabio Galvano, *L'Assedio: Torino 1706* (Turin: UTET Libreria, 2005); Fondazione Filippo Burzio, *1706 L'ascesa del Piemonte verso il Regno, Atti del Convegno di Studi, Torino, Accademia delle Scienze, 7 settembre 2006* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2007); and Gustavo Mola di Nomaglio et al., eds. *Torino 1706: Memorie e attualità dell'Assedio di Torino del 1706 tra spirito europeo e identità regionale, Atti del Convegno, Torino 29-30 settembre 2006* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2007).

⁹⁴ See Galvano, *L'Assedio*, 297. Galvano provides the standard Italian translation in his edition of the poem, whose authorship has been attributed to Francesco Antonio Tarizzo. In Piedmontese the text reads: "El general Daun con soua prodezza/ Col so buon cocur a soua saviezza,/ Coi Turineis e le soue

Arminio echoes these sentiments in its positive evaluation of Daun, in whom the “intrepidezza,” “valore,” “virtù,” and “prudenza” of opera’s protagonist are evident. Also apparent is the connection both Arminio and Daun share with “Germania,” and although Daun—unlike Arminio—achieved his greatest triumphs outside the German territories (i.e., on the Italian peninsula), his role in defeating the enemies of the “Augustissimo Austriaco Soglio” receives comparison to the victories accomplished by Arminio “a fronte del Romano Impero.” The model for identification is asserted unambiguously, and emphasized in capital letters: “in Arminio [...] potrete rinvenire VOI STESSO.” Arminio’s heroic zeal for the “gloria della Germania” thus provides a direct analogy for Daun’s commitment to the interests of the (Austrian) Empire.

Milan provides the backdrop for the production of another Arminius opera a few years later, on the occasion of a visit by the Emperor’s daughter Maria Theresia, styled at this time the Archduchess of Austria as well as the Grand Duchess of Tuscany (on account of her marriage to Francis III, inheritor of the Grand Duchy from the extinct Medici line). To judge from the dedication that accompanies the libretto, either the visit was announced on short notice or the remodeling work on the theater had run behind schedule; at any rate the organizers emphasize the time constraints that affected their ambitions to create an appropriate theatrical performance in their royal guest’s honor. In spite of the difficulties, however, they state their best intentions in selecting *La Germania trionfante in Arminio* for the occasion:

Studiati non ostante ci siamo di porle sotto gli occhi uno dei più gloriosi giorni della Germania, come quella che dall’A.V.R. non meno per cagione della chiarezza dell’Augusto Sangue, che nelle vene le scorre, che per gli eccelsi singolarissimi pregi, che in V.A. risplendono, riceve il più mirabile, e più sublime ornamento; come altresì per darle un’immagine di quel festoso contento, che non solamente la Germania, ma la nostra Italia ancora risentiranno, allorchè gli comuni Voti s’adempiano nella sospirata generosa Prole di V.A..⁹⁵

squadre/ Se portava da padre./ Contenant la Milizia/ Con la clemenza e la giustizia.” (lines 636-642). For another edition of the poem, see Renzo Gandolfo, ed., *L’arpa discordata* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1969).

⁹⁵ *La Germania trionfante in Arminio. Drama da rappresentarsi alla presenza di sua altezza reale la signora arciduchessa primogenita dell’augustissimo nostro padrone e granduchessa di Toscana ec. ec.* (Milan: Giuseppe Richino Malatesa, 1739), [v-vi].

The conscious decision to present “uno dei più gloriosi giorni della Germania”—namely the victory of Arminius over Varus—as the theme for an opera celebrating the representative of the imperial institution reveals some insights into how this subject matter was perceived. First it suggests that the theater producers in Milan regarded this particular narrative as one possessing an inherent relevance to German history—indeed they make no distinction between the ancient Germania of the first-century Arminius and the contemporary Germania of the eighteenth century. In implying the continuity of these two imaginary geographies (for in neither period did “Germania” denote an actual unified cultural or political entity), the text also encourages the possibility of social identification between their inhabitants. The title of the work further emphasizes this possibility. Although the libretto constitutes yet another adaptation of Antonio Salvi’s 1703 *Arminio*, the new title *La Germania trionfante in Arminio* transfers the object of focus away from the protagonist and toward the imagined collective that in turn celebrates him. The temporality of this Germania is indeterminate; certainly the title evokes foremost the historical subject and setting of the opera, but in the absence of qualifiers (e.g., “l’antica Germania”), the separation between past and present remains fluid. While no allegorical figures grace the stage to make the connections explicit—as Teutonia did in Negelein’s *Arminius*—the subtle nuances in language here hint at the affirmation of a historical continuum between the actions of Arminius on behalf of Germania, and a similar role exercised by the House of Austria, exemplified by Maria Theresia through the virtue of her “Augusto Sangue.” This privileged position within the imperial Habsburg dynasty spells good news not only for the future of “Germania,” but also for that of “Italia,” as the dedication points out. Through the establishment of the new ruling House of Habsburg-Lorraine and her status as the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Maria Theresia also holds the future of that historically important territory in her hands—or rather, carries it in her womb, as the dedicatory letter puts it.

In this letter we thus find the convergence of three elements—the German, the Italian, and the overarching institution of the imperial “Roman” tradition that binds the two together in the Habsburg dynasty. In orienting the axis of authority southward to Rome, we must also take into account the important role of the Roman Catholic Church

in this equation. Indeed, the librettos for many of the Arminius operas performed on the Italian peninsula and in predominantly Catholic areas of the empire include a “protesta” as part of the prefatory material, drawing attention to the purely poetic use of such pagan terms as “fate,” “destiny,” “gods,” or “idol” (concepts that were antithetical to Christian doctrine) for the purposes of the drama.⁹⁶ That the narrative of Arminius could nevertheless find acceptance in a Christian context was due in part, as we have seen in the case of *Amor Patriae*, to the positive virtues displayed through the characters. Yet the fact that several eighteenth-century productions of Arminius operas occurred in Rome itself—the very target of the narrative’s antagonism—may still strike us as somewhat incongruous (see table 3).

Table 3. Eighteenth-century Arminius operas performed in Rome

Production [Catalog Index reference]	Dedicatee	Occasion
ARMINIO (1722) [I.06.1722a]	Cardinal Nuno da Cunha	Carnival
GERMANICO IN GERMANIA (1732) [I.11.1732]	Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni	Carnival
ARMINIO (1749) [I.11.1749]	Marianna Cibo Albani	Carnival
GERMANICO IN GERMANIA (1770) [I.11.1770]	“l’inclito popolo romano”	Carnival
L’ARMINIO (1786) [I.15.1786]	—	Carnival

It is significant to note that, with the exception of the 1722 production of *Arminio*, the central conflict in these operas plays out between Arminius and Germanicus in the period after the defeat of Varus, thereby denying Arminius a decisive victory over Rome (and in due accordance with the historical record). The motives behind such a choice can be surmised fairly easily, given the location of the performances—it is certainly understandable that a Roman audience would rather focus on the nobility of Germanicus

⁹⁶ These statements are of course not unique to operas on the subject of Arminius and commonly appear in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian opera librettos that deal with non-Christian topics.

(who generally receives considerable respect even in operas performed elsewhere on the continent), than on the loser Varus. Indeed in this respect the selection and particular viewpoint of the subject matter for these operas provide another indication of the identificatory power that lay behind this narrative. The text of Niccolò Coluzzi's *Germanico in Germania*—which received its premiere musical setting for the 1732 production in Rome—offers especially telling evidence for this “Roman perspective.” Dedicated to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, himself a notable patron of the arts, it is clear that the model for identification here is not Arminio but rather, as the title implies, Germanico. As the representative of Rome, it is thus Germanico who ultimately dictates the terms of appeasement with the rebellious Arminio, thereby exhibiting his magnanimity and ushering in the obligatory *lieto fine*.

Yet despite this paradigm shift, the theme and moral message of the work remain largely unchanged from those operas that focus on Arminius as the merciful and generous prince who integrates the wayward Segestes back into the fold. Indeed both versions of the story reflect the broader function of eighteenth-century opera as a model and mirror for concepts of idealized sovereignty.⁹⁷ Moreover, the reconciliation of Arminius with Rome that occurs in these “Arminius-Germanicus” operas—as sacrilegious as it may seem to those accustomed to recognize the figure only in his staunch German nationalist incarnation—in fact reveals a consonance with the perspective that I have argued informs the reception of this narrative in the Rome-centered, German-controlled Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The portrayed conflicts between Arminius and Rome thus serve on one level as a typological allegory for the transfer of Rome's eternal authority to the Germans, with Arminius exemplifying the virtuous forerunner of a people who will one day inherit the imperial rule. Indeed in Coluzzi's libretto, it is Germanico himself who provides the final laudatory (and visionary) comments about Arminio and his future legacy:

⁹⁷ See Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), whose work explores the production and conventions of opera seria within a political context of absolutism; and Ketterer, *Ancient Rome in Early Opera*, who similarly proposes the centrality of the “myth of the clement prince” and the “myth of liberty” in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operas based on historical subjects.

Gioisci Arminio, e dalla fronte scaccia
 Della mestizia la vil nube oscura.
 Per l'atto illustre al par del tuo valore
 N'andrai famoso nell'età futura,
 Ed or che tu cedesti,
 Non sarà lungi il lieto giorno, in cui
 Marte deposta la guerriera face,
 Vedrà Germania, e Roma
 Unita in nodo d'amistà, e di pace.⁹⁸

This vision of a utopic future in which Germania and Rome will stand united in friendship and peace alludes to the very historical narrative traditions we have explored in this section—narratives that, in their orientation toward the idea of Rome, established a cultural environment in which the interpretation and reception of Arminius could flourish within the Roman/German Empire. The influence of the four monarchies and *translatio imperii* traditions deeply informs Germanico's prophetic speech, as he in effect evokes the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire and the concomitant bond between the Roman Catholic Church and (Catholic) Germania. In the Austrian Habsburg imperial dynasty we see the embodiment of this dual social identity—whether the Romanized German, or the Germanized Roman—and hear resonances of the ancient narratives that validated its authority.

⁹⁸ *Germanico in Germania. Drama per musica di Niccolò Coluzzi da rappresentarsi nella sala degl'illustrissimi signori Capranica nel carnevale dell'anno 1732.* (Rome, Antonio de Rossi, 1732), 64.

Part Two

Arminius and the Princes: Situating the “Defensor Germaniae” in an Age of Particularism

Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui: quando, urgentibus imperii fati, nihil jam praestare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.

—Tacitus, *De origine et situ germanorum*.

Ego Germaniam intra se conjunctam reddidi et unanmem [...].

Praeterea summum fuit semper virtutis studium mihi, nulla gloriae sitis aut avaritiae.

—Ulrich von Hutten, *Arminius dialogus*.

Eintracht läßt hoffen.

—Johann Jacob von Sandrart, frontispiece to Lohenstein’s *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius* (Part 2).

Although the Habsburg monarchs of the seventeenth and eighteenth century continued to style themselves with the trappings of Roman grandeur and allude to the permanence of its authority, the political realities that emerged as a result of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 necessitated the acknowledgment of a fundamental shift in the balance of power within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.¹ Later German historiographical traditions of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, which advanced the establishment of a powerful, centralized nation-state as the highest culmination of political and cultural maturity, tended to regard this multiplicity of sovereign states—each boasting its own autonomous ruler whether of influential or petty rank—and the accompanying decentralization of imperial authority as a lamentable setback on the road to national fulfillment.² The Arminius figure, with his ability to transcend the age-old particularist tendencies of his fellow chieftains (to which the

¹ For some considerations of the relationship between the Habsburg emperors and the constituent members of the early modern empire, see the contributions in Heinz Duchhardt and Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Reichsständische Libertät und habsburgisches Kaisertum* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999).

² Jason Coy provides a brief but useful summary (with further references) of the historiography of the Holy Roman Empire in his introduction to a recent collection of essays on the subject. See Jason Philip Coy, Benjamin Marschke, and David Warren Sabean, eds., *The Holy Roman Empire, Reconsidered* (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 1-7. See also Joachim Whaley’s introduction to his *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1:1-14.

Tacitean epigraph above testifies) and to unite them under his own charismatic leadership, naturally found resonance within this cultural context that fervently sought just such an individual to accomplish the nationalist project.³ Indeed, as has been noted in the introduction of this dissertation, the general reception history of Arminius as it has come down to us today bears the lasting imprint of these nineteenth-century political movements—a legacy that risks coloring our interpretations of the early modern Arminius in the same shades, making them susceptible to misguided expectations regarding a teleological progression of the figure to its “true” form in the nineteenth century. Such assumptions have in fact characterized much of the current scholarly attention given to the operatic depictions of Arminius in *ancien régime* Europe, as I have briefly summarized in the opening section of Part 1. Thus the compatibility of the ultra-German Arminius with the conservative tradition of the *translatio imperii* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would likely appear incongruous to those commentators for whom an intractable enmity towards Rome comprises a salient feature of the character. To be sure, when sounded against the nineteenth-century (or for that matter sixteenth-century) interpretations and instrumentalizations of the Arminius narrative, the conciliatory finales to the Roman-Germanic conflicts as presented in the *opera seria* genre can only ring false. Yet as we have seen, the ways in which these works consciously construct the Roman-German nexus so essential to Habsburg self-representations reveal both the malleability of the narrative as well as the practicality of such adaptation as a response to the political exigencies of its intended audiences and patrons.

While the imagined alliance of the German and the Roman may have reflected well the political and confessional ideologies of the Habsburg worldview, it was not necessarily applicable to the other princes of the empire who could not (or did not want

³ The work of the nineteenth-century historian Johann Gustav Droysen, best known for his *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (1833) and the massive *Geschichte der preussischen Politik* (1855–1886), epitomizes this cultural context, reflecting the Hegelian school of historical thought that celebrated and idealized the decisive role of so-called “great men” to effect social change.

to) lay claim to the *translatio imperii* as a justification of Habsburg imperial authority.⁴ Consequently in reading the cultural reception of the Arminius figure in this climate of particularism, some critics have found it difficult to reconcile positively the reputation of the unifying “liberator Germaniae” (and the attendant proto-nationalist baggage the title carries with it) with the supposedly self-serving political interests of the German princes. This stumbling block has proven especially solid in the case of the Arminius operas. Expressing doubts along these lines, Jost Hermand remarks that “[i]m Bereich der Opern, die weitgehend unter dem Diktat der Höfe standen und sich daher keine nationalistischen Extravaganzen leisten konnten, gab es ... auch im 18. Jahrhundert keine Hermann-Werke, in denen die ältere Arminio-Figur in patriotischer Verklärung dargestellt wurde.”⁵ Hermand’s standard for the evaluation of these operatic depictions betrays his expectations for a specific kind of patriotism and “Begeisterungsstimme für ein positiv empfundenes Germanentum,” which he sees exemplified through treatments of the subject in other literary works of the same era, including those by Schlegel, Möser, Schönaich, Ayrenhoff and Klopstock.⁶ “Doch wer wäre unter den deutschen Opernkomponisten des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts willens und fähig gewesen, eine vom ‘deutschen’ Geist erfüllte Hermann-Oper zu schreiben?” Hermand asks. The answer to this question follows decisively: “Wahrscheinlich niemand. Und welcher Operndirektor hätte sie mit fürstlichem Privilegium aufgeführt? Wahrscheinlich auch niemand.”⁷ Yet while Hermand argues that the courts would be loathe to embrace a truly “patriotic” (i.e., nationalist) interpretation of Arminius on their opera stages because of the perceived threat such a figure might pose to their provincial autonomy, it is important to note that the great majority of Arminius narratives of any sort produced in the seventeenth and

⁴ Indeed, some such as Bogislaw Philipp von Chemnitz (*Dissertatio de ratione status in imperio nostro Romano-Germanico*, 1640, under the pseudonym Hippolitus a Lapide) and Samuel von Pufendorf (*De status imperii Germanici*, 1667, under the pseudonym Severinus de Monzambano), vehemently denied the validity of the *translatio imperii* to the Habsburgs in an effort to subvert the institution of the Austrian-controlled empire.

⁵ Jost Hermand, *Glanz und Elend in der deutschen Oper*, 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

eighteenth centuries were dedicated to royal patrons, including most of those dramas specifically cited by Hermand.⁸

In this second part of the dissertation I seek to reconsider and challenge the denationalized (*entnationalisiert*) interpretation that has characterized previous scholarship on these musical works by reframing concepts of the German nation within the encompassing environment of the Holy Roman Empire. Just as modern historians continue to reassess the post-Westphalian shifts in the balance of political power in a more positive light—no longer as the regrettable death-knell for the supremacy of the emperor, but rather as the beginning of a new and important (if not always amicable) interdependence between the states and the imperial institutions—so do the Arminius narratives of this era demand re-evaluation apart from the nineteenth-century belief in the inevitability of the centralized nation-state.⁹ My investigation accordingly turns to

⁸ Ibid., 32. Hermand claims that these works display an enlightenment-era “Beschwörung des altgermanischen Geistes” through which a growing bourgeois self-confidence could manifest itself. Yet the aristocratic patrons to whom these works were dedicated include Baron Johann Friedrich von dem Busche (Möser’s *Arminius*, 1749), Landgrave Wilhelm VII of Hesse-Kassel (Gottsched’s dedication of Schönaich’s *Hermann*, 1753), Emperor Joseph II (Klopstock’s *Hermanns Schlacht*, 1769), Count Adam Gottlob Moltke (Schlegel’s 1771 publication of his collected works, including *Herrmann*), and Margrave Karl Friedrich of Baden (Klopstock’s *Hermann und die Fürsten*, 1784). In addition, Ayrenhoff’s Arminius dramas produced in Vienna ultimately depended on the favor of “das kaiserlich-königliche Privileg.” The reception of the Arminius narrative by the bourgeois German citizenry (*Bürgertum*) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remains a direction for future research in this project.

⁹ Karl Otmar von Aretin’s *Das Alte Reich, 1648–1806* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993-2000), itself a product of this post-1945 revisionist (i.e., rehabilitatory) perspective, is currently one of the standard works on the early modern Holy Roman Empire in German. For other recent work in this vein, see for example T.C.W. Blanning, “Empire and State in Germany, 1648–1848,” *German History* 12 (1994): 220-236; Wolfgang Burgdorf, *Reichskonstitution und Nation: Verfassungsreformprojekte für das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation im politischen Schrifttum von 1648 bis 1806* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998); Fred E. Schrader, *L’Allemagne avant l’État-nation: Le corps germanique 1648–1806* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998); Peter Claus Hartmann, *Kulturgeschichte des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1648 bis 1806: Verfassung, Religion und Kultur* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001); and Matthias Schnettger, ed., *Imperium Romanum—Irregulare Corpus—Teutscher Reichs-Staat: Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiographie* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002). The two hundredth anniversary of the empire’s dissolution also provided the impetus for new scholarly engagement. See, for example, Peter Claus Hartmann and Florian Schuller, eds., *Das Heilige Römische Reich und sein Ende 1806: Zäsur in der deutschen und europäischen Geschichte* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2006); Hans-Christof Kraus, *Das Ende des alten Deutschland: Krise und Auflösung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation 1806* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2006); and Christine Roll and Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Epochenjahr 1806?: Das Ende des Alten Reichs in zeitgenössischen Perspektiven und Deutungen* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008). The most recent examination of the early modern Holy Roman Empire—and what promises to become a standard work on the subject in English—is Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

another set of audiences and patrons within the empire—namely the German princes whose sovereign rights had received official confirmation in the wake of the Thirty Years War—and considers the ways in which the narratives of Arminius and the ancient Germanic tribes function as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel* within these contexts of political absolutism and particularism. At issue especially is how this mirror was able to participate in constructing and advocating cohesive notions of German social identity among its audiences, even as it simultaneously upheld the affirmed freedom of the princes. In my approach to these works, I therefore look for examples of this Germanness displayed not through the endorsement of a pan-Germanic political movement as some kind of alternative to the already existing Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, but instead through concepts linked with geographical space, the continuity of ancestral ties, and the nature of the German character. In the first section, I establish these conceptual contexts by assembling a referential network between the cultural reception of the Arminius narrative (including the legacies of the ancient Germanic peoples in general) and other literary, pedagogical, and pictorial sources that were produced for the benefit of German princes. The following sections build on this conceptual framework by examining several case studies focused on the musical narratives of Arminius that were produced or performed under the patronage of German courts. By integrating these works within the court culture, I assert that we can begin to form a better understanding of the complex and sometimes contradictory ways in which they interacted with contemporary political and cultural worldviews concerning the manifestation of Germanness.

As a starting point for this examination, it is instructive to consider the earliest of these dramatic works, *Neu erfundenes Freuden Spiel genandt Friedens Sieg* (1642; published 1648), a moral-allegorical drama performed at the castle Dankwarderode in Brunswick before an audience of the highest ranking members of the court—including the learned Duke August II of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1579–1666)—in celebration of the recent peace accord between the dukes of Brunswick and the emperor.¹⁰ In addition,

¹⁰ The Goslar Accord had been signed in January 1642, ending formal hostilities between the dukes of Brunswick and Emperor Ferdinand III. For comprehensive studies of *Friedens Sieg* and its cultural context, see Jörg Jochen Berns, “Trionfo-Theater am Hof von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,” in *Höfische Festkultur in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel 1590-1666: Vorträge eines Arbeitsgespräches der*

the participants in the play consisted mostly of the (male) children of the royal household and retinue, with important speaking roles assigned to the young princes Anton Ulrich (1633–1714) and Ferdinand Albrecht (1636–1687).¹¹ Written by the children’s tutor, the erudite scholar and linguist Justus Georg Schottelius (1612–1676), the work reflects the pedagogical intentions of its author as well as the cultured atmosphere of the court, which placed great value on its role as a fosterer of the German language and the cultivation of a native literary tradition.¹² Thus it is significant that in this play a physical embodiment of Arminius takes up his position on the world-stage for the first time after more than sixteen hundred years in order to voice his assessment of the current state of “Teutschland” and the Germans.¹³ The stage directions at the beginning of the second act describe this entrance in which Mercury, performing his numinous role as conductor of the souls of the dead, descends “aus der Höhe” and guides “den alten Teutschen Herzog Arminium/ der nach damahls gewöhnlichen Trachten bekleidet und gezieret ist” to the center of the room.¹⁴ Judging from Conrad Buno’s copperplate engravings that accompany the published text as a document of the performance, the primary elements of this pseudo-historical costume for Arminius consisted of thigh-length bucket top cavalry

Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel anlässlich des 400. Geburtstages von Herzog August von Braunschweig und Lüneburg, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982), 47-94 (=Daphnis 10 [1981]:663-710); and Sara Smart, *Doppelte Freude der Musen: Court Festivities in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel 1642–1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 13-50.

¹¹ The publication of the play, which first appeared in 1648 and was followed by a reissue (with some slight differences, mainly orthographical) in 1649, provides the source for this information. Most of the subsequent citations of *Friedens Sieg* in this discussion refer to the 1648 edition held by the Herzog August Bibliothek (shelfmark: Lo 6992), which is available as a digital facsimile through the WDB: Wolfenbüttler Digitale Bibliothek (permanent link: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm>). The cast list for the performance begins with <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00029>.

¹² Duke August had been a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* since 1634 (under the name “der Befreyende”), and Schottelius (adopting the name “der Suchende”) was accepted into the society in the fall of 1642. See Smart, 35-38. In the 1649 edition of the play, a speech is included before the first act, commenting that the theatrical and linguistic legacies of Rome and Greece have seen their day, and that the present performance seeks to enoble the German language: “Wir wollen Teutscher art/ ein Freuden Spiel aufführen/ Mit zarder Rede hier/ die Mutter Sprache zieren...” (unpaginated in 1649 edition [Vorrede, immediately following the cast list]; does not appear in the 1648 edition).

¹³ Note that the character Hermannus, who appears in Nicodemus Frischlin’s drama *Julius Caesar redivivus* (1585) is not the ancient Arminius returned to life, but rather a contemporary German.

¹⁴ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00098>. See Catalog Index II.01 for a synopsis of the entire work.

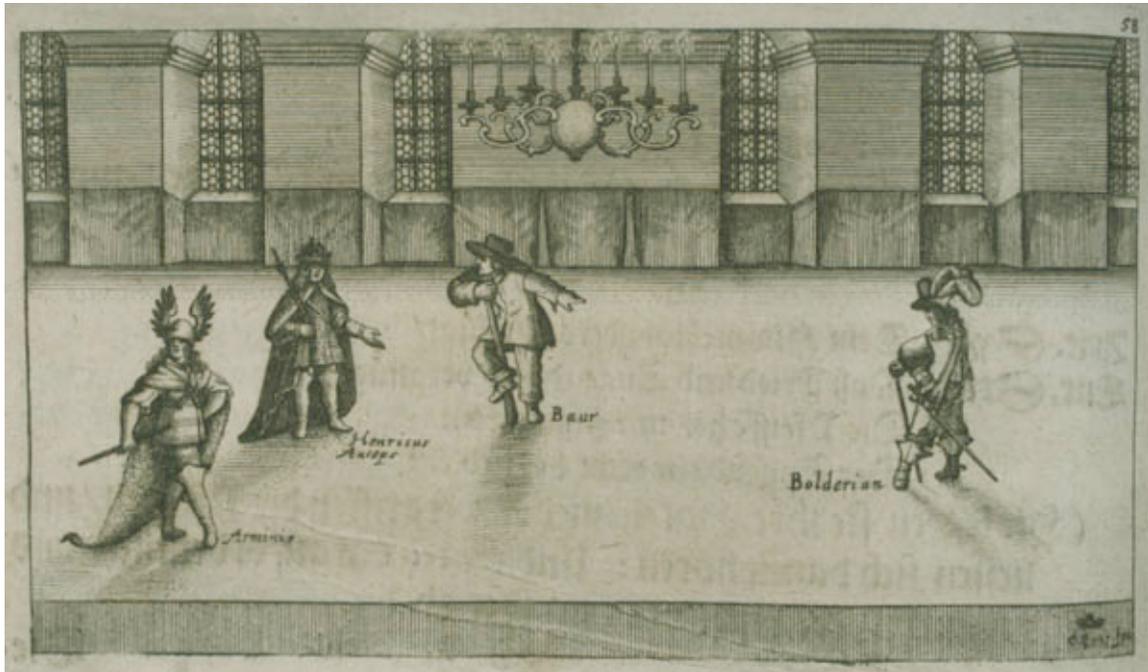


Figure 5. Engraving from *Friedens Sieg*, Act 2 (Conrad Buno, 1648). Source: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: M: Lo 6992. Reprinted with permission.

boots, an animal skin fastened over the shoulders as a cloak, and a large winged helmet (see figure 5).¹⁵ While such eclectic choices may strike us as an amusing exercise in creative anachronism, the obvious blend of the past and the present as revealed through the costume is also reiterated through the dramatic situation in which Arminius finds himself. For although Mercury immediately declares that he has fulfilled his duty in delivering Arminius to the right place (“Allhie ist der Ort/ du streitbahrer Kriegesheld Armini/ Du güldenes Haupt und unsterbliche Zier aller Teutschen Hertzogen/ dieses ist das Land/ eine Wohnung und Ernehererñ deiner tapfferen Teutschen”), Arminius can scarcely recognize the war-torn landscape—covered with the smoking ruins of devastated cities and deserted countrysides, and overrun by foreign invaders—as the homeland he left so many centuries ago.¹⁶ Indeed it is only from cosmographical evidence that he derives an infallible proof on which to support the uncertain allegation that this land is in fact his own Teutschland:

Als ich annoch in den blauen Felde der Lufft war/ von dar ich mit besichtgierigen Augen das ganze Land überschauen kunte/ endstund alsbalt hirüber bey mir ein grosser Zweifel: Die Sternen in der Luft/ und die bekante Himmelszeichen waren und sind mir vor Augen/ es kan nicht anders seyn/ es muß dieses Land das Teutschland seyn: Die stellungen der Sonnen und des Monden zeigen es ohnfehlbarlich: Ja ich smekke es an der Luft/ und empfinde es aus vormals gewohnter Hitze und Kälte/ daß dieser Erdenstrich muß das alte Vaterland seyn.¹⁷

This bird’s-eye perspective afforded to Arminius as he descends to the earth evokes the revolutionary advances in astronomy occasioned by the early seventeenth-century developments of the telescope, even as it presents him as a witness to broader vistas than any mortal of the time had experienced first hand. By situating Teutschland within a precise cosmography—indeed a scientifically verifiable one, defined by coordinates on a

¹⁵ This is quite possibly the first depiction of a winged helmet in connection with Arminius. Since earlier sixteenth century artistic renderings usually presented the figure in modern battle armor with a plumed helmet, perhaps it was only a small step to incorporate entire wings on the headgear instead of merely individual plumes. For examples, see Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 65-69.

¹⁶ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00098>.

¹⁷ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00099> - <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00100>.

universal scale—Arminius insists on its objective dimension as well as its geographical permanence and unmistakable distinctiveness (“ich smekke es an der Luft”).

This geographical definition of Teutschland receives further emphasis once Henricus Auceps (Heinrich der Finkler, 876–936), another disoriented revenant, appears on the scene. Just as Arminius had struggled to reconcile skepticism with an objective certainty that he had arrived at his intended destination, this confessed compatriot (though separated chronologically by nine hundred years) likewise expresses horror at the current deplorable state of his/their homeland. Assuring him that they cannot be mistaken in their location, Arminius continues to recall the unique markers of Teutschland that he saw from the sky, as if he were pointing them out on a map or globe during a geography lesson in the court library:

Der edle Reinstrom ist ein unfehlbahrer Beweistuhm/ denselben sahe ich annoch auß stikkel-hohen Steinfelsen rauschen/ und mit gewöhnlichem Gange sich ins offene Meer außgiessen. Die Donau habe ich imgleichen annoch bey dem alten Uhrsprunge sehen herfür quellen/ und ihren gewöhnlichen Gang biß in den Euxin vollenden. Den Weserstrom sahe ich mit grosser Begierligkeit an/ und kante den Ort noch/ da ich mit hizzigem Eifer/ meinen Bruder Flavio sein knechtisches Joch/ und Treulosigkeit wider sein Vaterland verwiesen[.]¹⁸

Arminius’s discourse progresses from the distinctive topographical features that define the outer borders of Germania as described by Tacitus (the Rhine from the Alps to the North Sea, the Danube to the Black Sea), to specific interior locations associated with his own life as related in the *Annals*, including the altercation with his brother Flavius at the Weser, and continuing with reminiscences of the battlefields on which he challenged Varus and Germanicus.¹⁹ Through this testimony, not only does Arminius reveal that he has “seen” all of Teutschland, but also that he recognizes it all and regards it as a single geographic entity, claiming each feature as an equal part of his homeland.

¹⁸ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00104> - <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00105>.

¹⁹ Arminius does not mention a specific geographical location in connection with these battles, referring to them only as “die Wahlstat/ wo ich wider den Germanicum gestritten/ und den erschrecklichen Ort wo ich die besten Römischen Legionen samt den Quintilio Varo abgewürget” (<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00105>).

Amid the upheavals of the Thirty Years War and its aftermath, we may not assume the continued promotion of such an integrative view of Germany to be immediately self-evident, and indeed a consideration of contemporary maps in this respect often illustrates the tension between an “äußere Welt” and an “innere Vorstellung” of the political nature of the early modern Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.²⁰ Since a thorough examination concerning the role of geography in reflecting and influencing definitions of the German during this period necessarily lies beyond the scope of this study (and in fact has long remained a desideratum in the field of early modern German studies), a few pertinent examples will have to suffice here as a contextual foundation for reading the geographic discourse offered by Arminius in *Friedens Sieg*.²¹ Noting the value of cartographic sources as a point of entry into the cultural self-understanding of those who create them, Burghart Schmidt asserts that “[i]ndem sie Realität konstruieren, dienen kartographische Abbildungen zugleich der Information und Desinformation, der Orientierung und Desorientierung, der Gegenwarts- bzw. der Vergangenheitsanalyse und sogar der Prognose,” and that as a result these maps “kodieren einen Ausschnitt der Wirklichkeitsperzeption und kreieren somit letztlich eine

²⁰ See Burghart Schmidt, “*Mappae Germaniae*: Das Alte Reich in der kartographischen Überlieferung der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Imperium Romanum — Irregulare Corpus — Teutscher Reichs-Staat: Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiographie*, ed. Matthias Schnettger (Mainz: von Zabern, 2002), 3-25.

²¹ Some recent social-theoretical considerations of geography and cartography include Geoff King, *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996); Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Denis Cosgrove, ed., *Mappings* (London: Reaktion, 1999); Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008); and Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 2010). Considerations of geography and history in the context of the early modern German empire have emerged only slowly in recent decades. See for example Wolfgang Scharfe, *Abriss der Kartographie Brandenburgs 1771–1821* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972); Peter Meurer, *Atlantes colonienses: Die Kölner Schule der Atlaskartographie, 1570–1610* (Bad Neustadt a.d. Saale: Pfaehler, 1988); and Peter Meurer, *Fontes cartographici Orteliani: Das “Theatrum orbis terrarum” von Abraham Ortelius und seine Kartenquellen* (Weinheim: VCH, 1991). Recent early modern German literary and cultural studies that incorporate geography include Gernot Michael Müller, *Die “Germania generalis” des Conrad Celtis: Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001); and Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). A sign of promising interdisciplinary work in this area is Jörg Dünne, *Die kartographische Imagination: Erinnern, Erzählen und Fingieren in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Fink, 2011), and an invaluable resource for future research is provided by Peter Meurer, *Corpus der älteren Germania-Karten: Ein annotierter Katalog der gedruckten Gesamtkarten des deutschen Raumes von den Anfängen bis um 1650* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto Uitgeverij, 2001).

eigene Realität.”²² Simultaneously aspiring to documentary accuracy while also appealing to an aesthetic sensibility and endorsing a political ideology, early modern maps of Germania (or Teutschland, or the “Imperium Romano Germanicum,” as the case may be) provide complex sources of information regarding the extent to which their makers and viewers in fact perceived the whole as the sum of its constituent parts.²³ For even prewar maps allude to the essentially composite nature of the German empire, as in the case of *Nova Germaniae Descriptio* (Amsterdam, 1616) by the Dutch cartographer Jan Janssonius (see figure 6).²⁴ Here colored lines carefully demarcate the various territories that make up the empire (though the map simply refers to the entire area as Germania), lending the appearance of a complex yet properly assembled jigsaw puzzle. Further emphasizing the individual pieces of this puzzle, images of the emperor and the seven electors flank the map to the left and the right, with the prospects of important *Reichsstädte* spread across the top and bottom sides of the frame. Although a medallion portrait depicting Emperor Matthias appears in the axial position of the upper bar, his image among the other mounted princes receives no more visual prominence than the rest of the figures, denoting him in effect as a *primus inter pares*. A map produced in the first decade of the eighteenth century by the German cartographer Johann Baptist Homann likewise pays tribute to the emperor (in this case Joseph I) at the margins, even as it clearly portrays the empire as a patchwork quilt, with each region (*Kreis*) bearing a distinctive shade, yet firmly knit together at the seams (see figure 7).²⁵ Strikingly, however, the colorful pattern incorporates a few more patches than actually belonged to the quilt at this time, including Switzerland and extensive parts of Alsace, Lorraine and the Low Countries. Such conscious choices distinguish the map less as a faithful representation of political reality than as the evocation of an “imagined community”

²² Schmidt, “*Mappae Germaniae*,” 9.

²³ For visual examples, see Lothar Zögner, *Imago Germaniae: Das Deutschlandbild der Kartenmacher in fünf Jahrhunderten, aus der Kartenabteilung der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz und der Collection Niewodniczanski, Bitburg* (Weissenhorn: Konrad, 1996). See also the fifteen cartographic reproductions included as plates in Schmidt’s article.

²⁴ Also reproduced in Schmidt, “*Mappae Germaniae*,” plate 11.

²⁵ *Imperium Romano Germanicum in suos circulos Electoratus et Status accurata distinctum* (Nuremberg, 1705/10). Also reproduced in Schmidt, “*Mappae Germaniae*,” plate 15.



Figure 6. *Nova Germaniae Descriptio*, Jan Janssonius (Amsterdam, 1616). Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kartenabteilung (Kart. 28419). Reprinted with permission.



Figure 7. *Imperium Romano Germanicum in suos circulos Electoratus et Status accurata distinctum*, Johann Baptist Homann (Nuremberg, ca. 1705/10). Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kartenabteilung (Kart. L 290). Reprinted with permission.

comprising the German empire. This inclusive vision (or wishful thinking) in fact recalls the definition of “Teutschlandt” over a century earlier by the historian-geographer and copperplate engraver Matthias Quad, whose broad interpretation encompasses “den gantzen streich des Erdbodens darinnen man sich der Teutschen Sprach gebraucht,” and is accordingly reflected in the map of “Germania” published in 1600 as part of his *Geographisch Handtbuch* (see figure 8).²⁶ In addition to this initial comprehensive chart that introduces the section on Germany, the atlas also contains separate detailed maps of each individual region in the pages that follow; yet none of these regional maps draws borderlines that precisely set one group apart from its neighbors. Even in the aftermath of the divisive Thirty Years War, a map such as Carl Heinrich von der Osten’s *Amore-Pacis* (1648)—published to honor the Swedish contributions to the anti-imperial forces but still purporting to represent “gantz Teutschlandt”—similarly illustrates no definitive political boundaries between the territories, allowing the natural topographic features of rivers, forests and mountains to bind together the diverse principalities whose names are inscribed over the general area of their region.²⁷

If maps shape perceptions of reality, space and time, as Schmidt proposes, then they also function as narratives that quite literally create the world for their observers. Cognizant as we are of the deep-seated and often violent religious divisions that tore apart this central European landscape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we may well react with suspicion or outright disbelief at a conceptual envisioning of early modern Germany as a single yet complex geographic entity, well-ordered in its fragmentation and perhaps even resplendent in its diversity. To be clear, in presenting these interpretive readings, I do not wish to ignore or minimize the disastrous consequences of the very real

²⁶ Matthias Quad, *Geographisch Handtbuch: Cologne 1600*, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Series of Atlases in Facsimile*, 4th ser., 6 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), sec. 11. A comparison of Quad’s list of the territories that comprise Germany with Homann’s later map reveals considerable agreement: “Seiner besonderen Landschaften nahmen sindt diese/ Flandern welchs gegen Abent das eusserste ist/ Brabant/ Seeland/ Holland/ Friesland/ Oldenborch/ Mechelburg/ Brandenburg/ Pomeran/ Preussen/ Saxen/ Westphalen/ Geldern/ Cleue/ Gulich/ Bisthumb Coln/ Hessen/ Nassaw/ Brunswich/ Thuringen/ Meissen/ Lausnitz/ Schlesien/ Merhern/ Behmen/ Francken/ Bisthm̄ Meintz/ Lutzenburg/ Bisthumb Trier/ die Pfaltz/ Elsaß/ Wirtemberg/ Schwaben/ Beyern/ Oestreich/ Steir/ Krenten [*sic*]/ Tyrol/ vnnnd Schweitzerlandt/ welches Teutschlant von Italien scheidet vnd sich an Franckreich grentzet.”

²⁷ An image of this map is reproduced in Schmidt, “*Mappae Germaniae*,” plate 9.

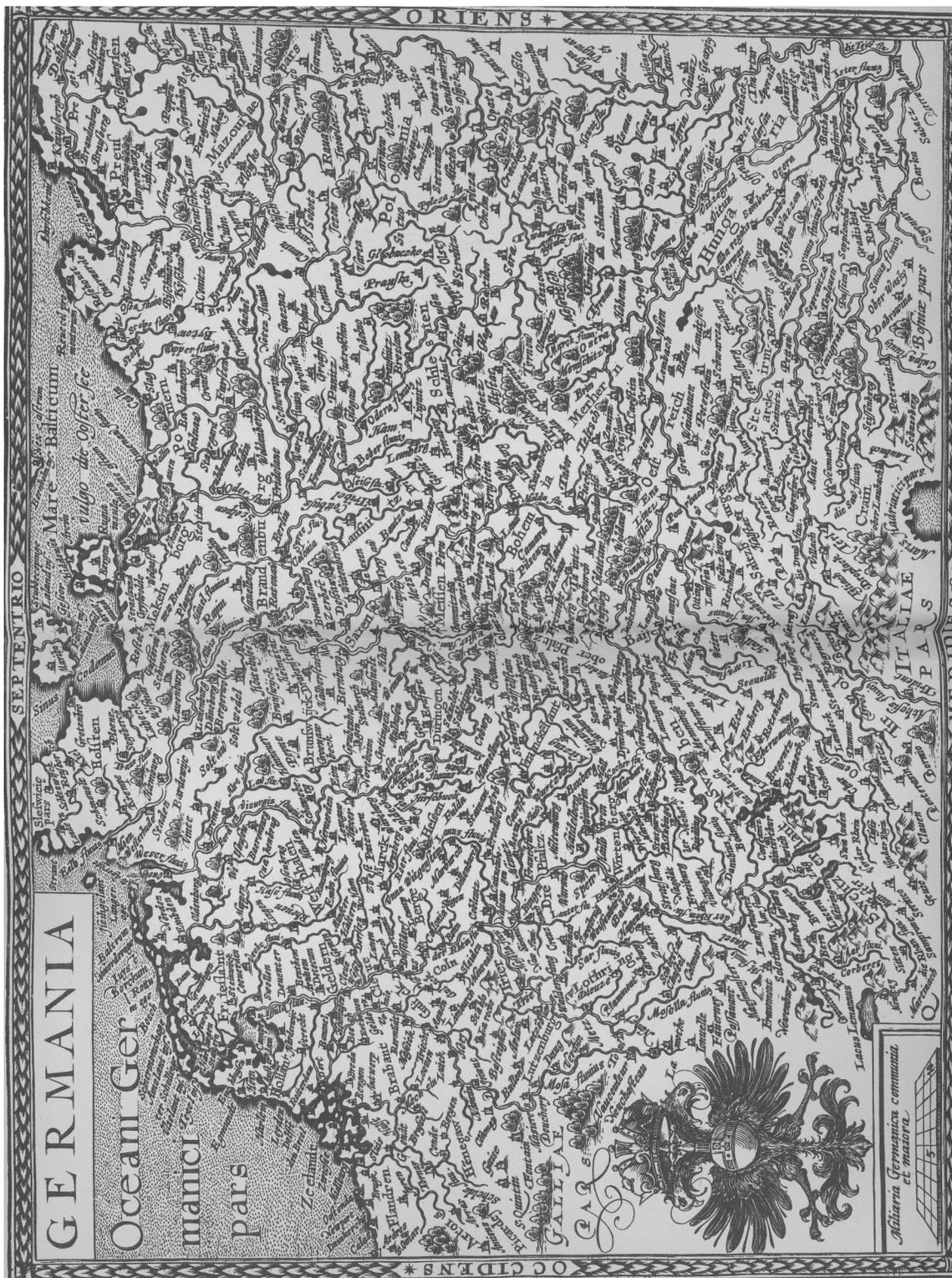


Figure 8. *Germania*, from *Geographisch Handtbuch*, Matthias Quad (Cologne, 1600). Source: Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg: 999/2Hist.pol.642. Reprinted with permission.

divisions that did persist—the results of which cannot, nor should they, be theorized away. It is important to note, however, that when viewed from a critical standpoint, such apparent contradictions between an “outer world” and an “inner perception” often lie at the core of cultural narratives, which are generated to reinforce ideal values and an imagined world that might be, rather than the world as it actually is.²⁸ To the princes and other high nobility who defined their positions and authority based on their connection to the land, these maps served both a practical and an ideological purpose, allowing them to chart the jurisdictional extent of their territories as well as to visualize their relationships with each other. At a time when strategically arranged marriages, split inheritances, and the consequences of extinct family lines determined the cartographic contours of Europe, maps provided the landed nobility with an essential medium for current geopolitical edification even as they augmented cultural narratives of legitimacy and the continuity of rule. The numerous partitions and reunifications even within ruling houses across the centuries only strengthened the necessity of ancestral narratives that confirmed a sense of unity in division.

To return to the context of Schottelius’s *Friedens Sieg*, the example of the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg provides ample evidence in this respect, as a survey of the noble personages in attendance at the performance demonstrates. Indeed, an explication of Buno’s copperplate engraving included in the published text calls to mind intricacies of operatic proportions. Here we see this illustrious audience depicted in considerable detail (yet thankfully also with identificatory nametags) as they observe an intermezzo between the first and second acts, the significance of which will readily become clear (see figure 9).²⁹ Duke August II, who had won an inheritance battle over the principality of Wolfenbüttel following the extinction of that line of the Welf dynasty in 1634, is seated in the foreground with his eldest son Rudolf August to his right. On his left sits Duke

²⁸ See for example Louis O. Mink, “Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument,” in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, ed. Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 129-149; Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality,” *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980): 5-27; and Jerome Bruner, “The Narrative Construction of Reality,” *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991): 1-21.

²⁹ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00073>.

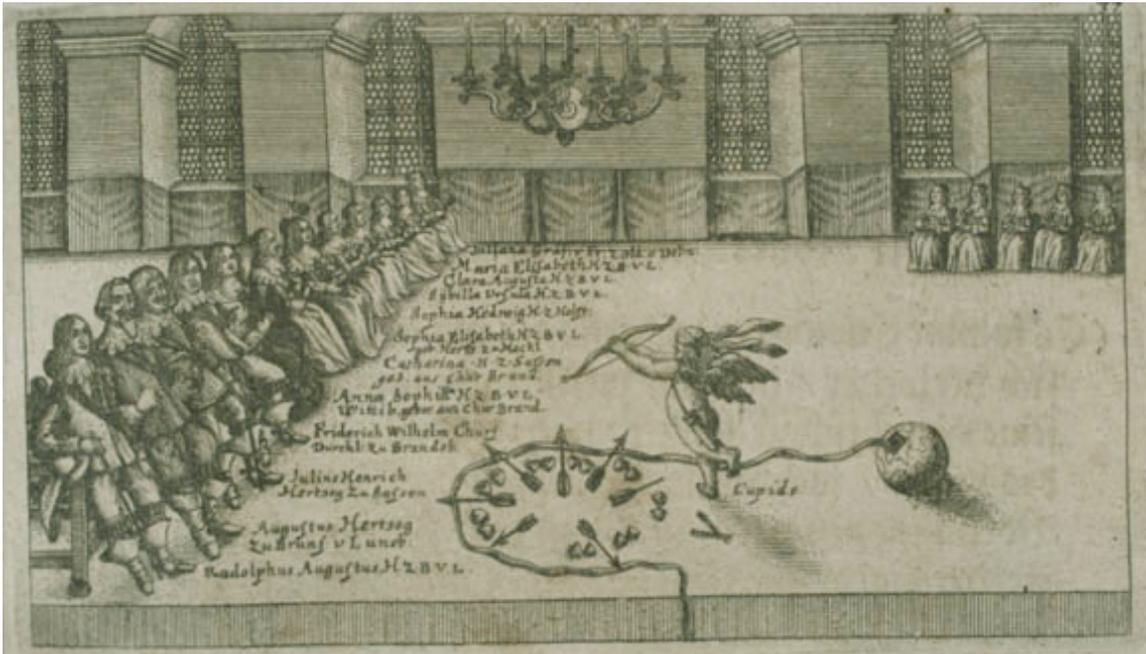


Figure 9. Engraving from *Friedens Sieg*, first intermezzo (Conrad Buno, 1648). Source: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: M: Lo 6992. Reprinted with permission.

Julius Heinrich of Saxe-Lauenburg, a descendant (on his mother's side) of that now-extinct Wolfenbüttel branch, and farther down the row we see Duchess Anna Sophia—the widow of the last ruler in the Wolfenbüttel line, and the daughter of the late Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg. To the right and left of Anna Sophia (also the dedicatee of the work) are positioned her nephew, the current Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, as well as her sister Catharina, who was married to Prince Franz Karl of Saxe-Lauenburg (the brother of Julius Heinrich and a pro-imperial convert to Catholicism in 1637).³⁰ Duke August's own immediate family is further represented in the assemblage by his wife, the artistically inclined Duchess Sophie Elisabeth (who composed the music for the play), and his three young daughters seated at the far end of the row. The convoluted interpersonal and interdynastic relationships among the members of the audience are implicitly acknowledged by the content of the intermezzo, which features none other than the nearly six-year-old prince Ferdinand Albrecht (son of August and Sophie Elisabeth) in the role of Cupid. The pantomime that he enacts during this musical interlude emphasizes both the varying fortunes in love that are induced by the blindfolded god's arrows, as well as the all-encompassing "Liebesband" that ultimately unites hearts and ties the world together. In choosing this particular episode from the play as the opportunity to include a visual record of the prominent attendees, Buno also establishes an intimate connection between the content of the scene and the audience for whom it is intended. Shown playing directly to the assembled panel of his relatives, with his bow aimed directly at them, this familiar Cupid evokes the outward marriage alliances between dynastic houses that he either has produced or will produce (and which of course in turn have produced him). In addition, by simultaneously combining the past, present,

³⁰ Adding further complication to the intrigue, Anna Sophia had been involved in a scandalous long-term affair with Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was another sibling of Julius Heinrich and Franz Karl, as well as the cousin of her husband Friedrich Ulrich.

and future representatives of the principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the tableau also affirms the inner continuity of ancestry within the larger duchy.³¹

This assertion of ancestral continuity receives further reinforcement with the appearance of Henricus Auceps, whom Mercury praises upon his entrance as the “Lobwürdigster Vermehrer des Teutschen Reichs/ und ein unsterblicher prächtiger Ruhm des jzzigen Brunswigischen Löwen-Geschlechts.”³² An acquaintance with medieval German history would seem to expose Mercury’s fallibility in this case; briefly stated, the dukes of Brunswick belonged to the Welf dynasty (and looked accordingly to Heinrich “der Löwe” as their illustrious ancestor), while Heinrich der Finkler was not a Welf at all but rather a Liudolfing.³³ However, we might excuse Mercury due to the fact that he merely reiterates the tenets of a local historiographical tradition that since the twelfth century—and especially after the official founding of the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1235—had deemphasized the southern German roots of the Welfs and their lost Duchy of Bavaria in favor of the subsequent (and lasting) acquisition of territory in lower Saxony.³⁴ By strategically grafting members of the old Saxon nobility onto the Welf family tree, these narratives provided further reinforcement to Welf claims of political legitimacy and historical connection to the territory. Thus the sight of the eight-year-old

³¹ On the complicated familial relationships between siblings of the high aristocracy, including issues both of cooperation and conflict, see Sophie Ruppel, *Verbündete Rivalen: Geschwisterbeziehungen im Hochadel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006).

³² <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00101>.

³³ On Heinrich I and the history of the Ottonian (i.e., Liudolfing) dynasty, see Matthias Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Husum: Matthiesen, 1996); Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1998); Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005); and Wolfgang Giese, *Heinrich I.: Begründer der ottonischen Herrschaft* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2008). On the history of the Welfs, see Josef Fleckenstein, “Über die Herkunft der Welfen und ihre Anfänge in Süddeutschland,” in *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, ed. Gerd Tellenbach (Freiburg im Breisgau: Albert, 1957), 71-136; Georg Schnath, “Das Welfenhaus als europäische Dynastie,” in *Streifzüge durch Niedersachsens Vergangenheit: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1968), 126-145; Gudrun Pischke, *Die Landesteilungen der Welfen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1987); and Hans-Georg Aschoff, *Die Welfen: Von der Reformation bis 1918* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010).

³⁴ See Bernd Schneidmüller, “Landesherrschaft, welfische Identität und sächsische Geschichte,” in *Regionale Identität und soziale Gruppen im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Moraw (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), 65-101; and Christian Seebald, “Heinrich der Vogler und die alten sächsischen Wurzeln des Hauses Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,” in *Libretti vom ‘Mittelalter,’* 208-213.

Anton Ulrich, the future Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, impersonating the celebrated progenitor of the Ottonian dynasty of German kings and emperors likely would have elicited knowing smiles in the audience, while the genealogical fabrication of such an ancestral connection may well have passed unnoticed.

Moreover, by placing Henricus Auceps and Arminius in direct juxtaposition, the scene enacted here becomes a kind of family reunion; for Arminius's own imagined pedigree as it had developed since the early sixteenth century had granted him an honorary place in the ancestral lineage of the Saxon dukes as well. The Hessian poet Burkhard Waldis (ca.1490–1556) had inducted the figure into a pantheon of twelve celebrated ancient German leaders (ranging from the mythical Tuisto to Charlemagne), describing him as “Arminius, den man nennt Herman / Ein junger Held, ein kühner Man / Von leib und gmüt wol auff erwachsen, / Geborn vom Hartz, ein Fürst zu Sachssen.”³⁵ This appellation “ein Fürst zu Sachsen” had become explicitly linked with Arminius in several visual depictions of the figure in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, among them a woodcut by Jost Amman (1539–1591) first published in conjunction with a reprinting of Waldis's poem in the 1566 German edition of the so-called *Baierische Chronik* by Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534).³⁶ For his part, in his account of the German princes' alliance against the Roman occupation, Aventinus goes even farther than most with embellishments of anachronistic detail, applying present-day geographical and ecclesiastical descriptors to a first-century context, and directly linking Arminius (or Erman, as he calls him) to the duchy of Brunswick:

³⁵ Burkhard Waldis, *Vrsprung und Herkumen der zwölff ersten alten König und Fürsten Deutscher Nation/ wie und zu welchen zeyten jr yeder Regiert hat* (Nuremberg: Guldenmundt, 1543). See also Jacques Ridé, “Arminius in der Sicht der deutschen Reformatoren,” in *Arminius und die Varusschlacht: Geschichte—Mythos—Literatur*, ed. Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woesler (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003), 246; and Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 65-69.

³⁶ The work bears the actual title: *Johannis Auentini Des hochgelerten weitberümbten Beyerischen Geschichtschreibers Chronica: Darinn nit allein deß gar alten Hauß Beyern Keiser, Könige, Hertzogen, Fürsten, Graffen, Freyherrn Geschlechte, Herkommen, Stam[m] vnd Geschichte, sondern auch der vralten Teutschen Vrsprung, Herkom[m]en, Sitten, Gebreuch, Religion, man[n]liche vnd treffliche Thaten ... zum fleissigsten beschriben vn[d] ... zusammen getragen vnd in acht Bücher getheilt ; Anfenglich durch den Authorem in Latein verfertigt, hernachmals aber ... in gut gemein hoch Teutsch gebracht, gemehrt vnd gebessert, zuvor nie in druck außgangen; Jetzundt aber dem Gemeinen nutz zum besten, der Teutschen Nation zu ruhm, vnd dem löblichen Hauß Pfalz vnd Beyern zu preiß vnd ehr publiciert vnd an den tag gegeben* (Frankfurt am Main: Raben, Feyerabend and Han, 1566).

Etlich fürsten und herren, nämlich herr Leybs der Hessen bischof, herr Sigmund ein sun Sigengasts, der Saxen zwischen der Weser und Elb im herzogtumb Braunschweigk sêlsorger, Wermair ain Hess, Egkmär sein sun, Sestacker aus Saxen zwischen der Elb und Weser, Pferdreyter ain brueder herzogs Milo [...] mit seinem sun Dietrichen aus der westfälischen landschaft machten haimlich ainen punt zesam, schwuern ain aid zesam wider die Römer, wolten ir haimat und vaterland, alle Teutschen vom römischen reich wider erledigen; warfen zue ainem hauptman auf herzogen Erman, so ain sun herzog Sigmairs und aus dem herzogtum, iezo Braunschweigk genant, pürtig was.³⁷

By overlaying the present onto the past, Aventinus closes the historical gap and implies a geographic and ancestral continuity between the “Germans” of the first century and those of the sixteenth century.

This kind of pragmatic approach to history was not uncommon, especially where issues of political legitimacy and dynastic lineage were at stake, and the ethnographic contributions of Tacitus accordingly provided early modern historians with a rich field from which to unearth suitably German ancestors. The narrative technique employed by Aventinus in this respect finds its visual analogue in another copper engraved map by Matthias Quad—this one designed according to the sixteenth-century cartographic tradition of the *Europa regina* (see figure 10a-b).³⁸ Aside from its allegorical representation of the European continent as a single corporeal entity (again stressing unity in diversity), what makes this map especially striking are the identificatory labels that blend the past with the present. Turning our attention specifically to the torso of this

³⁷ Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Matthias Lexer, vol. 4 of *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämtliche Werke* (Munich: Kaiser, 1883), 1:604.

³⁸ Matthias Quad, *Europae descriptio* (Cologne: Jan Bußemaker, 1587), repr. in Wilhelm Bonacker, introduction to *Geographisch Handbuch*, by Matthias Quad (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), xxxi. Detail reprinted in Folker Reichert, “Grenzen in der Kartographie des Mittelalters,” in *Migration und Grenze*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 28. The *Europa regina* tradition, which began with the cartographer Johannes Putsch in 1537, depicts a stylized map of Europe in the form of a human female figure, specifically a queen. As Putsch maintained close ties with the emperor Ferdinand I, the symbolism of the allegory can be read as pro-Habsburg: the Iberian peninsula as the figure’s crowned head, Bohemia as the heart, the Italian peninsula as her right arm, with Sicily represented as the globus crucigus which she holds in her hand. See Wolfgang Schmale, “Europa, Braut der Fürsten: Politische Relevanz des Europamythos im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder*, ed. Klaus Bussmann and Elke Anna Werner (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 241-267; and Elke Anna Werner, “Triumphierende Europa – Klagende Europa: Zur visuellen Konstruktion europäischer Selbstbilder in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Europa – Stier und Sternenkrantz: Von der Union mit Zeus zum Staatenverbund*, ed. Almut-Barbara Renger and Roland Alexander Ißler (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009), 241-260.

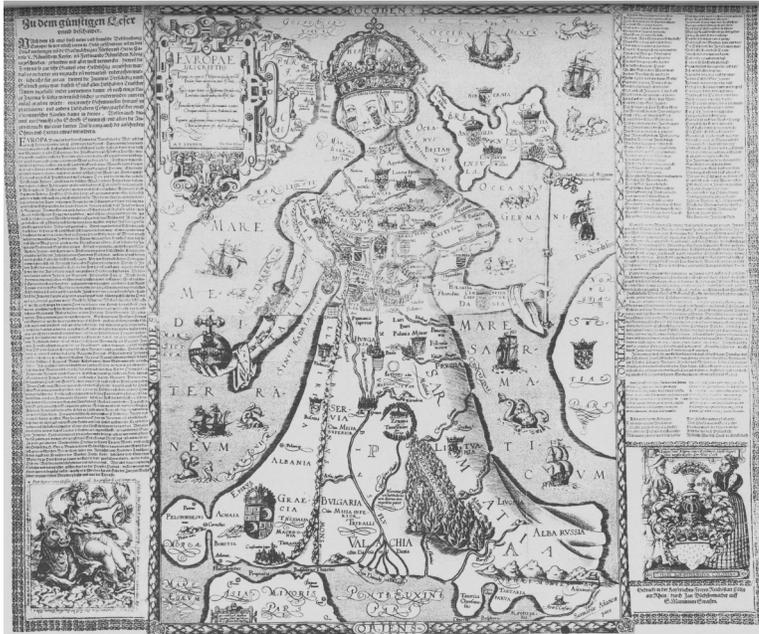


Figure 10a. *Evropae descriptio*..., Matthias Quad (Cologne, 1587). Source: Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg: 999 Gr/2Hist.pol.5,52a. Reprinted with permission.

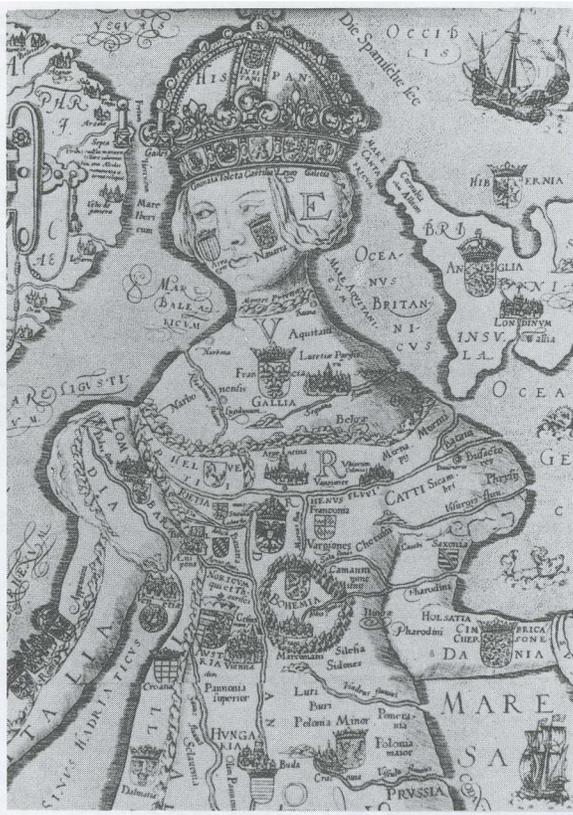


Figure 10b. Detail of Quad's *Evropae descriptio*.

body, we see the escutcheons of various current principalities of the Holy Roman Empire (Franconia, Bavaria, Saxonia, Bohemia, Austria) designating their territories, with the imperial shield positioned at the approximate geographic center. Yet the names of several ancient Germanic tribes (Cherusci, Chauci, Chatti, Sicambri, etc.) also intermingle among the modern coats of arms, as if there were no temporal distinctions separating them.³⁹ In the more detailed regional maps found in the *Geographisch Handtbuch*, Quad reiterates and expands these historical connections, integrating the Cherusci for example within the contemporary landscape of the Harz region (specifically what is today called the Mansfeld-Südharz district in Saxony-Anhalt), and asserting in the introductory text to his map of Hesse that “Hessenlandt [...] vorzeiten von den Catten sey bewohnet worden.”⁴⁰ Based on geographical clues gleaned from the writings of Tacitus and other ancient historians, such claims regarding the location of these tribal homelands were by no means entirely products of the imagination. Indeed, the classical sources provided a plausible amount of accuracy in their descriptions of the general topographic features of Germania, which gained even more credibility from the fact that the names of rivers had remained relatively constant across the centuries (and across languages).⁴¹ Although their notion of an unbroken line of ancestry between the former and the current inhabitants of these territories may strike us as implausible and lacking in scientific rigor, later readers of the ancient Roman and Greek texts found enough recognizable points of orientation

³⁹ It is interesting to note that Quad’s deliberate documentation of ancient peoples does not extend to other regions of Europe on this map; indeed, only the northern Germanic tribes receive explicit mention here, establishing them as indigenous peoples and, by implication, marking the Germans as the most ancient of European nations.

⁴⁰ Quad, *Geographisch Handtbuch*, sec. 31; Quad restates the connection of the Catti to Hessen on the map itself: “Hessenlandt [...] deren inwoner vorzeiten die Catti genennet worden.” The map of the “Graaffschafft Mansuel” is contained in section 21. The localization of the Cherusci to this particular Harz region has a tradition known even to Martin Luther, who was born in Eisleben (today a part of the Mansfeld-Südharz district), and once referred to himself in a *Tischrede* as “Lutherus Cheruscus: In chronicis legitur, quod quidam Cheruscus dux, ein Hartzler oder Hartzlender, nomine Hermannus, Romanos strage profligasset, et ex illorum acie 21000 occidisset. Ita nunc Lutherus Cheruscus, eyn Hartzlander, Romam devastat.” See *Tischrede* #3464c, in *Tischreden*, Abt. 2, vol. 3 of *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883-2009), 329-330. See also Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 336 n.129.

⁴¹ In addition to those mentioned by Tacitus in the *Germania*—namely the Rhine (*rhenus*), Danube (*danuvius*), and Elbe (*albis*)—Strabo’s *Geography* (7.1.3) attests to the Ems (Ἀμασία; Lat. *amisia*), Weser (Βίσουργις; Lat. *visurgis*), and Lippe (Λουπίας; Lat. *lupias*).

therein to lend an apparent verisimilitude to subsequent narratives built upon the premise of the ethnographic and well as geographic continuity of Germania. At this point in our discussion it should therefore come as no real surprise when a fold-out map purporting to illustrate “Das Theil Teutschlandes zwischen dem Rhein und Elb, wie es bald nach Augusti Zeiten bewohnt gewesen”—included as part of a biographical and historical account of Arminius by the Coburg historian Johann Heinrich Hagelgans (1606–1647)—does not merely confine itself to a representation of Germania in the Augustan age, but also incorporates several later developments alongside the settlement patterns of the Cherusci and Chatti as described by Tacitus (see figure 11).⁴² For while a few of the cities shown on this map can truly trace their origins directly to the period of Roman colonization (e.g., Coblenz, Cologne), most of them cannot.⁴³ Nevertheless, the anachronistic representation of such places as Marburg, Kassel, and Hagelgans’s own Coburg (all of which were officially established between the tenth and twelfth centuries) effectively lengthens their imagined date of charter and establishes their inhabitants’ primordial connection to a similarly long-lived “Teutschland.”

Imparting such an extended view of German history in fact comprises one of Hagelgans’s main pedagogical objectives for presenting the story of Arminius in the work itself. As he writes in the dedicatory introduction to the thirteen-year-old future duke Johann Ernst II of Saxe-Weimar (1627–1683), those who concern themselves only with recent events at the expense of ancient history are remiss, for “[b]eydes muß beysammen seyn/ vnd eines gegen das andere gehalten werden/ welches der rechte Gebrauch aller Historien ist.”⁴⁴ This reflective function of history views the past and the present as cognates, collapsing temporal boundaries while asserting the continuity of

⁴² See Johann Heinrich Hagelgans, *Deß thewren Fürsten vnd Beschürmers Teutscher Freiheit Arminii glorwürdige Thaten [...]* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1640), unpaginated insert between [xiv] and 1. Since the front matter of this work is unpaginated, I have assigned bracketed Roman numerals to these pages, beginning with the frontispiece.

⁴³ Indeed, Tacitus himself declares city living to be unknown among the Germanic tribes, who do not even like to dwell in close proximity to their neighbors: “Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes” (*Germania* 16.1).

⁴⁴ Hagelgans, [vi-vii]. Descended from the Ernestine line of the Wettin dynasty, Johann Ernst was the eldest surviving son of Duke Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar (1598–1662), one of the founding members of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*.

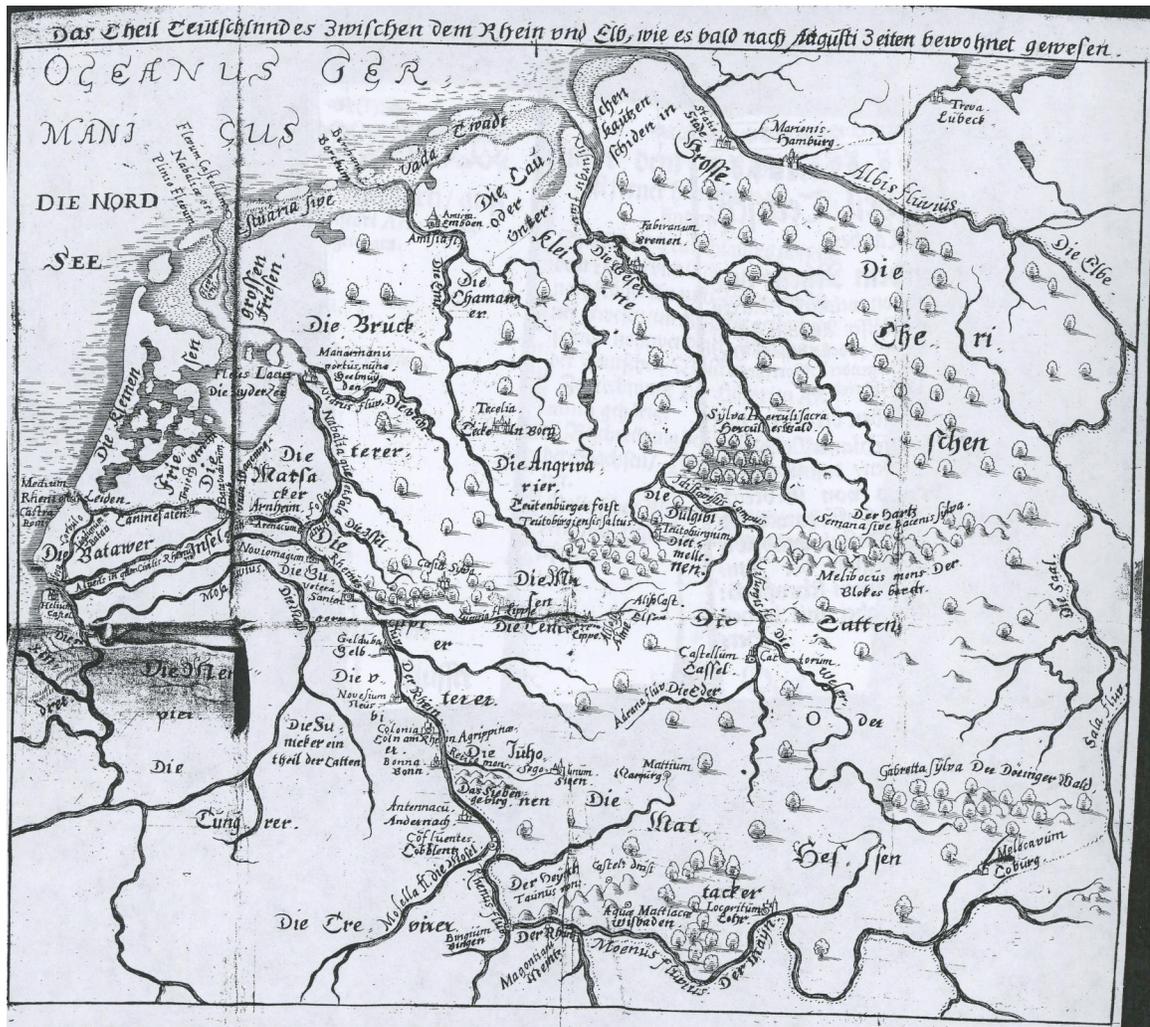


Figure 11. *Das Theil Teutschlandes zwischen dem Rhein und Elb, wie es bald nach Augusti Zeiten bewohnet gewesen*, from *Deß thewren Fürsten vnd Beschürmers Teutscher Freiheit Arminii glorwürdige Thaten...* (Nuremberg, 1643). Source: Special Collections at the Kelvin Smith Library, Case Western University: DD121.H34 1643. Reprinted with permission.

experience. Thus Hagelgans can argue that the ancient German hero Arminius provides a model life from which contemporary German “heroes”—and especially Johann Ernst—can learn, as “[Arminius] als ein hurtiger Beschützer Teutscher Freiheit sich in nachfolgender Histori allen unnd jeden anwachsenden Helden/ und also auch E. f. Gn. zum Exempel Heroischer Nachfolg vnter die Augen stellet.”⁴⁵ The inclusion of a “Politischer Blumen-Krantz” at the end of the book further emphasizes the role of the Arminius figure in the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition, as twenty pragmatic lessons are drawn from the narrative for the edificatory benefit of the reader.⁴⁶ Not all of these lessons paint a favorable picture of the Germans; as admonishments to princes, however, they offer a notably sober evaluation of the Arminius narrative and its current political and moral relevance. The irony that the freedom fighter himself later became a tyrant over his own people is read for example as a cautionary tale to the wise (“Die frewdigsten Beschützer der Freiheit sich bißweilen dieselbe zu vnterdrucken gelüsten lassen”), and the notorious discord among the Germans is lamented for its seeming permanence: “Teutsche durch nichts als durch Teutsche zu vberwinden. Dieses ist durch die leidige Trennung/ davon in vnser Historien zum öfftern Meldung geschicht/ gnugsam vor Augen.”⁴⁷

In an era when the particularist interests of the *Reichsstände* threatened to destabilize the imagined cohesion of the empire (i.e., Germania or Teutschland), the geographic accounts of Tacitus as well as the accompanying Arminius narratives lent support to two competing political tendencies, even as they also attempted to achieve a balance between them. On the one hand, these texts justified the claims of ancestral continuity between specific ruling houses and their discrete territories; on the other, they celebrated Arminius as the prince who was able to overcome these limited provincial interests in pursuit of a higher goal. Yet contrary to the objections raised by Hermand and others, these texts do not necessarily pose a threat to the autonomy of the princes by

⁴⁵ Hagelgans, [iv]. The abbreviation E. f. Gn. refers to the formula “Eure fürstliche Gnade.”

⁴⁶ These same lessons also appear at the beginning of the later anonymous edition of Hagelgans’s work, which was credited to “A.L. und H.S. von ****” and published as *Der Durchlauchtigste Fürst und tapfere Beschirmer Teuscher [sic] Freyheit Arminius...* (Leipzig: Groschuff, 1708).

⁴⁷ Hagelgans, 244-245.

advocating a strong centralized nation-state like the one that came into being in the nineteenth century; indeed, they often seem to regard such a concept as a dangerous step toward despotism. By instead advocating a message of unity, they hold up a utopian mirror that reflects the greater whole as the sum of its various diverse parts, with the strength of the German nation manifested in mutual cooperation among the princes, just as early modern maps envision a Germany that is a single yet diverse geographical and political entity.

The continuity of geography and ancestry also implies a continuity of character. Although Tacitus had depicted Germanic society as decidedly uncivilized in comparison with Roman ways of life, he also credited the barbarians on account of the noble simplicity of their existence and the preservation of social and moral virtues that the decadent Romans had lost.⁴⁸ The legacy of Tacitus in this respect proved once again to be stubbornly long-lasting, as the simultaneously complimentary and less-than-flattering qualities of these ancient characterizations continued to perpetuate themselves across the centuries. As was discussed in the introduction to this study, the German anti-papal attack against Piccolomini in the fifteenth century was the first to deploy Tacitus as its ammunition, contending that the Germans possessed admirable virtues long before the civilizing effects of Christianity. Yet if the positive aspects of Tacitus's ethnography could be claimed on behalf of modern Germans, then the potentially unattractive features also could not be ignored. Indeed, even as moral rectitude came to form a central aspect of medieval and modern German social identity (e.g., the concept of *Redlichkeit*), the accompanying rejection of "welsch" urbane decadence contributed to an image of the Germans as a rather uncouth, even uncultured people.⁴⁹ Such images were propagated not merely by outside observers, but were in fact exacerbated by what might be termed a superiority-inferiority complex on the part of the Germans themselves, especially when evaluating themselves against the standard of their French neighbors.

⁴⁸ See Tacitus *Germania* 18-21.

⁴⁹ Consider, for example, the negative connotations of German *Kultur* that accompanied the political and military ascendancy of Prussia and the founding of the second *Reich* in the nineteenth century. Anti-German propoganda from France, Britian, and the United States during the First World War would be quick to exploit these prejudices, especially favoring the image of the Germans as uncivilized "Huns."

In this respect the early representations of Arminius in seventeenth-century German narratives provide insight into contemporary anxieties regarding the continuity of “true” German character and its perceived endangerment from foreign influences. For it is obvious that the Arminius redivivus who encounters his compatriots of the 1640s sets himself apart from them with conscious pride, both in appearance and in speech.⁵⁰ In the case of the dramatic situation depicted in *Friedens Sieg*, Arminius and Henricus Auceps (no doubt voicing the opinions of the *Sprachgesellschaftler* Schottelius) express their confusion and disapproval over the current state of the German language on the basis of two encounters: one with a peasant who speaks in an uneducated local dialect, and the other with a gentleman who liberally peppers his macaronic sentences with French words and phrases. “Auf die Enderung der Sprache folget eine Enderung der Sitten,” declares Henricus Auceps in response to the Frenchified Bolderian; and Arminius echoes this notion that the degradation of the German language through foreign influences in turn causes detriment to the integrity of the German character.⁵¹ The nature of this character (i.e., the essential qualities of Germanness) can be ascertained through the negative example of Bolderian. Leveling his final critical assessment of the cavalier, Arminius remarks that “Gar wenig Bescheidenheit oder rittermessige Kriegeszucht scheint bey dem Kerl zu seyn,” to which Henricus responds: “Noch viel weniger einige Verständniß löblicher Tugenden/ oder Liebe zur Teutschen frommen Redligkeit.”⁵² It is important to note that among the praiseworthy virtues of modesty, piety, and moral rectitude, a proper

⁵⁰ The stage directions to the second act of Johann Rist’s *Das Friedewünschende Teütschland* (1649), in which Arminius (Heerzog Herman) converses with three other ancient Germanic heroes, provide the following instructions for the figures’ costumes: “Die vier Helden gehen auff eine gar alte Manier bekleidet / mit auffgebundenen langen Haren / grosse Streitkolben in den Händen haltend / mit angehängten breiten Schlachtschwertderen / und kan man sich der Abbildungen / welche in des hochgelehrten P. Klüverij altem Teutschlande werden gefunden / in diesem falle sehr nützlich gebrauchen.” See Johann Rist, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eberhard Mannack (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 2:48. “P. Klüverij” refers to the geographer and historian Philipp Clüver (1580–1632), whose *Germaniae antiquae libri tres* (1616) featured various copperplate engravings depicting the ancient Germanic peoples in a manner consistent with what the eighteenth century would later call the “noble savage.”

⁵¹ <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00118> - <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00120>.

⁵² <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm?image=00123>.

warlike spirit also constitutes an element of the true German temperament according to Arminius and Henricus, implicitly linking Germanness and concepts of masculinity.⁵³

The allusion to the perceived weakness of German men such as Bolderian who imitate the polished but superficial manners of the French receives further contemporary explication in “Ala mode Kehrauß,” the second part of Moscherosch’s satirical *Wunderliche und Wahrhaftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt* (1642/1643). Here a fantastical court of ancient and medieval Germanic notables (including Arminius, identified as “Heerman/ ein Hertzog zu Sachsen vnd Braunschwig”), before which the “man of mode” Philander stands trial for his susceptibility to emulate all things foreign, repeatedly pronounces in gendered terms its judgments regarding the defendant’s outward appearance and language. Thus the dress and physical appearance of the old Germans with their long beards and simple, practical clothing is virtuous (manly), while that of Philander and the *a la mode* contemporary Germans with their stylish facial hair and yellow silk stockings is frivolous (womanish). In a lengthy diatribe, Witichund—or Widukind, the Saxon leader and opponent of Charlemagne in the Saxon Wars of the eighth century—rails against the corrupting influence of French fashion and manners for their debilitating effects on the German strength of character: “Einmahl erfahret man das solche Herten vntüchtig sind/ vnd in der Heücheley also erweichet/ daß sie zu waß dapffers schwerlich mehr mögen angezogen werden. Weich in Worten? weich in Sitten

⁵³ Aspects of gender in Arminius narratives have attracted some scholarly attention in recent years, although most of this work tends to draw its evidence from the usual “canon” of post-1740 literary works. See for example Hans Peter Herrmann, “Arminius und die Erfindung der Männlichkeit im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Machtphantasie Deutschland: Nationalismus, Männlichkeit und Fremdenhaß im Vaterlandsdiskurs deutscher Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 161-191; and Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland: Die deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000). Discussions that also consider Lohenstein’s novel and visual representations in this respect include Detlef Hoffmann, “Arminius und Germania-Thusnelda: Zu einem ‘annehmlichen Kupfer’ von Johann Jacob von Sandrart,” in *Allegorien und Geschlechterdifferenz*, ed. Sigrid Schade, Monika Wagner, and Sigrid Weigel (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 65-71; and Bettina Brandt, “Neue Männer für Germania: Nation und Geschlechterbeziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Germania und ihre Söhne: Repräsentationen von Nation, Geschlecht und Politik in der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 63-105. For recent work on gender roles in two nineteenth-century Arminius operas, see Barbara Eichner, “Schwert und Schild und Dolch und Gift: Germanische Heldin und welsche Primadonna,” in *Diva – Inszenierung der übermenschlichen Frau*, ed. Rebecca Grotjahn, Dörte Schmidt, and Thomas Seedorf (Schliengen: Argos, 2011), 230-246.

vnd Geberde? weich am Herten.“⁵⁴ This weakness of character inherited from the Germans’ love and eager adoption of debonair French customs accordingly bodes disastrous consequences for the preservation and defense of the nation:

O der taigigen Feigen weyche! darauß eitel forchtsame verzagte Weychlinge vnd nichts-gültige Weiber-Herten werden: die nicht gut noch tauglich/ jhre Weibische Weiber/ geschweige Statt oder Land zu regieren sind. Dann wan ein solcher Weychling gegen Niemand seine Meynung vnd die Warheit mit Ernst vnd Mannlich reden darff/ wie wird er darffen die Wehr zucken/ wan die offenbahre feinde das Vatterland/ alß dan geschicht/ angreifen?⁵⁵

Read in the context of both the foreign invasions of the Thirty Years War and the later expansionist aims of Louis XIV, such reproaches held a real political relevance. Yet even as anxieties over French political infiltration remained a primary source of concern to German princes and the empire as a whole well into the eighteenth century (and later), these same princes readily imitated and adopted the trappings of French culture as epitomized by the court at Versailles—whether in fashion, manners, music, architecture and design, or language. Symptomatic of the inferiority complex that developed as a result of the perceived low level of native cultural sophistication, such voguish trends were pursued by the German ruling class as a civilizing impulse, as Philander (who is employed in a royal chancery) explains in his own defense: “Die Herrschafften meynen nicht daß ein Diener was wisse oder gelernet habe/ wan er seine Schrifften nicht dergestalt mit Wälschen vnd Lateinischen Wörtern ziere vnd schmücke.“⁵⁶ If the princes themselves placed more value on the learned prestige of foreign words, a thorough change in cultural outlook would need to permeate German society from top to bottom.

The cultivation of German as a respectable, even erudite language able to hold its own not only against the venerable scholastic tradition of Latin but also among the

⁵⁴ Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Wunderliche und Wahrhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1986), 130.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 148. Norbert Elias’s classic works on the sociology of civilization are *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols. (Basel: Verlag Haus zum Falken, 1939), published in English as *The Civilizing Process, Volume 1: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969) and *The Civilizing Process, Volume 2: State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); and *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie* (Neuwied/Berlin: Luchterhand, 1969).

established European literary vernaculars of French, English, Spanish and Italian had proceeded slowly and haltingly in the seventeenth century, in spite of the efforts of Schottelius and the various *Sprachgesellschaften* to purge it of unwanted foreign elements and restore its original purity.⁵⁷ Yet not all observers categorically condemned the French for their seductive and destructive influence on the Germans' language and morality. In an academic lecture delivered in 1687, the jurist and philosopher Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) famously encouraged the German students at Leipzig to follow the example of the French, who unabashedly employed their native language not only in daily conversation but in their scholarship as well. Thomasius additionally recognized the potential benefits of blending a proper dose of *galant* French style and manners with German moral uprightness to achieve “die wahrhaftige galanterie.”⁵⁸ This prescription for “true gallantry” strove to empty the term of the suggestive sexual connotations that had followed it over the border from France, and instead to redefine it according to an uneroticized *politesse* by which a man (for Thomasius's audience naturally consisted entirely of males) “wohl und anständig zu leben/ auch geschickt und zu rechter Zeit zu reden wisse/ ...seine Lebens-Art nach dem guten Gebrauch der vernünftigen Welt

⁵⁷ Recounting the formation of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in 1617, Georg Neumark (1621–1681) credits Kaspar von Teutleben (1576–1629) with the desire to establish a Sprachgesellschaft after the Italian model of such societies as the Florentine Accademia della Crusca, in which “unsere ädle Muttersprache/ welche... durch fremdes Wortgepräg/ wässerig und versalzen worden/ hinwieder in ihre uhralte gewöhnliche und angebohrne Teutsche Reinikeit/ Zierde und Aufnehmen eingeführt/ einträchtig fortgesetzt/ von dem fremd-drückenden Sprachenjoch befreyet/ ...und also endlich in den glorwürdigsten Ehrenthrone versetzt werden möchte.” See Georg Neumark, *Der Neu-sprossende Teutsche Palmbaum* (1668; repr., Munich: Kösel, 1970), 13.

⁵⁸ See Christian Thomasius, “Discours welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinem Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle,” 1687, in *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. Peter von Düffel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1970), 18-19. Recent scholarship on the social dimensions of gallantry in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and Germany, see Thomas Borgstedt and Andreas Solbach, eds., *Der galante Diskurs: Kommunikationsideal und Epochenschwelle* (Dresden: Thelem bei w.e.b., 2001); Kirsten Dickhaut and Dietmar Rieger, eds., *Liebe und Emergenz: Neue Modelle des Affektbegreifens im französischen Kulturgedächtnis um 1700* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006); Florian Gelzer, *Konversation, Galanterie und Abenteuer: Romaneskes Erzählen zwischen Thomasius und Wieland* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007); Alain Viala, *La France galante: Essai historique sur une catégorie culturelle, de ses origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008); Daniel Fulda, ed., *Galanterie und Frühaufklärung* (Halle/Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2009); Jörn Steigerwald, *Galanterie: Die Fabrikation einer natürlichen Ethik der höfischen Gesellschaft 1650–1710* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2011); and Ruth Florack and Rüdiger Singer, eds., *Galanterie als Verhaltenskonzept in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

richte,” and “niemands einige grob- und Unhöflichkeit erweise.”⁵⁹ Moreover, when in the company of women, the gallant German should likewise comport himself according to the decorous and rational disposition of the *honnête homme* (*der ehrliche Mann*) who fosters the art of polite conversation and chaste sociability without succumbing to the temptations of unseemly eroticisms.⁶⁰ While Thomasius’s directives were not aimed specifically at a courtly audience, they are reminiscent of the sentiments expressed in such early modern courtesy books as Castiglione’s highly influential *Il cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*), which served to educate princes (as well as the upwardly mobile) on the proper modes of civilized aristocratic behavior.⁶¹ Yet if the *Courtier*’s recommended cultivation of *sprezzatura* placed the book’s German adherents on the same playing field as the rest of Castiglione’s European disciples, Thomasius’s endorsed (though circumscribed) imitation of *galanterie* promised to raise the Germans decisively above their peers. Through the concentrated application of true gallantry, the morally superior German would thus be able to improve upon the French original and ultimately surpass it.

The conceptual framework in this introductory section has sought to demonstrate the extent to which early modern European political and cultural discourse relies on the narrative legacy of Tacitus in its construction of the German and a German nation—whether as a means to define behavior and character, stake ancestral claims to discrete territories, or envision the broad scope of a common Teutschland. In his intercultural clash with Rome, the figure of Arminius naturally plays a leading role in the envisioning of this cultural imaginary, which asserts the essence of a national character along with its claims to geographic and historical continuity. The assertion of this imagined continuity by no means ignores or denies the competing particularist interests evident in the post-

⁵⁹ Thomasius, “Discours,” 19.

⁶⁰ Ibid. For a discussion of Thomasius’s concept of true gallantry and the delicate line between proper and improper imitation of the French, see Bethany Wiggin, *Novel Translations: The European Novel and the German Book, 1680–1730* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 91–101.

⁶¹ On the wide-spread influence of Castiglione’s book, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: the European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

1648 Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, but rather recognizes the complexity of a political structure that acknowledged the autonomy of its sovereign states yet also maintained a system of imperial institutions that attempted to ensure their protection from each other. We see these complexities also in the reception and representations of the Arminius narrative at German courts, which the following case studies—primarily focused on the production of operatic works, but also incorporating spoken dramas with music, as well as other relevant contextual evidence—will explore in the remaining sections of Part 2. The first study regards the cultural and political climate of the Electoral Palatinate as an essential element for understanding the production of the opera *Arminio* at Düsseldorf in 1707. The second turns to the prince-archbishops of Salzburg, who wielded both secular and ecclesiastical authority, and examines three works in light of this patronage: the operas *Chi la dura la vince* (early 1690s) and *Il Germanico Marte* (1721), and the Benedictine school drama *Pietas in Patriam* (1771/1773). Finally, following a brief intermezzo performance by Arminius in an obscure occasional work for a Silesian duke (1727), the third case study engages with recent historiographic interpretations of Prussian aggrandizement vis-à-vis the stability of the Holy Roman Empire in the mid-eighteenth century by considering two works conceived amid the growing influence of Friedrich II and the Hohenzollern dynasty: the opera seria *Arminio* (1745) and its afterlife, and the stillborn German Singspiel *Thusnelde* (1749).

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As both staging ground for French hostilities and showplace for French extravagances, the Electoral Palatinate (*Kurpfalz*) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries presented a theater of contradictions. The devastating Rhineland campaigns of Louis XIV subjected the region first to plunderous foreign military occupation in the War of the Palatine Succession (or the Nine Years' War, 1688–1697), and ultimately reduced to ruins several of the region's most prominent cities, including the capital Heidelberg. Yet although French territorial aspirations to the east bank of the Rhine were eventually checked by a combined resistance of the German princes, the decisive triumph of French culture at the electoral court proved irreversible. In Düsseldorf, the *de facto* seat of the ruling house since the destruction of Heidelberg, Elector Johann Wilhelm (1658–1716; Elector Palatine from 1690) on the one hand surrounded himself with the lavish magnificence of a court that looked to Versailles as its model, extravagantly indulging his passion for the arts; on the other hand, by maintaining a solid alliance with the Habsburg emperors to whom he was closely related both by conjugal and blood ties, he consistently turned to Vienna for his political orientation.⁶² A staunch proponent of the imperial defensive posture against foreign encroachments from the Ottomans in the east and the Bourbons in the west, Johann Wilhelm upheld a firm sense of commitment to the integrity of the German empire and the advancement of

⁶² Düsseldorf was the ancestral residence of the Duchy of Berg, which in the early seventeenth century had passed to the so-called younger Neuburg line (i.e., Pfalz-Neuburg) of the Wittelsbachs. This Neuburg line subsequently inherited the Palatine Electorate in 1685. Johann Wilhelm's first wife was Archduchess Maria Anna Josepha of Austria (1654–1689), the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III and half-sister of Emperor Leopold I. Further strengthening the personal connection between the two houses, Leopold in turn married Eleonore Magdalene of Pfalz-Neuburg (1655–1720), the sister of Johann Wilhelm. Emperors Joseph I and Karl VI were therefore the nephews of Johann Wilhelm. On the political implications of these relationships, see Matthias Schnettger, "Kurpfalz und der Kaiser im 18. Jahrhundert: Dynastisches Interesse, Reichs- und Machtpolitik zwischen Düsseldorf / Heidelberg / Mannheim und Wien," in *Das Reich und seine Territorialstaaten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aspekte des Mit-, Neben- und Gegeneinander*, ed. Harm Klüeting and Wolfgang Schmale (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 67-95.

Roman Catholicism; indeed, as Schnettger asserts, “[z]u Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts war Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz einer [der] profiliertesten und wichtigsten Parteigänger des Kaisers unter den deutschen Reichsständen.”⁶³ A double portrait of the electoral couple from 1708 by the court painter Jan Frans van Douven unambiguously reinforces this commitment, depicting Johann Wilhelm with the imperial crown cradled protectively in his arm (see figure 12). Yet even as he was an advocate for the preservation of internal political cohesion within the empire, the elector and his second wife Anna Maria Luisa de’ Medici (1667–1743) also actively recruited to the electoral court an international array of musicians, artists and architects from the north and the south, establishing networks of patronage that stretched from the Netherlands to Tuscany.

While these cosmopolitan tastes certainly did not preclude Johann Wilhelm’s *Reichspatriotismus* and *Kaisertreue* (to be sure, the Habsburg court at Vienna provided ample evidence of similar international influences and preferences), we may well wonder how much room they allowed for the promotion of an identifiable German culture at the Palatine court—and whether such a development was in fact regarded as a priority at all. The Bavarian Johann Hugo Wilderer and the Nuremberg-born Georg Andreas Kraft held for example two of the highest ranking positions in Johann Wilhelm’s court orchestra, yet it would be difficult to perceive much that could be called German in their music. Consistent with the spirit of the age, in which time spent south of the Alps often fulfilled a prerequisite for musicians aspiring to employment at central European courts, the musical language of Wilderer (who may have been a pupil of Giovanni Legrenzi in Venice) and Kraft (who studied with Arcangelo Corelli in Rome) unmistakably betrays its Italian accent.⁶⁴ Likewise the Italian language itself served as the exclusive vehicle for the poetic texts set to music by Kapellmeister Wilderer, his predecessor Sebastiano

⁶³ Schnettger, “Kurfürst und der Kaiser,” 67.

⁶⁴ On Wilderer, see Gerhard Steffen, *Johann Hugo von Wilderer (1670 bis 1724): Kapellmeister am kurpfälzischen Hofe zu Düsseldorf und Mannheim*, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 40 (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1960). On Kraft, see Gerhard Croll and Ernst Hintermaier, “Kraft, Georg Andreas,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/15459> (accessed April 4, 2011). The composer and Leipzig music director Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722) satirized the contemporary German vogue for Italian musicians in his novel *Der musicalische Qvack-Salber* (1700), in which an incompetent German musician adopts an Italian name and duly attempts to pass himself off as an Italian virtuoso.



Figure 12. Double portrait of Elector Johann Wilhelm and Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici (Jan Frans van Douven, 1708). Source: Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890 n. 2718. Reprinted with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproduction or duplication prohibited.

Moratelli and, for a brief period, the composer and diplomat Agostino Steffani (1654–1728).

Steffani had established his reputation as a composer of the first rank through prestigious appointments at the courts in Munich and Hanover, but by the time of his arrival at Düsseldorf in 1703 he was already in the process of a major career change. Engaged by Johann Wilhelm first and foremost in a political capacity (as privy councillor, spiritual adviser and papal envoy), Steffani found little time for compositional activities amid his diplomatic duties and aspirations to higher office in the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁵ *Arminio*, an opera produced at Düsseldorf during the carnival season of 1707 to an original libretto by the court poet Stefano Benedetto Pallavicini, testifies to these greater obligations, as the degree of Steffani's direct involvement with the assembly of the score remains uncertain.⁶⁶ Gerhard Croll has shown that the work is essentially a *pasticcio*, with approximately two-thirds of the musical material adapted (perhaps by Wilderer or the copyist Gregorio Piva) from Steffani's Munich and Hanover operas.⁶⁷ Further scrutinizing Croll's investigation, Colin Timms builds an argument in favor of Steffani's direct involvement with the production of *Arminio*, both in the strategic process of borrowing and transposing previously composed arias and duets, as well as in

⁶⁵ Steffani's crowning achievement in this regard came in 1709 upon his appointment as Apostolic Vicar in northern Germany, a post which returned him to Hanover as his base of operations. See Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque*, 101-123.

⁶⁶ While *Arminio* is not included in Pallavicini's collected works, which were published posthumously by Francesco Algarotti in 1744 (*Delle opere del Signor S.B. Pallavicini*), the libretto is attributed to his authorship by the court secretary Giorgio Maria Rapparini. See Gerhard Croll, "Musikgeschichtliches aus Rapparinis Johann-Wilhelm-Manuscript (1709)," *Musikforschung* 11 (1958): 257-264.

⁶⁷ See Gerhard Croll, "Zur Chronologie der 'Düsseldorfer' Opern Agostino Steffanis," in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer*, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1962), 82-87. Steffani's name does not appear among the records of the Düsseldorf court Kapelle, and the composer himself later denied that he had written any operas while employed there, attributing them instead to the copyist Gregorio Piva. However, the evidence provided by Rapparini's manuscript contradicts Steffani's assertion. The biography of Steffani published by John Hawkins around 1750 alleges that Steffani's increasingly high-profile responsibilities as a statesman during this time led to this disavowal of his musical activities; apparently he considered the roles of diplomat and Kapellmeister to be mutually exclusive. See Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque*, 95-96; and Croll, "Musikgeschichtliches," 263.

the composition of new musical material.⁶⁸ In the absence of a printed libretto and the accompanying paratexts that often provide valuable insights (e.g., dedicatory letter, cast and personnel credits, historical background to the narrative), much about the motivation and circumstances of the work's production and performance has necessarily remained speculative.⁶⁹ However, the existence of an additional manuscript score that has heretofore gone unnoticed in Steffani scholarship sheds new light on these circumstances, even if it does not illuminate every aspect of the production.⁷⁰

Preserved among the collections of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg as Bip.Msc.17, this complete score likely served as an official presentation copy and perhaps also provided the source for the other surviving manuscript scores in Great Britain (London, British Library, R.M.23.f.15) and Canada (London, University of Western Ontario, MUSGMA MZ1270), since it contains additional information not included in the other copies. Especially welcome in this respect is the list of characters and corresponding singers, as well as the dedicatory remarks and “argomento” that precede the score. How or whether these prefatory texts correspond to those in the printed libretto—assuming that such a libretto was in fact printed—remains unknown; but having been written directly into the leather-bound copy of the score with great care, they hold a considerable weight of authenticity and afford a revealing glimpse into the rationale for staging an Arminius

⁶⁸ See Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque*, 241-242. Timms suggests that since the work contains considerably more borrowed material at the middle and end rather than the beginning, Steffani probably set out to write a new opera but ultimately ran out of time.

⁶⁹ No printed libretto from the performance of *Arminio* is currently known to exist in archival holdings. Croll obliquely refers to the existence of such a text, and even seems to quote from a dedicatory letter, but he disappointingly does not provide any source citation. See Croll, “Musik und Politik: Steffani-Opern in München, Hannover und Düsseldorf,” in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca: Atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII, Lovenjo di Menaggio (Como), 28–30 giugno 1993*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Norbert Dubowy, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan (Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1995), 33-42. My attempts to contact Professor Croll in this regard have thus far been unsuccessful.

⁷⁰ I am grateful to Colin Timms for alerting me to the existence of this score, and by extension to Rashid-Sascha Pegah who initially contacted Professor Timms with this information. Upon further investigation, I have discovered that references to the score in fact were included in a catalog published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Joseph Heller, Friedrich Leitschuh, and Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg* (Leipzig: Buchner [Hucke], 1887-1912), 3:123.

opera at the Palatine court. Due to their importance in the following discussion, these foreword remarks merit a transcription here in full:

Molte cose dovrei dire al Lettore, per dichiarazione e moltissime per giustificazione di questa mia Tragedia. Il gran Principe, a cui ò la sorte di servire, si è contentato di prescrivermi un soggetto confacevole, più tosto, che al mio basso ingegno, alla sublime sua Mente, mosso per avventura a sceglierlo dalla conformità de suoi generosissimi sentimenti con quelli dell'antico Arminio.

Questo Duca de Cherusci acerrimo difensore della Patria mal soffrendo di vedere i Romani dilatar le conquiste loro dal Reno fino all'Albi, sorpreso Quintilio Varo Generale d'Augusto, che si trovava nella Vesfalia per ivi all'uso di Roma tener ragione, tagliò a pezzi tre Legioni, e ne riportò in trionfo le Insegne. Venne quindi a meritare da suoi Nemici il bel titolo di Liberatore della Germania, che lo ripose frà gli Dei tutelari, conghetturandosi da molti con fondamento, che l'Idolo d'Irmesule famoso à tempi di Carlo Magno altro non fosse, che una statua rappresentante Arminio. Ebbe per moglie Tusnelda Donna d'animo grande, ed altrettanto aliena da' Romani, quanto ne fù amico il di lei Padre Segeste che perciò ne ottenne da Augusto il dono della Cittadinanza. Nella tessitura di questi avvenimenti ò procurato d'accennare molti de costumi dell'antica Alemagna, come quelli, che per iscarrezza di scrittori non sono de più conosciuti; avendo i Germani di què secoli preferito ad ogn' altro il mestier della Guerra, da quale furono dinominati, e che viene tuttavia professato con tanta lode da questa valorosa Nazione.⁷¹

Several elements in this text bear our attention. First, although it is regrettable that the author of the dedication did not sign his name, we can surmise that the voice of Pallavicini lies behind the words, since he as the court poet would have assumed responsibility for concocting the drama and writing the libretto. Pallavicini does indeed take credit for “questa mia Tragedia,” but he also makes clear that Johann Wilhelm (“il gran Principe”) has specifically recommended the subject matter (“si è contentato di prescrivermi un soggetto confacevole”) because of a perceived affinity between his own temperament and that of Arminius (“dalla conformità de suoi generosissimi sentimenti con quelli dell'antico Arminio”). The nature of these “generosissimi sentimenti” can be read in general terms as the qualities of any model leader, consistent with the efforts of

⁷¹ Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Bip.Msc.17, fol. 2r-2v. In the discussion that follows, reiterative quotations from this text will not receive their own footnote citation. It should be noted that in his references to a printed dedicatory letter or foreword, Croll quotes the words “Serenissime Maître” and “virtù,” none of which appears in this manuscript dedication. See Croll, “Musik und Politik,” 34.

the Arcadian reform movements around 1700 to portray operatic protagonists as exemplary figures; but the *argomento* that follows in the next paragraph supplies more specific allusions to the connections between Arminius and Johann Wilhelm, emphasizing in particular the imagined relationship of the two men to their common homeland—namely Germany.

Initially identified in terms of his tribal affiliation (“Duca de Cherusci”), Arminius is characterized as an “acerrimo difensore della Patria” who transcends provincial boundaries to achieve lasting notoreity as the “Liberatore della Germania.” Whether “patria” refers in this case just to the territory of the Cherusci or whether it also encompasses a larger concept of “Teutschland” has important implications for understanding the contemporary significance of the Arminius figure vis-à-vis the imagined German nation in early modern Europe as well as the obligation of the princes to that nation. As we have seen, the homeland of the Cherusci—as described in the ancient sources and visually confirmed by contemporary maps such as those found in works by Quad and Hagelgans—lay to the northeast of the Harz region; yet Pallavicini emphasizes that Arminius took umbrage at the entire Roman occupation that stretched from the Rhine to the Elbe (“mal soffrendo di vedere i Romani dilatar le conquiste loro dal Reno fino all’Albi”), implying that the Cheruscan’s definition of “patria” extended even to territories inhabited and controlled by other tribes, with whom he perceived some kind of common affinity. A similarly broad, if short-lived, understanding of the “patria” manifested itself in the coalition of German princes (including the electors of Brandenburg, Saxony and Bavaria, as well as the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel) that had formed in opposition to the French occupation of the Rhineland in the late 1680s and 1690s.⁷² If Johann Wilhelm meant to compare his own negligible participation in those conflicts with the leadership role assumed by the ancient Arminius, he surely was flattering himself; nevertheless, as Elector Palatine he continued to foster solidarity with the empire in its next war with France when others—most notably Elector Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria—had fallen away to further their

⁷² See John A. Lynn, “The Great Miscalculation: The Nine Years War,” in *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (London: Longman, 1999), 191–265.

own particularist ambitions.⁷³ With French hostilities threatening once again to spill into the Rhineland, this immediate conflict with Louis XIV thus provides the backdrop against which *Arminio* was created and performed. To be clear, apart from Pallavicini's explicitly stated connection between Arminius and Johann Wilhem, I do not intend to argue too closely for one-to-one allegorical correspondences between specific events or characters in the opera and the personages who made up its audience (as discussed in the first part of this dissertation regarding Habsburg politics on the Italian peninsula, too many factors remain unknown to support such an argument); I do, however, contend that the subject matter was undoubtedly a political choice. Johann Wilhelm did not select a generic pastoral romp featuring amorous shepherdesses and lustful satyrs, or even a venerable tale spun from Greek or Roman mythology as the subject of the court's annual carnival opera, but instead a historical narrative with deep geographical and historical ties to the Rhineland, as Pallavicini elaborates in his dedicatory remarks.

By situating the historic battle between Arminius and Varus in Johann Wilhelm's own backyard of Westphalia ("Vesfalia"), Pallavicini provides an important topographical link between the past and the present—one that is justified and supported by a historiographical tradition that reaches back to the earliest reception of Tacitus's *Annals* in the sixteenth century. Tacitus had only vaguely referred to an area between the Ems and the Lippe (not far from the even vaguer *saltus teutoburgiensis*) as the location of the battlefield, but the Protestant humanist Georg Spalatin (1484–1545) freely elaborated upon these details in the first modern biography of Arminius, asserting that Varus's defeat had occurred "nicht fern vom Dusberger wald/ wenig meile von Dusseldorff/ im

⁷³ In the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the Bavarian elector allied himself with the French against the Habsburgs in an attempt to claim the imperial throne for the Wittelsbach dynasty. The major defeat of the Franco-Bavarian troops in the Battle of Blenheim (known in German historiography as the Second Battle of Höchstädt) in 1704 halted the planned assault on Vienna and forced Maximilian Emanuel to flee under imperial ban to the Netherlands and then to France until after the end of the war (at which time the electorate was restored to him). In the intervening time the administration of Bavaria was partitioned between Austria and the Electoral Palatinate, with Johann Wilhelm receiving control of the Upper Palatinate (returned to Bavaria in 1714). It should be noted that in spite of his allegiance to Vienna, Johann Wilhelm also exerted his own particularist demands on the emperor, which he ultimately sacrificed in order to maintain his alliance with the Habsburgs. See Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis*, 71-77; and Schnettger, "Kurfalz und der Kaiser," 75-76.

land zu Berge/ des Hertzogen zu Jülich/ Cleue vnd Berge.”⁷⁴ Others contributed their own hypotheses: the Westphalian humanist and priest Johannes Cincinnius (c.1485–1555) proudly located the battle site near Rietberg, in the area of his own hometown Lippstadt; and Aventinus, though Bavarian, likewise corroborated the localization in the Rhineland, claiming that “die schlacht ist geschehen im herzogtum Cleve bei der stat und vorst Duisburg, auf oberlendisch Teutzburg.”⁷⁵ Pallavicini further confirms the local relevance of the Arminius narrative (as well as his familiarity with scholarly discourse on the subject) by referring to the Irminsul (“l’Idolo d’Irmesule”), a pagan monument which Charlemagne had famously ordered to be destroyed as part of his military campaigns against the recalcitrant Saxons in the eighth century. This event was well known through medieval chronicles, even if the exact purpose, appearance and location of the Irminsul remained mysterious.⁷⁶ Suppositions regarding its alleged connection to Arminius (due to the seeming etymological correlation between “Irmin,” “Armin,” “Hermann,” and other similar analogies) first found expression once again in Spalatin and would continue into the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Consistent with the theories advanced by Spalatin, Hagelgans (who devotes a section of his *Deß thewren Fürsten vnd Beschürmers Teutscher Freiheit*

⁷⁴ Georg Spalatin, *Von dem thewren Deutschen Fürsten Arminio ein kurtzer auszug aus glaubwird. lat. Historien* (Wittenberg, 1535), digital facsimile by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, urn:nbn:de:bsb:12-bsb1-165182-6, available at <http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1016/bsb10165182/images/index.html?digID=bsb10165182&pimage=00025&v=100&md=1&l=de>.

⁷⁵ See Johannes Cincinnius, *VAn der niderlage drijer Legionen vn[d] meren Römische[n] krijgßfolcks/ mit jrem Capiteano Quintilio Varo/ by tyden der gebort Christi/ vnd Julio Cesare/ vnd Octauiano Augusto/ gescheit in Westphalen/ tuschen den wateren der Emesen vnd der Lippen/ by den Retborge vnd jn der Delbruggen* (Cologne: Quentel, 1539), digital facsimile by the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-1976, available at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-1976>; and Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Matthias Lexer, vol. 4 of *Johannes Turmair’s genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke* (Munich: Kaiser, 1883), 1:605.

⁷⁶ According to the *Annales regni Francorum* (eighth–ninth century), the destruction of the Saxon Irminsul in 772 took place near “Eresburg.” See Gerhard Mildenerger, Fred Schwind, and Jürgen Udolph, “Eresburg,” in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., ed. Heinrich Beck et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 7:475-482; see also Bernhard Maier and Matthias Springer, “Irminsul,” in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., ed. Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 15:504-506.

⁷⁷ See Erich Sandow, “Vorläufer des Detmolder Hermannsdenkmals unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Hermannsdenkmals im Seifersdorfer Tal bei Dresden,” in *Ein Jahrhundert Hermannsdenkmal 1875-1975*, ed. Günther Engelbert (Detmold: Naturwissenschaftlicher und Historiker Verein für das Land Lippe, 1975), 107-111.

Arminii glorwürdige Thaten to a consideration of the “Bild Irmensuel in Nider-Sachsen”) and others regarding the nature and location of this Irminsul, Pallavicini implies a Westphalian origin and contends that the monument was in effect a statue of Arminius (“...altro non fosse, che una statua rappresentante Arminio”), who as the “Liberatore della Germania” had become the object of widespread religious veneration (“lo ripose fra gli Dei tutelari”).⁷⁸ By including these details, Pallavicini evokes the particular connection of the elector’s Westphalian homeland (i.e., Düsseldorf, Jülich, Cleves and Berg) with the Arminius narrative; yet that narrative itself continually insists on a larger scope, pushing the boundaries of the *patria* outward to incorporate all of Germania as an imagined community that shares Arminius as its hero.

Pallavicini’s concern with the particular is also evident in his stated intention to portray the ancient Germans and their customs with a degree of historical accuracy: “ò procurato d’accennare molti de costumi dell’antica Alemagna, come quelli, che per iscarsenza di scrittori non sono de più conosciuti.” Although he does not explicitly refer to the sources at his disposal—whether historical accounts or literary adaptations—it is clear that Campistrone’s *Arminius* (and its operatic derivatives) exerted little if any influence on the dramaturgy of Pallavicini’s work, and certainly did not offer much insight into the obscure details of ancient Germanic society, while Lohenstein’s encyclopedic *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius* very well may have provided both inspiration and information on these counts.⁷⁹ In fact, Pallavicini’s libretto presents a distinctive portrait of the ancient Germans and their Roman adversaries unlike that found in any other Arminius opera before the mid-eighteenth century—an image that, while

⁷⁸ The exact location of “Eresburg” invited speculation that postulated both Merseburg (on the Saale in Saxony-Anhalt) and Marsberg (in Westphalia) as the site of the famous Irminsul. Spalatin presents both sites as possibilities in the last section of his Arminius biography; Hagelgans leans more decisively towards the Westphalian location: “So hat demnach dieses Bild Irmensuel oder Ermensuel in Westphalen an der Dimmel auff dem Schloß oder Castel Eresburg/ da jetzt die Stadt Marsberg ligt/ so auch Stadtberg genennet wird/ gestanden” (231).

⁷⁹ The strongest evidence of Lohenstein’s influence can be found in the priest Libisso, a character who also appears in the novel but in no other contemporary Arminius narrative. It is also notable that Pallavicini got the names “right,” i.e., the wife of Arminius is actually called Thusnelda (Tusnelda). Among the operatic repertoire of Arminius narratives by this time, only Salvi’s original version of *Arminio* (1703) and Bernardoni’s *Arminio* (1706) had used the name Tusnelda.

tempered by the decorum of the operatic genre and musical conventions, does not shrink from acknowledging the element of barbarism in the representation of its protagonists. Pallavicini admits as much when he notes that the practice of warfare supplied an essential characteristic of the ancient Germans' identity (even forming the basis of their name itself): "avendo i Germani di què secoli preferito ad ogn' altro il mestier della Guerra, da quale furono dinominati, e che viene tuttavia professato con tanta lode da questa valorosa Nazione." The statement is by no means condemnatory; indeed it rather praises the ancient Germans as an honorable people ("questa valorosa Nazione," again viewing them as a coherent group), and echoes the sentiments of Tacitus: if the Germans were barbarians in comparison to the Romans, at least they were noble barbarians.

However, in spite of the librettist's extensive research into the subject matter and engagement with its specifically German elements, an important question remains: were these distinctions in any way conveyed through the music as well? Contemporary music theorists and composers certainly recognized a difference in national styles within the realm of opera, where two independent traditions—the Italian and the French—had grown up alongside each other in the seventeenth century and continued to engage in a bit of sibling rivalry for the better part of another two hundred years. While Italian opera could boast that it had leapt across the Alps to captivate all of central Europe, the influence of its French counterpart proved equally significant in the development of the "mixed" style that came to characterize the work of such German composers as Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739) and Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), among others who contributed to the promotion of German-language opera.⁸⁰ Steffani himself, though Italian both by birth and in his musical upbringing, had also assimilated much of the French style in accordance with the tastes of the German courts that employed him.

⁸⁰ On the German cultivation of a cosmopolitan musical style in the eighteenth century, see Friedhelm Brusniak and Annemarie Clostermann, eds., *Französische Einflüsse auf deutsche Musiker im 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Studio, 1996); Klaus-Peter Koch, *Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739): Leben und Werk*, 2nd ed. (Teuchern: Reinhard-Keiser-Gedenkstätte, 1999); and Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Contemporary German music critics including Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), and Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) highly esteemed the development of a "mixed style" or "taste," especially as practiced by Telemann. See also George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 562-565.

Timms notes that most of Steffani's operas are preceded by the distinctive type of French overture (slow, majestic opening with dotted rhythmic figures, followed by a quicker fugal section) that had become fashionable in Germany in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and often incorporate French courtly dance forms in the arias and ballet movements between the acts.⁸¹ In addition, Sibylle Dahms also observes "der klangliche Reichtum" that Steffani achieves by his careful attention to diverse instrumentation in his operas—compositional techniques that "erinner[n] eher an französische als an italienische Modelle."⁸²

While Steffani may not have cultivated an immediately recognizable German musical language in his operas, I would like to argue that the discovery of what is particularly German in *Arminio* depends partly on the identification of what is unmistakably French. It is clear that Pallavicini (and Johann Wilhelm) did not regard Arminius as just another random historical figure around which to construct an opera plot with interchangeable character names; as we have seen, the narrative's roots extended deep into the local topography, endowing it with a relevancy unlike that of most classical and mythological subjects. The contemporary political antagonism between the Holy Roman Empire and France also contributed to the immediate relevance of an ancient German hero who took up arms in order to defend his homeland against foreign aggression. Apart from a military context, we have seen that such analogies connecting the modern French with the decadent Roman invaders also found contemporary expression in fears of cultural infiltration and contamination, whether overtly as in the work of Schottelius and Moscherosch or more subtly as in Thomasius's attempt to appropriate French gallantry for purer ends. If the French therefore had attained a high degree of association with the role of the Romans in contemporary German retellings of the Arminius narrative (as for example in the case of Lohenstein's novel), might we construe the French musical references in Steffani's *Arminio* as indicative in some way of

⁸¹ See Colin Timms, "Steffani, Agostino," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26611> (accessed March 24, 2011).

⁸² Sibylle Dahms, "Steffani, Agostino," in *MGG: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), Personenteil 15:1369.

the Roman character?⁸³ While acknowledging the fact that much of the music in this work was derived from other operas that themselves had nothing to do with such a German-Roman conflict, I contend that the selective process of consciously choosing and adapting particular music in accordance with the dramatic needs of the libretto actually strengthens the argument in favor of such an interpretation.⁸⁴ Table 4 serves as the initial basis for this investigation by providing a sequential list of all the vocal items (excluding recitative) in Steffani's *Arminio*, noting the type (e.g., aria, duet, ensemble) and form (e.g., binary, ternary) of each, as well as the character(s) assigned to the piece.

Table 4. Vocal numbers in Steffani's *Arminio* (1707)

No. ⁸⁵	Incipit	Type/Form	Sung by
1.1	Bella sorte	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Servilio
1.2	Cheto in grembo	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Varo
1.3	Malia possente	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Arminio
1.4	Chi ben ama	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Tusnelda
1.5	Il placar tanta fierezza	Aria (AB)	Inguiomero
1.6	Trionfi trà noi	Aria (ABB), preceded by instrumental gavotte-march	Varo
1.7	Moderar di Roma	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Segeste
1.8	Mentre cade	Aria/Ensemble (gavotte, AABB)	Servilio, Varo, Inguiomero, Segeste
2.1	Più ridon l'erbe	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Ermude

⁸³ In decoding Lohenstein's *roman à clef*, Elida Szarota has noted that the Roman commander Drusus as well as the emperors Augustus and Tiberius all represent facets of Louis XIV, while Arminius depicts the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I. See Szarota, *Lohensteins Arminius als Zeitroman: Sichtweise des Spätbarock* (Bern: Francke, 1970), 120-129.

⁸⁴ Timms likewise defends the dramatic integrity of *Arminio* as a pasticcio, due to the particular circumstances of its creation: "A successful musical drama, especially from the Baroque period, depends on the quality of its libretto as well as on that of its music. A satisfactory drama is not a likely outcome when the libretto is compiled by a number of people, including librettist, composer, impresario, and singers, but the chances of success are greatly increased if the libretto is adapted by an experienced poet and if the music, old and new, is arranged by a composer not under pressure to accommodate baggage arias imposed on him by a diverse group of singers. *Arminio* belongs in the latter category." See Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque*, 242-243.

⁸⁵ The numbering system orders the vocal items sequentially within each act, and does not necessarily correspond to scene divisions; for example, 1.1 simply denotes the first vocal item in Act 1.

2.2	A'oggetto divino	Aria (ABB)	Servilio
2.3	Così di vincerla	Aria (minuet, AABB)	Ermude
2.4	Per dar luogo	Aria (ABC)	Varo
2.5	Di ch'io mora	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Tusnelda
2.6	Volge intrepida la faccia	Aria (AAB)	Arminio
2.7	Odi prima	Aria (AAB)	Tusnelda
2.8	Agli oltraggi del furore	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Segeste
2.9	Dilegua speranza	Duet (da capo, ABA)	Arminio, Tusnelda
2.10	Nova furia	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Arminio
2.11	Mai cura inquieta	Aria (minuet, AABB)	Inguiomero
3.1	À torto	Aria (ABB)	Ermude
3.2	Che non può	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Tusnelda
3.3	Arridano serene le stelle	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Segeste
3.4	Il desio de l'amor mio	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Varo
3.5	Del bel furto	Aria (through composed)	Servilio
3.6	À chi tiene	Aria (through composed)	Ermude
3.7	Di fortissime ritorte	Duet (ABB)	Servilio, Ermude
3.8	Il tuo ardir	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Inguiomero
3.9	Di facile impresa	Aria (ABA)	Servilio
3.10	A destar la pietà vostra	Aria (da capo, ABBA)	Arminio
3.11	Armi sì	Ensemble (ABB)	Arminio, Chorus
3.12	Strisciar veggo	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Libisso
4.1	Omai lasciatemi	Aria (ABC)	Tusnelda
4.2	Deh fuggi, oh dio	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Tusnelda
4.3	Vivi e dolce volgimi	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Arminio
4.4	Combattan frà l'armi	Duet (da capo, ABA)	Arminio, Tusnelda
4.5	Voi che fate	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Servilio
4.6	Sembra nave	Aria (AB)	Varo
4.7	Dalla morte che fuggite	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Segeste
4.8	Già d'intorno	Aria (da capo, ABA), followed by instrumental gavotte-march and military flourishes	Arminio
5.1	Colui che m'ha ferita	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Ermude

5.2	Piangi pur	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Inguiomero
5.3	All'ora ch'io spiro	Aria (AB)	Servilio
5.4	Da le stragi	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Arminio
5.5	Or mi lice più felice	Aria (minuet, AABB)	Tusnelda
5.6	Suoni, tuoni il suolo	Aria (da capo, ABA)	Erta
5.7	Un'invitta costanza	Chorus (minuet, AABBC)	Tutti

Given the conventions of Italian opera, the predominance of solo tripartite (da capo, ABA) arias in this outline comes as no surprise; but *Arminio* also displays a notable variety of other non-da capo forms, including AAB (bar form), ABB (extended binary), through-composed numbers and binary dance forms.⁸⁶ It is to these dance forms that we first turn our attention. With their distinctly French pedigree, the minuet and the gavotte—the two dance types that appear within the drama itself (apart from the separate ballets that were performed between the acts by the court's dance troupe)—had achieved an aristocratic prestige through their association with the court of Louis XIV. Indeed, since the dancing masters employed at the electoral court (as well as most other major German courts) were French, the cultivation and practice of dance in these settings undoubtedly reinforced a connection with French culture. The minuet, a social dance in a moderate triple meter, involved a series of four small steps embedded within a larger choreography that resembled a kind of sophisticated mating ritual. In describing these movements, Meredith Little relies on the invaluable accounts of dance practices at the French court provided by the dancing master Pierre Rameau in his two treatises on the subject (*Le maître à danser* and *Abrégé de la nouvelle méthode*, both 1725):

After making honours to the Présence (the king or someone else designated to preside for the evening) and to each other, the dancers moved through a series of prescribed step patterns to diagonally opposite sides of a rectangular area. From there they moved, again in the typical minuet step patterns, along an imaginary letter Z so that they passed each other in the middle and finished the figure in opposite positions (before 1700 the figure of the floor pattern was a letter S, the sign for the Sun King, Louis XIV). After several Z figurations, the dancers presented their right hands to each other in the middle of the rectangle and turned

⁸⁶ The instrumentation of the arias also reveals striking variety; some require only basso continuo accompaniment, while others call for full strings or solo obligato instruments (flute, oboe, bassoon, violin).

a full circle before retreating to diagonally opposite corners. Then they advanced again for a similar presentation of left hands, followed by more letter Z figurations. The climax of the dance was the presentation of both hands, during which the dancers turned several circles before retreating together to make honours to each other and to the *Présence*.⁸⁷

This threefold combination of graceful elegance and effortless, an undercurrent of erotic innuendo, as well as the aristocratic context of the French court all surely contributed to the minuet's associative palette; Daniel Hertz in fact has noted that the minuet "approached synonymy with the term *galant*" in the eighteenth century.⁸⁸ Like the minuet, the gavotte had also found a prominent place in the ceremonial court balls of Louis XIV, although it is uncertain how its dance patterns may have changed on the way from its Breton folk origins to the high nobility.⁸⁹ Constructed in a lively duple meter, the gavotte typically consisted of repeated four- and eight-measure phrases beginning with a half-measure upbeat, and often characterized by a dotted quarter note–eighth note rhythmic combination.

While French dance forms constitute only a handful of the vocal items in *Arminio*, they do occur at dramatically significant points in the narrative and thereby lend support to a reading (or "listening") of the opera that regards these allusions to contemporary French gallantry as a comment on the values and mores of the ancient Roman and German characters depicted on stage. Two examples of the gavotte appear in the final scene of the first act, the course of which has established the Roman occupation of Germania as the basis for the central conflicts of the opera (for the complete synopsis of the work, see Catalog Index I.08). From the very opening scene, it is apparent that the Romans' designs on Germania involve not merely political domination but erotic conquest as well. Such is the dilemma that the Roman governor Varo and his compatriot

⁸⁷ Meredith Ellis Little, "Minuet," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18751> (accessed March 28, 2011).

⁸⁸ Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 23.

⁸⁹ See Meredith Ellis Little, "Gavotte," In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/10774> (accessed March 28, 2011).

Servilio discuss at the beginning: they are both in love with the daughters of German chieftains, but Roman custom forbids intermarriage with foreigners. Similar to historical novels of the time that called themselves “Staats- und Liebes-Geschichte,” the political and the personal comprise the two interwoven elements of the plot, leading to the familiar operatic quandary involving outward public duty and inner private feeling.⁹⁰ The initial arias sung by Servilio and Varo indicate however that these Romans are more concerned with matters of love than with issues of state. Servilio praises the lot of the lover as pleasure in an exuberant G-major aria (“Bella sorte d’un amante”), while Varo smoothly plans to ingratiate himself with the unsuspecting Tuscelda in order to achieve his amorous goals (“Cheto in grembo à bella fede il sospetto dormirà”).⁹¹ By contrast, the opening arias of Arminio and Tuscelda express their selfless love for each other in a more profound manner. In “Malia possente” Arminio confesses the simultaneously ennobling and arresting power of Tuscelda’s tears over him (“tu forzi l’anima, fai tardo il piè”), revealing not his machinations to control her but rather his subjugation to her spell.⁹² The G-minor tonality, slow tempo, and expressive dissonance in the alternately soaring and swooping obligato solo violin and oboe parts emphasize the mystic nature of these sentiments, providing a notable counterpoint to Servilio’s casual approach to love. Tuscelda’s response to Arminio after he promises to put aside his anger at her father’s

⁹⁰ The full title of Lohenstein’s *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius*, for example, confirms its status as a “Staats-, Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte.” Other contemporary examples of this “genre” include such novels by Talander (August Bohse, 1661–1740) as *Die Durchlauchtigste Alcestis aus Persien/ In einer angenehmen Staats- und Liebs-Geschichte...vorgestellt* (1689) and *Die Durchlauchtigste Olorena/ Oder Warhafftige Staats- und Liebes-Geschichte dieser Zeit* (1694), as well as the anonymous German translation of Calprenède’s *Cléopâtre*, published under the title *Der vortrefflichen Egyptischen Königin Cleopatra curiöse Staats- und Liebes-Geschicht...* (1700–1702).

⁹¹ London, British Library, R.M.23.f.15, fol. 4v-8v. Since the music manuscripts themselves provide the only source for Pallavicini’s libretto as such, all citations in the following discussion refer to the text underlay as written in the scores. My primary source is R.M.23.f.15 (hereafter denoted only by the shelfmark), consulted in comparison with London, University of Western Ontario, MUSGMA MZ1270. I have preserved most of the sometimes irregular orthography of R.M.23.f.15 (as exception is the graphic alternation between *u* and *v*, which I normalize to reflect modern usage), and variants between the two manuscripts in this respect are not noted here. For the most part, I have tacitly added punctuation to aid in syntactic comprehension. The third source (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Bip.Msc.17), was consulted only insofar as it could provide supplementary information to the other two manuscripts. I would like to extend my thanks to Dr. Stefan Knoch and Gerald Raab at the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg for providing me with digital images of the relevant pages from this source.

⁹² R.M.23.f.15, fol. 10r-11v.

complicity with the Romans also contributes to this portrait of self-sacrificial love that defines her opening aria (“Chi ben ama, si conosce à l’obbedir”).⁹³

Ultimately, though, Arminio is unable to restrain his rage during the sumptuous banquet given by Segeste in honor of the Roman overlords. The Roman emphasis on soft pleasure is immediately evident here in the instrumental gavotte march that opens the scene and accompanies Varo’s entrance: the stage directions in the score explicitly call for flute players to lead the procession, together with young lads adorned with garlands. Varo then proceeds to sing a cheerful C-major aria encouraging everyone to be happy and put a smile on their faces: “Trionfi trà noi sincero un bel riso. Si spanda il diletto dal petto su’l viso.”⁹⁴ Is this a leader to be taken seriously? In spite of Inguiomero’s attempts to keep his nephew’s temper under control, Arminio can stomach no more of Segeste’s obsequious fawning over the might of Rome and defiantly storms out of the room, knocking the wine chalice from Varo’s hand. Although Servilio is outraged at the audacity of such disrespect towards Roman authority, Varo quickly turns the subject back to pleasure, and the text of the gavotte that concludes the act celebrates the delights of love and drink:

Stanza 1: (Servilio)	Mentre cade di ruggiade lietto nembo al prato ingrembo; Dolce nettare à vicenda à irrigar il petto scenda et à guisa di bei fior nasceran pensier d’Amor.	Stanza 2: (Varo, Inguiomero, Segeste)	Di moleste cure meste s’ell’e ingombra l’alma sgombra. Degli Dei dono e fattura questa lieta ambrosia pura, e d’ardir colma il pensier all’amante et al guerrier. ⁹⁵
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The instrumental reiteration of the gavotte following the first stanza implies that Servilio, Varo, Inguiomero and Segeste either directly participated in dancing on the stage or at least were visually incorporated within a concurrent scene of dancing that was separate

⁹³ Ibid., fol. 12v-13v.

⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. 15v-16v.

⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. 21r-22v. Stanzaic form reconstructed.

from the subsequent ballet intermezzo.⁹⁶ How then might the audience at the electoral court have “heard” this particular gavotte? Within the dramatic context of the narrative, it is clearly meant to represent the decadence of the Romans in their pursuit of pleasure and carousing. At the same time it implicates Segeste and Inguiomero as opportunists in their collaboration with the enemy, while the model hero Arminio and the “chaste” Tusnelda have either purposely avoided the gathering or fled from it in disgust.⁹⁷

The introduction of the final main character in the opera—Inguiomero’s daughter Ermude—takes place at the beginning of the second act in a garden setting, which establishes the forbidden amatory relationship of the German and the Roman through eroticized nature metaphors.⁹⁸ As she awaits the arrival of her lover Servilio, Ermude sings (accompanied by obligato solo oboe and bassoon) of the wind blowing through the tree branches and the birdsong that whispers to her of love (“Più ridon l’erbe”).⁹⁹ In the course of her open-air tryst with Servilio and the subsequent arrival of Varo, Ermude’s positive inclination to the Roman camp becomes apparent; she even agrees to exploit her position as a trusted confidante of Tusnelda (and cousin of Arminio) in order to assist Varo in obtaining the object of his desire. By expressing this assent through a minuet (“Così di vincerla”), she adds a further association between *galant* French dance and dubious Roman mores; in this case, the text of the minuet affirms her commitment to the

⁹⁶ Neither the narrative content (if any) nor the music of these intermezzos is included in the score, which simply states “segue Ballo” at the conclusion of each act.

⁹⁷ The word *casto* (morally pure, chaste) appears four times in Pallavicini’s text, always in connection with German women and twice in direct reference to Tusnelda. When Varo inquires about Tusnelda’s absence from the banquet, Arminio replies that the proprieties of German women, unlike those of Roman women, forbid attendance at such indecorous events.

⁹⁸ Although another decade would pass before Antoine Watteau’s iconic depictions of *fêtes galantes*, metaphors of the garden as a site of love, pleasure, and therefore potential transgression can be traced in literary and visual sources from biblical narratives (Eden, Susanna and the elders) through the middle ages (*Roman de la Rose*, the Tristan legends, Boccaccio’s *Decameron*) to the early modern era (Hieronymus Bosch’s *The Garden of Earthly Delights*). See Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1978); Bryan Holme, *The Enchanted Garden: Images of Delight* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Sara M. Wages, “Remarks on Love, Woman, and the Garden in Netherlandish Art: A Study on the Iconology of the Garden,” in *Rembrandt, Rubens, and the Art of their Time: Recent Perspectives*, ed. Roland E. Fleischer and Susan C. Scott (University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1997), 177-223.

⁹⁹ R.M.23.f.15, fol. 23v-25v.

Roman cause while justifying betrayal in the name of love.¹⁰⁰ Similar to the notation of the gavotte in the first act, the score includes a complete instrumental reiteration of the minuet after the first stanza, and also punctuates the second stanza with instrumental performances of the minuet's repeated sections. Such interludes would provide ample opportunity for the character to engage in some sort of dance movements on the stage, strengthening the associative affiliation of the musical form with French culture. Indeed, when Ermude later engages Tusnelda in conversation at the beginning of the third act, her arguments in favor of Roman civilization seize upon the same qualities that were also related to contemporary perceptions of French gallantry: "Io ne Romani odiar non sò ciò che di stima è degno: nobil Cor, pronto ingegno, valor che nulla hà di feroce, al fine, politezza, facondia, e le insolite à nostri arti leggiadre."¹⁰¹ These characteristics—nobleness, a quick wit, gentle spirit, politeness (the very *politesse* emphasized by Madeleine de Scudéry and appropriated by Christian Thomasius), the graceful art of conversation—perfectly define the expectations of behavior for a *gallant homme* of the early eighteenth century. Yet Tusnelda counters this argument with her own negative assessment of Roman conduct: "Ed io, l'arti fallaci, le violenze, il fasto, il non mai sazio genia di dominar, odio ne tuoi Romani. Odio, chi infetta di lascivia e lusso, hà de' costumi nostri l'Innocenza primiera, e ingiusto aggrava la Patria di catene."¹⁰² Beneath the polished veneer lie corruption, deceit, lust for power, and insatiable indulgence in pompous luxury—criticisms that in the age of Louis XIV could just as easily have been levelled against the French as the ancient Romans.

It is important to note that in spite of these anti-Roman/francophobic sentiments, the libretto and score of *Arminio* do not paint a black-and-white picture that wholly condemns either the Romans or the French. To be sure, Inguiomero subverts the gallant character of the minuet through a text that comments on the ever turbulent and wearying nature of love ("Mai cura inquieta")—turning it into an old man's ironic observation on

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. 30v-31v.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., fol. 52v.

¹⁰² Ibid., fol. 52v-53r.

the folly of youthful passions.¹⁰³ Yet Servilio, the subsequent victim of Inguiomero's paternal rage, becomes a highly sympathetic character in the course of the opera, as his relationship with Ermude reveals true depth of feeling, and their love ultimately emerges triumphant from her father's harrowing threat of human sacrifice in the final act. Moreover, an unexpected twist occurs at the end of the opera when Tuscelda herself, who has assumed a consistently anti-Roman posture throughout the work, also performs a minuet, this time with a positive connotation. While such a choice may seem inconsistent with the character, the dramatic context of this performance reveals much about how it may have been heard by its audience. Having returned from the battle against Varo, Arminio learns that the traitor Segeste has been taken into custody by the victorious German faction. Tuscelda fears for the life of her father, to whom she has always pledged her filial obedience, and informs Arminio that she cannot be his wife unless he first releases Segeste unharmed. The minuet functions as her expression of happiness (though composed in A minor) at his promise to fulfill her wish:

Or mi lice più felice
 alla gioia aprir il cor.
 Tu mi rendi il mio riposo
 se mi rendi il Genitor;
 ed in te d'eroe, di sposo
 trovo gloria e trovo amor.¹⁰⁴

Tuscelda appropriates the language of gallantry here to express more than lighthearted sociability or seductive flirtation; the text of the minuet testifies in fact to the true gallantry of Arminio's selfless actions in extending forgiveness to his enemy for the sake of the woman he loves. At the same time, Tuscelda reveals the depth of her character by not turning her back on her disgraced father, but rather insisting on his freedom and redemption as a condition for fulfilling her own happiness. The minuet that provides the final chorus for the victorious Germans continues in this same vein, affirming the triumph and ultimate heavenly rewards of true virtue and fidelity:

¹⁰³ Ibid., fol. 50v-51r.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., fol. 117r. Stanzaic form reconstructed.

Un invitta costanza prevale al destin,
 e alla sorte sembianza sà cangiar al fin.
 Può terrena virtù il Ciel innamorar,
 e i mortali quaggiù eguali ai Numi far.¹⁰⁵

Thus the Germans in *Arminio* ultimately take possession of the French dance forms and redefine them, translating them from their initial contexts of Roman frivolity and moral slipperiness. The final transformation of the minuet into a vehicle for the expression of the spiritual ennoblement of the victorious Germans is similarly effected in the case of the gavotte. The music that accompanies the battle scene at the end of the fourth act is called a “marchia” in the score, but its bipartite structure and melodic phrases that begin with a half-measure upbeat reveal its parallel identity as a gavotte. In this sense it shares the same characteristics as the gavotte that accompanied the opening of the banquet scene in the first act, even as it reverses the circumstances and fortunes of that initial power dynamic. Whereas gentle flutes provided the aural ambiance of Varo’s celebratory entrance, the score for Arminio’s battle assault specifies that as the orchestra plays the notated gavotte-march, “le Trombe e Tiballi suonano la loro della Cavallaria, et li Tamburi la loro ordinaria dell’Infanteria.”¹⁰⁶ The resulting *ad libitum* din of brass and drums throws the measured structure of the gavotte into chaos, transforming it in this context from a genteel French court dance into a German declaration of war and announcement of freedom from foreign oppression.

Apart from the usurpation of French dance forms, the Germans also have their own distinct musical representation that sets them apart from the Roman figures, even if it does not necessarily employ a recognizably “German” compositional style.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Bip.Msc.17, 127v-128r. The music for this chorus, without text underlay, is also included in R.M.23.f.15, fol. 123v; however, the chorus is omitted entirely in MUSGMA MZ1270.

¹⁰⁶ R.M.23.f.15, fol. 102r.

¹⁰⁷ The possible German connotation of the two arias constructed in a kind of AAB form (2.6: “Volge intrepida,” and 2.7: “Odi prima,” both of which are musically identical, though transposed into different keys) invites speculation. The AAB “bar form” had particular associations with German strophic song beginning in the middle ages and continuing with the Meistersinger and Lutheran chorale traditions. It should be noted that the examples in *Arminio* do not conform to the usual verse conventions of Meistersinger *Töne* (especially since they repeat the same words in the A section); nevertheless, since the only two instances of this AAB form in the opera are sung by the two exemplary German characters Arminio and Tusnelda, it is possible that Steffani had such a reference in mind when he composed these pieces (which were not borrowings from other works).

Reflecting Pallavicini's prefatory remark that the ancient Germans practiced the art of war above all other pursuits, the Germans in *Arminio* prove especially adept at battle cries, while not a single war song is accorded to the Romans. Indeed, it is Segeste who angrily must admonish the cowardly Roman troops to keep up the fight after Varo commits suicide ("Dalla morte").¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the musical portrait of Arminio himself, as defined by the sum of his arias, reveals the extent to which true Germanness (naturally exemplified in the eponymous hero) finds laudable expression through a patriotic *Kampfgeist*. Table 5 provides a summary of all the vocal items (apart from the final chorus) performed by Arminio either as solo arias or duets; of the ten numbers, five of them directly concern warfare (2.10; 3.11; 4.4; 4.8; 5.4), while a sixth laments the enslavement of the *patria* (3.10).

Table 5. Vocal items performed by Arminio (from *Arminio*, 1707)¹⁰⁹

No., fol.	Key, Meter	Text	Affect/Character
1.3 10r-11v	G minor 3/2	Malia possente, di dolci lagrime, tu forzi l'anima fai tardo il piè. Se può uno sguardo codardo rendermi, Cari negatelo begl'occhi à me. Malia... (da Capo)	Deliberate (specifically marked <i>Lento</i> in the score), spellbound veneration.
2.6 37v-38r	D major common	Volge intrepida la faccia nobil alma à iniqua sorte. Chi paventa aduli ò taccia simular non è da forte.	Lively, insistent encouragement.
2.9 44v-46v	F major 3/4	Dilegua speranza le nubi del cor. Sostieni costanza un misero Amor. Dilegua... (da Capo)	Smoothly flowing optimism (duet with Tusnelda).

¹⁰⁸ R.M.23.f.15, fol. 99r-100v.

¹⁰⁹ All folio citations refer to R.M.23.f.15. Stanzaic forms reconstructed.

2.10 48r-50r	F major common, 3/2	Nova furia all'ire à l'armi gli altrui petti accenderò. E mie faci voi sarete, occhi vivaci, per cui lieto à morte io vò. Nova... (da Capo)	Energetic rage in the A section; majestic confidence in the B section.
3.10 73r-73v	A minor common	À destar la pietà vostra della Patria, il pianto viene. Impiagato, lacerato, à suoi figli il petto mostra da straniere aspre catene. À destar... (da Capo)	Sorrowful lament.
3.11 75v-77r	C major common	Armi sì, guerra e morte e libertà. Nostra sorte, man possente cangerà. Molle gente, legge à noi più non darà. Vili peso più non resti, il Germano antico onor. I privati odi funesti, tutti spenga odio miglior.	Bold, confident battle cry (ensemble with chorus).
4.3 88r-89r	F major 3/2	Vivi e dolce volgimi di quegl'occhi il bel fulgor. Pensa pria di condannarmi, pensa, ò cara, che quest'armi son trofei del nostro Amor. Vivi... (da Capo)	Soothing reassurance in the vocal line, underscored by joyful ebullience in the obligato bassoon line.
4.4 91r-92v	F major 3/4	Combattan frà l'armi amore e pietà. Amore se prega, pietà non si niega; li sdegni disarmi amata beltà. Combattan... (da Capo)	Militant determination in the A section; gentle sweetness in the B section (duet with Tusnelda).

4.8 101r- 102r	D major 3/4	Già d'intorno, ò forti Amici, alza il grido la vittoria. E la fama de nemici fà maggior la nostra gloria. Già... (da Capo)	Confident battle cry filled with forward-driving enthusiasm.
5.4 114v- 116r	C major 3/4	Da le stragi a voi doute io ritorno, o patri dei. Ed ai tronchi appendo in voto doni vostri i miei trofei. Da le stragi... (da Capo)	Celebratory declaration of victory; joyful expression of <i>pietas</i> .

As the protagonist of this *Staats- und Liebesgeschichte*, Arminio maintains a proper equilibrium between the intense, self-sacrificing love he demonstrates for Tუსnelda and a deep devotion to the armed protection of his homeland and its native traditions; indeed, these two complementary aspects consistently permeate the musical delineation of his character. The juxtaposition becomes explicit in Arminio and Tუსnelda's duet (4.4) as they envision the impending liberation of their homeland through the lens of the nobility and purity of their love for each other: "Combattan frà l'armi amore e pietà."

Underscored by a pulsating bass foundation, the initial detached *marcato* articulation and imitative writing of the vocal lines establish the martial nature of this determination while reinforcing the couple's likemindedness and commitment to follow each other in pursuit of the goal (see example 2a). The skillful interweaving of these vocal textures both through counterpoint and parallel harmonic motion affirms their mutual support of each other. This support is especially striking in a passage from the B section, as first Tუსnelda, then Arminio, provides a sustained pitch as the tonic upon which the other partner outlines a major triad through an extended *roulade* (see example 2b, measures 28-30 and 33-35). While this aria may seem to contribute little to the specific Germanness of either Arminio or Tუსnelda, it is worth noting that the keywords of its text invoke *amore* and *pietà*, both of which—as previously discussed in the context of the Habsburgs and the Arminius drama *Amor Patriae*—had accrued patriotic political connotations within the context of the Holy Roman Empire. These connotations, which will again play an

Example 2a-b. “Combattan frà l’armi,” duet (Arminio and Tuseda) from *Arminio*, S.B. Pallavicini/A. Steffani (Düsseldorf, 1707). British Library R.M.23.f.15.

Example 2a. “Combattan frà l’armi,” mm. 1-6 (fol. 91v).

Armi. Com-bat - - - - - tan, com - bat - tan frà Far - mi a - mo - - - - re, e pie - tà, com

Tus. Com - bat - - - - - tan, com - bat - tan frà l'ar - mi a - mo - - - - re, e pie - tà,

B.c.

Example 2b. “Combattan frà l’armi,” B section, mm. 18-38 (fol. 92r-92v).

Armi. Pie - tà non - - - - si nie - ga, a - mo - re se pre - - - - ga, li

Tus. A - mo - re se pre - - - - ga, pie - tà non - - - - si nie - ga li sde - gni di -

B.c.

25 sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà, a - ma - ta bel - tà, a - ma -

sar - mi a - ma - - - - ta, a - ma - ta bel - tà, li sde - gni di - sar - - - - mi a - ma - - - - ta li sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà.

31 - ta li sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà, li sde - gni di - sar - - - - mi a - ma - - - - ta li sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà.

- ta li sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà, a - ma - - - - ta li sde - gni di - sar - mi a - ma - ta bel - tà.

important role in the next case study, make it clear that the homeland for which Arminio and Tუსnelda are preparing to fight encompasses not merely the Rhineland or Westphalia, but rather a broad conception of Germania.¹¹⁰ Contrary to the notion that a German court of the early eighteenth century would be unwilling to advocate such a view (as Jost Hermand has argued), this opera in fact affirms and rewards an ideal of unity among the Germans and condemns the factious division that pits them against each other.

Nowhere is this appeal to unity more apparent than in the sixth scene of the third act, as Arminio makes an impassioned speech to the assorted group of German princes, soldiers, and the rest of the gathered crowd represented by a mixed chorus (which, as the Bamberg manuscript specifies, consists of “tutti servitori di S.A.S.E.”).¹¹¹ Employing a rhetorical strategy of persuasion here, Arminio first moves the crowd to tears with an Arminio lament over the plight of their enslaved homeland (“À destar la pietà vostra della Patria, il pianto viene”), then stirs them to action with a rousing C-major battle cry that appeals to their shared sense of “il Germano antico onor.” The construction of this ensemble (3.11, “Armi sì”) as a call and response accords precedence to Arminio in the A section, where the chorus (supported by the orchestra) mostly provides an echo of his melodic and rhythmic phrases as well as his words (see example 3a). In the extended B section, however, the chorus assumes more responsibility in its cooperation with their charismatic leader. While Arminio still initiates each musical phrase, his own utterances remain syntactically incomplete in themselves, both as music (since they end on the dominant instead of the tonic) and as speech (since they provide only the first half of a sentence), and therefore require the chorus to complete the musical and linguistic phrases, bringing them to a proper cadential resolution (see example 3b). Arminio may be the foremost personality behind the insurrection, but his success ultimately depends on the cooperation of his fellow princes.

¹¹⁰ Adjectival or nominal forms of the ethnic descriptor “German” (including the place designation *Germania*) occur twenty-one times in Pallavicini’s libretto; by contrast, the term “Cherusci” appears only twice. Inguiomero refers to “i Principi Germani” in Act 3, Scene 7 (R.M.23.f.15, fol. 77v), but no other Germanic tribe is specifically mentioned by name.

¹¹¹ Bamberg, Bip.Msc.17, 3r. The abbreviation S.A.S.E. designates the formula “Sua Altezza Serenissima Elettorale,” i.e., Elector Johann Wilhelm.

Example 3a-b. “Armi sì,” ensemble (Arminio and Chorus) from *Arminio*, S.B. Pallavicini/A. Steffani (Düsseldorf, 1707). British Library R.M.23.f.15.

Example 3a. “Armi sì,” mm. 1-7 (fol. 74v-75r).

The musical score for Example 3a, mm. 1-7, is presented in a multi-staff format. The instruments and voices are listed on the left side of the score:

- Vln. I (Violin I)
- Vln. II (Violin II)
- Vla. (Viola)
- Arm. (Arminio)
- S. (Soprano)
- A. (Alto)
- T. (Tenor)
- B. (Bass)
- B.c. (Basso continuo)

The score is in common time (C) and features a complex rhythmic texture. The vocal parts (Arminio and the Chorus) have lyrics in Italian. The lyrics for the Arminio part are:

Ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si, ar - mi, si, si, si, guer - ra e morte, guer - ra e mor - te! ar - mi, guer - ra! guer - ra e morte! ar - mi.

The lyrics for the Chorus parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) are:

Ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, guer - ra!
 Ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, guer - ra!
 Ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, guer - ra!
 Ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, si! ar - mi, ar - mi, ar - mi, guer - ra!

The instrumental parts (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., and B.c.) provide a rhythmic and melodic accompaniment for the vocalists. The score is enclosed in a dashed box, indicating it is a specific example from a larger work.

Example 3b. "Armi sì," mm. 15-22 (75v-76v).

15

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Arm.

No - stra__ sor - te. Mol - le__ gen - te. Vi - li__ pe - so__ più non res - ti.

S

man - pos - sen - te can - ge - rà. leg - ge.à noi più non da - rà. il Ger -

A

man - pos - sen - te can - ge - rà. leg - ge.à noi più non da - rà. il Ger -

T

man - pos - sen - te can - ge - rà. leg - ge.à noi più non da - rà. il Ger -

B

man - pos - sen - te can - ge - rà. leg - ge.à noi più non da - rà. il Ger -

B.c.

19

I pri - va - ti__ o - di fu - nes - ti. No - stra__

ma - no, an - ti - co, o - nor. tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, o - dio mi - glior.

ma - no, an - ti - co, o - nor. tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, o - dio mi - glior.

ma - no, an - ti - co, o - nor. tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, o - dio mi - glior.

ma - no, an - ti - co, o - nor. tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, tut - ti__ spen - ga, o - dio mi - glior.

Arminio himself remains mindful of the primacy of this collective effort in defeating the Romans, as his response to Inguiomero—who praises the young chieftain with the well-known epithet “Liberator della Germania”—indicates: “Dell’inimico à danno molt’ai fatto, Inguiomero, e molto an fatto le turbe.”¹¹² In paying appropriate tribute to the assistance of his fellow German allies, Arminio also does not neglect to exhibit the virtue of *pietas*. Indeed, his final triumphant aria “Da le stragi” is not so much a celebration of himself, but rather a victory song dedicated to the gods who have lent their protection and assistance in the battle, and to whom Arminio now presents his trophies of war as a votive offering. Moreover, through the magnanimous reconciliation with Segeste at the end of the opera, and the former traitor’s sanction for the impending nuptials of Arminio and Tuscelda, the ideal of German unity is realized.

That Arminio embodies all the exemplary qualities of the morally superior German is finally verified even by supernatural forces, as the earth goddess Erta emerges from her underground realm to bestow her blessing. Following a spectacular entrance aria accompanied by trumpets and timpani (“Suoni, tuoni”), Erta confirms her divine visitation as a sign of favor and reveals the chthonian origins of the Germans, calling herself the mother of Teuta (i.e., Tuisto), the legendary founder of the Teutonic race: “Del favore del Ciel qual più bel segno / se a voi mostransi i Numi; / e’l nume io son, che sulla terra impero / della Teutona generosa gente / Teuta l’autor primiero— / Teuta, da cui deriva, / forte Arminio, il tuo sangue— / me per Madre conosce.”¹¹³ When Tacitus first supposed the Germans to be indigenous to their territories (since who would willingly choose to move to such an inhospitable climate and bleak surroundings?), little

¹¹² R.M.23.f.15, fol. 116r.

¹¹³ R.M.23.f.15, fol. 122v-123r. This recitative does not appear in MUSGMA MZ1270. Tacitus refers to the divine ancestor of the Germans as *Tuisto*: “Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoria et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum Terra editum. Ei filium Mannum originem gentis conditoremque... assignat...” (*Germania* 2). On the etymology of this name, see Günter Neumann, “Twisto,” in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., ed. Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 31:342-343. However, Erta (whose function and name correspond to the Tacitean source) refers to this god as *Teuta* (cf. Lat. *Teutones*), unmistakably linking the name of the god with the name of the people. On the proto-Indo-European word **teutā* (“group of people”), see Stefan Zimmer, “Teutonen,” in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., ed. Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 30:368-369.

could he have known the precedent he would set for the later scholars who seized upon his words. The humanist reception of the *Germania* eagerly appropriated the ancient historian's authority to ground the Germans firmly in their native soil and thereby to elevate them to a preeminent status among all nations. Regardless of whether Pallavicini knew of such secondary works in this respect as Heinrich Bebel's discourse *Quod Germani sunt indigenae* (ca. 1509) or the *Germania generalis* (ca. 1500) of Conrad Celtis, the echoes of Tacitus resound through Erta's song even as they did through these other early modern commentaries.¹¹⁴ As she states in her final words before the closing chorus, her children of the earth shall assert their supremacy by following the example of Arminio, raising "il Germanico nome...al Cielo."¹¹⁵

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In his structural analysis of Lohenstein's *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius*, Thomas Borgstedt argues against Elida Szarota's interpretation of the novel's title character as emblematic of Emperor Leopold and the Catholic Habsburgs, asserting instead that "[d]er Arminiusstoff ist protestantisch-reichsständisch okkupiert und er steht dem *translatio imperii*-Gedanken und damit dem traditionellen Selbstverständnis des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation grundsätzlich entgegen."¹¹⁶ Borgstedt is unable to reconcile the apparent disconnect between the reputation of Arminius as both the *liberator Germaniae* and also as a forerunner of the *translatio imperii* and the future Roman-German empire. "Ein Kaiser, der sich auf Arminius beruft, kann sich nicht

¹¹⁴ On the humanist reception of Tacitus's *Germania* by Celtis, Bebel, and others, see Christopher B. Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Gianantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); a briefer summary can be found in Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 42-49.

¹¹⁵ R.M.23.f.15, fol. 123r.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Borgstedt, *Reichsidee und Liebesethik: Eine Rekonstruktion des Lohensteinschen Arminiusromans* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 21.

gleichzeitig in der Nachfolge Roms interpretieren,” Borgstedt claims; “Arminius ist der Befreier Deutschlands, sodaß an die Stelle der Kontinuität mit Rom in seiner Gestalt die Diskontinuität tritt. Als ‘Arminius’ kann der Kaiser nicht mehr ‘Augustus’ sein.”¹¹⁷

While Borgstedt’s application of logic to the situation is certainly understandable, his conclusions do not take into account the other contemporary dramatic representations of Arminius that draw explicit connections both to the Habsburgs and the *translatio imperii*, as discussed in the first part of this dissertation.¹¹⁸ In addition, by characterizing the Arminius figure as “protestantisch-reichsständisch okkupiert,” and insisting on this absolute definition, Borgstedt either overlooks or dismisses two important details. First, the “Germania” for which Arminius engages his actions in these narratives inevitably surpasses the provincial particularism of the *Reichsstände* in order to embrace a larger understanding of the German nation. Whether the figure is initially identified as a prince of the Cherusci and Cauci (as he often is in the cast of characters found in several opera librettos of the period), a “Fürst zu Sachsen” with roots in the Harz region, or even an ancestor of the dukes of Brunswick, these localized tribal distinctions ultimately give way to the character’s sense of dedication not merely to his own kin, but to the imagined collective entity that comprises Germania (and, by extension, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation).¹¹⁹ Second, there is in fact abundant evidence that Arminius narratives flourished in Roman Catholic contexts to an equal or perhaps even greater extent than they did in Protestant environs, especially when the field is opened beyond the standard canonical works of Hutten, Lohenstein, Schlegel, Möser and Klopstock. Indeed, when the numerous operatic treatments of Arminius are accorded equal attention

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 23.

¹¹⁸ To be fair, Borgstedt’s immediate subject of inquiry is Lohenstein’s novel, not a comprehensive survey of Arminius narratives; yet his statements quoted here—appearing as they do at the beginning of his study—seek to characterize the cultural reception of the figure in absolute terms. I argue only that these terms are too narrow and restrictive to provide an accurate description of this reception history, in all its seeming contradictions and incongruities.

¹¹⁹ I would like to emphasize once again that such a broad view of Germania does not necessarily promote the centralized political authority of the emperor at the expense of the constituent principalities; nor does it necessarily give *carte blanche* for the exercise of absolute sovereignty on the part of the princes. Rather it seeks to foster the imagined ideal of a “German nation” which promotes unity over discord, and commonalities over differences.

and fully integrated into the corpus of the figure's cultural reception in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, the frequency with which these stories appear before predominantly Catholic audiences invites us to reconsider long-held assumptions that Arminius was somehow inherently coded as proto-Protestant during this time.

Having examined the production of Pallavicini and Steffani's *Arminio* before the court of the Electoral Palatinate—a bastion of Roman Catholicism upheld and defended by Johann Wilhelm—we turn now to consider the reception of Arminius at another important seat of Catholic authority in the empire: the Prince-Archbishopric of Salzburg (*Fürstbistum Salzburg*), upon whose rulers the honorary title *Primas Germaniae* (the most important ecclesiastical representative of the imperial Council of Princes) had been bestowed first by the imperial chancellery in 1666 and later confirmed by the Roman Curia in 1691.¹²⁰ Perhaps not coincidentally, this latter date also marks the production period in Salzburg of *Chi la dura la vince* (libretto attributed to Francesco Maria Raffaelini, music by Heinrich Franz Biber), the first operatic work within the German-speaking Holy Roman Empire to feature the character of Arminius.¹²¹ This three-act *dramma musicale* has consequently attracted the scrutiny of those scholars curious about the depiction of the Germanic warrior hero on the baroque opera stage—although for the

¹²⁰ As the designator of papal representation within the Holy Roman Empire, the title *Primas Germaniae* had been granted to various German archbishops since at least the ninth century (sometimes simultaneously, in spite of the inherent logical contradiction), including Trier, Mainz, Cologne, Salzburg and Magdeburg. The Archbishop of Mainz, who held the title from the mid-tenth century until the secularization of his realm in 1803, presided over the Council of Electors (*Kurfürstenrat*) at the Reichstag as the chief Prince-Elector. The title was also applied to the foremost representative of the ecclesiastical branch of the Council of Princes (*Reichsfürstenrat*), which until the Protestant Reformation had been the Archbishop of Magdeburg. Following the secularization of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg at the end of the Thirty Years War, this title was ultimately bestowed on the Archbishop of Salzburg (who still holds it today). See Gerhard Ammerer, “Verfassung, Verwaltung und Gerichtsbarkeit von Matthäus Lang bis zur Säkularisation (1519–1803)—Aspekte zur Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen Staatlichkeit,” in *Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land*, ed. Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger (Salzburg: Pustet, 1988), 2:1:326–334.

¹²¹ The work also bears the distinction of being the only seventeenth-century opera production in Salzburg for which the music score has survived. On the attribution of the libretto to Raffaelini, the problematic issues of dating, and the performance history of the work, see Sibylle Dahm's introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript score: Heinrich Franz Biber, *Chi la dura la vince (Wer ausharrt, siegt): Dramma musicale in 3 Akten. Faksimile der Partitur Hs 560 aus dem Besitz des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum*, Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg Faksimile-Ausgaben 10 (Salzburg: Selke, 2004), 9–40.

most part, as I have mentioned elsewhere in this investigation, the singing Arminius whom they encounter in Biber's work has left them disappointed. The marketing presentation of the only commercially available recording of this opera—one of the few complete recordings of any Arminius opera at all, automatically rendering it both easily accessible for critical engagement as well as susceptible to generalizing tendencies—unfortunately does not help matters in this regard.¹²² In addition to replacing the original title with *Arminio* on the spine and front cover of the album packaging (thereby setting up the anticipation that the title character will also provide the main focus of the work), the recording label cpo elected to reproduce a popular print of Friedrich Gunkel's mid-nineteenth-century painting *Die Hermannsschlacht* as the basis for its cover art.¹²³ This visual point of reference is not only misleading because of its anachronistic aesthetic in the portrayal of the Arminius figure, but also because it suggests a narrative other than the one presented in this opera (i.e., the better-known conflict with Varus as the antagonist instead of the later, less decisive confrontations with Germanicus). These choices expose once again the stubbornly durable legacy of the nineteenth century in conditioning modern responses to the Arminius narrative.

Likewise, critical reactions to the dramaturgy of *Chi la dura la vince* and its portrayal of Arminius further reveal the difficulty in overcoming the instinct to view an earlier reception history through the lens of a later one. While Klaus Kösters offers a few concessions to the librettist for incorporating such details from the historical record as the Roman perception of the barbarism and primitiveness of the Germanic peoples and the intractable pride of Arminius's wife, he also sums up his analysis with the remark “dass es hier nicht um eine patriotische oder historische Darstellung des Arminius-Themas geht, sondern um die Beständigkeit der Liebe,” and concludes with the generalizing statement that “[d]ie abenteuerlichen Liebesverwicklungen mehrerer Paare waren für die Oper besser geeignet, um den Arminius-Stoff ‘hoffähig’ zu machen, als eine Betonung

¹²² *Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber: Arminio* (Salzburger Hofmusik/Wolfgang Brunner), cpo CD 999 258-2 (1995).

¹²³ The retitling of the work originated with the modern premiere of the piece in 1981 at the Komische Oper in Berlin.

patriotisch-deutscher Aspekte.”¹²⁴ Kösters does not elaborate on the definition of “patriotisch-deutsch,” but it is clear that he considers themes related to the constancy of love to be incompatible with patriotic or “national” sentiments and thus not truly reflective of the proper way to tell a story about Arminius. Moreover, when Jost Hermand explicitly measures the opera against the standard of both earlier and contemporary receptions of Arminius in this respect, he also finds few points of overlap. Following a discussion of the various plot intrigues in Raffaelini’s Venetian-style narrative structure and the underlying Stoic ethics summed up by the work’s title (for a synopsis, see Catalog Index I.03), Hermand arrives at the conclusion that

[m]it irgendwelchen deutschen Nationalgefühlen hat also das Ganze nicht das Geringste zu tun. Hier wird weder, wie im frühen 16. Jahrhundert, mit humanistischer Gesinnung eine Frontstellung gegen die Ansprüche der römisch-katholischen Kirche bezogen, das heißt ein forciertes Germanenkult getrieben, noch wie gegen Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges den vielen habgierigen Territorialfürsten das Leitbild eines vereinigten Deutschlands entgegengehalten. Auch die von Lohenstein vertretene Tendenz, die Gestalt des Arminius in feudalabsolutistischer Absicht vornehmlich zur Legitimierung der herrschenden Machtverhältnisse heranzuziehen, fehlt in *Chi la dura la vince*.¹²⁵

Although Hermand admits that Lohenstein’s novel and Raffaelini’s opera belong to different genres and were directed at different audiences, he nevertheless assesses the one with respect to the other: “Während Lohenstein in seinem Roman in geradezu allen erdenklichen Wissens- und Kulturgebieten ausgriff, beschränkten sich Raffaelini und Biber auf den relativ engen Bereich der in den damaligen Opern üblichen Macht- und Liebesintrigen.”¹²⁶ The basis for such a critique is rather unfair; if narratives are culturally determined, then it is only natural that they should be interpreted in different ways, dependent on the particular agenda of any given storyteller, the interests of the audience, and in accordance with the chosen genre. The often freely adapted episodes from classical mythology that found their way into dramatic and artistic works during this time furnish proof of this flexibility. Why then should the portrayal of the Arminius

¹²⁴ Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 101-102.

¹²⁵ Hermand, *Glanz und Elend*, 30.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

figure be judged on the basis of a single “legitimate” standard, especially before this standard had even been codified? Hermand’s criticism (like that of Borgstedt) also prizes the early sixteenth-century Protestant appropriation of the Arminius figure as a fellow comrade in the fight against Roman authority because of its seemingly recognizable expression of “Nationalgefühle” and the binary opposition it establishes between German and Roman—characteristics that are viewed as essential elements of the Arminius narrative. It is important to note, however, that this reception tradition has ingrained itself into the standard historiography of the Arminius mythos more as a result of the nineteenth-century *Kulturkampf* between German Protestants and Catholics (at which time this historiographical tradition began), than by its actual degree of influence in the sixteenth-century discourse of the Reformers.¹²⁷ What Borgstedt and Hermand therefore recognize as the natural identification of Arminius with Protestantism may very well not have held the same resonance at the end of the seventeenth century as it did either in the early sixteenth or the late nineteenth century. In addition, given the fact that *Chi la dura la vince* was dedicated to the Prince-Archbishop Johann Ernst von Thun (ruled 1687–1709)—one of the highest-ranking representatives of the universal Church—one would hardly expect Raffaellini to evoke an intentionally anti-Roman Catholic stance through the figure, and thereby risk alienating or insulting his patron and audience at the Salzburg court.

Why then does Arminius appear in this opera, and what does his presence contribute to the message of the work? To be sure, Tacitus had well established Arminius’s enmity with Rome as the central political conflict of the narrative (apart from the inter-Germanic clashes with Segeste and Marobod), and *Chi la dura la vince* likewise calls attention to this antagonism especially through the prefatory remarks in the *argomento*, which relies on the *Annals* as its authoritative foundation (“Di quello che si ha dall’Historia ne gl’Annali di G. Cornelio Tacito”):

¹²⁷ On the relatively limited scope of the Arminius figure in the discourse of the German Protestant movement in the sixteenth century, see Jacques Ridé, “Arminius in der Sicht der deutschen Reformatoren.”

Arminio quel valoroso Capitano de Germani, ché per conservare intatta la Libertá nativa con innumerabili Rotte, e Sconfitte piú volte rintuzzò l'Orgoglio dell'Armi Romane in quelli tempi vittoriose, e dominanti del Mondo, tagliò a pezzi in un sanguinoso Rincontro Quintilio Varo con le trè Leggioni condotte da Lui. Scosse per allhora con questa Heroica Attione il Giogo della servitù, ché gli soprastava, mà irritò allo sdegno et alla vendetta la Potenza Romana, per ilchè da Augusto furono consegnate à Germanico suo Nipote le otto Leggioni sopra il Reno con il Comando di recuperare la fama dell'Armata Latine, e distruggere Arminio: Seguirono diversi fatti d'Arme con vicendevole Fortuna durante la vita d'Augusto, mà sotto l'Imperio di Tiberio dividendosi in fattioni li Germani Popoli bellicosi assediaron Segeste socero d'Arminio per essersi ritirato dal Partito di quello, ricorse con Ambasciarie l'Assediato a Germanico, ché con l'essercito lo soccorse e liberò facendo Priggione oltre molte Donne illustri la Moglie d'Arminio Amante riamata estremamente dal Marito, e Figliola di Segeste.

Doppo d'aver finalmente Germanico con molte prospere Battaglie vendicato a bastanza il sangue Romano, e debellato i Cherusci, li Catti, e gl'Angrivari, et altre Nationi fino all'Albi fù richiamato con grandi Istanze da Tiberio invidioso di queste heroiche Attioni piú con Animo de sottrarlo a maggior fama, ché avanzarlo a maggior gloria al trionfo, et al Consolato a Roma, dove venuto doppo qualche tempo fù mandato nell'Oriente con assoluto Dominio per lo stabilimento delle Provincie, mà in Gnidafno in Soria morse non senza sospetto di Veleno o Malie. Tornò a Roma dolente, e mesta la Vedova Agrippina con suoi numerosi Figlioli, trà quali in Progresso di tempo Nerone ottenuta da Tiberio, e dal Senato di Questura sposò Giulia Figliola di Druso, e G. Cesare soprannominato Calligola prese in Moglie Claudia Figliola di M. Silano.¹²⁸

Since Arminio and his wife (here called Segesta after her father, given that Tacitus does not provide her with a name) represent the only “foreign” characters in a story that otherwise revolves around political and romantic intrigue (and comic relief) in a Roman setting, it would be easy to argue that their marginal presence in this opera reduces them to lesser importance in the overall scheme. On one level, of course, this is accurate, for the quadrangle of young aristocratic lovers (Giulia, Calligola, Claudia, Nerone) assumes pride of place in the dramatic proceedings, while the plight of the captured Segesta and the incognito Arminio’s efforts to rescue her essentially add further complications to the personal entanglements of the Romans. The *argomento*, however—which devotes most of its space to an explication of historical background before briefly turning to the

¹²⁸ Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum Hs 560, fol. 4r-5r. In subsequent citations, referred to as Hs 560.

invented plot points of the drama—does not dwell on the checkered histories of these “main” figures, but rather begins with a description of Arminius and his fame (“quel valoroso Capitano de Germani”), detailing the defeat of the Roman legions under Varus, and the resulting campaign of vengeance waged by Germanicus against the Germanic peoples. Yet as we have seen in the first part of this dissertation, these ancient Roman-German conflicts were often recast in light of the contemporary constellation of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, resolving them in ways that to us may seem unrealistic or even in blatant opposition to the historical record, but which nevertheless supported current political ideologies and images of a united German empire founded on the basis of Roman authority.

While there is no explicit reference to the *translatio imperii* either in the *argomento* or in the opera itself, several indices point toward the probability of such an interpretation. First is the generally positive portrayal of the two highest-ranking Roman characters, the Emperor Tiberio and his adopted son Germanico, both of whom exhibit the respected qualities of exemplary leaders. Although Germanico is accorded only a single aria (the battle song “All’armi,” in Act 2, Scene 6), it is one of the most spectacular and virtuosic in the opera, composed on a C-major bass ostinato pattern—emphasizing the character’s constancy and dependability—and punctuated with ritornellos featuring four trumpets and timpani (instruments also employed in the choral acclamation of Germanico’s homecoming at the beginning of the first act). Reacting to this aria, Tiberio comments that “In Germanico sempre / nobil valor riluce / come forte guerriero, invito duce.”¹²⁹ Likewise, through his resistance to the intrigant Seiano and steadfast loyalty to Tiberio, Germanico maintains this reputation as a noble Roman—a reputation that is consistently upheld in other dramatic portrayals of the figure.¹³⁰ Although the *argomento* draws attention to Tiberius’s jealousy over the military successes achieved by his

¹²⁹ Ibid., fol. 71v-72r.

¹³⁰ Among operatic depictions, see for example *Il Germanico al Reno* (Catalog Index I.02), *La pace generosa* (Catalog Index I.05), *Germanico in Germania* (Catalog Index I.11), and *Arminio* (Moretti, Catalog Index I.15), as well as the works discussed in Part 1 of this dissertation. Elida Szarota also notes Lohenstein’s positive portrayal of Germanicus and Agrippina, whom she regards as the Roman counterparts to Arminius and Thusnelda. See Szarota, *Lohensteins Arminius als Zeitroman*, 92-101.

nephew/adopted son (without however directly connecting him to the suspicious circumstances surrounding Germanicus's death in Syria), in the opera itself the figure of Tiberio overcomes these doubts deceptively planted by Seiano, and exercises the magnanimity of a benevolent, if somewhat world-weary, potentate. The beneficiaries of this noble generosity include Arminio and Segesta, whose steadfast love for each other and uprightness of character belie their alleged status as barbarians and contrast sharply with the fickle romantic quandaries of the young Romans; Kösters even asserts that “[d]ie standhafte Segesta ist der stärkste Charakter der Oper.”¹³¹ In spite of this admission, however, neither Kösters nor Hermand seems willing to acknowledge that the essential manifestation of Germanness in this opera can be asserted at the level of these character traits. To be sure, Hermand recognizes that “der Kontrast der Tugendhaftigkeit der Germanen und der Triebhaftigkeit vieler Römer findet sich...in der Biberschen Oper,” but since he is ultimately looking for a different form of “national” expression, the obvious is dismissed as insufficient.¹³² Yet by defining the German figures as morally superior to the frivolous passions that govern the behavior of Calligola, Giulia and Claudia until the end (when all these relationship turmoils are resolved happily), Raffaelini elevates them to a higher plane, placing them alongside Tiberio and Germanico. The truly transformative moment in this respect occurs in the final scene as Tiberio demonstrates mercy to Arminio and Segesta in exchange for reconciliation: “Per dimostrarli Arminio, / qual benigna clemenza / con i Cesari regni, / quel, che tu fra battaglie, / e tra le squadre in campo / ottener non potesti, / s’esser fido mi vuoi / senza rischi e senz’armi ottener puoi.”¹³³ While Arminio’s immediate response may appear to offer capitulation too easily, it is important to note how he refers to the divine right of Roman rule in his consent: “Io ravviso, o Tiberio, / ch’è volere de Numi, / ch’abbia Roma l’imperio. / Il tutto cede Arminio / a quello, e ancor gli giura fede.”¹³⁴ If understood only according to the historical narrative of Tacitus, such a statement from Arminius’s lips

¹³¹ Kösters, *Mythos Arminius*, 101.

¹³² Hermand, *Glanz und Elend*, 28.

¹³³ Hs 560, fol. 150v-152r.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 151v-152r.

sounds nonsensical. But if we consider that these words are reinforced through by the contemporary context of the Holy Roman Empire with its underlying narrative of the *translatio imperii*, and in particular the audience of the Salzburg prince-archbishop, additional nuances become apparent. “Òla! Sciolgansi i ceppi / di Segesta e d’Arminio,” declares Tiberio upon hearing Arminio’s pledge of loyalty to the empire, “Per amici vi prendo, / e libertà col regno ecco vi rendo.”¹³⁵ No longer in chains as enemies of the empire, Arminio and Segesta are instead promoted to equal status as friends of the emperor and given control of their realms north of the Alps once again. This utopic ending recalls in fact the ideal structure of the Holy Roman Empire as a confederation of sovereign principalities which nevertheless owe an obligation of allegiance to the emperor, even as it also fittingly evokes the multiple responsibilities of the dedicatee, Johann Ernst von Thun, not only to Salzburg, but to both papal authority in Rome and to the princes of Germania as well, as expressed on the title page of the score: “Dedicata / Con humil:^{mo} ossequio / All’Altezza Rev.^{ma} / Di Monsig.^r Giovanni Ernesto / Arcivescovo, e Prencipe di Salisburgo, Legato della S. Sede Ap:^{ca} in Roma, Primate della Germania et Conte di Thun.”¹³⁶

Johann Ernst’s immediate successor to these roles of papal legate and *Primas Germaniae* himself became the recipient of another *dramma per musica* on the subject of Arminius thirty years after *Chi la dura la vince*. Entitled *Il Germanico Marte* and performed in October 1721 at the Salzburg court theater in honor of the name day of its patron, Prince-Archbishop Franz Anton von Harrach (ruled 1709–1727), this opera has largely escaped the notice of those who have dealt with the musical reception of Arminius, as it appears in none of the lists compiled by Forchert, Barbon and Plachta, or Reischert. Antonio Caldara (1671–1736), employed as the vice-Kapellmeister under Johann Joseph Fux at the imperial court in Vienna since 1716, had also around this time secured the patronage of the theatrically and artistically inclined Franz Anton, who accordingly engaged him to supply the music for a series of operas performed in Salzburg

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid., fol. 4r.

during the decade that followed.¹³⁷ Contrary to expectations prompted by the somewhat ambiguous title, the Roman Germanicus makes no appearance in this work; rather it is Arminius himself who bears this descriptive epithet (“the German Mars”), and perhaps by extension the dedicatee as well, since the title page sets the names “Marte” and “Francesco” in the same majuscule typeface, implying their equal importance (see figure 13). The *licenza* that concludes the work with a direct acknowledgment of the celebratory occasion both confirms this typological connection and calls attention to the important contrast between the warlike title figure and Salzburg’s new hero in the person of Franz Anton, who rules through peace and love:

Ma sè d’Arminio il Prode
 Vanta la prisca Età Trofeo glorioso;
 Con applausi Giulivi ora festeggi
 Fama immortal’ l’imprese, e le Vittorie
 D’un nuovo Eroe, d’un PRENCIPE le Glorie.
 Si nuovo Eroe; sè nel suo Petto invito
 Zelo trionfa, e Carità Paterna.
 Sfavilla l’Alma sua, Pace, ed’ Amore;
 Non tumulto Guerriere, Odio, e Furore.¹³⁸

The emphasis placed on the word “prencipe,” while primarily a typeface choice that accentuates the dedicatee’s position, also reflects a prevailing concern in *Il Germanico Marte* with the implications of particularist political discord and the role of sovereign princes in relation to a broader conception of Germania. Political conflicts naturally comprise an essential element of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera plots (especially when these responsibilities intersect with personal desires), and no such treatment of the Arminius narrative presents an exception to this rule. *Il Germanico Marte*, however, distinguishes itself in this regard from Salvi’s *Arminio*—which Caldara had previously set to music for a production in Genoa; see Catalog Index I.06.1705—by reconfiguring the constellation of characters and thereby shifting the political focus of the

¹³⁷ See Ernst Hintermaier, “Musik—Musiker—Musikpflege,” in *Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land*, ed. Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger (Salzburg: Pustet, 1991), 2:3:1654.

¹³⁸ *Il Germanico Marte* (Salzburg: Mayr, [1721]), [101]. Since the *licenza* is unpaginated in the libretto, the bracketed numeral indicates the logical continuation of a sequential pagination. The score (but not the libretto) indicates that the *licenza* is to be sung by Ismenia.

IL GERMANICO
MARTE.
DRAMA PER MUSICA,
 DA RAPPRESENTARSI
 NEL TEATRO DI CORTE.
 PER
 ORDINE DI S. A. R.
MONSIGNOR
FRANCESCO
ANTONIO,
 ARCIVESCOVO, E PRENCIPE
 DI SALISBURGO,
 Prencipe del S. R. I. Legato Nato, della
 S. Sed. Apost. Primate della Germania,
 E PRENCIPE D'HARRACH, &c. &c.
MUSICA
 Del Sig. Antonio Caldara Vice-Maestro di
 Cappella di S. M. C. e C.

SALISBURGO,
 Appresso Giovanni Gioseppe Mayr, Stampatore
 di Corte di Sua Altezza Reverendissima.

Figure 13. Title page to *Il Germanico Marte* (Salzburg, 1721). Source: Library of Congress, Music Division: Microfilm Music 1854, Reel 32. Reprinted with permission.

ensuing antagonisms (for a synopsis, see Catalog Index I.10). Particularly notable are the changes to the character of Segeste, who receives first billing in the cast, assumes his place in a love triangle (in no other operatic work is he linked to anyone romantically), and actually displays a conscience regarding his treatment of Arminio (whereas he usually acts completely without scruples). As in Salvi's libretto, Segeste is identified in the cast list of *Il Germanico Marte* as "Principe dei Catti," while Arminio bears the title "Principe dei Cauci, e dei Cherusci." These tribal distinctions confirm the two princes as sovereigns while also marking them as peers, even as a third identifying category—that of the German—envelops both of them in a broader group. In the first scene of the opera, Arminio protests Segeste's alliance with Rome by invoking the entire German nation as the victim that will suffer under the Roman yoke—"Il Popolo Germanico non vanta, / Che di sua Libertà nobil Trofeo"—and defines himself in these terms as well: "Germano io sono."¹³⁹ Such an assertion does not seek to negate the sovereignty of the princes that make up this Germania, but rather points to the threat posed by the centralizing authority of a foreign power and reinforces the bonds between discrete groups that still share a common identification as "German." Unlike other operatic depictions of Segeste as an uncompromising collaborator with the Romans (making him the true villain of the story), the Segeste of this work recognizes and is tormented by the ethical dilemma presented through his conflict with Arminio. Not only is Arminio in love with Segeste's daughter (as Segeste in turn is in love with Arminio's sister Telesia), but he enjoys the status of a fellow prince as well. When Varo tries to persuade Segeste to have Arminio put to death for his public defiance of Roman overlordship, Segeste hesitates on the basis that "il grado / Di Principe ch'Egli vanta, / Chiede dal mio Rigor pronto perdono," since "De Cauci, e de Cherusci Egl'è Signore."¹⁴⁰ Later he confesses his dilemma in a soliloquy, beseeching the gods for assistance:

¹³⁹ Ibid., 10-11.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 24.

Numi! che far dovro? qual rio Destino
 Mi costringe à penar? de Cauci il Prence,
 D'Ismenia Sposo, à Morte orrida e Infame
 Condonnar io potrò?¹⁴¹

Segeste's pride causes him immediately thereafter to harden his heart when Arminio attempts to make amends, and it is this pride (*superbia*, *orgoglio*) that the character must overcome in order to effect reconciliation within his family, between clans, and ultimately throughout Germania.

In light of the Roman Catholic context of the performance, and the status of the dedicatee within that institutional structure, the associations linked to this concept of pride surely must have been evident to the audience. Categorized as one of seven deadly sins by the early Church Fathers (Augustine, John Cassian) and medieval scholastic theologians (Gregory the Great, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas), pride (*superbia*) was generally considered the most grievous of the lot as well as the source of all other vice.¹⁴² In *Il Germanico Marte*, Segeste and Varo are both accused by their adversaries of harboring destructive pride, and even the heroic Arminio (whom Segeste in his anger also calls "il Superbo") undergoes a character-building experience of *humilitas* when he is imprisoned and almost handed over to the executioner. Stoically accepting his fate and preparing himself for death in the "prigione orrida," Arminio abandons his pride of spirit in the proper tradition of the *ars morendi* and exhibits the kind of humility that aligns him with the exemplary figures of the Christian martyrs: "D'oscura Notte il tenebroso Inferno, / D'una Morte crudel' infausta l'ora / Non mi crucia, non temo..."¹⁴³ Later, when Segeste learns that his own young son Sigismondo (together with the assistance of Telesia) has betrayed him in order to effect Arminio's escape from prison, it is Arminio

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁴² For a brief but useful historical overview of the seven deadly sins tradition in Christian thought, with further bibliographical citations, see Rebecca Konyndyk DeYoung, "The Seven Deadly Sins," sec. 5 of "Sin," in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, ed. Erwin Fahlbusch, Jan Milič Lochman, John Mbiti, Jaroslav Pelikan, and Lukas Vischer, English-language ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999–2008), 5:25-26.

¹⁴³ *Il Germanico Marte*, 53. On the historical development of the *Ars morendi* from the late middle ages to the eighteenth century, see Rainer Rudolf, Rudolf Mohr, and Gerd Heinz-Mohr, "Ars morendi," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller and Gerhard Krause (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979), 4:143-156.

himself who responds to the elder man's rebuke of the boy with an ethical comment on the nature of a virtuous ruler, for whom prideful behavior can have no proper place:

Dà si tenera Prole or Prence impara,
Ad'esser Giusto, Pio, Clemente; e sappi,
Che Grandezza non vale, ove s'annida
Orgogliosa Empietade.¹⁴⁴

Reinforcing this lecture with other key words that evoke the ethical qualities of a just leader (*pietas, clementia*), Arminio finally admonishes Segeste to repent before heaven: "Temi Superbo temi / La Giustitia del Ciel, l'ire dei Numi!"¹⁴⁵ While this rhetoric fails to effect an immediate conversion, a transformative process occurs gradually in Segeste throughout the entire work. Recognizing the error of his initial support of Varo, Segeste turns against him in the second act when the Roman betrays their alliance out of bitterness caused by Ismenia's rejection of his amorous advances. It should be noted in this respect that the character of Varo assumes a more obviously antagonistic role in this libretto than in Salvi's text, and that his downfall is ultimately precipitated by pride. This pride manifests itself through a susceptibility to lust and an inability to govern the passions—one of Varo's rage arias is in fact explicitly marked "cantata con imperio" in the score.¹⁴⁶ Ismenia (the object of this illicit desire) and Telesia (who recognizes Varo's weakness) take advantage of this fact and manipulate him through false promises that appeal to his pride—Ismenia promising to give herself to him in exchange for the release of her father, and Telesia pledging (in a da capo aria marked "come stile di Minuet") that her brother Arminio will submit to the emperor's power if Varo will free her beloved Idraspe.¹⁴⁷ In consenting to these requests, Varo expects that his romantic fantasies will

¹⁴⁴ *Il Germanico Marte*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ "Quella Fiamma," Act 2, Scene 16, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien IV.16125, fol. 196.

¹⁴⁷ While Telesia's aria "Col piacer della tua Fede" (Act 3, Scene 4) is the only instance in which the minuet is specifically mentioned in the score, two more arias and a duet also allude to this form through their triple meter dance-like rhythms and melodic simplicity (i.e., a minimum of coloratura); none of them, however, is composed in binary form. In light of my discussion of the associations linked to the minuet in Steffani's *Arminio*, it is interesting and perhaps significant to note that two of these four allusions to the minuet in Caldara's opera convey expressions of devoted love and are marked "amoroso" in the score (Idraspe's "Quanto possa Amor in mè," Act 1, Scene 4; and Ismenia and Arminio's duet "Al Sen' ti stringo," Act 1, Scene 16), while the other two are sung by Telesia as part of her plan to seduce and deceive

come true, but he is deluded in his self-assured hubris and instead falls into the deadly trap prepared for him by the Germans. As Ismenia comments to her sister-in-law after Varo's departure for the fateful encounter with Arminio: "Cada il Superbo in braccio à Morte; e Arminio / Mio Sposo, e tuo German' rieda Trionfante."¹⁴⁸

Arminio does indeed celebrate a triumph at the end, but with a spirit of humility that diverts the focus away from himself, as he dedicates the glory of his victory to others and affirms the united efforts of the people—whether Cauci, Cherusci, or Catti—in achieving their common liberty. After word arrives of Varo's death and Arminio's success, but before the hero himself returns to the scene, a combined group of the Germanic peoples ("Choro del Popolo") celebrates their leader with a short G-major chorus (repeated two more times), acclaiming him not merely as the leader of the Cauci and Cherusci, but rather of all the Germani:

De Germani invitto Duce
Viva Arminio, il Vincitor.
Se or più chiara in noi riluce
Libertà, Pace, ed'Amor.¹⁴⁹

To be sure, the syllabic demands of the poetry influence the choice of a particular appellation; thus Telesia praises her brother in the same scene with the exclamation "E viva dunque, e viva / Dei Cauci il Prence, il Domator d'Imperi," which fits the typical recitative verse pattern of freely mixed eleven- and seven-syllable lines.¹⁵⁰ Yet it bears mention that while "Cherusci" could just as easily have replaced "Germani" in the chorus without affecting the meter, the meaning would have changed significantly. For Arminio—once he makes his grand entrance and dedicates his military laurels to Ismenia ("Del mio Braccio la Vittoria / A tè ò Sposa mia Diletta / Ti consacro tutto Amor.")—quickly works to achieve reconciliation with Segeste, eager to make him an equal partner in the victory that is to be shared by all the Germanic peoples: "Sappia Segeste, ch'il

Varo with empty promises ("Dal tuo Labro," Act 2, Scene 17; and "Col piacer della tua Fede"). Might we recognize here the fine line between sincerity and insincerity that can be blurred all too easily when *galant* pleasures are indulged?

¹⁴⁸ *Il Germanico Marte*, 89.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

Valor Germano / L'orgoglio rintuzzò, l'ardir Romano."¹⁵¹ In addition, Arminio credits the people themselves as well as the support of divine providence for having brought about this joyous turn of events: "Popoli a Voi sol devo, / Di mia Sorte l'Onor. Voi Voi pugnaste. / E già, ch'il Ciel con fausta Provvidenza / Guidò dei vostri Acciari il Colpo.[...]"¹⁵² Twice hailed by the people's acclamation ("Viva Segeste, e viva"), Segeste finally also approaches Arminio with humility and repentance, and is consequently rewarded as a fellow sovereign. "Di mie Vittorie il nobile Trionfo / Tutto à tè dono," declares Arminio to his father-in-law, "e dei Romani il Sangue / Erga degno Trofeo alla tua Grandezza."¹⁵³ The triumph of Arminio becomes the triumph of Segeste, as these two leaders of Germania are confirmed as equal partners, with their respective subjects brought together in a single chorus.

Similar moral and political messages as those reinforced in *Il Germanico Marte* reappear in the final Salzburg case study discussed in this section, the school drama *Pietas in Patriam* by the Benedictine priest and prolific dramatist Florian Reichssiegel (1735–1793).¹⁵⁴ First performed in Latin in the summer of 1771 in honor of the Prince-Archbishop Sigismund von Schrattenbach (ruled 1753–1771), the work was translated into German and performed again two years later for Schrattenbach's successor Hieronymus von Colloredo (ruled 1771–1803). The component elements of the title (*pietas* and *patria*) evoke the concepts discussed in Part 1 of this study in relation to Adolph's *Amor Patriae* and the identification of the Austrian Habsburgs as the defenders and promoters of Catholicism. Indeed it is worth noting that a large percentage of the staged, non-operatic Arminius narratives produced in the eighteenth century were

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 94-95.

¹⁵² Ibid., 94.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 97.

¹⁵⁴ On Reichssiegel, see Alois Raffelsberger, "Florian Reichssiegel (1735–1793), eine Monographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tätigkeit für das Theater der alten Salzburger Benediktiner Universität" (PhD diss., University of Innsbruck, 1939). On the history of the Benedictine university theater in Salzburg, see Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg, 1617–1778* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

presented by the religious orders of the Church as the subject of their school plays.¹⁵⁵

Table 6 provides an outline of these works, and the Catalog Index in Appendix A contains detailed synopses (insofar as these can be determined) of their content. These works have however received relatively little attention in the Arminius reception historiography, due certainly in part to the paucity of complete texts that have survived, but also likely to the prevailing interpretive bias that has coded the Arminius figure as anti-Roman and therefore anti-Roman Catholic, as evidenced in Borgstedt's argument.

Table 6. Dramatic works produced by Catholic religious orders on the subject of Arminius

Title [Catalog Index No.]	Order, Author (if known)	Place, Date	Transmission
<i>Arminius Germaniae Vindex, Primus Augusti Caesaris Victor</i> [II.03]	Jesuit	Bruges, 1700	Perioche only
<i>Amor Patriae</i> [II.04]	Jesuit Johann Baptist Adolph (1657–1708)	Vienna, 1701	Complete text and music
<i>Arminii Corona</i> [II.06]	Jesuit Ignaz Weitenauer (1709–1783)	Mindelheim, 1749	Complete text (without choruses)
<i>Arminius</i> [II.07]	Jesuit	Graz, 1750	None known
<i>Die deutschen Helden</i> [II.08]	Jesuit	Passau, 1764	Perioche only
<i>Hermann, ein deutscher Held</i> (pantomimic intermezzo in <i>S. Henricus Romanorum Imperator</i>) [II.10]	Jesuit	Bamberg, 1770	Perioche only
<i>Pietas in Patriam</i> (<i>Hermann, ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande</i>) [II.11]	Benedictine Florian Reichssiegel (1735–1793)	Salzburg, 1771 (Latin); 1773 (German)	Complete text and music

When considering these adaptations of the Arminius narrative within the genre of the school drama, it is striking that the Hermann/Arminius figure is not always presented in a

¹⁵⁵ A useful contextual survey of these works is found in Sandra Krump, *In scenam datus est cum plausu: Das Theater der Jesuiten in Passau (1612–1773)*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidler, 2000), 1:252-261.

positive light, but rather alternately embodies exemplary and cautionary functions. At stake in these works are issues pertaining to leadership and the dangers of hubris, centered especially around the negotiation of Arminius's position among the chieftains of the other Germanic tribes. Whether the end result leads to the success or downfall of Arminius and his ambitions, the dramas always advocate a healthy distribution of power—frowning upon tyrants, while also condemning the factious elements that breed discord among the individual princes. They also reinforce the notion that a strong ruler should accept his responsibilities humbly and in deference to the divine order, assuming his place among his peers without a perceived sense of superiority over them.

In Reichssiegel's play, the contentious relationships among the princes (represented by the Cherusci, Saxons, Chatti, Marsi, Macromanni, and Cauci) serve to illustrate the work's message that the cultivation of proper "pietas in patriam" must necessarily expand the concept of *patria* beyond local jurisdictions and particularist ambitions to incorporate a broader sense of community and common purpose. By expressly linking the Hermann/Arminius figure to the Salzburg Prince-Archbishops in the dedicatory prologues of both productions, the political implications of this equation extend beyond mere conventional flattery in praise of the status quo in the immediate archbishopric itself (although this element cannot be underestimated). Rather the identification of the two figures as unifying forces throughout Germania—making them both worthy of the title *Primas Germaniae*—raises the bar of expectation higher, supplying positive reinforcement to strive on behalf of the entire German nation after the ideals espoused in the work.¹⁵⁶ In the musical prologue to the 1771 production (composed by the court Konzertmeister Michael Haydn, who provided the music for several of the dramatic works performed at the Benedictine university during this time), the two allegorical figures Montanus and Teutogenus—the guardian spirits of the Salzach and the Danube, respectively—encounter each other and establish both the geographical space of

¹⁵⁶ On the cultivation of a broader German national consciousness at the court in Salzburg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Reinhard R. Heinisch, "Reichspatriotismus im Erzstift Salzburg," in *Heimat als Erbe und Auftrag: Beiträge zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Rotraut Acker-Sutter (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1984), 120-127.

Salzburg as well as the larger landscape of Germania.¹⁵⁷ Having traveled the tributaries of the Danube, Teutogenus finds himself in unfamiliar waters once he arrives at the base of the mountain on which the archbishop's fortress stands. However, after Montanus dramatically reveals the shield on which the prince's arms are emblazoned, Teutogenus has a flash of recognition:

Primatis Archipraesul in nostris tuus
 Nomen habet oris: sede ab hac prima fedes
 Divina luxit Teutoni, qui se prius
 Vinclis ligatum daemonis doluit miser.
 Hinc musa pro Primate Primatem canat!
 Vis nosse, Primas iste quis fuerit? Pius
 Hermannus est, Teutonia quem merito colit.
 Hic triste primus omnium excussit iugum,
 Quo Roma capti Teutonis pressit caput.
 Nobilius invenisse vix aliud queas
 Exemplar, in Primate Primatem colens.¹⁵⁸

By first characterizing Salzburg as the point of origin for the spread of Christianity to the Germanic peoples (“sede ab hac prima fedes / Divina luxit Teutoni”), Teutogenus demonstrates his knowledge of the medieval legacy of Bishop Arno (ca. 750–821), whom the Frankish king Charlemagne entrusted with missionary territory in the area between the Danube, Rába, and Drava rivers toward the close of the eighth century. The student performers of the play no doubt would have been aware that as a result of the success of these proselytizing efforts over the decade that followed, Pope Leo III raised Salzburg to an archbishopric in 798 and appointed Arno, as the first holder of this office, over the other bishops in Bavaria (Regensburg, Passau, Freising, and Säben [Brixen]), thereby integrating the southern Germanic dioceses into the Frankish kingdom.¹⁵⁹ These allusions in the dedication reinforce the extensive religious and secular authority of the *Primas*

¹⁵⁷ On Haydn's involvement with the university theater productions in Salzburg, see Gerhard Croll and Kurt Vössing, *Johann Michael Haydn: Sein Leben – sein Schaffen – seine Zeit* (Vienna: Neff, 1987), 48-53. The backdrop used for the wine cellar scene in the intermezzo following the second act is reproduced on page 53.

¹⁵⁸ Florian Reichssiegel, *Pietas in Patriam. Tragoedia* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1771), [11]. Since the publication is unpaginated, I have chosen to assign bracketed numerals to all page citations, with the title page designated as page 1.

¹⁵⁹ For a recent collection of essays examining the legacy of Arno, see Meta Niederkorn-Bruck and Anton Scharer, eds., *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2004).

Germaniae, whose influence is not restricted only to the waterways of the Salzach, but rather stretches all along the Danube. Yet if Salzburg duly receives credit for promulgating the true faith that freed the German's soul from sin and death (“qui se prius / Vinculis ligatum daemonis doluit miser”), Teutogenus also looks back even farther, citing “pius Hermannus” as the original liberator of the German's body from political oppression (“Hic triste primus omnium excussit iugum, / Quo Roma capti Teutonis pressit caput”). Since the downfall of the ancient Roman Empire ultimately paved the way for the rise of the Christian Holy Roman Empire, with a bit of imagination it is a small step to consider Hermann/Arminius as an important catalyst toward realizing the mission of Rome and therefore as a worthy counterpart to Prince-Archbishop Sigismund. The intimate connection of these two personages with the well-being of *Germania* is even juxtaposed musically in the duet aria that closes the prologue, in which Teutogenus exalts Hermannus while Montanus extols the praises of Sigismund:

TEUTOG. Felix Germania! Cui mira providentia Haec sors beata obtigit Hermannum nutriendi.	MONTAN. Felix Iuvavia! Cui Numinis clementia Haec sors beata obtigit Sigismundum eligendi.
<i>Ambo.</i> In Te o Primas! integra Germania laetatur:	
TEUTOG. Hunc principem Belliducem	MONTAN. Te principem Antistitem
<i>Ambo.</i> Ut solem inter sidera Suspensa demiratur. ¹⁶⁰	

The musical structure of the aria—AABAA, with each new appearance of the A section varied—allows each character to express himself both individually (one stanza from the left and right columns following the other) and simultaneously, as in example 4, where the texts of the two stanzas are overlaid, confirming the equation of the two “primates”

¹⁶⁰ *Pietas in Patriam*, [12]. The text layout of the citation matches that of the original publication, but I have adjusted typographical variations between *u* and *v* in all citations from this text to conform to modern orthographic conventions.

Example 4. "Felix Germania," duet (Montanus and Teutogenus) from *Pietas in Patriam* (*Hermann*), F. Reichssiegel/J.M. Haydn (Salzburg, 1771), mm. 88-95. Bibliothèque nationale de France D-5674, pp. 109-110.

Hn. (D) *f*
 Ob. *f*
 Vln. I *f* *p*
 Vln. II *f* *p*
 Vla. *f* *p*
 Mont. *f* *p*
 Teut. *f* *p*
 B.c. *f* *p*

Fe - lix Ju - va - vi - a, fe - lix! cui Nu - mi - nis cle - men - ti - a haec
 Fe - lix Ger - ma - ni - a, fe - lix! cui mi - ra pro - vi - den - ti - a haec

Vln. I *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*
 Vln. II *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*
 Vla. *f*
 Mont. *f* *p*
 Teut. *f* *p*
 B.c. *f*

sors be - a - ta ob - ti - git Sig - mun - dum e - li - gen - di.
 sors be - a - ta ob - ti - git Her - man - num nu - tri - en - di.

aurally. While the 1773 production omitted this musical prologue with its allegorical figures (due to topical references as well as the invocation of a different archbishop's name), the spoken text recited by Hermann "aus der fliegenden Wolke" and addressed to Archbishop Hieronymus in this adaptation draws the same kinds of comparisons between the hero of the drama and the dedicatee:

Glückliche Gegend! gesegnete Stunde! zu welcher die Muse
Ihrem Apollo den Zins aufrichtiger Liebe entrichten
Und in dem Hermann ein Bild der deutschen Tugend vor diesem
Schilderen kann, den Deutschland verehr't als seinen Primaten.
Denn gleichwie dem dapferen Arm Hermannens die Freyheit
Deutschland hat zu verdanken, so hat diese Mutter an Salzburg
Geistlicher Weis den Hermann in Dir, o gnädigster Vater
Fürst und Primat! aus dessen Bezirk' die göttliche Lehre
Sich am Ersten ergoß und die versteinerten Herzen
Der in finsterner Nacht umirrenden Deutschen erweichte:
So, daß Deutschland an Dir hat den Retter unsterblicher Seelen,
Wie an Hermannen zuvor den Retter der Freyheit gefunden.¹⁶¹

As part of the pedagogical strategy to instill in the students—many of whom were drawn from noble families across the (Roman Catholic) empire—an inclusive understanding of this large-scale "Deutschland," Reichssiegel focuses the central conflicts of the drama not just on the adversarial relationship between the Germans and the Romans, but also to a large extent on inter-Germanic rivalries, which ultimately prove to present Hermannus with his greatest challenges. The threat posed to Germania by a lack of unity among the princes is manifested primarily through the negative examples of Rastolfus (whose overzealous impetuosity must be reigned in) and Segesthes (who must be re-integrated into the fold after having betrayed his people through an alliance with the Romans). In both cases, the characters' flaws are the result of moral deficiencies that are clearly identified for edifying purposes and eventually overcome in the course of the drama. Tormented by his conscience at the end of the first act, for example, the Saxon prince Segesthes experiences a potent allegorical dream sequence that visualizes the demonic forces preying on the character's weaknesses, subjugating him to the vices of

¹⁶¹ Florian Reichssiegel, *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande* (Salzburg: Prodinger, 1773), 8.

discord (*Zwietracht*) and anger (*Wuth*). The published text provides considerable detail about the narrative content of this ballet intermezzo, which begins with Morpheus (the Greek god of dreams) leading the sleeping Segesthes into the underworld, where a bevy of evil spirits awaits him:

Die Zwietracht kömmt durch die Luft auf einem fliegenden Drachen, fliegt von demselben herunter, und fächert mit ihrem Blasbalge dem Segesth auf das Herz und in die Ohren. Worüber dieser im Schlafe aufzuschwülen, und sich zu verrenken anfängt. [...] Die Zwietracht erbittet sich vom Pluto Gehilfen, die ihr das Herz des Segesths sollten erbittern helfen. [...] Pluto läßt die Wuth und den Tod kommen, und giebt der Zwietracht noch 4 andere von seinen vornehmsten Geistern zur Bedienung.¹⁶²

Having submitted to the corrupting influences of discord and anger, Segesthes is then crowned and enthroned over the slain Siegmarius and enchained Hermannus in a graphic tableau illustrating the deadly outcome of jealousy and malice among peers. Awakening from the dream, Segesthes continues to nurture these malevolent impulses throughout the play, much to the consternation of Rastolfus, the prince of the Chatti, whose own rash impulses threaten to throw the coalition of princes and their tactical strategy against the Romans into chaos. Since Rastolfus possesses little patience either for the treachery of Segesthes or for the impertinence of the Romans, on multiple occasions cooler heads must hold him back from taking drastic actions without consideration of the consequences. This central character fault is revealed already in the play's second scene, as Siegmarius restrains Rastolfus from an open assault on the Roman delegation during diplomatic negotiations:

RASTOLF. Nun kann ich nimmermehr — Es rasselt mein Geblüt
Vor Zorn! die Viperzung bringt dieser Staal zum schweigen—”
(*Er geht mit entblößtem Schwerte auf die Gesandten los: wird aber vom Siegmar
abgehalten.*)
SIEGMAR. (Nicht so! — du bist zu gäh! Fürst! Zeit und Ort wird zeigen,
Was Rastolf ist, da nicht der Wörter Schmink und Pracht,
Nicht Trohungen: nein! Muth und Schwert den Richter macht.)¹⁶³

¹⁶² *Pietas in Patriam*, [30].

¹⁶³ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 13. The 1771 text reads: “[Rastolf.] Superbientis nequeo contemtum amplius / Perferre linguae! Vipera hoc chalybe cadat!— / [Sigm. (Compesce Princeps impetum! dabitur locus / Et hora bellis aptior, qua non minae, / Non verba, sed cruentus euentum chalybs / Docebit.)” [17-18].

Later, when Rastolfus criticizes as cowardly the princes' plan to ambush the Romans by lying in wait in the forest instead of mounting an offensive on the open field, Siegmarus again intervenes with moral wisdom: "Rastolf! nur nicht zu gäh! ein übereiltes Werk / Schlägt seinen Meister selbst und ist von keiner Stärk'." ¹⁶⁴ Rastolfus's lack of self-control, fueled by a keen sense of patriotic duty to Germania, also becomes obvious in his similarly visceral response to the actions of the turncoat Segesthes:

Verräther! Bösewicht! Meyneid'ger! du verletzest
Den hoch geschwornen Eid der Fürsten und versetzest
Uns alle in Gefahr? -- Du Lasterhafter! sey
Das Opfer meiner Rach' und der gebrochnen Treu!
(*Er zieht wider den Segesth das Schwert.*) ¹⁶⁵

Once more it is the aged Siegmarus who defuses the confrontation and encourages a measured approach in dealing with Segesthes: "muß es dann Rastolf seyn, / Der hier den Henker macht? – Es giebt ia and're Weege, / Wie man so eine That mit ihrer Straf' belege." ¹⁶⁶ Indeed, along with his son Hermannus, Siegmarus continually takes pains to promote unity among the various tribes—even until his dying breaths, with which he offers the victorious princes a final mandate:

(*Er sammelt die letzten Kräfte und sieht die Fürsten noch einmal an.*)
Ihr Freunde! -- ich erwache. –
Seyd einig! – Gebet nur der Hochmuth – oder Rache –
Im Herzen – keinen Platz. – lieb't euern Unterthan, –
Damit derselbige – euch – gleichfalls lieben kann. –
Vor allem fürchtet Gott! ¹⁶⁷

The unity that Siegmarus so fervently desires among the Germans had earlier been represented musically by a series of parade marches accompanying the entrance of each tribe in the fifth act, after the successful defeat of the Romans. The stage directions

¹⁶⁴ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 41. The 1771 text reads: "Rastolfe! ne praepropera sit rabies, cave! / Plerumque praecipitatus auctorem ferit / Impetus et haud durare violenta assolent" [48].

¹⁶⁵ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 33. The 1771 text reads: "Effere! scelestel! perfide! an sanctam fidem, / Quam capite quisque principum obstrinxit suo, / Sic frangis? an lussisse nobiscum velis? / Hoc perduellis! chalybe fallacem spuas (*extrahit gladium, ruiturus in Segesthem*) / Animam! cruenta proditor!—" [38].

¹⁶⁶ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 33. The 1771 text reads: "an Rastolfe! carnificis vices / Princeps! subibis, alius ubi superest modus, / Quo tanta plecti scelera condigne queant?" [38-39].

¹⁶⁷ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 68. The 1771 text reads: "Evigilo. -- Duces! -- / Concordiam usque colite. -- sit inanis procul / Ambitio! -- amate subditos, -- ut vos ament. -- / Deum timete!" [76].

indicate that “ein jedes Kriegsvolk hat seine eigene Feldmusik” (“quodlibet agmen propriam, et distinctam a ceteris habet musicam”), and indeed, Michael Haydn combines a variety of musical textures to create a distinctive signature for each of these marches, as outlined in table 7.

Table 7: Marches accompanying the entrances of the tribes in Act 5 of *Pietas in Patriam*

March No.	Scene	Accompanies entrance of the	Instrumentation (as indicated in Haydn’s score: Bibliothèque nationale de France, D-5674, p. 203-212)
1	1	Marsi (Treumundus)	Tromba, Piffero I/II (in D), Tamburo.
2	1	Marcomanni (Edmundus)	Corno (in G), Piffero I/II (in G), Tamburo.
3	1	Cauci (Hauboldus)	Triangolo, Flauto, Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Tamburo velato; joined at the end by the instruments of March No. 2 and “la voce umana cogli Piffori.”
4	2	Chatti (Rastolfus)	Piffero I/II, Tamburino (“al suo piacer”), Tamburo. Marked “Allegretto.”
5	2	Saxons (Siegmundus)	Manicordo, Corno I/II (in D), Violino I/II, Viola, Instrumento d’acciaio, Bassi.
6	4	Cherusci (Hermannus)	Tromba, Corno I/II (in D), Piffero I/II, Oboe I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi, Instrumento d’acciaio, Tamburo, Triangolo, Manicordo.

The first march employs the basic accoutrements of a small military band—a trumpet, two fifes and a drum—but by the end of the first scene, the orchestration expands to incorporate a variety of brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments. The entrance of the Chatti under Rastolfus’s leadership in the second scene presents a telling variation: of the six marches it is the only one in which Haydn does not write out a specific part for an instrument—in this case it is the tamburino, which could refer either to a small tenor drum or to a tambourine, and which is simply marked “al suo piacer.” This march is also the only one of the set to receive a specific performance mark (“Allegretto”), setting it

apart from the others presumably by indicating a quicker tempo.¹⁶⁸ It would seem that Haydn composed with a careful attention to character detail in this instance, conveying the hasty impulsiveness of Rastolfus through this march. As the act progresses toward the triumphant entrance of Hermannus and the Cherusci in the fourth scene, the additive effects of the orchestration become clear: after the fifth march introduces the strings as well as a keyboard instrument (the manicordo or clavichord) and the so-called “instrumento d’accaio” (glockenspiel), all the instrument groups (brass, woodwinds, strings, percussion) combine in the final march for the first time. The symbolism of the scene is explicitly described in the stage directions: “sobald aber das zweyete Treffen mit dem Hermann kömmt, stimmen alle Völker sammt dem Orchester in einem Tone zusammen, wodurch die Einhälligkeit der Deutschen angezeigt wird.”¹⁶⁹ It is important to note that the sixth march does not introduce its own new musical theme (except for the fanfare-like flourish that closes the piece), but rather reiterates the same musical material heard in the first march, although amplifying it with the textures of the full orchestra. For while Hermannus is acclaimed by all the people for his leadership, he expresses no ambitions to assume absolute power for himself (and therefore has no need of his own identificatory musical theme); instead he acknowledges the group effort that brought about the freedom of Germania and confers the victory crown to his allies:

Ihr Fürsten! lasset euch umfangen! – Beßte Freunde! –
 Des Vaterlandes Schmuck! – ihr Retter der Gemeinde! –
 Ihr Stützen deutscher Macht! – Hermannens rechte Hand! –
 Euch steht der Siegkranz zu; euch hat das Vaterland

¹⁶⁸ Since these marches are performed as processions within the context of the play, one would expect them to fall into the category of the slow march, or the ordinary march (Fr. *pas ordinaire*; Ger. *Parademarsch*), the tempo of which could vary from quarter note = 60 to 80 beats per minute. In contrast, the tempo of the quick march (Fr. *pas redoublé*; Ger. *Geschwindmarch*), used for manoeuvres, would be approximately twice as fast, and the double-quick march used for attacks (Fr. *pas de charge*; Germ. *Sturmmarsch*) even faster. See Erich Schwandt and Andrew Lamb, “March,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezpl.lib.umn.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40080> (accessed September 11, 2011). In the absence of performance markers for the other marches, the meaning of “allegretto” can only be surmised; assuming however that the others are in fact meant to be slow marches, “allegretto” would almost certainly indicate a relatively quicker tempo.

¹⁶⁹ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 61. The 1771 text reads: “Digressio milite et patente iam iam atrii planitie fit concentus musicus omnium agminum, cui etiam musica extra theatrum cohaeret, quae Teutonum concordiam exprimit” [69].

Zu danken für die Treu, die mit vereinten Herzen
 Das Joch zersplitterte, das unter Quaal und Schmerzen
 Uns lang gedrückt hat.¹⁷⁰

In addition to this deferential acceptance of his role as a *primus inter pares*, Hermannus demonstrates the admirable virtues of *pietas*, *clementia*, and *justitia* through his reverence for the divine order and in the treatment of his enemies. This exemplary behavior conforms with Reichssiegel's characterization of the Germans (at least those who are meant to represent positive role models) as a God-fearing and morally upright people. Although the work depicts a pre-Christian pagan world and contains references to the polytheism of the ancient Germans (most notably in the third act when the priest Morkan invokes the blessing of multiple gods on the departing warriors), Reichssiegel also imparts his Germans with a monotheistic, proto-Christian worldview that is expressed throughout the play.¹⁷¹ The pious Siegmarius, for example, boldly confesses his faith in the one true God, setting himself apart from the heathen Romans who worship the Emperor as a divine being:

Ich weis [*sic*] von keinem Herrn, als nur von Gott, der Grossen
 Und Kleinen Schranken setzt und mit der Erde spielt.
 Vor diesem beuge ich mich tief, wenn er befiehlt;
 Er ist mein Herr, und ich sein Knecht.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 62. The 1771 text reads: “Salvete cari principes, Patriae decus, / Columen parentum, gloria Hermanni Ducis! / Obtenta vestris manibus adscribo unice / Tropaea: vestra patriam eripuit fides / Virtusque, quae coniuncta contriuit iugum, / Quo fascinata patria libertas fuit” [70].

¹⁷¹ Klopstock adopts a similar strategy in his *Hermanns Schlacht*, where he asserts in his commentary on the god Wodan that the ancient Germans (whom he links to the Scythians) were monotheistic: “Unsre Vorfahren, die Scythen, hatten in den ältesten Zeiten weder Untergötter, Götter, noch Halbgötter. Sie verehrten einen Gott. Ihre Colonien in Europa änderten den Begriff von dem höchsten Wesen durch Zusätze, obgleich nicht so sehr, als die Verehrer Zevs oder Jupiters. Sie glaubten auch Untergötter und Halbgötter. Weil sie den Krieg über alles liebten, so stand ihnen der oberste Gott vornämlich auch im Kriege bey. [...] Den Ersten unter den Göttern nannten die scythischen Colonien, in verschiedenen Zeiten und Gegenden: Wodan [...]” See Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Hermanns Schlacht*, in *Hermann-Dramen*, ed. Mark Emanuel Amtstätter, Werke und Briefe: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe (Hamburger Klopstock Ausgabe), Werke VI:1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 145. In Reichssiegel's drama, the prayers that Morkan directs to various protective spirits might also find a parallel in the Roman Catholic tradition of venerating the saints.

¹⁷² *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 13. The 1771 text reads: “Nescio Dominum, nisi / Qui cuncta coeli sidera et terras regit. / Hunc, si loquatur, poplite inflexo audio, / Servumque me profiteor” [17].

Likewise Hermannus remains cognizant of his people's dependence on providential favor for their success, and duly exhorts his fellow chieftains to join him in performing the necessary collective oblations to "Gott" ("Numen"):

Deutschlandes Retter, Freund' und Brüder! eh wir gehen,
Das Schwert im Feindeblut' zu färben, ist Gebett [*sic*]
Und Opfer gut, damit die Schlacht von statten geht.
Ihr Barden singet vor! wir wollen eu're Lieder
Nachsingen. Lasset nichts, was Gottes Ehr' zuwider
Und unanständig ist, in diesem Ort' gescheh'n!¹⁷³

The bardic chorus that follows this speech accordingly calls on a singular God for aid and blessing in the impending battle: "Grosser Gott des Allemann / Höre unser Bitten an!" ("Magne Deus Teutonum! / Audi vota subplicum!").¹⁷⁴ Following the benedictions, Hermannus assures his compatriots that their efforts in battle will be met with success by virtue of their moral superiority to the decadent Romans:

Ihr Deutschen! sorget nicht, der Sieg kann auch nicht fehlen,
Wenn ihr gehorsam seydt; die weichen Römerseelen
Sind zärtlich, träg und schwach. Ein Varus trinkt und spielt
Im Lager und verzehr't, was er den Deutschen stihlt.
Dem Feldherrn folgen nach Tribunen und gemeine
Soldaten; alles schlemmt und prasset. Nach dem Scheine
Ist Rom noch fürchterlich: doch seine Dapferkeit
Ist nicht die alte mehr; o! diese hat sich weit
Verlohren: denn der Muth verwäg'ner Römerhorden
Ist nun zur Weichlichkeit und zagen Furcht geworden.
Sie sind im Reden stolz und keck und dapper: doch
im Werke sind sie schwach.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 37. The 1771 text reads: "Adeste fida Teutones patriae meae / Pignora! priusquam praelium ineamus, preces / Ad astra dirigamus, ut tribuat opem / Nobis benignum Numen. Hinc Bardi pie / Praemissa vota repetite unanimes tona, / Et indecori ne quid in sacro hoc loco / Fiat, cavete!" [43].

¹⁷⁴ *Hermann, ein Beyspiel*, 38; *Pietas in Patriam*, [44].

¹⁷⁵ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 40. The 1771 text reads: "Ne metue miles, palma victorem manet / Te certa, si iubentis Hermannus Ducis / Fidus sequare monita. Mollities Duces / Gregariumque militem exhaustit. Tuis / Effeminatus opibus in castris sedet, / Ludens, bibensque Varus. Hunc reliqui Duces / Et quisque miles strenue imitantur. Fugit / Romana sensim vincere adsueta indoles, / Virtusque degeneravit in molles dapes / Otiumque, quodque peius, in turpem metum. / Audaciores ore sunt modo, quam manu" [46-47].

The criticism that Hermannus levels against the Romans here on account of their physical weakness (negatively coded as effeminate) and susceptibility to sensual pleasures (which in turn lead to moral laxity) finds reiteration in the allegorical intermezzo that immediately precedes the third act. In this musical segment, Bacchus and Venus engage in a competitive debate about the greatest conquering influence over the gods and humankind alike; Venus argues that love is this overwhelming force, while Bacchus asserts that wine eventually overcomes all resistance. The tableau that accompanies the contest provides the contextual motivation for this scene, “in welcher das wollüstige Leben und die Trunkenheit der Römer, und die Wachtbarkeit der Deutschen vorgestellt wird.”¹⁷⁶ As the stage directions indicate, “[d]ie Römer liegen hin und wieder bezechet auf der Erde und schlafen: die Deutschen aber stehen im Hinterhalte mit blossen Schwertern.”¹⁷⁷ Whereas the Romans succumb to drunkenness and sloth, the Germans remain sober, vigilant, and ultimately deadly, as the last stanza of Bacchus and Venus’s song ominously presages:

Hier sind die Besieger
 Vom Schläfe betäubt:
 Bis ein deutscher Krieger
 Die Schwachen entleibt.
 (*Sie deuten auf die betrunkenen Römer und hernach auf die wachen Deutschen.*)¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 35.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 37. This intermezzo was sung in German in both the 1771 and 1773 productions, although the quoted stage direction at the end does not appear in the 1771 text. It is interesting to note how the historiographical ascription of drunkenness shifts from the Germanic tribes to the Romans over time. Tacitus, for example, writes in his description of the Germans that “diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum” and “crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur” (*Germania* 22.2-3). Aventinus, however, in his *Bayerische Chronik* (Book I, Chapter 36) asserts that “Kain wein pauten die alten Teutschen, liessen auch kain zu inen füeren, mainten, der wein macht waich weibisch unarbaitsam leut, die der füll und wollust gewonten, möchten nichts leiden.” In contrast to the ancient Germans’ behavior, Aventinus points out that now (*ietzo*), “alle andre land und nation reden uns gar übel. schelten nun uns als die nichts können, zue nichte guet sein dan zue rasln und prasln, saufen und trinken, schlemmen und demmen, haissen uns die groben unsinnigen trunken vollen Teutschen, alweg vol und selten lär. Got geb, das wir unser leben pessern und solchs abtuen”—see Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Matthias Lexer, vol. 4 of *Johannes Turmair’s genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke* (Munich: Kaiser, 1883), 1:116. Aventinus’s pointed recasting of the ancient Germans as sober and industrious finds an obvious continuation in Reichssiegel’s drama.

Yet in spite of the severity with which the Germans execute their victory over the Romans and their culture (depicted in the ballet intermezzo that follows the third act, a detailed description of which is included in the 1771 text), Hermannus in due course promotes mercy and justice as the alternatives to pride and tyranny once the Germans gain the upper hand. When Rastolfus demands violence as a fitting retribution for Segesthes's treachery ("Fürst! straf! dein Deutschland dringt /Auf Rache, straf den Feind Segesthen, straf den Räuber, / Den Bösewicht, den Tyrann, den Mörder, den Entleiber!"), Hermannus declines and exercises self-control, judging it a better punishment to allow Segesthes to live with his own guilty conscience than to put him to a quick death.¹⁷⁹ As the heading at the beginning of the fifth act makes clear, Hermannus becomes by the end of the play an example of moral rectitude as a "Besieger des Varus, des Segesth und seiner selbst."¹⁸⁰

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The brief textual intermezzo that takes the stage at this point in my discussion presents the Arminius figure in light of the same ethical concerns found in Reichssiegel's drama even as it turns the timeline back several decades and shifts the geographic focus from Salzburg to the territory of Silesia in the eastern region of the Holy Roman Empire. In February of 1727, Duke Karl Friedrich II of Württemberg-Oels celebrated his thirty-seventh birthday, for which occasion the composer Christian Gottfried Hellmund (1698–1772) was commissioned to supply an appropriate musical work. Fortunately the manuscript score of this German-language oratorio has survived and is held in the music collection of the Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden; further details

¹⁷⁹ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 64-65. The 1771 text reads: "Princeps! Segesthem plecte sceleratum, impium / Patriae latronem!" [72-73].

¹⁸⁰ *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel*, 56. The 1771 text reads: "Hermannus Vari, Segesthis et sui victor" [65].

surrounding its performance remain unknown, however, since no printed libretto is extant.¹⁸¹ Hellmund, who was at the time in the employ of Karl Friedrich's elder half-sister Luise Elisabeth at her residence in Forst (Lausitz), fashioned an allegorical work (he may have also written the text) around four characters: Arminius, "ein Liebhaber der Waffen" (bass); Sylvio, "ein Liebhaber der Jagd" (soprano); Ireno, "ein Liebhaber des Friedens" (tenor); and Mercurius, "ein Herold" (alto).

The oratorio text presents this Arminius figure detached from any historical context—unlike other narratives, it mentions neither the ancient conflicts with Varus, Segestes, and Germanicus, nor wishes to take a critical stance toward the contemporary political state of Germany or the Empire. Indeed, the Arminius who appears here, initially defined by his insatiable lust for warfare and heroism on the battlefield, becomes an abstraction—a type—placed amid the company of other figures whose types or narrative functions are instantly recognizable from their names. Since even the opera librettos of the period frequently emphasize the notoriety of the historical account of Arminius and his battles against Rome, we may assume with reasonable certainty that the Arminius in Hellmund's oratorio can only be the Arminius from Tacitus's *Annals*.¹⁸² In this respect it is interesting to note which of his features becomes abstracted at this point—this Arminius namely represents not a freedom fighter against oppression, but rather a warmonger. The belligerent aspects of his character, however, with the baser impulses of anger and revenge, ultimately succumb in the course of the oratorio to the "civilizing

¹⁸¹ The Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek has catalogued the score (Mus.3434-L-1) under the title "Auf zu Waffen auf zum Jagen," although the manuscript's title page (and the first aria) both read "Auf zum Waffen! auf zum Jagen." The manuscript bears the old catalog number "Oels 188," which suggests that it originated from the collections of the ducal residence in Oels. All materials (including some fragments) from the surviving score have been digitized and are available online at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id334466504>. See Catalog Index IV.01 for a synopsis. For biographical information on Hellmund, see Gottlieb Friedrich Otto, "Hellmund, Christian Gottfried," in *Lexikon der seit dem 15. Jahrhundert verstorbenen und jetzt lebenden Oberlausitzischen Schriftsteller und Künstler* (Görlitz: Anton, 1800-1803), 2:80-82, and Karl Gustav Heinrich Berner, "Hellmund, Christian Gottfried," in *Schlesische Landsleute* (Leipzig: Schimmelwitz, 1901), 62.

¹⁸² The introductory letter to the reader published in the libretto to *Arminio* (Rome, 1722, Catalog Index I.06.1722a), for example, begins with such a statement asserting the redundancy of reviewing the historical details of the story: "Arminio, Principe de' Cauci, e de' Cherusci, qual' argine col suo valore alle Conquiste Romane nella Germania facesse, è così noto dal primo degl' Annali, e dal 4. dell' Istorie di Tacito, che si potria offendere chi legge, se si volesse rammemorarglielo con un distinto racconto per intelligenza del presente Drama, che portando in fronte il di lui Nome, ne dà bastante notizia" (5).

process” advocated by the peace-keeper Ireno. Having prevented Arminius and Sylvio from coming to blows in their argument over which venue offers the more danger (i.e., the battleground or the hunting ground), Ireno states his case for waging a different kind of war—one in which dangerous internal passions are overcome by self-control:

Kriegt mit Feinden, wolt ihr kriegen,
 die euch selbst im Herten liegen:
 da ist Zorn, Rach, Haß und Neyd,
 Feinde voller Grausamkeit.
 Da habt ihr gennug zu kämpfen,
 ihre Regungen zu dämpfen.¹⁸³

While both Arminius and Sylvio at first receive this admonition with skepticism, even mockery, Arminius is eventually persuaded by Ireno’s argument that uncontrolled anger (*Zorn*) turns humans into beasts, and he pledges to combat this urge with magnanimity (*Großmuth*) and gentleness (*Sanftmuth*). His aria, accompanied by strings and trumpets in the triumphant key of D major, signals this determination to direct his aggressions toward the conquering of himself:

Ich will den Zorn durch Großmuth dämpfen,
 die Waffenlust verstellt mich nicht.
 Ich will ihm standhaft widerstehen,
 und gantz behertzt entgegen gehen,
 bis mir die Zeit den Sieg verspricht.¹⁸⁴

Sylvio likewise follows suit in his own aria of conversion, which employs the oboes and hunting horns not in the pursuit of big game, but to chase away his angry passions:

Ich will den Zorn aus mir verjagen,
 so ist die Jagdlust recht bestellt.
 Sein wildes Wesen zu berücken,
 soll ihn ein festes Garn bestriicken,
 das Sanftmuth ihm entgegen geht.¹⁸⁵

Immediately following these successful changes of heart comes the news (by means of Mercurius) that on this day Carol Friedrich (Karl Friedrich) is celebrating his

¹⁸³ <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id334466504>, images 21-23. Stanzas reconstructed. The aria is marked “*affectuoso*” and scored for low strings (violetta, viola, and continuo), which emphasize the mellow affect of the piece.

¹⁸⁴ <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id334466504>, images 28-37. Stanzas reconstructed.

¹⁸⁵ <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id334466504>, images 38-47. Stanzas reconstructed.

birthday, and that the magnanimity, gentleness and inner peace of their “Landesvater” will provide Arminius, Sylvio and Ireneo with a model of inspiration. “Besonders du, Armin!” proclaims Mercurius, “wirst dißfals großen Nützen ziehn, / denn Carol Friedrichs großer Geist / wird dich die rechte Großmuth lehren.”¹⁸⁶ The later description of the duke found in Johann Christian Benjamin Regehly’s *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Carlsruhe in Oberschlesien* (Nuremberg, 1799) seems especially apt in light of the character types that appear in Hellmund’s oratorio and the moral attitudes that the work reinforces:

Er war Ritter des Königl. Polnischen weissen Adler- und des Württembergischen grossen Jagd-Ordens, überhaupt aber ein Herr von vieler Menschenfreundlichkeit, Klugheit und Güte des Herzens, ein Ruhm, den er nicht nur in seinem Fürstenthum sich erwarb, sondern den er auch mit aus dem Herzogthum Württemberg in seine Gruft nahm.¹⁸⁷

As a celebratory work in honor of Karl Friedrich, Hellmund’s oratorio simultaneously acknowledges its patron’s military and recreational pursuits through the figures of Arminius and Sylvio even as it seeks to temper an extreme devotion to these potentially destructive narcissistic activities. Since the reformation of the two figures by the end proves their innately good qualities, the oratorio applies a program of ethics to its patron both as a means of flattery (depicting him as already having achieved the ideal) and as a technique of positive reinforcement for future behavior. Celebrated as a decorated military officer and also as a generous human being, Karl Friedrich thus embodies the essential qualities of a worthy political leader, just as the Arminius figure develops by the end of the oratorio into a mirror image of the good sovereign, a character familiar to us from his other incarnations in eighteenth-century opera.

¹⁸⁶ <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id334466504>, image 63. Recitative versification reconstructed.

¹⁸⁷ Johann Christian Benjamin Regehly, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Carlsruhe in Oberschlesien von seinem ersten Entstehen im Jahr 1748 bis auf das erste funfzigjährige Jubeljahr 1798 nebst einigen genealogischen Nachrichten des Durchlauchtigsten Herzoglichen Hauses Württemberg* (Nuremberg: Raspe, 1799), 30-31.

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Toute l'Europe s'accordoit à le regarder comme un grand militaire et comme un homme de génie; mais rien n'étoit plus discordant que les opinions que l'on se faisoit de son caractère et de ses qualités sociales, politiques, et morales.

—Dieudonné Thiébault, *Mes souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin*.

Beaucoup de personnes ont écrit l'histoire, mais bien peu on dit la vérité.

—Friedrich II of Prussia, *Histoire de mon temps* (1746).

Little more than a decade after Hellmund's allegorical Arminius learned how to subdue his bellicose tendencies and adopt a spirit of gentleness, Duke Karl Friedrich's Silesian homeland proved a vulnerable target for a new king's bold announcement of his arrival on the European political stage. At the time of his accession in 1740 as Elector of Brandenburg and King in Prussia, the twenty-eight year old Friedrich II had inherited from his father, Friedrich Wilhelm I, not only a patchwork of far-flung Hohenzollern territories—including Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg in the western area of the Holy Roman Empire; Brandenburg and parts of Pomerania in the eastern regions; and the former Duchy (now Kingdom) of Prussia, which lay outside the Empire—but also the *Soldatenkönig's* highly disciplined though largely untested army. Seeking the most viable demonstration of Prussian opposition to what he perceived as the threat of Habsburg despotism (manifested through Austria's unbridled dynastic grip on the imperial office and exacerbated by his father's resentment over frustrated Hohenzollern claims to the Rhineland duchies of Jülich and Berg), Friedrich II set to work on plans for his inaugural act of military aggression against the neighboring Habsburg-controlled province of Silesia.¹⁸⁸ The imminent extinction of the male Habsburg line undoubtedly emboldened Friedrich's resolve to strike when the opportune moment presented itself. With no sons to

¹⁸⁸ See Peter H. Wilson, "Prussia's Relations with the Holy Roman Empire, 1740–1786," *The Historical Journal* 51 (2008): 343–344. Friedrich expresses his concerns about imperial despotism in the historical context of Elector Georg Wilhelm (1595–1640) and the schism occasioned by the Thirty Years War in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg*. See Johann David Erdmann Preuss, ed., *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand* (Berlin: Imprimerie royale, 1846–1856), 1:36–42; German translation in Gustav Berthold Volz, ed., *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen* (Berlin: Hobbing, 1913–1914), 1:37–40.

succeed him, Emperor Karl VI had spent his entire reign securing the Pragmatic Sanction, which designated his daughter, Maria Theresia (1717–1780), as the sole legitimate heir of the Habsburg dominions. Yet in spite of hard-won pledges of support from the constituencies of the Empire as well as other European powers, the major stakeholders who stood to benefit the most from challenging Maria Theresia's claim to the throne quickly reneged on their word once the Emperor died in October 1740. France and Spain raised objections, as did Bavaria and Saxony-Poland, whose rulers were married to the daughters of Karl's brother and predecessor, Emperor Joseph I.¹⁸⁹ It was Prussia, however, who made the decisive first move with the invasion and occupation of Silesia less than two months after Karl VI's death, launching the War of the Austrian Succession. The turmoil of the ensuing European-wide conflicts witnessed "the nadir of Austrian fortunes" in 1741 and 1742, as the imperial crown was bestowed—with the support of Friedrich II—on a non-Habsburg prince-elect for the first time since the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁰ Yet even amid territorial losses and military defeats, Maria Theresia was determined not to give up her realms to her formidable nemesis from the north.

By the autumn of 1745, the situation in Silesia—most of which had been ceded to Prussia in the short-lived Treaty of Breslau (1742)—was once again coming to a head, as the Austrians continued their renewed endeavors to regain the lost province with the support of Great Britain-Hanover, the Dutch Republic, and Saxony (which had in the meantime reconciled and allied itself with Austria). Earlier that year, Maria Theresia had already achieved an important victory for the Habsburg dynasty when—following the

¹⁸⁹ Maria Josepha (1699–1757), the elder daughter of Joseph I, was married to the Saxon Elector Friedrich August II (also August III of Poland). Joseph's second daughter, Maria Amalia (1701–1756), was married to the Bavarian Elector Karl Albrecht. According to the Mutual Pact of Succession (1703), which Emperor Leopold I negotiated during the War of the Spanish Succession, the Habsburg line was to be split between his sons Karl (to whose lineage the Spanish realms would pass) and Joseph (whose descendants would inherit the rest of the Habsburg dominions). The pact provided for the succession of female issue in the event that neither Karl nor Joseph produced male heirs; in this event, however, Joseph's daughters were to take absolute precedence in the inheritance of all the Habsburg lands. Two years after Joseph's death, Karl negotiated the Pragmatic Sanction, which annulled the earlier pact and gave precedence to his own future daughters over his nieces.

¹⁹⁰ See Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 82-89. Another useful account of the war is found in Matthew Smith Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748* (London: Longman, 1995).

death of the Wittelsbach Emperor Karl VII—her Bavarian rival claimants to the imperial throne finally agreed to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction and make peace with Austria. With Wittelsbach support, Maria Theresia managed to secure the election of her husband Francis Stephen as Holy Roman Emperor on September 13. Friedrich's Prussian troops, however, proved less easily conquerable. The decisive battles of Soor (September 30) and Kesselsdorf (December 15) resulted in humiliating defeats for the Austro-Saxon armies, and culminated in Friedrich's occupation of Dresden and the flight of the Saxon Elector Friedrich August II (also King August III of Poland, hereafter referred to as August III).¹⁹¹

Considered in the context of this military and political victory (which the above historical précis has served to establish), the subject of Friedrich's immediate interest upon his triumphant entry into Dresden has invited the notice of musicologists and theater historians as well as those who have examined the cultural reception of the Arminius narrative. For as Arno Forchert summarizes,

[e]s ist bekannt, daß der Preußenkönig Friedrich II., als er am 18. Dezember 1745 nach der Schlacht von Kesselsdorf als Sieger in Dresden einzog, für den folgenden Tag eine Wiederaufführung des 'Arminio' von Hasse anordnete. Daraus und aus der Tatsache, daß er die Oper zwei Jahre später auch in Berlin aufführen ließ, ist zuweilen geschlossen worden, das Werk habe auf den König so großen Eindruck gemacht, weil er in der Gestalt des Arminius sich selbst wiedererkannt habe.¹⁹²

The Arminius opera in question here—a new work by the imperial (and Saxon) court poet Giovanni Claudio Pasquini (1695–1763), with music by Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), whose association with the Saxon court as Kapellmeister had been ongoing, if intermittent, since the early 1730s—had received its premiere in Dresden on the occasion of the Elector's birthday on October 7, with two further performances documented for October 18 and 22, all of which drew an audience of around two thousand spectators each.¹⁹³ As Forchert mentions, the fact that this *Arminio* (for a synopsis, see Catalog

¹⁹¹ On the war's final stage in 1745, see Browning, *War of the Austrian Succession*, 235-254.

¹⁹² Forchert, "Arminius auf der Opernbühne," 56-57.

¹⁹³ See Hochstein, "Hermann der Cherusker als Opernheld," 144-145. Documentation of these dates and attendance figures is preserved in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (OHMA, G, Nr. 57a, Bl. 1-26).

Index I.12) subsequently attracted the attention of the Prussian king has prompted speculation on the extent to which Friedrich perceived an affinity between its heroic title figure and his own self-image. This speculation, however, has remained largely unsupported by primary source material that would lend rigor to the validity of its assertions. For example, the musicologist Carl Mennicke (1880–1917), whose work Forchert cites in his discussion, recounts the circumstances of the impromptu *Arminio* performance while also offering his own interpretation of Friedrich’s psyche:

[A]m 15. Dezember 1745 hatte der alte Dessauer die Sachsen bei Kesselsdorf geschlagen, und am 18. zog Friedrich II., diesmal als sieggekrönter Feind, mit vier Regimentern in Dresden ein. Zur Psychologie dieses außerordentlichen Menschen liefert die Tatsache interessantes Material, daß er trotz aller kriegerischen Wirren für den Abend des folgenden Tages (19. Dezember) eine Wiederholung des *Arminio* befahl. Die Aufführung, welche von ½ 6 bis ½ 10 währte und der, wie ein Zeitgenosse berichtet, nur ‘wenige vom Hofe und aus der Stadt’ beiwohnten, machte auf ihn großen Eindruck; in dem *Arminio* glaubte er wohl sich selbst wieder zu erkennen, und in echt Fridericianischer Art ließ er dem Textdichter der Oper, Pasquini, ein reiches Geldgeschenk zugehen.¹⁹⁴

Mennicke’s only footnote citation of a primary source quotes Friedrich’s own words from a letter to his chamberlain and confidant Michael Gabriel Fredersdorf, dated December 19: “Heute wirdt hier arminius gespihlet und is alle tage Music oder opera.”¹⁹⁵ This laconic statement however offers no evidence on its own to strengthen the hypothesis that “in dem *Arminio* glaubte er wohl sich selbst wieder zu erkennen,” as Mennicke suggests. Friedrich’s decision to mount another production of Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio* approximately a year later at the Royal Court Opera in Berlin for the Carnival season has also prompted other commentators to suggest an intriguing but vague connection between the subject matter of the narrative and the contemporary political situation between Prussia and Saxony in the War of the Austrian Succession. In his discussion of the

¹⁹⁴ Carl Mennicke, *Hasse und die Brüder Graun als Symphoniker: Nebst Biographien und thematischen Katalogen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906), 393. Mennicke’s quotation regarding the attendance at the performance comes from the *Dresdener Geschichtsblätter* (1899). Rudolf Gerber, in the introduction to his edition of *Arminio* in the series *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, further extrapolates from Mennicke’s work the following assertion: “Freilich mochte sich der große König nicht allein von den *musikalischen* Schönheiten des Werkes angezogen gefühlt haben, sondern auch von dem ungewöhnlichen *Text* und der in ihm verkörperten Idee der Befreiung Germaniens.” See Gerber, ii.

¹⁹⁵ Friedrich Burchardt, ed., *Friedrich II. eigenhändige Briefe an seinen getreuen Cämmerer Fredersdorff* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1834), 18.

performance history of the work, for example, the nineteenth-century music historian Moritz Fürstenau (1824–1889) states that “Friedrich der Große ließ den *Arminio* 1747 in Berlin mit besonderer Sorgfalt aufführen,” and that “[d]iese soll daher gerührt haben, weil der sächsische Hof vor Ausbruch des Krieges mehre Stellen auf die zwischen Sachsen und Preußen obwaltenden politischen Verhältnisse bezogen hatte,” but he does not provide more details or explicit sources.¹⁹⁶ Likewise the writer Albert Emil Brachvogel (1824–1878) posits—without documented references—that since the opera was originally intended as anti-Prussian in its *Figurenkonstellation*, Friedrich therefore surely must have taken delight in the Saxon reversal of fortune when he arranged for its performance in the Prussian capital:

1747 wurde ... auch zum Karneval im Januar ‘Arminio,’ Oper von Abbé Pasquini in Wien, Musik von Hasse, aufgeführt. Der König hatte nicht allein selbst die Rollen vertheilt und den Proben beigewohnt, sondern sich auch um alle Details der Ausführung bekümmert. ‘Arminio’ war eine Art Tendenz-Oper für den sächsischen Hof, deren Spitze sich ursprünglich gegen Friedrich II. gerichtet hatte. Da nach der Schlacht von Kesselsdorf aber das Spiel zwischen beiden Höfen *umgekehrt* hatte, so machte es Friedrich II. Vergnügen, gerade *diese* Oper in Berlin aufgeführt zu sehen und seine feine Ironie wird dadurch vollständig, daß er dem geistlichen Librettodichter in Wien, Abbé Pasquini, überaus höflich 100 Dukaten Honorar für diese Dichtung zugehen ließ.¹⁹⁷

While this style of historiography can be attributed in part to the different standards of scholarship in the nineteenth century, even the respected musicologist Reinhard Strohm (*1942) leaves himself open to criticism by offering the tantalizing contention (without citation) that “als Auftragswerk für den sächsischen Hof während des Zweiten Schlesischen Kriegs,” Pasquini’s *Arminio* “war unzweideutig als antipreußische (‘antirömische’) Demonstration konzipiert.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen Friedrich August I. (August II.) und Friedrich August II. (August III.)* (Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze, 1862), 241-242n.

¹⁹⁷ Albert Emil Brachvogel, *Das alte Berliner Theater-Wesen bis zur ersten Blüthe des deutschen Dramas: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Berlins und des deutschen Theaters* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1877), 128.

¹⁹⁸ Reinhard Strohm, “Hasse: *Arminio* (1745),” in *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Munich: Piper, 1987), 2:718.

While all the claims are intriguing, they also frustrate the scholar in search of their origins, since none of them provides any specific evidence either from the libretto or from other contemporary documentation that would support the notion that *Arminio* was intentionally constructed as an anti-Prussian political allegory, or that Friedrich identified or actively exploited a political agenda through his interest in the work. This paucity of primary source-based scholarship understandably casts doubt on any alleged political agenda present in the work. On the one hand, in her recent study of Hasse's Dresden operas in the context of court culture, Panja Mücke justifiably challenges Strohm on the grounds of insufficient evidence:

Strohms Sichtweise hat in Anbetracht der politischen Aufführungssituation zweifellos ihre Berechtigung. Dennoch ist zu konstatieren, daß der Arminius-Text im Jahre 1753 im Dresdner Karneval in einer längst anderen politischen Situation inhaltlich unverändert wieder aufgenommen wurde ... und über die Parallelen zum politischen Konflikt hinaus—im Libretto dem zwischen Germanen und Römern, in der Realität dem zwischen Sachsen und Preußen—keine Hinweise im Text greifbar sind, die für eine solche politische Rezeption des Stückes sprechen.¹⁹⁹

Arguing on the other hand that the very artificiality of the medium precluded the possibility of such an “Identifikationsverhalten,” Forchert for his part ultimately dismisses the notion that Friedrich could have regarded the operatic Arminius figure as anything resembling an emulatory role model or the inspiration for patriotic sentiments: “Ein Liebe, Marter und Tod in zierlich-anmutigen Koloraturen oder schmelzender Kantilene besingender Kastrat jedoch mochte wohl den musikalischen Kenner—und der Preußenkönig war ein solcher—entzücken, als Objekt vaterländischer Gefühle war er denkbar ungeeignet.”²⁰⁰ Forchert's preoccupation with the Arminius figure as an “Objekt vaterländischer Gefühle” illustrates again the fallacy of viewing the narrative through the prism of the nineteenth century with its attendant nationalist-chauvinist facets. His trivializing assessment of opera seria's narrative content too readily dismisses the political systems of patronage in which these musico-poetic works were created, and also

¹⁹⁹ Panja Mücke, *Johann Adolf Hasses Dresdner Opern im Kontext der Hofkultur* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 143.

²⁰⁰ Forchert, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne,” 57.

brands them as inferior works of literature incapable of conveying political messages.²⁰¹ Unfortunately this view has been perpetuated in subsequent examinations, consigning the appearance of Arminius in opera seria to a curious but inconsequential sub-genre in the cultural reception of the figure.²⁰² Yet in light of the previous case studies examined in this dissertation, operatic and other dramatic adaptations of Arminius narratives and the figures from those narratives—in spite of their expected adherence to generic conventions—often were specifically tailored to their patrons based on a perceived affinity between the subject matter and the dedicatee. Indeed, everything about the production and performance of opera seria contributed to a rhetorical agenda and a politics of representation that established the protagonist as a model for the sovereign.²⁰³

The fact that Friedrich II himself recognized and understood the importance of the political dimension of opera (and the arts in general) is demonstrated not only through his ardent attention to the founding of the Royal Court Opera in Berlin soon after his accession to the throne, but also through his own specific comments—which have heretofore gone unnoticed, or at least uncited in the literature—on the immediate performance contexts of Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio* in 1745. Given the amount of scholarship that has been devoted to the controversial and contradictory personage of Friedrich II in general, as well as the more specific interest with the Prussian king’s intersection with the Cheruscan hero upon his entry into Dresden, it is all the more surprising that these remarks have not attracted previous documented notice. Among his voluminous writings, Friedrich twice relates the culmination of the Second Silesian War:

²⁰¹ As mentioned previously, Forchert’s consideration of the Arminius figure is generally measured against the traditional “canon” of German literary treatments of the narrative. These works, however—unlike the operas—are deemed effective in the delivery of their politicized intent: “Daß, bei aller Künstlichkeit der Handlung, vom ‘Arminius’ Lohensteins, vom ‘Hermann’ Klopstocks und natürlich von dem Kleists gleichsam ein Identifikationsappell ausging, von dem sich deutsche Fürsten angesprochen fühlen konnten—und auch sollten—, dürfte nicht zu bezweifeln sein.” See Forchert, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne,” 57.

²⁰² See, for example, the corresponding discussion on Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio* in Barbon and Plachta, 277-278, which builds on Forchert’s article and has since become the standard point of reference for discussions of Arminius on the eighteenth-century opera stage.

²⁰³ For a discussion of the “myth of sovereignty” in Metastasio’s librettos and the relation of this moral philosophy to the political theories of Montesquieu and Hobbes, see Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 268-278.

first in the 1746 expansion of his historical memoir *Histoire de mon temps*, which he had initially compiled following the Treaty of Breslau in 1742; and then again much later in life when he revised the work for publication in 1775.²⁰⁴ The performance of *Arminio* is accorded special mention in both versions (reprinted here from the original text):

Le soir on représentait l'opéra d'*Arminio*. Si je me souviens de cette bagatelle, c'est qu'elle a rapport à une anecdote singulière. Brühl se servait de toute sorte de moyens pour gouverner l'esprit de son maître; l'opéra même était un des ressorts qu'il faisait jouer pour y parvenir. Ainsi les opéras contenaient pour la plupart une allégorie sur la conduite du roi: la *Clémence de Titus* avait été composée au sujet de la disgrâce de Sulkowski et des prétendus crimes que le roi lui pardonna. *Arminio* fut fait à l'occasion de cette dernière guerre et à la protection que le roi de Pologne donnait à l'empire et la reine d'Hongrie contre la France et la Prusse qui voulaient tout subjuguier. Les louanges flatteuses de la poésie italienne, rehaussées des charmes de l'harmonie et du gosier des châtrés persuadaient au roi qu'il était l'exemple des princes et le modèle de l'humanité. Les musiciens n'osèrent jamais exécuter en ma présence le chœur de cet opéra; leur silence modeste venait des paroles du chœur, auxquelles ce qui venait d'arriver donnait un sens rétorqué:

Sulle rovine altrui alzar non pensi il soglio,
Colui che al sol' orgoglio riduce ogni virtù.

La licence était encore plus forte et d'un encens plus outrageant: les chœurs des opéras d'Auguste valaient les prologues de ceux de Louis XIV; il n'y avait de la différence que des personnes.²⁰⁵

A close reading of this passage clarifies certain aspects related to the speculation surrounding Friedrich's impressions of the work, even as it obfuscates others. Perhaps most notable is the Prussian king's direct assertion that opera at the Dresden court was designed to serve an identificatory function ("Brühl se servait de toute sorte de moyens pour gouverner l'esprit de son maître; l'opéra même était un des ressorts qu'il faisait jouer pour y parvenir. Ainsi les opéras contenaient pour la plupart une allégorie sur la

²⁰⁴ For the sake of comparison, the corresponding sections that directly pertain to Friedrich's arrival in Dresden in December 1745 are reprinted in their entirety from both versions in Appendix B. While most of the content remains unchanged between the 1746 and 1775 accounts, slight differences are apparent—most notably in the replacement of the first-person narrative voice with the more objective-sounding third person, but also in particular textual emendations. Due to the proximity of the events to the time of its initial writing, the 1746 version will form the primary basis for the following discussion.

²⁰⁵ Friedrich II, *Histoire de mon temps* (Redaktion von 1746), ed. Max Posner (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1879), 427. Reiterative quotations from this passage in the following analysis refer to this source and therefore will not receive their own footnote.

conduite du roi.”). Coupled with this observation, however, is the clear disdain with which Friedrich regards the Saxon minister Heinrich von Brühl—whom some historians have called the *de facto* ruler of the Saxon court because of his influence over August III—for manipulating “his master” through flattering artistic representations of the king’s sovereignty.²⁰⁶ In the *Antimachiavel* (1740), his simultaneously idealistic and realistic political manifesto, Friedrich had already expressed a negative view of monarchs who surrender the helm of government to their advisers and allow themselves to be rendered only a figurehead:

Il y a deux espèces de princes dans le monde: ceux qui voient tout par leurs propres yeux, et gouvernent leurs États par eux-mêmes; et ceux qui se reposent sur la bonne foi de leurs ministres, et qui se laissent gouverner par ceux qui ont pris de l’ascendant sur leur esprit. ...

Les souverains du second ordre sont comme plongés, par un défaut de génie ou une indolence naturelle, dans une indifférence léthargique. Si l’État, prêt de tomber en défaillance par la faiblesse du souverain, doit être soutenu par la sagesse et la vivacité d’un ministre, le prince alors n’est qu’un fantôme, mais un fantôme nécessaire, car il représente l’État. ...²⁰⁷

Such an uncomplimentary opinion of the inverted relationship between Brühl and August III is clearly transmitted through Friedrich’s critical assessment of the court opera in Dresden, especially in his telling choice of the phrase “gouverner l’esprit,” which echoes his use of these same words in the above passage from *L’Antimachiavel* (“qui se laissent gouverner par ceux qui ont pris de l’ascendant sur leur esprit”).

Since the laudatory *licenza* of *Arminio* declares the only explicit comparison between the protagonist of the opera and the dedicatee, it provides a key focal point for the identificatory potential of the work as conceived by Pasquini (perhaps under Brühl’s guidance) and criticized by Friedrich in the *Histoire de mon temps*. The text of this

²⁰⁶ The negative popular image of Brühl was long influenced by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski’s 1874 historical novel *Brühl*. For a rather more sympathetic biographical study, see Walter Fellmann, *Heinrich Graf Brühl: ein Lebens- und Zeitbild* (Munich: Koehler & Amelang, 2000). On the enmity between Brühl and Friedrich II, see also Walter Fellmann, “Friedrich II. und Heinrich Graf Brühl,” *Dresdner Hefte*, no. 46 (1996): 11-18. On August III, see Jacek Staszewski, *August III. Kurfürst von Sachsen und König von Polen: eine Biographie*, trans. Eduard Merian (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996).

²⁰⁷ Preuss, *Œuvres*, 8:157-158; German translation in Volz, *Werke*, 7:92.

licenza is reprinted below from the dual-language libretto that was published for the work's initial performance in October 1745.²⁰⁸

LICENZA.	Zum Abschied.
<p>A caso non espose, SIRE, agli sguardi tuoi la Musa industrie, Della Germana Libertade oppressa, Nel forte Arminio, il Difensore illustre. Egli dal Ciel fu dato, Per divenir di lei base, e sostegno; Tu fosti a noi donato Per sostenerlo in un più grave impegno. Arminio usò il valore; e tu al valore Quel moderato Core unir sapesti, Che nel fuggir la più sublime Cura, Render potè la Libertà sicura.</p> <p>Se amor produce amore, SIGNOR, chi non t'adora, O ha di macigno il core, O che Anima non ha.</p> <p>Viva il FELICE ALBORE, Che ti produsse a noi: Ci diede il Ben maggiore Nell' alta tua Bontà.</p>	<p>Herr, wenn dein hohes Auge heut gesehn, Wie Herrmanns Helden Arm das Vaterland von Ketten, Und Slavery gewust zu retten: So glaube nicht, daß es von ohngefehr geschehn. Nein, Kunst und Fleis hat mit Bedacht Den alten Helden vorgebracht. Der Himmel hatte Deutschland ihn gegeben, Der Grundstein und die Stütze seiner Macht zu seyn.</p> <p>Dich, großer König, läßt er leben, Um selbiges durch noch viel gröbre Thaten zu be- freyen. Denn Herrmann brauchte bloße Tapferkeit; Du weist dieselbige mit Mäßigung und Klugheit zu verbinden,</p> <p>Und einen solchen Weg zu finden, Worauf Du Dich der grösten Ehr und Last ent- ziehst,</p> <p>Hingegen in nicht langer Zeit Die allgemeine Freyheit wieder blühen siehst.</p> <p>Bringt wahre Liebe Gegen-Liebe, So wär ein jedes Herz von Stein, Das Dich nicht Himmel hoch erhiebe, Und könnte gar nicht menschlich seyn.</p> <p>Drum soll Dein Stammhaus ewig leben, Es wachs' und blüh' und mehre Sich! Gott wird Dir seine Gnade geben, Und uns das höchste Gut durch dich.</p>

²⁰⁸ *Arminio. Damma per musica da rappresentarsi in Dresda festeggiandosi il felicissimo giorno natalizio di S.R.M. Augusto III re di Pollonia, elettore di Sassonia, per comando della S.R.M. della regina. Arminio, ein Musicalisches Drama, Welches in Dreßden, als der Höchstbeglückte Geburths-Tag Ihro Majestät Augusti III. Königs in Pohlen und Chur-Fürsten zu Sachsen, feyerlichst begangen ward, auf Hohen Befehl Ihro Maj. der Königin vorgestellt worden* (Dresden: Stöbelin, 1745), 100. The libretto was also issued in a monolingual (i.e., Italian-only) printing from the same plates. The author of the German verse translation is unknown. Although the libretto indicates that the licenza is to be framed by the closing *coro*, none of the extant music manuscripts contains a setting of the recitative verses and aria (or chorus) that correspond to the licenza text. For the most comprehensive inventory of the manuscript transmission, see Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, “*La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone*”: *Johann Adolf Hasses “Opere serie” der Jahre 1730 bis 1745. Quellen, Fassungen, Aufführungen* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009), 2:109-128.

It is clear from the *licenza*'s recitative text that the exemplary quality of the Arminius figure centers on his role as the valorous defender of German liberty against oppression (“*Della Germana Libertade oppressa, / ... il Difensore illustre*”), and that by analogy August III has assumed this heroic mantle in his own day. In addition, the more verbose German translation of these verses recasts the abstract concept of “*Germana Libertade*” into a precise spatial dimension that draws attention to the broad geographical scope of “*Herrmann*’s” influence in securing this freedom: “*Der Himmel hatte Deutschland ihn [i.e., Herrmann] gegeben, / Der Grundstein und die Stütze seiner Macht zu seyn. / Dich, großer König, läßt er leben, / Um selbiges durch noch viel größere Thaten zu befreyn.*” Here the appearance and equation of the words “*Vaterland*” and “*Deutschland*”—the counterparts of which (“*patria*”/ “*Germania*”) do not appear in the original Italian text—imply that, like his ancient precursor, August acts not only for the welfare of his Saxon subjects, but also on behalf of all those who might be considered Germans.

This translation parallels Friedrich’s own observation of the intended political implications of the work with reference to the Holy Roman Empire. For although it is unknown whether Friedrich possessed the dual-language version of the libretto that correlates the defense of “*Germana Libertade*” with that of “*Deutschland*,” he nevertheless reaches a similar conclusion when he interprets the choice of the work’s subject as a deliberate reference to “*cette dernière guerre*” and “*la protection que le roi de Pologne donnait à l’empire et la reine d’Hongrie contre la France et la Prusse qui voulaient tout subjuguier.*” Insofar as this statement reveals Friedrich’s cognizance of the apparent anti-Prussian sentiments built into the work, it strengthens the claims made by Fürstenau, Brachvogel, and Strohm in this respect, even as it diminishes those of Mennicke. Yet it is also important to note that by couching these remarks within an extended criticism of Brühl’s undue influence at the Saxon court, Friedrich rhetorically adopts the imagined anti-Prussian point of view, through which he then purports to reveal insight into Brühl’s motives regarding the political immediacy of the work—namely that August III acted as a loyal supporter of the Habsburg-controlled Empire (and perhaps by extension “*Deutschland*”), while Friedrich had become its treacherous foe. Since Friedrich does not openly refute the allegations he poses here (even if his amusement is

detectable), there remains an ambiguity surrounding his comments. Did Friedrich in fact regard the empire as an external enemy to be subjugated under his control? I would argue that a distinction must be made here between an understanding of the empire as a Habsburg-dominated entity (in which case Friedrich was definitely opposed to it), and one that regards it as a corporate structure in which a balance of power is maintained among the major players. For Friedrich, these major players were reduced to two—Prussia and Austria—the equilibrium of which, he believed, would ensure the well-being of the empire and consequently the whole of Europe.²⁰⁹ In spite of his warmongering and often-cited expressions of contempt for the Holy Roman Empire, Friedrich in fact made strategic use of the imperial institutions during the course of his forty-six-year reign, both as “a means to neutralize threats to Prussia’s more vulnerable provinces” and as “a framework to constrain Habsburg ambitions.”²¹⁰ Thus Friedrich neither sought to destroy the empire, nor did he wish to become its emperor; rather he cast himself as the “leader of a reactive, essentially negative opposition to a largely mythic threat of Habsburg ‘despotism.’”²¹¹

With this political motivation in mind, it is instructive to compare the relevant passage on *Arminio* from Friedrich’s 1746 version of *Histoire de mon temps* with the revision he made for the 1775 publication, which reads as follows: “*Arminius* parut pendant cette dernière guerre: cette histoire devait servir d’allégorie au secours qu’Auguste III donnait à la reine de Hongrie contre les Français et les Prussiens, qu’on accusait de vouloir tout subjuguier.”²¹² By removing the reference to “l’empire,” Friedrich no longer exposes himself to the charge that Prussian belligerence was directed against the institution of the empire itself, but rather foremost against Maria Theresia. He also

²⁰⁹ See Wilson, “Prussia’s Relations,” 344.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 364. See also the discussions of Friedrich’s *Reichspolitik* in Volker Press, “Friedrich der Große als Reichspolitiker,” in *Friedrich der Große, Franken und das Reich*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Cologne: Böhlau, 1986), 25-56; Gabriele Haug-Moritz, “Friedrich der Große als ‘Gegenkaiser’: Überlegungen zur preußischen Reichspolitik (1740–1786),” in *Vom Fels zum Meer: Preußen und Südwestdeutschland*, ed. Otto Heinrich Becker (Tübingen: Silberburg, 2002), 25-44; and Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2:347-351 and 382-384.

²¹¹ Wilson, “Prussia’s Relations,” 365.

²¹² Preuss, *Œuvres*, 3:192. See also Appendix B.

renders a more subjective slant to the allegation of Prussian expansionism by employing an impersonal construction (“qu’on accusait de vouloir tout subjuguier”), whereas the ambiguous original text (“qui voulaient tout subjuguier”) did not make a distinction between reported discourse and statement of fact. Yet even in the version of the *Histoire* from 1746, Friedrich carefully presents a portrait of himself as an ethically high-minded potentate whose concern for the welfare of the conquered upon his victorious entry into Dresden following the Battle of Kesselsdorf outweighs any impulse to take unscrupulous advantage of his position. “Je ne sais pourquoi l’on débita dans le monde que le prince d’Anhalt m’avait demandé le pillage de Dresde pour son armée, lui ayant promis le sac de cette ville pour l’encourager à la bataille,” Friedrich writes in offended response to those who had accused him of intending to plunder the city; “Le penchant qu’ont tous les hommes à croire des contes malicieux ou satiriques a seul pu accréditer cette fausseté; jamais le prince d’Anhalt n’aurait osé me faire une proposition aussi barbare....”²¹³ To further emphasize that acts of magnanimity, not barbarism, occupied his thoughts once he had arrived in Dresden, Friedrich then recounts the visit that he immediately paid to the children of August III in order to offer his assurances that no harm would befall them: “j’adoucis autant que je le pus la dureté de leur infortune, en leur faisant rendre tous les honneurs dus à leur condition, en leur laissant une entière liberté; et en soumettant la garde du château à leurs ordres.”²¹⁴ Friedrich’s report of this fatherly gesture proved so picturesque as to inspire Daniel Chodowiecki to depict the scene in his 1793 copper-plate engraving series *Zwölf Blätter zu der Brandenburgischen Geschichte*.²¹⁵ In Chodowiecki’s rendering, Friedrich gently embraces one of the daughters of August III and appears to offer her a kiss of peace on the cheek as her siblings and other members of

²¹³ Friedrich, *Histoire* (1746), 426. See also Appendix B.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ The engraving, entitled “Friedrich II. edle Behandlung der jungern Söhne und Töchter des Königs August bey der Einnahme von Dresden,” was originally published in the *Historisch- Genealogischer Calender auf das Jahr 1794* in Berlin. See also the entry in Wilhelm Engelmann, *Daniel Chodowiecki’s sämtliche Kupferstiche* (1857; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), 712. An image of the engraving, from the collections of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (DChodowiecki AB 3.965) can be accessed via the Virtuelles Kupferstichkabinett: <http://www.virtuelles-kupferstichkabinett.de/zoomed.php?signatur=28228> (accessed April 23, 2012).

the court look on.²¹⁶ Following his own description of this benevolent encounter, Friedrich underscores the eagerness for reconciliation that led him to take the initiative in the peace negotiations: “Je fis inviter chez moi tous les ministres saxons, et leur exposai la pureté de mes intentions pour la paix, je fus assez heureux de les en convaincre, en les faisant convenir que les conditions que je leur offrais étaient les plus désirables pour leur roi, pour leur pays et relativement à leurs fortunes particulières.”²¹⁷ Through his writings on the events, it would seem that Friedrich takes great pains to establish an image of himself as the “clement prince”—indeed, to represent himself in the mode of an idealized opera seria hero.

Yet despite these perhaps overcompensatory efforts in the *Histoire de mon temps* to refute negative accusations pertaining to the behavior of Prussia during the Second Silesian War, and simultaneously to cast himself in the role of the magnanimous ruler, Friedrich regards *Arminio*'s intended praise of August III for the wartime “protection” offered to Maria Theresia and the empire as too preposterous to be taken seriously. Just as he derides the 1738 Dresden production of *La clemenza di Tito* as a calculated opportunity for the crafty Brühl to ingratiate himself into the king's goodwill following Sułkowski's precipitous fall from favor (which elsewhere Friedrich had openly accused Brühl of having arranged), so too does he see the Arminius analogy as implausibly overdrawn.²¹⁸ By scoffing at *Arminio*'s panygeric *licenza* (“La licence était encore plus forte et d'un encens plus outrageant”), Friedrich directs his scorn at what he recognizes as the obvious disparity between the political reality of the Dresden court and the idealized representational practices that were meant to support it. In this regard, even the *licenza* text itself struggles somewhat to maintain the desired heroic allegory when it portrays the

²¹⁶ Although it is difficult to ascertain precisely which of August's daughters Friedrich embraces in the engraving, a likely candidate is the then seventeen-year-old Princess Maria Anna Sophia (1728–1797), who later became the Electress of Bavaria following her marriage to Maximilian III Joseph in 1747. Given the protective alliance that Maria Anna later negotiated with Friedrich in 1777 to secure Bavarian independence against the encroachments of Austria following her husband's death, such a “prophetic” meeting of the two in Chodowiecki's artistic imagination seems especially apt.

²¹⁷ Friedrich, *Histoire* (1746), 426-427.

²¹⁸ On the political motivations behind Sułkowski's abrupt dismissal from his position as Saxon Minister of State in February 1738, see Staszewski, 163-165; and Fellmann, *Heinrich Graf Brühl*, 61-74.

dedicatee's withdrawal from active military engagement as an improvement on the more overt courage displayed by Arminius, and therefore as the best means for securing the ultimate goal of freedom: "Arminio usò il valore; e tu al valore / Quel moderato Core unir sapesti, / Che nel fuggir la più sublime Cura, / Render potè la Libertà sicura."²¹⁹

Another potential vein of mockery is also detectable in Friedrich's description of the medium through which Brühl allegedly hoped to gain the ear of the king ("Les louanges flatteuses de la poësie italienne, rehaussées des charmes de l'harmonie et du gosier des châtrés persuadaient au roi qu'il était l'exemple des princes et le modèle de l'humanité."). Although it may seem that Friedrich disparages the operatic genre wholesale as a superficial, even unnatural, means for the serious display of sovereignty, I would argue that Friedrich instead disapproves of the fact that such an important vehicle for the representation of royal power has been surrendered to the control of a minister and not retained by the monarch himself. While August III may have been considered a lightweight among the European powers, this reputation was not based merely on the king's predilection for collecting art, his enthusiasm for hunting, or his enjoyment of the opera—since many a prince engaged in similar pastimes—but rather on a perceived inability to combine these aesthetic and recreational pleasures with firm political autonomy and authority (as Nancy Mitford has dryly observed, he was a "charming man" who "liked pictures more than power").²²⁰ For his part, the musically-inclined Friedrich made sure that—just as in matters of state—he retained absolute control of his newly-

²¹⁹ The German translation renders the rather semantically obscure phrase "nel fuggir la più sublime Cura" with the more periphrastic expression "...einen solchen Weg zu finden, / Worauf Du Dich der größten Ehr und Last entziehst."

²²⁰ Mitford's remark on August III is found in her general-audience biography, *Frederick the Great* (London: Penguin, 1970), 89. Even among non-Borussian historiography, similar assessments of the political weakness of August III are generally shared by historians. Karlheinz Blaschke, for example, a specialist in the history of Saxony, offers the following portrait of the king: "Bei seiner weichen, empfindsamen Wesensart zeigte er keine Neigung zu eigenen politischen Gedanken und Zielen, von dem lebenssprühenden Willen zur Tat und dem hohen Schwung hatte er nichts geerbt. ... An der Regierung zeigte er wenig Interesse, war aber um so mehr auf die Darstellung seiner Würde bedacht. In gewisser Hinsicht war er menschenscheu, manche Beobachter hielten ihn für träge und wenig arbeitsam." See Blaschke, *Der Fürstenzug zu Dresden: Denkmal und Geschichte des Hauses Wettin* (Leipzig: Urania, 1991), 186. See also Reiner Groß, "Kurfürst Friedrich August II. von Sachsen und die Landespolitik von 1733 bis 1763," *Dresdner Hefte*, no. 46 (1996): 2-10. Staszewski, in contrast, argues for a more politically engaged portrayal of August III in his biography of the king.

opened opera house in Berlin, actively selecting and approving the works to be performed (and sometimes writing the texts for them himself), engaging the singers and musicians, and maintaining oversight of every aspect of the production.²²¹ As Nils Steffensen notes, “[d]ie Berliner Oper trug den historisch-politisch-didaktischen Interessen Friedrichs ausdrücklich Rechnung. Sie war Schauplatz des *éclats*, der absolutistischen Herrschafts-inszenierung.”²²²

In light of Friedrich’s intimate involvement with this simultaneously aesthetic and political venue, what motivation lay behind the decision to import Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio* of all works for the main performance season in Berlin the following year? In one respect, of course, since he had a prior opportunity to judge its merits firsthand, this opera doubtless appealed to the king as a musical connoisseur. Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), in his biography of the Prussian court harpsichordist Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800), attests to the king’s predilection for the music of Hasse, and for this work in particular:

Auch der König, der sich im Jahre 1745, als er Dresden eingenommen hatte, die Oper *Arminio* dort aufführen ließ, war von Hasses großem Styl ergriffen worden.... Hassens Opern waren ihm demnach, ihrer Kühnheit und Kraft wegen, im Ganzen, lieber als die Graunschen und in einem von Faschens Hand geschriebenen Verzeichniß von allen zwei und neunzig Opern, die unter der Regierung Friedrichs des Zweiten aufgeführt worden, findet sich ein einzigesmal bei der Oper *Arminio* von Hasse, bemerkt: daß dieses eine vortrefliche Oper sey.²²³

²²¹ On Friedrich II and the Berlin opera, see Ernest Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 81-139; Susanne Oschmann, “Gedankenspiele—Der Opernheld Friedrichs II.,” in *Opernheld und Opernheldin im 18. Jahrhundert: Aspekte der Librettoforschung*, ed. Klaus Hortschansky (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1991), 175-193; Christoph Henzel, “Zu den Aufführungen der großen Oper Friedrichs II. von Preußen 1740–1756,” in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, ed. Günther Wagner (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1997), 9-57; and Claudia Terne, “Friedrich II. von Preußen und die Hofoper,” *Friedrich300—Colloquien, Friedrich der Große und der Hof*, http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien/friedrich-hof/Terne_Hofoper (accessed March 16, 2012).

²²² Nils Steffensen, “‘Am größten ist’s, sich selbst zu besiegen’. Der Dictator L. Cornelius Sulla in der dramatischen Verarbeitung Friedrichs des Großen,” *Antike und Abendland* 55 (2009): 167.

²²³ Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin: Unger, 1801), 24. Quoted in Wolfgang Hochstein, “Hermann der Cherusker als Opernheld: Anmerkungen zu den *Arminio*-Vertonungen von Johann Adolf Hasse,” in *Kultur Bildung Politik: Festschrift für Hermann Rauhe zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Wolfgang Hochstein (Hamburg: von Bockel, 2000), 145-146.

Wolfgang Hochstein concludes on the basis of this evaluation that the inherent musical qualities of the work (“Hasses großem Styl”) impressed the king to such an extent that “[d]emnach ist es nicht übertrieben, Hasses *Arminio* als Lieblingsoper Friedrichs des Großen zu betrachten.”²²⁴ This may well be true, and certainly Hasse’s “Kühnheit und Kraft”—the elegant *galant* musical sensibility which conformed so pleasingly to current tastes—led to his fame throughout central Europe as one of the foremost opera composers of the age. Yet this assessment alone neglects to consider the importance of the work’s narrative content for achieving the desired *repraesentatio maiestatis*, and therefore runs the risk of reducing the whole to little more than the sum of its “lovely ditties.”²²⁵

In another respect, however, a consideration of the narrative as allegory hardly makes it self-evident that the king should have deemed this work an appropriate choice for subsequent production in Berlin, especially given the alleged anti-Prussian sentiments that Friedrich himself perceived when he attended the performance in Dresden. In the *Histoire*, Friedrich especially highlights the final chorus of *Arminio* as the primary locus for the expression of this anti-Prussian message, which, given the reversal of circumstances at the end of the war, he claims the Dresden performers did not allow him to hear: “Les musiciens n’osèrent jamais exécuter en ma présence le chœur de cet opéra; leur silence modeste venait des paroles du chœur, auxquelles ce qui venait d’arriver donnait un sens rétorqué.” Friedrich then directly quotes the first stanza of this chorus, which censures the (unnamed) tyrant who pridefully establishes his throne upon the misfortune and oppression of others. The full text of the chorus and the German verse translation as it appeared in the 1745 Dresden libretto is reprinted below.²²⁶

²²⁴ Hochstein, “Hermann der Cherusker als Opernheld,” 146.

²²⁵ In his biography of Johann Sebastian Bach published in 1802, Johann Nikolaus Forkel reports that when planning a trip to Dresden to attend the opera, the elder Bach would jokingly remark to his son Friedemann, “Wollen wir nicht einmal wieder die schönen Dresdner Liederchen hören?” In English-language scholarship, “die schönen Dresdner Liederchen” has been translated as “the lovely Dresden ditties.” See, for example, Raymond Erickson, “The Legacies of J.S. Bach,” in *The Worlds of Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New York: Amadeus, 2009), 50; and George B. Stauffer, “Bach and the Lure of the Big City,” in *ibid.*, 260.

²²⁶ *Arminio. Damma per musica...* (1745), 99.

CORO.	Chor.
Sulle rovine altrui Alzar non pensi il soglio Colui, -- che al solo orgoglio Riduce ogni virtù.	Wer auf des andern Untergang gedencket einen Thron zu bauen, Der muß sich grössern Tugenden, als sei- nem Hochmuth anvertrauen.
Vindici i Numi sono Degli Oppressori, e spesso Chi opprime è dall' Oppresso Ridotto in servitù.	Die Götter können nicht vertragen, daß man die Unschuld unterdrückt, Daher ihr Zorn gar oft Tyrannen durch ihre Slaven selbst erstickt.

Since the requisite closing chorus generally employs a stereotyped rhetoric that allows the characters to confirm the *lieto fine* of the proceedings with “sentenziös-hymnischem Jubel”—thereby fulfilling what scholars have often regarded as a mere decorative function—it is noteworthy that Friedrich accords it such prominence here in the delivery of political meaning, even comparing “les chœurs des opéras d’Auguste” to “les prologues de ceux de Louis XIV.”²²⁷ For this reason it may seem all the more surprising that in the process of adapting the work for its Berlin premiere in December 1746, Friedrich not only retained the text of this chorus, but also commissioned his own Kapellmeister, Carl Heinrich Graun (1704–1759), to write a new musical setting of it. The differences are significant; whereas Hasse’s original setting breezes by in twenty-four brief measures and includes only the first stanza of Pasquini’s text, Graun’s expanded treatment lasts over four times as long and incorporates the full text of both stanzas.²²⁸ Should we take this to mean that Friedrich, as Brachvogel suggests, found pleasure in actively exploiting the post-war irony of the work’s original intent by drawing more attention to precisely this chorus?

While there is no conclusive evidence to support speculation on this point in either direction (the charge of irony is easy to make, but difficult to prove), I would argue

²²⁷ On the stereotyped conventions of the *coro*, see Reinhard Wiesend, “Zum Ensemble in der Opera seria,” *Analecta Musicologica* 25 (1987): 188. See also Rudolf Gerber, *Der Operntypus Johann Adolf Hasses und seine textlichen Grundlagen* (1925; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 177.

²²⁸ Both choruses are included in the appendix of Rudolf Gerber’s edition of *Arminio*, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1966), 359-367. Although the printed Berlin libretto contains only the first stanza of the chorus, it is reasonably certain based on the extant music manuscript evidence that Graun’s new setting of the full text was composed for this production. See Schmidt-Hensel, 2:125-126.

for a different, contextually-based understanding of the Berlin production; one in which the person of Friedrich himself—not veiled in-jokes aimed at August III or Heinrich von Brühl—necessarily forms the primary focal point. Indeed, the essential representative function of Friedrich’s court opera in Berlin both demanded the enactment of sovereign-centered rituals within its audience, and thereby implicitly prescribed a similar model for the interpretation of the works produced on its stage. As Christoph Henzel illustrates,

[d]as Zeremoniell sorgte dafür, daß der König, begleitet von einem Tusch von Militärtrompetern und -paukern, als letzter den bereits vollbesetzten und hell erleuchteten Zuschauerraum betrat, woraufhin sofort das Orchester mit der Opersinfonia begann. Nach dem Ende der Vorstellung war es wiederum erst der Abgang des Königs, welcher, ebenfalls durch einen Tusch sinnfällig gemacht, den Schlußpunkt der Festveranstaltung setzte.²²⁹

The hierarchical seating arrangement in the house—with the court aristocracy, other members of the nobility as well as government officials, and members of the educated bourgeoisie occupying the first, second, and third balconies, respectively; and the king positioned at the very front of the main floor with his brothers and closest confidants—reinforced this sovereign-centered paradigm.²³⁰ When considering the performance of *Arminio* in this ritualized environment, it is important to keep in mind that an ironic construal of the narrative would not have occurred to the majority of this audience (nor would many of them have been aware enough of its previous performance history to draw such conclusions). Their reactions instead would have been governed by the expectations of the genre—namely to associate the main identificatory figure in the opera (in this case the title character Arminio) with the sovereign who was seated directly in front of the stage and in view of everyone. Insofar as Arminio displays traits that are representative of opera seria heroes in general through his embodiment of the “clement prince,” the figure expectably conforms to the European-wide ideals of sovereignty that the opera seria upheld and legitimized. At the same time, in his specific capacity as the *liberator Germaniae*—the essential characteristic that distinguishes him from the other canonized heroes of the opera stage—the figure possesses enough valences to allow for multiple

²²⁹ Henzel, “Zu den Aufführungen,” 15.

²³⁰ Ibid. See also Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971), 17-25.

allegorical interpretations *ad libitum*, especially with respect to the complicated political relationships among the sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire (or “Deutschland”). For as Mücke notes, Pasquini’s libretto actually contains nothing explicitly anti-Prussian in its text, unless one wanted to read such a message into it. Regardless of whether Brühl, August III, the instrumentalists and singers at the Dresden court, or even Pasquini himself recognized and shared this anti-Prussian understanding, the text nevertheless leaves the interpretive possibilities open to the demands of contextual exigencies. In this sense, the opera proved easily transferable to other courts, including a performance in Vienna on the occasion of Maria Theresia’s birthday in May 1747. Thus from Dresden to Berlin to Vienna, each of these rival courts saw fit to adopt the Arminius figure—the celebrated protector of freedom vis-à-vis the oppressor, whoever he (or she) may be—as the surrogate for its particular monarch. Moreover and perhaps most importantly, each of these courts also bore witness to the affirmative examples reinforced by the narrative’s denouement: the ultimate reconciliation between the internecine adversaries Arminio and Segeste, the reinstatement of a balanced social order (through the proper pairing of the couples) following its unnatural corruption at the onset of the action, and the final choric admonition against the larcenous ambitions of tyrants.

* * *

Within a quick two-year succession that saw performances mounted in Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna, a fourth production of Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio* took to the stage of the Hagenmarkt Theater in Brunswick during the city’s annual summer trade fair in August 1747. Since Brunswick supplied the point of departure for the inquiries that have guided the second part of this study, it seems especially appropriate to complete the circle by returning to this same provincial court one hundred years later. Arriving back “home” at the end of our geographically counterclockwise journey to various principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, it is perhaps likewise reassuring to find ourselves again in somewhat familiar company—among the descendants of those same performers and audience members who first experienced the theatrical debut of Arminius in Schottelius’s *Friedens Sieg* a century previously. Indeed, through his marriage to Princess Philippine

Charlotte of Prussia (great-granddaughter of the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich Wilhelm and great-great-grandniece of Anna Sophia), the reigning Prince Karl I of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (great-grandson of Duke August II) reinforced once more the genealogical continuity so memorably enacted in 1642 when his grandfather Ferdinand Albrecht had symbolically united the aristocracy of Brandenburg and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel with Cupid's darts and bonds of love. Moreover, while Cupid's amorous aim may have missed its mark in the case of Philippine Charlotte's brother Friedrich II, who resentfully entered into a loveless marriage with Karl's sister Elisabeth Christine, it nevertheless doubly strengthened the long-standing ties between the two houses in the current generation.

Even in its severely pruned state (for the sake of clarity and relevance to the following discussion), the family tree depicted in figure 14 schematizes these tightly-bound ancestral roots that entwined the Hohenzollern and Welf dynasties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It also reveals that within the span of approximately twenty-five years, the shoots of both houses' political influence grew up alongside each other in alternating developmental spurts. Although Philippine Charlotte had married into what was one of the collateral lines of the principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (the main dynastic line, however, passed to her husband soon after their marriage), she was also already related to another more prestigious branch of the Welfs through her mother and paternal grandmother, both of whom were descended from Ernst August I of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Calenberg line), whose territory had been elevated to an Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire in 1692. Around this same time, Philippine Charlotte's Hohenzollern grandfather (and Ernst August's son-in-law) Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg had begun to covet the more prestigious status of a kingship. In petitioning the emperor to grant him this distinction, Friedrich built a case around his ancestral ties to the neighboring eastern territory of Prussia, insisting that since the duchy had never been a part of the Holy Roman Empire, nothing should prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from becoming king there, just as the Saxon Elector Friedrich August I had become King of Poland in 1697. With the emperor's consent, Friedrich duly travelled to Königsberg to

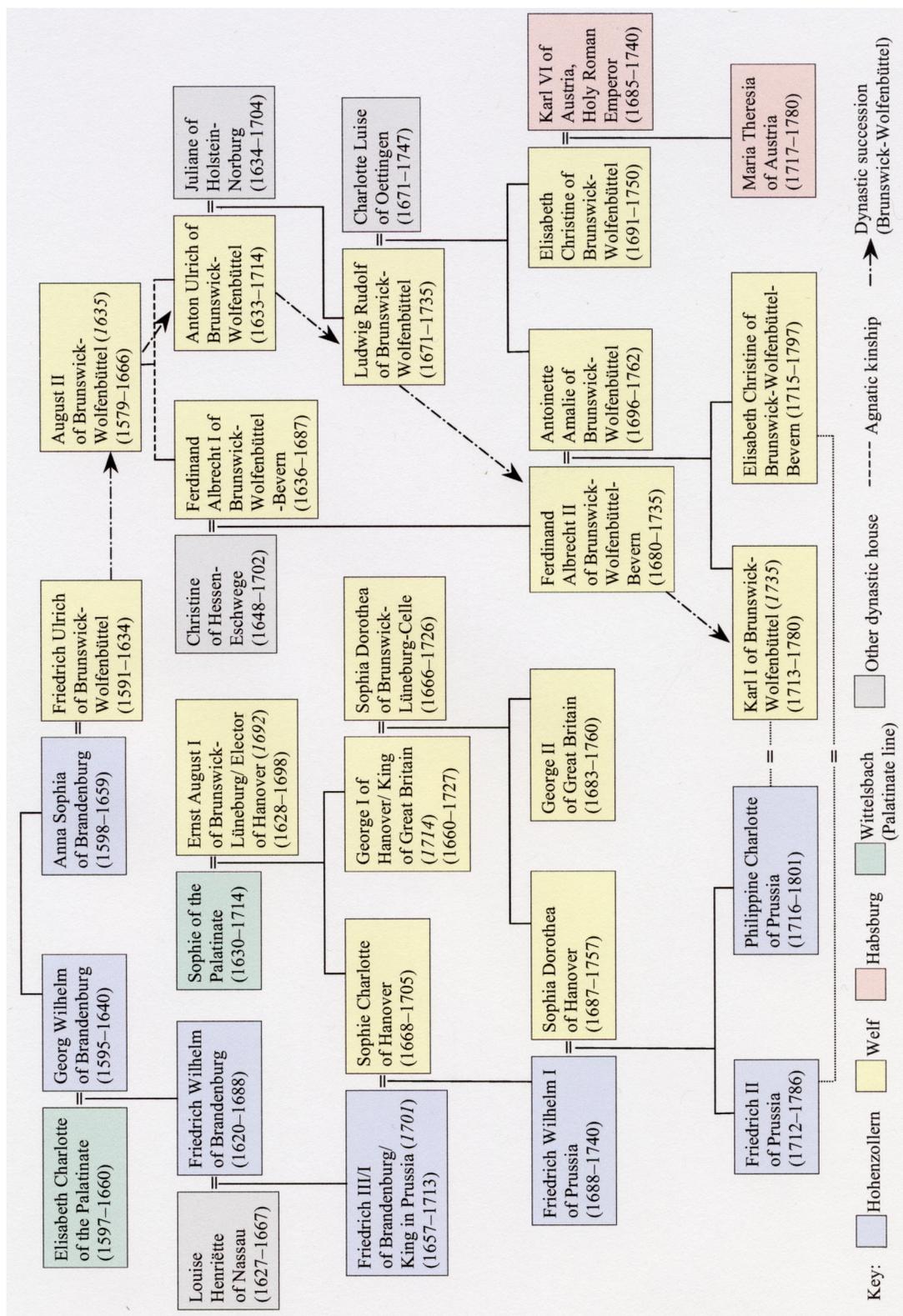


Figure 14. Selected interrelationships between the Hohenzollern and Welf dynasties.

crown himself the first King “in” Prussia in January 1701.²³¹ Meanwhile, through Ernst August’s marriage to Sophie of the Palatinate—who, as the Protestant granddaughter of King James I of England (James VI of Scotland), had been declared heiress presumptive to Queen Anne by the Act of Settlement (1701) and the Act of Union (1707)—the newly minted Electorate of Hanover was poised to assume an even greater role on the world stage. Although Sophie did not live to fulfill her own claim to succession, her eldest son Elector Georg Ludwig (who was also both father-in-law and uncle of the current Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm I) ascended to the British throne as George I in 1714, thus initiating the long-lived personal union of Hanover and Great Britain.²³²

In offering this necessarily cursory explication of a complex dynastic and political network, I have meant to provide a frame through which to view the early- to mid-eighteenth century production of a cluster of Arminius narratives that look to Brunswick (in its broadest connotations) as an important point of reference for the imagined geographic and ancestral continuity of a German social identity. The first of these texts dates to 1714—the year that the Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg arrived in London for his coronation as Britain’s monarch. Undeniably marked in this foreign land by his Germanness, the new King George I possessed only slight knowledge either of English politics or the English language. While it is therefore little more than speculation to assert that the production of the opera pasticcio *Arminio* at the Queen’s Theatre in the spring of that year intended to encode a pro-Hanoverian political message, Robert Ketterer

²³¹ Emperor Leopold I consented to Friedrich’s request in exchange for monetary compensation and promises of military support, as well as on the conditions that he not be crowned within the empire and that his title be styled “King in Prussia” (*König in Preußen*), not “King of Prussia” (*König von Preußen*). For some recent assessments of Friedrich III/I and the rise of Prussia (occasioned by the three-hundredth anniversary of the Königsberg coronation), see Wolfgang Neugebauer, “Friedrich III./I. (1688–1713),” in *Preußens Herrscher: Von den ersten Hohenzollern bis Wilhelm II.*, ed. Frank-Lothar Kroll (Munich: Beck, 2000), 113-133; Johann Gustav Droysen, *Friedrich I. König von Preußen*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); Franziska Windt et al., eds., *Preußen 1701—eine europäische Geschichte, Bd. 2: Essays* (Berlin: Henschel, 2001); and Heide Barmeyer, ed., *Die preußische Rangerhöhung und Königskrönung 1701 in deutscher und europäischer Sicht* (Frankfurt-Main: Peter Lang, 2002).

²³² On the rise of the Electorate of Hanover and the personal union with Great Britain, see Volker Press, “Kurhannover im System des alten Reiches 1692–1803,” in *England und Hannover / England and Hanover*, ed. Adolf M. Birke and Kurt Kluxen (Munich: Saur, 1986), 53-79; Ragnhild Hatton, *George I, Yale English Monarchs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Nick Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire 1700–1837* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); and Andrew C. Thompson, *George II, Yale English Monarchs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

nevertheless suggests an intriguing interpretive possibility of the work as a fitting “celebration of Whig notions of liberty, coded as German liberty and featuring the German hero Arminius, who hailed from the area of Hanover.”²³³ Indeed, ever since Aventinus had ranked the mighty Arminius (“Erman”) among the Dukes of Brunswick in his sixteenth-century *Baierische Chronik* (see the discussion above in the first section of Part 2), this mythic foundation narrative continued to play a role in Welf representational practices throughout the early modern period.²³⁴ Even as late as 1772, King George III allegedly expressed his pleasure at Benjamin West’s suggestion for a commissioned painting to depict the scene of Segestes and Thusnelda before the tribunal of Germanicus, since family tradition claimed the king’s ancestral connection to Thusnelda.²³⁵ Yet it is several decades earlier, in the 1740s, that we first encounter an explicit literary evocation of Arminius in association with the Hanoverian dynasty in England. In the prefatory letter to his ultimately unperformed English “tragedy” *Arminius*—in fact yet another adaptation of Campistrion’s classicist drama—the Scottish poet William Paterson draws attention to the particular suitability of the dedicatee, Prince William, Duke of Cumberland (a younger son of King George II), given the subject matter of the play. “That young Hero,” Paterson writes, referring to Arminius, “besides his illustrious Descent, was the truest Friend, the noblest Ornament of his Country: and every good Man rejoices in the Hope

²³³ Ketterer, 142. The textual pedigree of this anonymously-transmitted Arminius opera has remained unknown up to now. The libretto is in fact an adaptation of Francesco Silvani’s *La pace generosa*, first performed in Venice in 1700. See Catalog Index I.05 for further details.

²³⁴ It bears mention that in his extensive genealogical research into the House of Brunswick (*Annales Imperii*), Leibniz notably did not incorporate such fanciful ancestral connections, restricting his history instead to what could be verified by archival records. On the changing standards for source-based historical research in the seventeenth century, see for example Alfred Schröcker, “Die deutsche Genealogie im 17. Jahrhundert zwischen Herrscherlob und Wissenschaft: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von G.W. Leibniz,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59 (1977): 426-444; and Gerd van den Heuvel, “Deß Niedersächsischen Vaterlandes Antiquitäten’: Barockhistorie und landesgeschichtliche Forschung bei Leibniz und seinen Zeitgenossen,” *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 68 (1996): 19-41. Alongside the growth of a more objective approach to genealogy and historiography, however, tradition-based dynastic narratives persisted, even if they were excluded from the official record.

²³⁵ See Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Revolution, 1750–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 127-128. The source of this claim is John Galt, *The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1820), 2:50-51. West’s painting (dated 1773) was originally placed in Buckingham House (now Palace) and later moved to Hampton Court in the 1830s, then to Kensington Palace. See Oliver Millar, *The Later Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: Text* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 131-132.

that your Highness will, one day, prove equally useful and ornamental to *Great Britain*. If Tradition immemorial errs not, your August Family is allied to him by Blood.”²³⁶

The significance of this consanguinity receives additional emphasis in a celebratory *Vorspiel* written by Johann Christian Krüger (1723–1750) and performed in Hanover on the occasion of the sixty-fifth birthday of George II in 1748. Entitled *Hermanns Wunsch*, this miniature dramatic work makes special reference to the recent triumph of its dedicatee at the Battle of Dettingen (1743), in which the British monarch—accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, who was wounded in the event—personally led his troops into combat against the French in Bavaria during the War of the Austrian Succession. Within the play, the deified Hermann calls upon his druidic priests to inform him about the current state of Germany (“Deutschland”) and whether any prince comparable to his own greatness now keeps watch over the security of his “Vaterland.”²³⁷ Responding to this request, the spirit of poetry (Die Dichtkunst) assures him that such a renowned prince—the very mirror image (“Ebenbild”) of Hermann himself—not only protects and defends his ancient ancestor’s homeland, but has also expanded his realms:

Er ist aus deinem Blut, er herrscht, wo du regiert,
Da, wo der Weser Lauf nur Segen mit sich führt.
Die Tugenden, die sonst die Welt an dir verehret,
Hat Sein glorreiches Haus durch so viel Glanz vermehret,
Daß es den edlen Neid der Britten aufgebracht,
Daß sie freywillig sich Ihm unterthan gemacht.”²³⁸

In this passage, the geographic continuity of Hermann’s “Vaterland”—not restricted here to Hanover or Brunswick, but rather broadened to encompass “Deutschland”—is confirmed by the genealogical connection to George (“Er ist aus deinem Blut, er herrscht,

²³⁶ William Paterson, *Arminius. A Tragedy. As it was to have been acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (London: Millar, 1740), iii-iv. Paterson’s work was one of four plays to be denied performance rights in the decade following the Licensing Act of 1737, presumably because of perceived anti-Walpole sentiments. On the uncertainty of this wholesale explanation for censorship, see Matthew J. Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 104-105.

²³⁷ Johann Christian Krüger, *Hermanns Wunsch an dem hohen Geburtsfeste des Allerdurchlauchtigsten, Großmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn George des andern, Königes von Großbritannien, u.s.w. aufgeführt zu Hannover 1748*, in *Johann Christian Krügers Poetische und Theatralische Schriften*, ed. Johann Friedrich Löwen (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1763), 119.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

wo du regiert”), and further enobled through the persistence of the same virtues (“Die Tugenden, die sonst die Welt an dir verehret, / Hat Sein glorreiches Haus ... vermehret”). Following Die Dichtkunst’s effusive praise of George’s military prowess as well as his humanitarian concern for his subjects, she reveals the shrine in which the king’s name is linked with eight epithets that embrace all these facets of his being: “Der Feinde Schrecken. / Der Ueberwundenen Erhalter. / Europens Friedensstifter. / Der Musen Beschützer. / Der Britten Ruhm. / Der Deutschen Freude. / Der Nothleidenden Vater. / Der Bosheit Vertilger.”²³⁹ Finally Hermann adds his own praise of the ruler who is his own worthy counterpart:

George, der Du Dich durch Wohlthun göttlich machest,
Dein und mein Vaterland gerecht und treu bewachest,
Dein Ruhm, dem keiner gleicht, mehrt meine Seligkeit,
So lange du regierst, herrscht Deutschlands Sicherheit.²⁴⁰

In light of these examples that vividly illustrate how the Welf dynasty claimed a kindred relationship with the Arminius figure and thereby reinforced its members’ self-understanding of a German social identity, let us return once again to Brunswick and consider the question of “Germanness” in connection with the two Arminius operas that were performed there during this time: *Arminius und Thusnelda* in 1745, and *Hermann und Varus* in 1747. Although the new titles may initially obscure their pedigree, upon closer examination these works reveal a recognizable familiarity. The libretto of the first ultimately traces its roots to Salvi’s *Arminio* but appears to stem directly from the severely cut adaptation of Salvi’s text that Handel used for his London production in 1737.²⁴¹ The second is a re-named version of Pasquini and Hasse’s *Arminio*, possibly

²³⁹ Ibid., 123-124.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 124.

²⁴¹ The fact that many of Handel’s London operas were adapted for performances in Hamburg (1715–1737) and Brunswick (1723–1743) has been well documented. See especially Stephan Stompor, “Die deutschen Aufführungen von Opern Händels in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Händel-Jahrbuch* 24 (1978): 70-86, as well as the individual entries in Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel’s Operas, 1704–1726*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), and Winton Dean, *Handel’s Operas, 1726–1741* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2006). *Arminio*, however, has never been counted among these works that were imported for German performance. Although the published libretto of *Arminius und Thusnelda* cites Carl Heinrich Graun as the composer of “die Ouverture, Arien und letzte Chor,” the work most likely was a pasticcio consisting of arias from Graun’s other operas; see Christoph Henzel, *Berliner Klassik: Studien zur Graunüberlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2009), 136-

based to some extent on the Berlin production from the 1747 Carnival season.²⁴² In adapting both of these works for their performance in Brunswick, the Italian recitative verses of the respective source material were translated into German and recomposed to be sung in that language; the arias, however—as the vehicle for musical invention that effectively conveyed affective states with a minimum of verbal exposition—remained in Italian (with side-by-side German translations printed in the libretto). Since both works drew their audiences from the thousands of visitors who descended on the city during the annual summer trade fair in August, a pragmatic motivation surely lay behind the decision to present the coinciding entertainment program mainly in German.²⁴³ Yet it is also worth noting that, other than the earlier productions of Georg Philipp Telemann’s *Germanicus* in Leipzig and Hamburg (see Catalog Index I.01.1704, I.01.1706, and I.01.1710/20), *Arminius und Thusnelda* and *Hermann und Varus* were the only operas on this subject to be performed in German during the eighteenth century. Given the performance context of both works at Brunswick—the heartland of the Welfs and the imagined homeland of Arminius—is it possible to detect in these productions something distinctively German on display?

While *Arminius und Thusnelda* primarily reflects a close translation of the text as adapted for the 1737 London production (which otherwise did not provide the basis for any other version of Salvi’s *Arminio*), the Brunswick libretto adds some important details that do in fact draw attention to the “Germanness” of the narrative. Table 8 provides a comparison of relevant examples in this respect (note that italicized words in the German

140. Indeed, Graun’s 1744 setting of *Lucio Papirio* (GraunWV B:I:11) provides the original source for three surviving musical numbers that correspond to texts appearing in this production (see Catalog Index I.06.1745 for details). However, considering the strong textual link to I.06.1737, it is also possible that coincidences of aria texts between the two librettos may indicate borrowings from Handel’s composition. A copy of Handel’s score to *Arminio*—which was published in 1737 by Walsh in London and issued on a subscription basis—is held in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel and thus may have served as a reference for compiling the 1745 Brunswick production.

²⁴² See Schmidt-Hensel, 2:126-127.

²⁴³ Of the six operas that were produced in Brunswick during the August fairs of 1745 and 1747 (three in each year), five were macaronic adaptations of existing opera seria works, with recitative translated into German and arias sung in Italian; only one was an opera seria sung entirely in Italian. See Gustav Friedrich Schmidt, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Herzoglichen Hofe zu Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Munich: Berntheisel, 1929), 24-25.

transcription below appear in roman typeface in the original libretto, the German text of which is otherwise printed in black-letter type).

Table 8. Amplifications of Germanness from *Arminio* (1737) to *Arminius und Thusnelda* (1745)

Point of interest	<i>Arminio</i> (London 1737)	<i>Arminius und Thusnelda</i> (Brunswick 1745)
Prefatory remarks	<p>The ARGUMENT.</p> <p>ARMINIUS, <i>Prince of the Cauchi and Cheruschi, People of Germany, living on the Borders of the Rhine, is well noted in Tacitus's History, for the memorable Defeat he gave to Three Roman Legions, with the Death of their General QUINTUS VARUS; which affords sufficient Room to extend the Argument. — On this Historical Truth, the present Drama is founded, and is attended by other probable Passages, to give the proper Scope to the Musick, and Ornaments to the Representation.</i></p>	<p>Vorbericht.</p> <p>Daß der Römische Kayser <i>Augustus</i> eine starke <i>Armee</i> von so viel <i>Legionen</i> unter dem Feldherrn <i>Varus</i> nach Teutschland geschickt, um solches sich zu unterwerfen, welche aber von dem Teutschen Feldherrn <i>Arminius</i>, Fürsten der <i>Cheruscer</i> und <i>Chaucer</i> am Rhein <i>totaliter</i> geschlagen, und der Feldherr <i>Varus</i> selbst mit unterschiedlichen <i>Legionen</i> im Treffen umkommen, ist aus dem Geschicht=Schreiber <i>Tacito</i> bekandt.</p> <p>Diese Geschichte hat Gelegenheit zu gegenwärtiger <i>Opera</i> gegeben, von welcher die Umstände sich in dem Werk selbst zeigen werden, und guten theils aus des berühmten Herrn von Lohensteins teutschen <i>Arminius</i> genommen sind.</p>
Scene description at beginning of Act I	<i>Campagna vicina al Reno, con Padiglioni ed altri Instrumenti Militari.</i>	Der Schau=Platz stellet vor des <i>Arminius</i> Lager nicht weit von Cöln am Rhein mit Gezelten und allerhand Kriegs-Geräthschaft.
Scene description at beginning of Act II	<i>Gabinetto.</i>	Der Schau-Platz stellet vor eine <i>Gallerie</i> des Schlosses durch welche man in eine grosse Landschaft siehet in welcher am Rhein verschiedene Berg=Schlösser liegen.
Ballet following Act I	[None specified.]	Folgt ein Tanz von teutschen <i>Dames</i> und <i>Cavalliers</i> .
Ballet following Act II	[None specified.]	(Der Schau-Platz verändert sich in einen finstern / den Göttern der alten Teutschen geheiligten Wald / in welchem die Bildsäulen der Götter stehen wovon die 7 Tage in der Wochen ihren Namen haben / als: Die Sonne / der Sonntags Gott. Der Mond / der Montags Gott. <i>Tuisco</i> , der Dienstags Gott. <i>Oden</i> oder <i>Woden</i> , der Mittwochen Gott. <i>Thor</i> , der Donnerstags Gott. <i>Freia</i> , die Freitags Göttin. <i>Crodo</i> , der Sonnabends Gott.) Die Heidnischen Priester und Priesterinnen halten den Göttern zu Ehren einen Tanz.

<p>Change of lines in Act III, Scene 6</p>	<p>[Sigismondo]: Ritorni alla tua mano L'istrumento fedel della tua Gloria, E della Libertà del suol Germano. [Arminio]: Signore, e qual mercede Potrà render' <i>Arminio</i> A tanto zelo tuo, alla tua Fede? [Tusnelda]: Mio Sposo— [Ramise]: Mio German— [Arminio]: Mie care addi[o]. [à 3]: Parto, ma teco resta ora il cor mio. [segue aria: Arminio]</p>	<p>[Sigmund]: Da ist dein Schwerdt womit du oft gesiegt. [Arminius]: Was kan für solchen Dienst/ für solche Treu ich dir Hinwiederum erweisen? [Thusnelda]: Leb wol/ mein Schatz! [Ramise]: Mein Bruder!/ lebe wol. [Arminius]: Ich geh und hoffe daß man nächstens soll Den Ruhm von Teutschlands Waffen preisen. [segue aria: Arminius]</p>
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The importance of the historical Arminius as the heroic liberator of his people receives more emphasis in the *Vorbericht* to the Brunswick libretto, which in contrast to the London “argument” does not merely report that the German prince defeated three Roman legions and their general, but rather explicitly casts “Teutschland” as the victim of militant Roman aggression, from which it is spectacularly freed by Arminius. Likewise a slight adjustment of lines in the third act allows Arminius himself to express more overtly his leadership role in the uprising. Thus the patriotic sentiment articulated by Sigismondo in the London libretto (“l'istrumento ... della Libertà del suol Germano”) is shifted to Arminius in the German translation (“Ich geh und hoffe daß man nächstens soll / Den Ruhm von Teutschlands Waffen preisen.”) and placed directly before his triumphant exit aria for maximum dramatic impact.

Particularly noteworthy, however, is the claim in the preface of the Brunswick libretto that certain details of the opera’s story “guten theils aus des berühmten Herrn von Lohensteins teutschen *Arminius* genommen sind.” In the strictest sense, of course, this statement is inaccurate, since neither Salvi’s libretto nor Campistron’s original drama was based on Lohenstein’s novel. It is certainly probable that *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius* still possessed enough cultural cachet among the public—through reputation if

not actual familiarity—to prompt such a seemingly deceptive marketing approach.²⁴⁴ Yet the image of the “Saxon steed” (*Sachsenross*) that appears on the title page of the libretto (see figure 15) in fact provides an important visual cue that supports not only the narrative’s link to Brunswick and the Welf dynasty (with which this heraldic motif had long been associated), but also to Lohenstein’s novel, in which Herrmann’s shield bears this same charge—a detail that Johann Jacob von Sandrart advances to a recurring theme in his accompanying illustrations.²⁴⁵ Apart from any other kind of inspiration not readily discernable from the libretto (costume design, for example), the feature of *Arminius und Thusnelda* most likely stimulated by Lohenstein’s novel is the added ballet at the end of the second act, with its dark sacred grove setting, images of Germanic deities, and worshipping priests and priestesses—a tableau that bears a notable resemblance to Lohenstein’s descriptions of such practices in Volume 1, Book 7, and Sandrart’s corresponding engraving.²⁴⁶ Together with the more detailed scene descriptions in the libretto that situate the characters within a recognizably German landscape (Cologne and the surrounding Rhineland locale with its “verschiedene Berg=Schlösser”), this pantomimic intermezzo enhances the cultural resonance of the narrative by forging a link between the past and the present—in this case by imagining a specifically Germanic antiquity whose enduring legacy daily evokes the mythological remnants of its gods.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Indeed, as Emery Snyder notes, “Lohenstein’s novel of 1689 enjoyed such prestige that its original Leipzig publisher reissued it in 1731, forestalling a planned pirate edition to be funded by subscription in Bern. For the reissue, [Georg Christian] Gebauer added notes, some reworking, a numbering system, and a full index allowing for easy locating of ancient German customs, moral facts, and information about human behavior.” See David E. Wellbery et al., eds., *A New History of German Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 334.

²⁴⁵ Lohenstein, *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius*, title page engravings to volumes one and two. Compare also the appearance of the *Sachsenross* in the engravings that accompany pages 228, 391, and 1467 of volume two.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:959.

²⁴⁷ This backdrop depicting the statues of Tuisco and his counterparts must have been kept in the theater’s storeroom, because it appears again two years later in the production of *Hermann and Varus*. The list of scene changes at the beginning of the libretto reads: “Ein Dorf an der Ems in einem Walde liegend, in welchen man die sieben Bild=Säulen der alten teutschen Wochen=Götter siehet, wo das *Cherusker* Bauer=Volk ihre Freude über ihres *Hermanns* Wiederkunft in einem Tanze bezeigen.” Placed at the end of the second act, in which Sigmar has just rescued Hermann from prison, this ballet offers the rare example of an intermezzo narrative whose content is explicitly integrated with that of the main opera. This

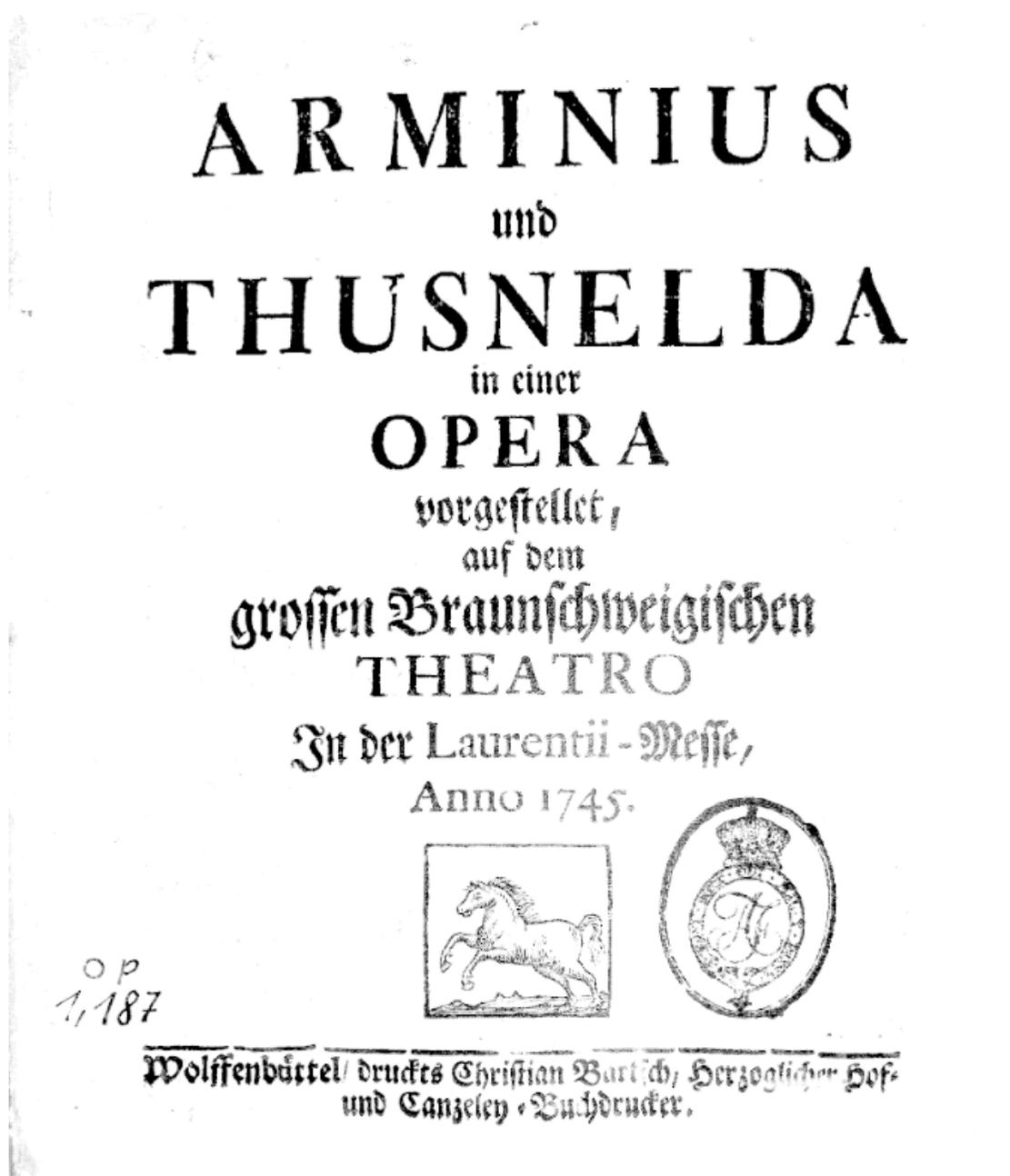


Figure 15. Title page to *Arminius und Thusnelda* (Brunswick, 1745). Source: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover: Op. 1, 187 Titelblatt. Reprinted with permission.

opera also ends with “ein Ballet von Römischen Helden und Cheruskischen Dames,” emphasizing the ultimate reconciliation between the two groups.

As the place that cultivated the more pronounced German accents found in these iterations of works whose native tongue was Italian, it seems all the more appropriate that Brunswick should also boast a foster connection to the only eighteenth-century opera libretto on the subject of Arminius to be conceived without the aid of French or Italian sires. In 1749, Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776)—who had made a name for himself as a music critic in Hamburg before gaining the position of Kapellmeister at the Danish royal court—brought forth this German-language *Singspiel* under the name *Thusnelde*, dedicating the publication to none other than the Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Philippine Charlotte.²⁴⁸ The new work served in part as demonstrative evidence for Scheibe’s argument, which he expounded in the publication’s sixty-eight page “Critischer Vorbericht,” in defense of German opera. A disciple of the reigning *Literaturpapst* Johann Christoph Gottsched, Scheibe was attempting to counter the virulent anti-opera polemic of the master by insisting that, once shed of its corrupting foreign influences, nothing should prevent the operatic genre from achieving the full artistic merits accorded to spoken drama—provided that it adhered to the same rational parameters of dramatic unity and good taste.²⁴⁹ *Thusnelde*, Scheibe promises, intends to play by the rules: “Da dieses Singspiel, meines Wissens, das erste Stück ist, welches nach einer der Oper bisher sonst ungewöhnlichen Einrichtung ausgearbeitet worden, und worinn man die Mängel aufs sorgfältigste vermieden hat, welche diese Art dramatischer Gedichte den Beschuldigungen der Kunstrichter blosgestellt haben: so hoffe ich, es werde einigermaßen zum Beweise dienen können, daß es gar wohl möglich sey, ganz regelmäßige

²⁴⁸ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen. Mit einem Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele begleitet* (Leipzig: Rothe, 1749), 164-165. Contrary to previous assertions in the Arminius reception literature (e.g., Barbon and Plachta; Prieur; Kösters; Quattrocchi), *Thusnelde* was not written for intended performance at the Hamburg opera in 1738. In the autobiography that he submitted to Mattheson’s *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740), Scheibe counts among his works “eine Oper; welche letztere aber nicht aufgeführt werden konnte: weil die Opern allhier in Hamburg eben zu der Zeit eingingen, da sie zum Vorschein kommen sollte” (315). Since Scheibe does not provide the name of this work, it was long assumed to be *Thusnelde*—which until recently was the only operatic text attributed to him. Subsequent archival research, however, reveals Scheibe as the author of *Artaban*, the work whose production was aborted by the closure of the Hamburg opera. See Reinhart Meyer, *Bibliographia dramatica et dramaticorum* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2010), 2:10:361.

²⁴⁹ On Scheibe’s approach to reconciling the operatic genre with the dramatic principles dictated by Gottsched, see Gloria Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 116-122.

Opern zu machen.”²⁵⁰ Moreover, by offering the German-speaking *Thusnelde* as an exemplar for the proper construction of such quantifiably “good” librettos, Scheibe also envisions the rise of a viable new market for German opera among the public: “Einige mäßige Anzahl sehr guter und regelmäßiger deutscher Opern würde alsdann die Opernunternehmer in Deutschland zwingen, auch in unsrer deutschen Sprache Opern aufzuführen.”²⁵¹

Given Scheibe’s recent dismissal from his post as Danish Kapellmeister following the shift in musical tastes that accompanied the change in regime from Christian VI to Frederik V (the new king favored the very kind of hodgepodge French and Italian entertainments that Scheibe detested), the dedication of this work to Philippine Charlotte suggests on the one hand a strategic motivation. For in order to realize his intended goal of advancing the development of German opera in Germany, Scheibe obviously stood in need of patronage. In spite of his experience in Denmark, he nevertheless continued to look to the relative stability of the courts, not the fickle trends of commercial enterprise, as the most suitable guarantors and advocates for the future of German opera. As he writes in the *Vorbericht*, “die deutschen Tonkünstler werden die Vorurtheile, die man einmal wegen der sogenannten italienischen Musik gefaßt hat, nicht besser übern Haufen werfen, und ihre eigene Größe nicht nachdrücklicher behaupten können, als wenn sie durch Unterstützung grosser Fürsten, es dahin bringen sollten, daß endlich auch gute deutsche Singspiele auf den Opernbühnen in Deutschland zum Vorschein kämen.”²⁵² To this end, Philippine Charlotte—known for her active interest in the promotion of German intellectual life and letters at Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel—surely must have struck Scheibe as the best catalyst for such a project. In describing the genesis of *Thusnelde*, Scheibe alludes to certain practical considerations that led him to revisit and amend an earlier work for the occasion:

²⁵⁰ Scheibe, *Thusnelde*, 71-72

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 75.

Es sind schon verschiedene Jahre her, daß ich ein kleines dramatisches Gedicht unter dem Titel: *Hermann, ein Singspiel*, drucken ließ. Ich habe vor itzo, da es der Zusammenhang gewisser Umstände erforderte, eine Oper zu machen, selbiges wieder hervorgesuchet, und in diese Gestalt, in der es nunmehr erscheinet, umgegossen. Es ist also daraus ein ganz neues Singspiel, nämlich gegenwärtige Oper, *Thusnelde*, geworden. Ich glaube, man wird die Fehler, die in jenem Stücke waren, vergessen haben, oder nur nicht mehr anrechnen, da ich meines Bedünkens jetzo alle Sorge getragen habe, dieses Stück so auszubilden, wie es einem regelmäßigen Stücke so anständig ist, und also die alten Fehler gänzlich zu vermeiden, und zu verbessern. Es ist aber daraus ein solches Stück entstanden, welches mit dem ersten nichts anders gemein hat, als daß die Fabel desselben einigermaßen zum Grunde geleyet worden, und daß etwa ein paar hundert Zeilen in beyden Stücken einige Aehnlichkeit mit einander haben mögen.²⁵³

While a direct comparison with the earlier “Hermann, ein Singspiel” is not possible (the libretto is not currently known to be extant), Scheibe nevertheless makes it clear that he has subjected this work to an extreme makeover (including sex reassignment), correcting its faults in accordance with the dramatic principles he espouses. However, since he does not explain more precisely the nature of the “Zusammenhang gewisser Umstände” that necessitated the creation of a new opera, Scheibe leaves the direct impetus for this project open to speculation. Did he undertake it primarily to support his theoretical ideas? Or were more practical considerations at play, such as securing another position at court? Scheibe drops a clue—albeit another vague one—following an explication of how he fashioned the opera plot: “Wie ich aber den Knoten entwickelt, warum ich das Stück, *Thusnelde* genennet, und es nur in vier Aufzüge abgetheilet habe, alles dieses wird am besten aus dem Zusammenhange und aus der Einrichtung zu sehen seyn.”²⁵⁴ Surely the change of the work’s name from *Hermann* to *Thusnelde* primarily reflects the choice of Philippine Charlotte as its dedicatee. Indeed, Scheibe depicts an imagined encounter of the two women in the dedicatory *Sinngedicht* that precedes the work: “Voll Ehrfurcht, voll Entzücken, / Erhabenste! als ihrer Richterinn, / Naht Dir Thusnelde sich, naht sie sich Deinen Blicken.”²⁵⁵ It is therefore possible that the unspecified “Zusammenhang gewisser Umstände” which prompted Scheibe to unearth and reanimate his previous

²⁵³ Ibid., 65.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 69-70.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 5. This *Sinngedicht* is also reprinted in the Catalog Appendix, I.13.1749.

Arminius opera could refer to the same “Zusammenhänge” that led to him to promote Thusnelde to its title character—namely that Scheibe was in active search of a new patron and therefore prepared the work as a kind of targeted job application.

Regardless of whether an eye toward such an employment opportunity motivated his production of *Thusnelde*, Scheibe’s choice of subject matter nevertheless reveals a keen awareness of the connection between this narrative and its dedicatee. It is of course a recognizably “German” story, which makes it especially relevant to Scheibe’s professed agenda for the furtherance of German opera in general. However Philippine Charlotte was not just any potential German patron to whom such a work might equally have been directed; rather she was both descended from and married into the Welf dynasty, which claimed a special territorial and (imagined) ancestral bond with the ancient Cherusci.²⁵⁶ This connection receives explicit mention in the culminating fourth act, after the main conflicts of the plot have been resolved and the double marriages of Herrmann and Thusnelde, and Sigismund and Ismene, are about to be celebrated. Suddenly the high priestess Adelheit enters with a prophetic message delivered to her in a dream by the earth goddess Hertha:

Die Göttinn redete: Geh auf die Wahlstadt hin!
 Du sollst den deutschen Helden
 Des Feldherrn Glück, des Landes Schicksal melden.
 Der Sieg, der sie erfreut, der Fürsten Eheband
 Stammt von der Gottheit her. Die römischen Legionen
 Gab sie in eure Hand.
 Das deutsche Feld sollt ihr, nicht römisches Volk, bewohnen.
 Rom selbst wird noch von euren Söhnen
 Die Helden später Zeit bekrönen.
 Man sieht alsdann die römischen Lorberreiser
 Auf Scheiteln deutscher Kaiser.
 Cheruskens Stamm wird noch Europens größten Theil,

²⁵⁶ Later in her long life, Philippine Charlotte was the dedicatee of another Arminius-themed poetic work, probably on the occasion of her birthday (see Catalog Index IV.04). In this Italian-language solo cantata from 1774, the ghost of Arminio revisits the Hercynian Forest and the site of the battlefield where he defeated Varus. Expressing his content that contemporary Germany is still filled with heroes who will defend it from enemies, Arminio then praises Philippine Charlotte as both the descendant and the mother of these heroes. Indeed, all of Philippine Charlotte’s sons who survived into adulthood—Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (1735–1806), Friedrich August (1740–1805), Albrecht Heinrich (1742–1761), Wilhelm Adolf (1745–1770), and Maximilian Julius Leopold (1752–1785)—served in the Prussian military, several as high-ranking officers.

Ja, fast die halbe Welt regieren.
 Er wird, zu vieler Völker Heil,
 Den weitgestreckten Zepter führen.
 Ja, Gothe, Scythe, Britt, auch Hunne, Wend, Sarmate
 Vermehren eure Macht. Mit dieser Völker Kronen
 Soll ihrer Enkel Zahl die späteste Zeit belohnen.
 So lange sie an Tugend und an Muth
 Den Völkern mancher Art ein lehrreich Beyspiel werden:
 So lange sey ihr Heldenblut
 Das Haupt des größten Theils der Erden.²⁵⁷

The references here to the German inheritance of the Roman empire (*translatio imperii*) are coupled with the more specific legacy of “Cheruskens Stamm,” which “wird noch Europens größten Theil, / Ja, fast die halbe Welt regieren.” This projected vision of German hegemony therefore is not limited merely to the Holy Roman Empire, but rather inflated to include other territories that will come under its benevolent influence (“zu vieler Völker Heil”). The subsequent list of specific groups that will multiply the power of “Cheruskens Stamm” in fact encodes a message pronouncing the ultimate triumphs of the Welf dynasty: “Wend” and “Sarmate” refer to the acquisition of Prussia by the Hohenzollerns (so tightly linked with the Welfs), while “Britt” obviously evokes the ascent of the House of Hanover to gain the throne of Great Britain together with its overseas empire of colonial possessions. Read within the context of Welf representational practices, the work thus proclaims Philippine Charlotte, together with her ancestors and descendants, as the direct beneficiary of this inheritance.

²⁵⁷ Scheibe, *Thusnelde*, 164-165.

Coda

Enter the Bards: New Songs, New Visions of the German Nation

Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat.

—Tacitus, *De origine et situ germanorum*.

In den grauesten Zeiten der deutschen Geschichte, so bald nur Deutschland anfang ein Volk zu werden, — hörte man schon von [der Deutschen] Neigung zur Tonkunst.

—Ch. F. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*.

Wir wollen uns daher nicht verwundern, wenn wir sehen, daß einerley Neigung zum Gesange heute zu Tage Nationen nicht vereinigt, welche so ausgebreitet sind, als die griechischen Nationen es nicht waren; Nationen, welche verschiedene Sprachen reden; Nationen endlich, welche in der Art zu empfinden unter sich eben so verschieden sind, als in der Art zu sehen und zu denken.

Es ist der Natur gemäß, daß jede dieser Nationen in ihrem Gesange und in ihrer Musik das Merkmaal dieses Nationalcharacters aufzuweisen habe, der ihr Genie, ihre Sitten, ihre Gebräuche und ihre Gewohnheiten von andern unterscheidet.

—in P.-J. Grosley, *Neue Nachrichten oder Anmerkungen über Italien und über die Italiener*.

In spite of Scheibe's earnest attempt to infuse the German *Singspiel* with new life by means of the Arminius narrative, his own *Thusnelde* was born without a voice, since there is no evidence that Scheibe ever completed a musical setting of this text. Yet its potential apparently remained in his consciousness for several years to come.¹ In an article submitted to Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's music journal *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* in 1754, Scheibe offers an extensive analysis of his own libretto—which, he is quick to point out, is still available in bookstores for purchase—with special regard to the musical possibilities that it presents to the attentive composer.² One example from this tutorial will suffice here. Scheibe opens the *Singspiel*

¹ On the brief musical example that Scheibe included in his treatise “Abhandlung über das Recitativ” (1764), and which he claimed was taken from the “revised” version of his *Thusnelde*, see Catalog Index I.13.1749.

² [Johann Adolph Scheibe], “Thusnelde, ein Singspiel, in vier Aufzügen,” *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 1 (1754): 93-141.

with a large-scale chorus consisting of bards, druids, and German warriors, all of whom celebrate the victory over the Romans that Herrmann has just accomplished:

Alle.

Es lebe Fürst Herrmann! es lebe der Held.

Die Barden und Druiden.

Allwissender Gottheit vorsehendes Rathen,
Entzünde noch ferner zu glücklichen Thaten
Den starken, den weisen, den wachsamem Held!

Alle.

Es lebe der Herzog! es lebe der Held!

Die Helden und Soldaten.

Der goldenen Freyheit siegprangende Zeichen
Entspringen und blühen aus feindlichen Leichen.
Erhebet, ihr Völker! den mächtigen Held!

Alle.

Es lebe Fürst Herrmann! es lebe der Held!³

In his commentary on this chorus, Scheibe offers the following observations:

Die Einrichtung dieses Chores, da es wie ein Rondeau kann componiret werden, ist sehr schön. Ueberhaupt wünschte ich, daß man die in den kleinen französischen Stücken vorkommende Denckungsart nicht so sehr vernachlässigte, die Characters derselben beybehalte, und nur mehr Reichthum, Kühnheit und Stärke in den Ausdruck brächte. Man dürfte sich auch nicht in so enge Grenzen einschliessen, als die Franzosen diesen Stücken gegeben haben. ... Die in diesem Singspiel enthaltenen Tutti sind nach Art der alten Chöre, und werden die Acteurs oder Sänger dabey allerley rührende Bewegungen des Körpers machen können, so wie solches bey den Alten geschah; welche pantomimische Stellungen sie Tanzen nannten. In den italiänischen Opern ist man zufrieden, wenn der Chor nur schreyt, und das oftmals noch schlecht genug.⁴

In acknowledging his inspiration from the dramatic traditions of French opera (in which such choruses played a much larger role than in their Italian counterparts), Scheibe makes clear that he does not wish the prospective composer to dispense with the essential character of the foreign model, but rather to enhance it with “mehr Reichthum, Kühnheit und Stärke” in its expression. Scheibe also envisions in his dramaturgy—in contrast to the often static, emotionless performances of similar choruses in French opera—that the

³ Ibid., 100.

⁴ Ibid., 101.

singers should actively engage with the scene through movement on stage.⁵ While Scheibe criticizes the French and Italian traditions for what he views as their inattention to dramatic expressivity and good taste, he does not so much advocate a radical departure from these operatic forms as much as he desires to improve them through an infusion of dramatic verisimilitude. Thus although there is little that could be called innovative in Scheibe's prescriptive approach to the *Singspiel* (being more concerned with adhering to classical rules than experimenting with new forms), had a performance of his *Thusnelde* been realized, it would have marked a significant development in the musical reception history of the Arminius narrative and perhaps in the overall history of German opera.

Even without a production, however, it is possible that this libretto did indeed exert an impact beyond its seemingly stillborn existence. For Scheibe maintained close connections to the group of German expatriates who were attracted to Copenhagen as it became a center of German cultural activity in the 1750s and 1760s under the aegis of the German-Danish statesman Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff (1712–1772). Among the intellectuals who made up this so-called Copenhagen circle were Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg (1737–1823) and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803), both of whom displayed a keen interest in the potential means of expression inherent in music and poetry as a way to assert a uniquely Nordic identity in opposition to rigidified classical forms. In Klopstock's case—bolstered by the pan-European vogue for the “rediscovered” primitive Celtic bard Ossian—an awakening scholarly interest in Nordic mythology and the ancient *Germanen* (whom he conflated with the Celts) led to a professed renunciation of Greek poetic topoi. “Ich hatte in einigen meiner ältern Oden griechische Mythologie,” he writes in a letter to the Jesuit scholar and Ossian translator Michael Denis in 1767, “ich habe sie herausgeworfen, und sowohl in diese als in einige neuere die Mythologie unserer Vorfahren gebracht.”⁶ The sentiments expressed in the

⁵ On the French traditions of choruses “as tidy and still as organ pipes,” see Thomas Betzwieser, “Musical Setting and Scenic Movement: Chorus and ‘chœur dansé’ in Eighteenth-Century Parisian Opéra,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12 (2000): 3-4.

⁶ Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Briefe 1767–1772*, ed. Klaus Hurlebusch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), V:1:24. The Scotsman James Macpherson (1736–1796) began publishing his “translations” of ancient Gaelic texts in the 1760s (*Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, 1760; *Fingal*, 1761; *Temora*, 1763); Macpherson attributed the latter two works to a third-century Celtic bard called Ossian. The collected

ode “Der Hügel und der Hain” (1767) exemplify this desire to assert an alternative paradigm to the classical Greek pantheon and Greek poetic tradition, as the modern poetic speaker ultimately rejects the distant rarefied legacy of Parnassus (*der Hügel*) in order to recover the wild *Urpoesie* of the native homeland (*der Hain*):

Des Hügels Quell ertönet von Zeus,
 Von Wodan, der Quell des Hains.
 Weck' ich aus dem alten Untergange Götter
 Zu Gemälden des fabelhaften Liedes auf;

So haben die in Teutoniens Hain
 Edlere Züge für mich!
 Mich weilet dann der Achäer Hügel nicht;
 Ich gehe zu dem Quell des Hains!⁷

The sacral-prophetic authority of the bard—an allusion to the vital importance of the poet in society—assumes its greatest prominence in Klopstock’s *Hermanns Schlacht: Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne* (1769), the first work of an eventual trilogy of Arminius dramas (followed by *Hermann und die Fürsten* in 1784, and *Hermanns Tod* in 1787).⁸ With this work Klopstock sought to revive the poetic legacy of the Celtic-Germanic bards through the creation of a new genre, as he notes in his explanation of the word *bardiet* in the textual apparatus to *Hermanns Schlacht*:

(barditus. Tac. Marcell. Veget.) Barde, Bardiet, wie Bardd, Barddas, in derjenigen neuern celtischen Sprache, die noch jetzt in Wallis gesprochen wird, und mit der unsre älteste vermuthlich verwandt war. In jener bedeutet Barddas die mit der Geschichte verbundene Poesie. Wir haben Barde nicht untergehen lassen, und was hindert uns, Bardiet wieder aufzunehmen? Wenigstens habe ich kein

Works of Ossian appeared in 1765. From the time of their initial publication, questions about the authenticity of these texts inspired considerable debate, but Ossian nevertheless exerted a major influence on European literature and other arts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004). The Austrian Michael Denis (1729–1800) prepared the first complete German translation of Ossian (*Die Gedichte Ossians, eines alten celtischen Dichters, aus dem Englischen übersetzt*, 1768–69), although Klopstock seems to have already become familiar with the works by 1764. On Klopstock’s early reception of Ossian, see Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, “Homer des Nordens” und “Mutter der Romantik”: *James Macphersons Ossian und seine Rezeption in der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 1:502-526.

⁷ [Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock], “Der Hügel und der Hain,” in *Oden* (Hamburg: Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, 1771; repr., Bern: Herbert Lang, 1971), 258-259. See also Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Oden*, ed. Horst Gronemeyer and Klaus Hurlebusch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), Werke I.1.300-304.

⁸ For synopses of these dramas, see Catalog Index II.09 (*Hermanns Schlacht*); II.15 (*Hermann und die Fürsten*); and II.16 (*Hermanns Tod*).

eigentlicheres und kein deutsches Wort finden können, eine Art der Gedichte zu benennen, deren Inhalt aus den Zeiten der Barden seyn, und deren Bildung so scheinen muß. Ohne mich auf die Theorie dieser Gedichte einzulassen, merke ich nur noch an, daß der Bardiet die Charaktere und die vornehmsten Theile des Plan aus der Geschichte unsrer Vorfahren nimmt, daß seine seltneren Erdichtungen sich sehr genau auf die Sitten der gewählten Zeit beziehen, und daß er nie ganz ohne Gesang ist.⁹

Bardic song—visualized through the image of the solitary Ossian plucking his harp in the wilds of a Nordic landscape—especially fired the patriotic imaginations of the younger generation of German literati, a group of whom established the short-lived *Göttinger Hainbund*, rejected foreign French models, and eagerly embraced the perceived native spirit of Klopstock’s poetry. Bardic song—“die mit der Geschichte verbundene Poesie,” as Klopstock explains it—purported to retrieve an antiquity that could boast of its own glorious deeds and heroes, and to reclaim an ancient Nordic-Germanic mythological system as a viable trove for modern poetic material. However, bardic song—capable of rousing men to battle, inciting bloody acts of violence, and celebrating the utter destruction of the enemy—also produced considerable dissonance when sounded against the dulcet precepts of Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s famous aesthetic ideals of a noble simplicity (“edle Einfalt”) and quiet grandeur (“stille Größe”) that proved so influential in the second half of the eighteenth century, including the sphere of musical tastes.

Indeed, in his efforts to secure composers who would provide suitable musical settings of these choruses, Klopstock insisted that they maintain an utmost simplicity of style—an approach that seemingly contradicts the intended dramatic impact of the songs (namely to inspire the warriors to throw themselves into the heat of battle). Perhaps it is this contradiction that prevented more composers from approaching the material. Yet Klopstock’s innovations with poetic meter (“freie Rhythmen”) also made musical settings more complicated; even the celebrated composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787), who took an immediate interest in *Hermanns Schlacht*, was initially confounded by the irregular meters that prevented a strophic setting of the choruses. Ignaz Matt—the secretary of the imperial ambassador to Denmark, and an important agent who mediated

⁹ Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Hermann-Dramen*, ed. Mark Emanuel Amtstätter (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), VI:1:145.

Klopstock's efforts to lobby Emperor Joseph II for the creation of a learned academy of the arts ("Wiener Plan")—reports in a letter from December 1768 that he had delivered the texts of Klopstock's *Hermanns Schlacht* choruses (before the work's initial publication the following year) to Gluck in Vienna for his consideration. "Er schien voller Freude zu seyn, auch einen Theil an diesem vaterländischen Stücke so gering er auch ist, nehmen zu können," Matt writes of Gluck's reaction.¹⁰ A few days later, however, as Matt relates, the composer discovered "eine Menge Schwierigkeiten" in the composition process:

... jede Stroffe [müßte] sich selber gleich seyn, das heißt, die musikalischen Nachdrucke müßten in dem zweyten Verse einer Stroffe auf die nemliche Syllbe kommen, als in dem ersten, und weil alle Musick bey allen Völkern auf die letzt allemal fiel: so könnte auch kein solcher Nachdruck auf die letzte Syllbe einer Stroffe kommen, ja es müßten so gar aus eben der Ursach, alle männlichen Ausgänge, so viel möglich, verhütet werden, es wäre dann, setzte er hinzu, Sie wollten alles in Rezitatif haben, und das würde er Ihnen nie rathen.¹¹

Gluck's initial approach to the work was therefore governed by the expectation of a traditional strophic construction—like that composed by Scheibe in his opening chorus to *Thusnelde*—that would allow him to set all strophes of a chorus to the same music. Yet in spite of this complication, further epistolary evidence suggests that in continuing to compose music for Klopstock's choruses, Gluck's enthusiasm for the work only grew, as Matt reports once again a year later in December 1769:

[Gluck] ist so von [*Hermanns Schlacht*] eingenommen, daß, wenn es sonsten noch starke Empfehlungen nöthig gehabt hätte, um ihn zur Verfertigung der Musick dazu zu engagiren, es jztz keine weitere mehr braucht, als allein der Hermann selbst. Er hat es mir recht mit einem Eyfer versprochen, daß er es übernehmen wolle, die Musick zu machen. Nur müsse man ihm Gedult lassen.... Auch sollen Sie ihm sagen lassen, was eigentlich die alten Deutschen für musikalische Instrumenten gehabt—er will alles nach ihrem Sinne nach den Zeiten richten.¹²

This passage reveals a considerable shift in Gluck's creative approach to the work, as he expresses an antiquarian interest in the musical instruments that would have been known

¹⁰ Klopstock, *Briefe 1767–1772*, V.I.71.60-62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V.I.71.83-90.

¹² *Ibid.*, V.I.143.56-72.

to the ancient Germans, as if he were imagining the need for a new sound in order to convey the authentic spirit of the work.

This willingness to move toward the exotic and away from the familiar conventions of contemporary musical taste certainly carried some element of risk—a fact that Gluck himself recognized and to which he alluded a few years later in his first letter to Klopstock on the subject. “Der Pater [Michael] Denis hat mir zu wißen gebracht,” writes Gluck in this letter from August 1773, “daß Sie ein Verlangen tragen, diejenigen Strophen, so ich über Dero Herrmanns Schlacht componiret, zu erhalten. Ich hätte Ihnen schon lange damit gedienet, wenn ich nicht geometrisch versichert wäre, daß viele keinen Geschmack daran finden würden, weil sie mit einem gewissen Anstand müßen gesungen werden, welcher noch nicht sehr in der Mode ist . . .”¹³ While Gluck himself does not provide more details regarding this potentially unfavorable, even tasteless manner of singing, the testimony of the composer and music critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) offers valuable anecdotal evidence of its nature. Returning home from a trip to Italy in the summer of 1783, Reichardt made a stop in Vienna and paid a visit to Gluck, who performed parts of the composition for his guest. Reichardt related the experience years later in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

Zwischen den Gesängen aus der Herrmannsschlacht ahmte Gluck mehrmalen den Hörnerklang und den Ruf der Fechtenden hinter ihren Schilden nach; einmal unterbrach er sich auch, um zu sagen, dass er zu dem Gesange noch erst ein eignes Instrument erfinden müsse. —

Es ist sehr schwer, von diesen Gesängen, nach jenem Vortrage, eine deutliche Vorstellung zu geben: sie schienen fast ganz declamatorisch, sehr selten nur melodisch zu seyn. Es ist gewiss ein unersetzlicher Verlust, dass der Künstler sie nicht aufzeichnete; man hätte daran das eigene Genie des grossen Mannes gewiss am sichersten erkennen können, da er sich dabey durchaus an kein conventionelles Bedürfnis der modernen Bühne und Sänger band, sondern ganz frey seinem hohen Genius folgte, innigst durchdrungen von dem gleichen Geiste des grossen Dichters.¹⁴

Reichardt’s final evaluation here of Gluck’s genius—steeped in the Romantic notion of the artist who forges his own path, led on by the pursuit of his own singular vision—

¹³ Ibid., VI.I.79.3-8.

¹⁴ “Bruchstücke aus Reichardts Autobiographie,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15 (1813): col. 670.

echoes an earlier comment on the same subject, made before he had met the composer personally. In the first volume of his Berlin publication *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, Reichardt offers the following sketch in conjunction with a critique of the contemporary lack of “kräftige Instrumente” in compositions for the theater:

Ich muß hier einen Originalgeniezug von Gluck erzählen; er hat die Schlachtgesänge zu Klopstocks Herrmanns Schlacht komponirt, aber noch nicht aufgesetzt oder ausgearbeitet; Klopstock mit Recht besorgt, das herrliche Kunstwerk könne verloren gehen, schreibt ihm einst und führt die besten Gründe an ihm zum Vollenden des Werks zu bewegen. Darauf antwortet Gluck, uneingedenk seines hohen Alters, er müste erst neue Instrumente erfinden, die gegenwärtigen gnügten ihm nicht ganz zu seinem Werke.¹⁵

* * *

It seems a fitting way to end this coda, and likewise this dissertation, with this image of Gluck and his desire to invent new instruments with which to tell the Arminius narrative through music. In focusing the present investigation on the performance contexts of the early modern Holy Roman Empire and the elite European audiences for whom the Arminius figure possessed a particular kind of resonance, I have examined the cultural reception history of Arminius by placing it within larger narratives of continuity. Thus the cultural traditions of the “mission of Rome,” the “four monarchies,” and the “translatio imperii” underpinned and justified the Roman aspect of the German imperial institution, even as the cohesiveness of an imagined Deutschland found expression through concepts linked with geographical space, the continuity of ancestral ties, and the nature of the German character. The coexistence of these narratives was of course by no means universally accepted, and by the last third of the eighteenth century, an intensity of debate concerning what exactly constituted the German nation signaled a new direction in the development of German patriotic discourse. For example, in his publications *Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist* (1766), *Was ist: Gut Kayserlich, und: nicht gut Kayserlich?* (1766), and *Patriotische Briefe* (1767), the *Reichspatriot* Friedrich Carl von Moser (1723–1798) stirred up controversy by advocating a revival of the political strength of the emperor as the best avenue toward the renewal of a unified national spirit. Others,

¹⁵ “Ueber die musikalische Ausführung (Execution),” *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 1 (1782): 204.

however, such as the Osnabrück jurist, historian, and *Lokalpatriot* Justus Möser (1720–1794), located the true strength of the German spirit—defined in terms of liberty—in the autonomy of the individual territories.¹⁶ The writer Johann Gottwerth Müller (1743–1828), in his weekly publication *Der Deutsche* (1771), responded to Moser’s rhetorical query “Was ist gut kayserlich?” by posing what seemed to him the better (though not easily answered) question: “Was ist gut deutsch?”¹⁷ In the course of exploring the vastness of this topic, Müller repeatedly establishes “unsere Vorfahren”—that is, those ancient peoples as described by Tacitus—as the proper standard by which the contemporary German identity should be measured, as in this example, which appeals foremost to the immediate context of the emerging Romantic movement yet also cannot help but evoke a chilling presage of later horrors:

Der deutsche Geist liebt das Schauervolle und Prächtige. Die geweihten Haine unsrer Vorfahren, die Stille der Wälder, die sie zu ihrem Gottesdienste und ihren Berathschlagungen erwählten, die mit vielen Ceremonien veranstalteten Opfer ihrer Gefangenen, zeigten zwar Wildheit, aber dabey doch ein Gefühl für eine gewisse simple Pracht, die einen Schauer erregt. Da, wo unser Charakter unverfälscht ist, glaub ich noch etwas dergleichen an uns zu bemerken; Unser Volk, was von ausländischer Delicatesse nicht angesteckt ist, mag gern das schreckliche und schauervolle leiden.¹⁸

Indeed, as the stark, bloodcurdling declamation of the bards becomes more pronounced in the last third of the eighteenth century, the perceived genuineness of its wild “native” cry begins to supplant the “foreign” ornamental coloraturas of the operatic Arminius whose narratives had so often previously served as an *instrumentum regni*. With the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the structure in which these idealized narratives of sovereignty were created, and which was in turn buttressed and legitimized through them, ceased to exist. The resulting vacuum opened the way for new songs of Arminius—during the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent age of Metternich, in the context of the revolutions of 1848, and finally in the midst of the formation of a new

¹⁶ See Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2:411.

¹⁷ Johann Gottwerth Müller genannt von Itzehoe, *Der Deutsche, eine Wochenschrift* (Magdeburg: Hechtel, 1771), 287.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 294.

German Empire in 1871—that crafted their message with the nascent patriotic consciousness of a bourgeois public in mind, not the representational practices of the aristocracy. If we carry to a metaphorical level Gluck’s desire for new instruments as a means for achieving his vision of Klopstock’s *Hermanns Schlacht*, then we might say that they arrived as the song of Arminius was instrumentalized and adapted within the transformed political and cultural contexts of a Germany in search of its lost identity. Characterized by *Harfenklang* and *Schlachtgesang*, these songs, which remain to be explored in the continuation of this larger investigation, would create new tones for the singing of Arminius:

Wirst du mir gnug Accorde geben,
 O Harfe? Bist du nicht zu schwach?
 Laß sich all’ deine Töne häufen;
 Sprich, wie der Lerm des Treffens sprach!
 O daß sie, wie von unsern Bögen
 Die Pfeile, lieblich säuselnd flögen,
 Und brächten hohe Siegerlust
 In alle deutsche Herzen,
 Wie jene, in des Feindes Brust
 Des Lebens letzte Schmerzen!
 Wohlauf! Heb’ an die große Schlacht!¹⁹

¹⁹ [Karl Friedrich Kretschmann], *Der Gesang Ringulphs des Barden* (Leipzig: Dyck, 1769), 61.

Bibliography

I. Primary Sources

A. Early Modern Narratives of Arminius (Printed Sources; Arranged Chronologically)

Note:

Citations denoted with an asterisk (*) and a catalog number in brackets are cross-referenced to the corresponding entry in the Catalog Index of Appendix A. This Index should be consulted regarding any surviving music sources for a particular work. Archival sources of manuscript material are provided here only in exceptional cases, namely if no printed source of a work's text is extant.

Citations of opera librettos begin simply with the title of the work instead of the name of the poet, since these texts—even when based on the same narrative—underwent much adaptation. See the Catalog Index for closer examination of the relationships among librettos based on a single narrative. Non-operatic texts are, however, introduced by the author's name.

If a text is readily available in a modern edition or reprint, this information is provided in a bracketed annotation on the line following the citation.

While this list is not exhaustive, it does include all of the works discussed or referenced in this dissertation; its main focus is the period between 1600 and 1800.

- 1529 Hutten, Ulrich von. *Arminius Dialogus Huttenicus. Quo homo patriae amantissimus, Germanorum laudem celebravit*. Haguenau: Johann Setzer, 1529. [Edition, translation, and commentary: Richard Ernest Walker, *Ulrich von Hutten's Arminius: An English Translation with Analysis and Commentary* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008)]
- 1535 Spalatin, Georg. *Von dem thewren Deutschen Fürsten Arminio ein kurtzer auszug aus glaubwird. lat. Historien*. Wittenberg, 1535.
- 1539 Cincinnius, Johannes. *VAn der niderlage drijer Legionen vn[d] meren Römische[n] krijßfolcks/ mit jrem Capiteano Quintilio Varo/ by tyden der gebort Christi/ vnd Julio Cesare/ vnd Octauiano Augusto/ gescheit in Westphalen/ tuschen den wateren der Emesen vnd der Lippen/ by den Retborge vnd jn der Delbruggen*. Cologne: Quentel, 1539.
- 1543 Waldis, Burkhard. *Vrsprung und Herkumen der zwölff ersten alten König und Fürsten Deutscher Nation/ wie und zu welchen zeyten jr yeder Regiert hat*. Nuremberg: Guldenmundt, 1543.
- 1566 *Johannis Auentini Des hochgelerten weitberümbten Beyerischen Geschichtschreibers Chronica: Darinn nit allein deß gar alten Hauß Beyern Keiser, Könige, Hertzogen, Fürsten, Graffen, Freyherrn Geschlechte, Herkommen, Stam[m] vnd Geschichte, sondern auch der vralten Teutschen Vrsprung, Herkom[m]en, Sitten, Gebreuch, Religion, man[n]liche vnd treffliche*

Thaten ... zum fleissigsten beschriben vn[d] ... zusammen getragen vnd in acht Bücher getheilt ; Anfenglich durch den Authorem in Latein verfertigt, hernachmals aber ... in gut gemein hoch Teutsch gebracht, gemehrt vnd gebessert, zuvor nie in druck außgangen; Jetzundt aber dem Gemeinen nutz zum besten, der Teutschen Nation zu ruhm, vnd dem löblichen Hauß Pfalz vnd Beyern zu preiß vnd ehr publiciert vnd an den tag gegeben. Frankfurt am Main: Raben, Feyerabend and Han, 1566.

[Edition: Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Matthias Lexer, vol. 4 of *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke* (Munich: Kaiser, 1883)]

- 1640 Hagelgans, Johann Heinrich. *Deß thewren Fürsten vnd Beschürmers Teutscher Freiheit Arminii glorwürdige Thaten [...]*. Nuremberg: Endter, 1640.
- 1642 Moscherosch, Johann Michael. *Visiones de don Quevedo: Wunderliche und warhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt [...]*. Strasbourg: Mülben, 1642.
[Edition: Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Wunderliche und Wahrhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1986)]
- 1644 Scudéry, Georges de. *Arminius ou les frères ennemis*. Paris: Quinet & Sercy, 1644.
- 1647 La Calprenède, Gautier de Coste, chevalier de. *Cléopâtre*. 12 vols. Paris: Courbé, 1647–58.
[Facsimile: Gautier de Coste, chevalier de la Calprenède, *Cléopâtre*, 6 vols. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1979)]
- 1647 Rist, Johann. *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland in einem Schauspiele öffentlich vorgestellet und beschrieben*. [Augsburg], 1647. [*II.02.1647]
[Edition: Johann Rist, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eberhard Mannack (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 1-203]
- 1648 Schottelius, Justus Georgius. *Neu erfundenes Freudenspiel, genandt Friedens Sieg [...]*. Wolfenbüttel: Buno, 1648. [*II.01.1642]
[Facsimile published in the WDB: Wolfenbüttler Digitale Bibliothek; permanent link: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/lo6992/start.htm>]
- 1676 *Germanico sul Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro Vendramino di San Salvatore l'anno 1676. Di Giulio Cesare Corradi. Consacrato all'altezza serenissima del sig. prencipe di Monaco duca di Valentinese, pari di Francia etc.* Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1676. [*I.01.1676]
- 1677 *Germanico sul Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Ducal Palazzo di Milano. Dedicata all'ecc.ma principessa Clara Maria di Nasau,*

principessa di Ligne, d'Amblice, e del Sacro Imperio, sovrana di Faignoles, etc.
Milan: Filippo Ghisolfi, 1677. [*I.01.1677a]

- 1677 *Germanico sul Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Ducal Teatro di Modona. Dedicato all'altezza serenissima di Francesco Secondo duca di Modona, Reggio etc.* Reggio: Prospero Vedrotti, 1677. [*I.01.1677b]
- 1680 *Germanico sul Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi in bologna nel Teatro del Publico l'anno 1680. Dedicato al merito impareggiabile dell'illusstriss. sig. conte Ercole Pepoli, conte di Castiglione, Bargazza e Spari etc.* Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1680. [*I.01.1680a]
- 1680 *Germanico sul Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Rimino l'anno 1680. Consacrato alla generosa munificenza dell'eminentiss. e reverendis. sig. cardinale Lorenzo Raggi, legato di Romagna.* Forlì: Gioseffo Selva, 1680. [*I.01.1680b]
- 1683 *Il Germanico al Reno. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Palermo nel presente anno 1683. Consacrato al sig. D. Vingenzo Pilo e Bologna conte di Capace del consiglio di S.M., capitano e giusitiario della medesima città.* Palermo: Giacomo Epiro, ad istanza di Antonio Protopapa, 1683. [*I.01.1683]
- 1684 Campistron, Jean Galbert de. *Arminius, tragedie.* Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684.
[Edition: Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Tragédies (1684-1685): Arminius, Andronic, Alcibiade*, ed. Jean-Philippe Gersperrin and Jean-Noël Pascal (Toulouse: Société de Littératures Classiques, 2002), 1-65]
- 1689 Lohenstein, Daniel Casper von. *Großmüthiger Feldherr Arminius oder Hermann, als ein tapfferer Beschirmer der deutschen Freyheit, nebst seiner durchlauchtigen Thußnelda in einer sinnreichen Staats-, Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte dem Vaterlande zu Liebe, dem deutschen Adel aber zu Ehren und rühmlichen Nachfolge in zwey Theilen vorgestellt, und mit annehmlichen Kupffern gezieret.* Leipzig: J. F. Bleditsch, 1689–1690.
[Reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973]
- 1691 *Dramma Musicale Chi la dura la vince. Dedicata con humil.mo ossequio all'altezza rev.ma di monsig.r Giovanni Ernesto arcivescovo, e prencipe di Salisburgo, legato della S. Sede Ap.ca in Roma, Primate della Germania et conte di Thun, dall'humil.mo e divot.mo servo Henrico Franc.co di Bibern maestro di capella della med.ma altezza.* Salzburg. Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg, Hs 560. [*I.03.1691x]
- 1697 *Arminius, der Teutschen Erz-Held. In einer Opera aufgeföhret und der Römischen Käyserlichen Majestät Leopold dem Grossen allerunterthänigst gewiedmet und*

- zugeeignet von Christof Adam Negelein Käyserl. gekrönten Poeten und des löbl. gekrönten Blumen-Ordens benahmten Celadon.* Nuremberg: Endter, 1697. [*I.04.1697]
- 1698 *Il Germanico al Reno. Festa teatrale.* In Vol. 2 of *Delle poesie drammatiche di Giovanni Andrea Moniglia*, 219-293. Florence: Vincenzo Vangelisti, 1698. [*I.02.1690x]
- 1700 *La pace generosa. Drama per musica da recitarsi nel famoso Teatro di S. Salvatore l'anno 1700. Poesia di Francesco Silvani servidore di S.A.S. di Mantova. Consagrato all'altezza sereniss. di Carlo Enrico di Lorena, principe di Vaudemont, conte di Rieth, Sarwerden, Falkenstein, e Walham, baron di Fenestrangle, signor di Flobecq, Lessines, Ninone, e Waure, Cavagliero dell'insigne ordine del Toson d'Oro, gentiluomo della camera di S.M.Cat. del suo consiglio di stato, suo governatore, e capitano generale dello stato, & essercito di Milano.* Venice: Nicolini, 1700. [*I.05.1700]
- 1700 *Arminius Germaniae Vindex, Primus Augusti Cæsaris Victor. In scenam dabitur ab eloquentiæ studiosis in Gymnasio Societatis Iesu.* Perioche. Bruges: Beernaert, 1700. [*II.03.1700]
- 1701 Adolph, Johann Baptist. *Amor Patriae / sive / Arminius, / Germaniae Defensor.* Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Pal. Vindob. 9809, fol. 26r-83r. [*II.04.1701]
- 1701 *La pace generosa. Drama per musica da recitarsi nel Teatro di San Sebastiano in Livorno l'anno 1701. Consacrato all'altezza reale di Violante-Beatrice di Toscana.* Livorno: Iac. Valsisi, 1701. [*I.05.1701]
- 1703 *Arminio. Dramma per musica rappresentato nella Villa di Pratolino.* Florence: Pietro Antonio Brigonci, 1703. [*I.06.1703]
- 1704 *Germanicus wurde mit Königl. Majestät in Pohlen und Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen Allernädigster Verwilligung auf dem Leipziger Teatro Anno 1704 in der Michaelis-Messe vorgestellet in einer Opera.* [Leipzig, 1704]. [*I.01.1704]
- 1705 *L'Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Novo presso S. Agostino l'anno 1705. Dedicato all'illustrissima signora Catterina Lercara Pallavicina.* Genoa: Antonio Casamara, 1705. [*I.06.1705]
- 1706 *Arminio. Poemetto drammatico per musica nel felicissimo giorno natalizio della Sac. Ces. Real Maestà di Giuseppe I. augustissimo Imperador de' Romani.* In *Poemi drammatici di Pietro Antonio Bernardoni poeta cesareo, et accademico arcade, gelato, scomposto, animoso, & acceso. Parte prima consagrata*

- all'altezza serenissima del signor Principe di Toscana, 253-273. Bologna: Costantino Pisarri, 1706. [*I.07.1706]*
- 1706 *Die Errettete Unschuld/ oder: Germanicus Römischer General/ in einem Singe-Spiel auff dem Grossen Hamburgischen Schau-Platz vorgestellt. Hamburg, 1706. [*I.01.1706]*
- 1707 *Arminio. Tragedia per musica rappresentata alla corte elettorale palatina il carnevale dell'anno 1707. Düsseldorf. Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Bip.Msc.17; British Library, London, R.M.23.f.15; University of Western Ontario, London, MUSGMA MZ1270. [*I.08.1707]*
- 1708 A.L. and H.S. von ****. *Der Durchlauchtigste Fürst und tapfere Beschirmer Teuscher [sic] Freyheit Arminius, in welchem nicht allein dieses großen Heldens gloriwürdige Thaten in zweyen Theilen/ sondern auch vorhero das Stück Teutschlandes zwischen dem Rhein und der Elbe/ wie es bald nach des Röm. Käysers Augusti Zeiten bewohnt gewesen/ samt nothwendiger Erklärung der alten Teutschen Völcker/ aus denen besten Historicis kurtz/ doch deutlich/ in teutscher Sprache/ mit behöriger Land-Charte vorgestellt werden. Leipzig: Groschuff, 1708.*
- 1710 *Germanicus, wurde mit Ihr. Kön. Majestät in Pohlen, Churfl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Allergnädigsten Verwilligung Leipziger Schau-Platze vorgestellt in einer Opera. [Leipzig, 1710]. [*I.01.1710/20]*
- 1711 *La pace generosa. Drama per musica da recitarsi in Genova nel Teatro del Falcone l'autunno dell'anno 1711. Consagrato alle gentilissime dame, e nobilissimi cavaglieri di Genova. Genoa: Gio. Battista Scionico, 1711. [*I.05.1711]*
- 1712 *Arminio. Tragedia di monsù Capistrone tradotta dal franzese, e recitata da' signori cavalieri del Collegio Clementino nelle vacanze del carnevale nell'anno 1712. Dedicata all'illustriss. ed eccellentiss. Sig. Il Signor D. Francesco Capece Minutolo de' duchi di San Valentino. Rome: Giovanni Francesco Chracas, 1712. [*II.05.1712]*
- 1712 *Le gare generose. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Tron di San Cassano l'autunno dell'anno 1712. A sua eccellenza il sig. Niccolò Pisani. Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1712. [*I.09.1712]*
- 1714 *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo a' 19 novembre 1714. Dedicato al merito sublima dell'eccellentiss. signora Contessa di Daun etc. vice-regina in questo Regno. Naples: Michele Luigi Muzio, 1714. [*I.06.1714]*

- 1714 *Arminio. Opera da rappresentarsi nel' Reggio Teatro di Hay-Market / Arminius. An Opera as it is Acted at the Queen's-Theatre in the Hay-Market.* London: Jacob Tonson, 1714. [*I.05.1714]
- 1716 *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nel Teatro di Via del Cocomero nel carnevale dell'anno 1716. Sotto la protezione dell'altezza reale del serenissimo gran principe di Toscana.* Florence: Antonmaria Albizzini, ad istanza di Domenico ambrogio Verdi, 1716. [*I.06.1716]
- 1716 *La pace generosa. Dramma per musica da recitarsi nel famoso Teatro della Fortuna di Fano l'anno 1716. Dedicata a sua eccellenza il signor D. Albani.* Fano: Bernardino Vigolini, 1716. [*I.05.1716]
- 1721 *Il Germanico Marte. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Corte per ordine di S.A.R. monsignor Francesco Antonio arcivescovo e prencipe di Salisburgo, prencipe del S.R.I. legato nato, della S. Sed. Apost. Primate della Germania, e prencipe d'Harrach, &c. &c. Musica del sig. Antonio Caldara vice-maestro di Cappella di S.M.C. e C..* Salzburg: Giovanni Gioseppe Mayr, 1721. [*I.10.1721]
- 1722 *Arminio. Drama per musica da recitarsi nella sala dell'ill.mo sig. Federico Capranica nel carnevale dell'anno 1722. Dedicato all'em.mo, e rev.mo principe, il sig. cardinale Nuno De Cunha inquisitore generale di tutti li regni di Portogallo.* Rome: Stamperia del Bernabò, 1722. [*I.06.1722a]
- 1722 *L'Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Sant'Angelo nell'autunno 1722. Consegrato a sua eccellenza il signor marchese Giacomo Viali nobile patrizio genovese.* Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1722. [*I.06.1722b]
- 1722 *L'Arminio. Tragedia di monsieur di Capistrone portata sulla scena italiana e dedicato all'altezza serenissima del signor principe Enrico langravio d'Assia Darmstat, principe d'Hirschfeld, conte di Catzenellenbogen, Diez, Ziegenheim, Nidda, Schavemboug, Isemboug, e Budingen, e Cavaliere dell'Insegne Ordine di S. Uberto, e recitata da' serenissimi suoi nipoti con alcune dame e cavalieri, per proprio divertimento nel Teatrino di Corte il carnovale dell'anno 1722.* Mantua: Alberto Pazzoni, 1722. [*II.05.1722]
- 1725 *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nel Teatro di Via della Pergola nel estate dell'anno 1725. Sotto la protezione dell'altezza reale di Gio. Gastone I gran duca di Toscana.* Florence, Fabio Benedetto Maria Verdi, 1725. [*I.06.1725]

- 1727 *Oratorij Aufzum Waffen! auf zum Jagen*. Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.3434-L-1. [*IV.01.1727]
- 1728 *Arminio. Drama permusica da rappresentarsi in Perugia nel Teatro de Nobili detto del Pavone nel carnevale dell'anno 1728. Dedicato alle gentilissime dame della sudetta città*. Perugia: pe'l Costantini, 1728. [*I.06.1728]
- 1730 *Arminio. Drama da rappresentarsi nel Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano in occasione di celebrarsi il giorno natalizio della Cesarea Cattolica Maestà di Elisabetta Cristina imperadrice, regina delle Spagne, etc. etc.* Milan: Giuseppe Richino Malatesta, 1730. [*I.06.1730]
- 1732 *Arminius. Musicalisch-Italiänisches Zwischen-Spiel vorgestellet auf dem von Ihro Röm. Kaiserl. und Königl. Cathol. Majestät Privilegirten Theatro in Wien 1732*. Vienna, 1732. [*I.06.1732]
- 1732 *Germanico in Germania. Drama per musica di Niccolò Coluzzi da rappresentarsi nella sala degl'illustrissimi signori Capranica nel carnevale dell'anno 1732. Dedicato al'em.mo, e rev.mo principe il signor cardinale D. Pietro Otthoboni*. Rome: Antonio de Rossi, 1732. [*I.11.1732]
- 1733 *Arminio. Drama per musica dà rappresentarsi in Alessandria nel Teatro Guasco Solerio sotto gl'alti auspici di S.S.R.M. Carlo Emanuele re' di Sardegna &c. nell'autunno dell'anno 1733*. Alessandria: Antonio Vimercati, 1733. [*I.06.1733]
- 1737 *Arminius. An Opera; as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden. Composed by Mr. Handel*. London: T. Wood, 1737. [*I.06.1737]
[Facsimile: *The Librettos of Handel's Operas*, ed. Ellen T. Harris (New York: Garland, 1989), 8:1-43]
- 1739 *La Germania trionfante in Arminio. Drama da rappresentarsi alla presenza di sua altezza reale la signora arciduchessa primogenita dell'augustissimo nostro padrone e granduchessa di Toscana ec. ec. ec.* Milan: Giuseppe Richino Malatesa, 1739. [*I.06.1739]
- 1740 *Arminio. Da cantarsi nel Teatro Privilegiato da S.M.C. e C. in Vienna nell'anno 1740. Arminius. In einem musicalischen Schau-Spiel auf dem Kais. Privileg. Theatro in Wien vorgestellet in Jahr 1740*. Vienna: Johann Peter v. Ghelen, 1740. [*I.06.1740]
- 1740 Paterson, William. *Arminius. A Tragedy. As it was to have been acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane*. London: Millar, 1740.

- 1741 *Arminio in Germania. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nel Teatro di Via della Pergola nell'estate dell'anno 1741 sotto la protezione dell'altezza reale del sereniss. Francesco III duca di Lorena e Bar, granduca di Toscana etc. dedicato alla maestà della regina d'Ungheria e di Boemia, arciduchessa d'Austria, duchessa di Lorena e Bar, granduchessa di Toscana etc. etc.* Florence: Anton Maria Albizzini, 1741. [*I.11.1741]
- 1743 Schlegel, Johann Elias. *Herrmann, ein Trauerspiel*. In *Die Deutsche Schaubühne*, edited by Johann Christoph Gottsched, 1-68. Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1743.
[Reprint: *Johann Elias Schlegels Werke*, ed. Johann Heinrich Schlegel (1771; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1971), 1:283-384]
- 1744 *Germanico. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel carnevale del 1744 alla presenza di sua maestà*. Turin: Pietro Giuseppe Zappata e figliuolo, 1744. [*I.11.1744]
- 1745 *Arminius und Thusnelda in einer Opera vorgestellt, auf dem grossen Braunschweigischen Theatro in der Laurentii-Messe, Anno 1745*. Wolfenbüttel: Bartsch, 1745. [*I.06.1745]
- 1745 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Dresda festeggiandosi il felicissimo giorno natalizio di S.R.M. Augusto III re di Pollonia, elettore di Sassonia, per comando della S.R.M. della regina. Arminio, ein Musicalisches Drama, Welches in Dreßden, als der Höchstbeglückte Geburths-Tag Ihre Majestät Augusti III. Königs in Pohlen und Chur-Fürsten zu Sachsen, feyerlichst begangen ward, auf Hohen Befehl Ihre Maj. der Königin vorgestellt worden*. Dresden: Stößelin, 1745. [*I.12.1745]
- 1746 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Berlino per ordine di sua maestà. Arminio ein Musicalisches Drama welches auf allergnädigsten Befehl Sr. Königl. Majest. von Preussen auf dem Berlinischen Schauplatz soll aufgeführt werden*. Berlin: A. Haude, 1746. [*I.12.1746/47]
- 1746 *L'Arminio Principe de Cauci e de Cherusci. Darma [sic] per musica da rappresentarsi. Arminius Fuerst der Caucier und Cheruscier, ein musicalisches Schau-spiel*. Hamburg, 1746. [*I.06.1746]
- 1747 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Privilegiato Teatro di S.S.C.R.M. in occasione del gloriosissimo giorno natalizio di S.S.C.R.M. Maria Teresa imperadrice regnante sempre augusta, regina d'Ungheria, e Boemia, arciduchessa d'Austria, duchessa di Lorena, e Baar, e gran duchessa di Toscana, &c. &c.* Vienna: Giov. Pietro van Ghelen, 1747. [*I.12.1747a]

- 1747 *Hermann und Varus. In einer Opera vorgestellt auf dem Grossen Braunschweigischen Theatro in der Sommer-Messe anno 1747.* Wolfenbüttel: Christian Bartsch, 1747. [*I.12.1747b]
- 1747 *L'Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Tron di S. Cassiano l'autunno [sic] dell'anno 1747.* Venice, 1747. [*I.06.1747]
- 1748 Krüger, Johann Christian. *Hermanns Wunsch an dem hohen Geburtsfeste des Allerdurchlauchtigsten, Großmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn George des andern, Königes von Großbritannien, u.s.w. aufgeführt zu Hannover 1748.* In *Johann Christian Krügers Poetische und Theatralische Schriften*, edited by Johann Friedrich Löwen, 117-124. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1763.
- 1749 *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Torre Argentina nel carnevale dell'anno 1749. Dedicato all'ill.ma ed ecc.ma signora la signora D. Marianna Cibo Albani.* Rome: Bernabò e Lazzarini, 1749. [*I.11.1749]
- 1749 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nel Teatro di Via della Pergola nel carnevale dell'anno 1749 sotto la protezione della sac. ces. real maestà di Francesco I imperadore de' romani sempre augusto duca di Lorena, e di Bar, ec. e gran duca di Toscana.* Florence: Cosimo Maria Pieri, 1749. [*I.06.1749]
- 1749 Möser, Justus. *Arminius. Ein Trauerspiel.* Hannover/Göttingen: J.W. Schmid, 1749.
[Edition: Vol. 2 of *Justus Möser's Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Oda May (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1981), 117-197]
- 1749 Scheibe, Johann Adolph. *Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen. Mit einem Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele begleitet.* Leipzig/Copenhagen: Rothe, 1749. [*I.13.1749]
- 1751 Schönaich, Christoph Otto von. *Hermann, oder das befreyte Deutschland, ein Heldengedicht. Mit einer Vorrede ans Licht gestellt von Johann Christoph Gottscheden.* Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751.
- 1753 *Arminio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro della regia elettoral Corte di Dresda nel carnevale dell'anno 1753. Herrmann, ein Singspiel, welches auf dem Königl. Pohln. und Churfürstl. Sächß. Hof-Theater in Dresden, zur Carnevals-Zeit ist aufgeführt worden. Im Jahr 1753.* Dresden: Stössel, 1753. [*I.12.1753]
- 1754 *L'Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro al Tummel-Plaz in Graz nel carnovale 1754. Dedicato al imparegiabile merito dell'eccell. ed*

- illustriss. dame, e cavalieri della celeberrima città di Graz.* Graz: eredi Widmanstadi, 1754. [*I.06.1754]
- 1758 Weitenauer, Ignaz. *Arminii corona, tragoedia.* In *Tragoediae autumnales*, 105-190. Freiburg/Breisgau: Wagner, 1758. [*II.06.1749]
- 1760 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi sopra il Teatro di S.M.B.* London: G. Woodfall, 1760. [*I.06.1760]
- 1761 *Arminio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Varsavia il giorno del gloriosissimo nome di sua maestà Augusto III re di Polonia elettore di Sassonia &c. &c. &c.* Warsaw, 1761. [*I.12.1761]
- 1763 *L'Arminio. Dramma per musica da cantarsi ne' tre giorni della solennità de' Comizj della sereniss. Repubblica di Lucca l'anno 1763. Del nobil signore Teodoro Reghini di Pontremoli.* Lucca: Filippo Maria Benedini, 1763.
- 1763 *L'Arminio. Dramma per musica da cantarsi ne' tre giorni della solennità de' Comizj della sereniss. Repubblica di Lucca l'anno 1763. Del nobil signore Teodoro Reghini di Pontremoli.* Lucca: Filippo Maria Benedini, 1763. [*I.14.1763]
- 1764 *Die deutschen Helden, ein Trauerspiel in dreyen Aufzügen von der in das vierte Jahr den schönen Wissenschaften obliegenden Jugend in dem erzherzoglichen, und akademischen Schulhause der Gesellschaft Jesu zu Passau aufgeführt.* Perioche. Passau, 1764. [*II.08.1764]
- 1768 Ayrenhoff, Cornelius von. *Hermann und Thusnelde. Ein Trauerspiel in Versen.* Vienna, 1768.
- 1769 Ayrenhoff, Cornelius von. *Hermanns Tod. Ein Trauerspiel in Versen.* Vienna, 1769.
- 1769 Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. *Hermanns Schlacht: Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne.* Hamburg/Bremen: J.H. Cramer, 1769. [*II.09]
[Edition in *Hermann-Dramen*, ed. Mark Emanuel Amtstätter, Hamburger Klopstock-Ausgabe (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), Werke VI:1:1-154]
- 1769 Kretschmann, Karl Friedrich. *Der Gesang Ringulphs des Barden. Als Varus geschlagen war.* Leipzig: Dyck, 1769.
- 1770 *Germanico in Germania. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo Teatro delle Dame il carnevale dell'anno 1770. Dedicato all'inclito popolo romano.* Rome: Lorenzo Corradi, 1770. [*I.11.1770]

- 1770 *Hermann, ein deutscher Held, in zweien pantomimischen Zwischenspielen vorgestellt.* In *S. Henricus Romanorum imperator, ludis autumnalibus exhibitus quando Reverendissimus et Celsissimus S.R.I. Princeps ac Dominus D. Adamus Fridericus dei gratia episcopus Bambergensis et Herbipolensis Franciae Orientalis dux &c. &c. Dominus ac Mecaenas noster Clementissimus Victrici in Arena Literaria juventuti Virtutis et Doctrinae Praemia Principali munificentia elargiebatur Bambergae, die 20. Septembris A.R.S. 1770.* Perioche. Bamberg: Klietsch, 1770. [*II.10.1770]
- 1771 Casparson, Wilhelm Johann Christian Gustav. *Theutomal, Hermanns und Thusneldens Sohn. Ein Trauerspiel in drey Aufzügen.* Kassel: Hemmerde, 1771. [*II.12.1775]
- 1771 [Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb]. "Hermann und Thusnelda." 1752. In *Oden*, 144-145. Hamburg: Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, 1771. [*IV.02]
[Reprint: Bern: Herbert Lang, 1971]
- 1771 Reichssiegel, Florian. *Pietas in Patriam, Tragoedia amplissimis honoribus celsissimi ac reverendissimi domini domini Sigismundi Christophori archiepiscopi et S.R.I. principis salzburgensis, sacrae sedis apostolicae legati nati, Germaniae primatis etc. etc. ex illustrissima et antiquissima prosapia S.R.I. comitum de Schrattenbach, domini sui et principis clementissimi consecrata a musis benedictinis iuvavii VI. et pridie Iduum Augusti 1771.* Salzburg: Mayr, 1771. [*II.11.1771]
- 1772 Bauvin, Jean-Grégoire. *Arminius, ou Les Chérusques: tragédie, tirée du théâtre allemand.* Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1772.
- 1773 Reichssiegel, Florian. *Hermann, ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande, in einem Trauerspiele zu höchsten Ehren Seiner hochfürstlichen Gnaden des hochwürdigsten des heil. röm. Reiches Fürsten Hieronymus Joseph Franz von Paula, Erzbischofes zu Salzburg, Legaten des heiligen apostol. Stuhles zu Rom, Primaten des Deutschlandes, aus dem hochreichsgräflichen Hause Kolloredo von Wallse und Mels &c. &c. als ihres gnädigsten Landsfürsten, Beschützers und Herrn Herrn von den benediktinischen Musen auf dem akademischen Haupttheater vorgestellet den 31. August und in den ersten Tagen des Herbstmonathes 1773.* Salzburg: Franz Prodingler, 1773. [*II.11.1773]
- 1774 *L'Arminio, cantata a i meriti immortali di sua altezza reale Madama Filippina duchessa di Bronsuic, e di Luneburgo &c. &c. consacrata dal Sanseverino.* Berlin: Giorgio Lodovico Winter, 1774. [*IV.04]

- 1774 Ayrenhoff, Cornelius Hermann von. *Tumelicus, oder der gerächte Hermann. Ein Trauerspiel mit Chören*. Vienna: bey dem Logenmeister, 1774. [*II.13.1774]
- 1775 *Theutomal, Hermanns und Thusneldens Sohn. Ein Trauerspiel in drey Aufzügen, vorgestellt von dem churfürstlichen Schulhause zu Landhut, den 4. und 6. des Herbstmonats, 1775*. Perioche. Landshut: Hagen, 1775. [*II.12.1775]
- 1777 Behrisch, Heinrich Wolfgang. *Herrmann der Cherusker Fürst und Nationalheld der Teutschen*. Leipzig: Bey Paul Gotthelf Kummer, 1777.
- 1777 Weitenauer, Ignaz. *Hermann, ein Trauerspiel, in fünf Aufzügen*. In *Ignazens Weitenauer, und Karls de la Rue Trauerspiele*, translated by K. B. v. M. and L.B., 67-136. Augsburg: Wolff, 1777. [*II.06.1749]
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Appendix A

Catalog Index of Musical/Dramatic Works (originating up to 1800)

Note on the Organization of the Catalog.

The scope of this catalog encompasses narratives on the subject of Arminius that were intended to be wholly set to music (e.g., opera librettos, ballet scenarios), as well as those in which music occurs intermittently within the context of the narrative's performance (e.g., incidental music in spoken dramas). The catalog contains four main divisions, designated by roman numerals:

- I. Opera.
- II. Incidental Music.
- III. Ballet.
- IV. Oratorio, Cantata, Song.

Within these divisions, the corresponding narratives are ordered chronologically and denoted by a two-digit numeral (01, 02, etc.). Thus Giulio Cesare Corradi's libretto *Germanico sul Reno*, the earliest operatic narrative featuring Arminius, is cataloged as **I.01**. Each main entry contains the cast of characters (for dramatic works) and a detailed synopsis of the work's narrative content.

Individual productions, adaptations, or settings of a particular narrative are further cataloged chronologically within the subdivision. Each production or setting is therefore identified by a unique tripartite catalog number consisting of the division number (I, II, III, IV), followed by the narrative number (01, 02, etc.), and finally by the production number (designated by a four-digit numeral corresponding to the specific year of production and/or publication). In cases where two productions of the same narrative occurred in the same year, the production number is followed by the letters *a* or *b*. For example, the Milan production of Corradi's *Germanico sul Reno* in 1677 (one of two productions of the work to occur in that year) receives the catalog number **I.01.1677a**. In cases where a specific year of production or publication cannot be determined with accuracy, an approximate date is provided as the production number, followed by the letter *x*. Since the immediate focus of this dissertation concentrates on the early modern European reception of Arminius, the catalog accordingly restricts itself in this respect to narratives that originated up to 1800. Where appropriate, however, specific post-1800 productions, adaptations, or settings of these narratives are also included here under the appropriate narrative subdivision.

Within each entry, the following abbreviations occur:

A = author (of a non-operatic work)

D = dedicatee

L = librettist (of a musical work)

M = composer of the music

S(L) = archival source of libretto

S(M) = archival source of music

Archival sources are designated by the sigla in common use by the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). Each siglum (e.g., A-Wn) is composed of two parts: the country code (A = Austria), followed by the city code (W = Vienna) and the specific holding library or archive (n = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). In the catalog, archival sources are listed alphabetically first by country code, then by city and library/archive codes. The initial country code is not repeated within an entry in the case of multiple archival holdings in the same country (e.g., “D-DI -Hs -Mbs -MÜs” designates four archival holdings within Germany). A semicolon indicates the end of archival holdings for one country and the beginning of archival holdings for the next. A complete list of the RISM library and archive sigla that appear in this catalog is provided below (arranged alphabetically by country code).

Where appropriate, cross references to the catalog prepared by Claudio Sartori—*I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994)—are provided in brackets as the source for the entry’s list of archival holdings.

Libraries and Archives (RISM Sigla).

A – Austria

Gl	Graz, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek am Joanneum
Ik	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landeskonservatorium
Sca	Salzburg, Carolino Augusteum: Salzburger Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Bibliothek
Sfr	Salzburg, Franziskanerkloster
Ssp	Salzburg, Erzabtei St Peter, Musikarchiv
Wgm	Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
Wmi	Vienna, Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität
Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
Wst	Vienna, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung

B – Belgium

Bc	Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek
Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Section de la Musique

CDN – Canada

Lu London (ON), University of Western Ontario, Music Library
 Tu Toronto, University of Toronto, Faculty of Music Library

CH – Switzerland

E Einsiedeln, Benediktinerkloster, Musikbibliothek
 Gc Geneva, Conservatoire de Musique, Bibliothèque

CZ – Czech Republic

KU Kutná Hora, Okresní Muzeum [in Pnm]
 Pnm Prague, Národní Muzeum
 Pu Prague, Národní knihovna, Hudební Oddělení

D – Germany

As Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
 Au Augsburg, Universität Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek
 B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
 Musikabteilung
 Bhm Berlin, Hochschule der Künste, Hochschulbibliothek, Abteilung Musik
 und Darstellende Kunst
 Bsa Berlin, Sing-Akademie [in B]
 Bsommer Berlin, Sommer private collection
 BAS Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek
 BNU Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
 BS Brunswick, Stadtarchiv und Stadtbibliothek
 DI Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitäts-
 Bibliothek, Musikabteilung
 DI Dillingen an der Donau, Kreis- und Studienbibliothek
 DO Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek
 DÜI Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Heinrich Heine
 Universität
 F Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
 FUl Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek
 Gs Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
 Hs Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky,
 Musiksammlung
 HAmi Halle, Martin-Luther-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
 Sachsen-Anhalt, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Bibliothek
 HAs Halle, Stadtbibliothek, Musikbibliothek
 HAU Halle, Martin-Luther-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
 Sachsen-Anhalt
 HER Herrnhut, Evangelische Brüder-Unität, Archiv

HR	Harburg (nr Donauwörth), Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek Schloss Harburg [in Au]
HVI	Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek
KNth	Cologne, Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung der Universität
LEm	Leipzig, Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken, Musikbibliothek
LÜh	Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Musikabteilung
Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Mu	Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften, Nachlässe, Alte Drucke
MElr	Meiningen, Meininger Museen, Abteilung Musikgeschichte/Max-Reger-Archiv
MHrm	Mannheim, Städtisches Reiss-Museum
MÜp	Münster, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Bibliothek
MÜs	Münster, Santini-Bibliothek [in MÜp]
MÜu	Münster, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
OB	Ottobeuren, Benediktinerabtei
Rtt	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek
ROu	Rostock, Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
RT	Rastatt, Bibliothek des Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasiums
SI	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
SWI	Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Musiksammlung
W	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Musikabteilung
Wa	Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv
WD	Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid
WRtl	Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung [in WRz]
WRz	Weimar, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek

DK – Denmark

Kk	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek
Km	Copenhagen, Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius samlings, Bibliotek

F – France

Pa	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Pc	Paris, Conservatoire [in Pn]
Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

FIN – Finland

Hy	Helsinki, Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto/Helsinki University Library/ Suomen Kansalliskirjasto
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GB – Great Britain

CDu	Cardiff, University of Wales/Prifysgol Cymru
En	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Music Department
Gu	Glasgow, University Library
Lam	London, Royal Academy of Music, Library
Lbl	London, British Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music, Library
Lk	London, King's Music Library [in Lbl]
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library

H – Hungary

Bb	Budapest, Bartók Béla Zeneművészeti Szakközépiskola, Könyvtár [in Bl]
Bl	Budapest, Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, Könyvtár

HR – Croatia

Zh	Zagreb, Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, Knjižnica i Arhiv
Zha	Zagreb, Zbirka Don Nikole Udina-Algarotti [in Zh]

I – Italy

ASs	Asti, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
Baf	Bologna, Accademia Filarmonica, Archivio
Bam	Bologna, Collezioni d'Arte e di Storia della Casa di Risparmio (Biblioteca Ambrosini)
Bc	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
Bu	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, sezione Musicale
BACa	Bari, Biblioteca Capitolare
BGc	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
BRc	Brescia, Conservatorio Statale di Musica A. Venturi, Biblioteca
CRg	Cremona, Biblioteca Statale
Fc	Florence, Conservatorio Statale di Musica Luigi Cherubini
Fm	Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana
Fn	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Dipartimento Musica
FOSc	Fossano, Biblioteca Civica
Gl	Genoa, Conservatorio di Musica Nicolò Paganini, Biblioteca
IE	Iesi, Biblioteca Comunale
Lg	Lucca, Biblioteca Statale
Li	Lucca, Istituto Musicale L. Boccherini, Biblioteca
LDEsormani	Lurago d'Erba, Biblioteca privata Sormani Verri di Lurago
Mb	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense
Mc	Milan, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Biblioteca
Ms	Milan, Biblioteca Teatrale Livia Simoni, Museo Teatrale alla Scala
MAc	Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale
MAC	Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti
MC	Montecassino, Monumento Nazionale di Montecassino, Biblioteca

MOe	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
Nc	Naples, Conservatorio di Musica S Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca
Nn	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III
NOVc	Novara, Biblioteca Comunale Negroni
OS	Ostiglia, Opera Pia G. Greggiati Biblioteca Musicale
Pci	Padua, Biblioteca Civica
Pl	Padua, Conservatorio Cesare Pollini
Pmc	Padua, Museo Civico, Biblioteca
Psaggiori	Padua, Biblioteca privata Saggiori
PAC	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, sezione Musicale
PEc	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta
PLcon	Palermo, Conservatorio di Musica Vincenzo Bellini, Biblioteca
PS	Pistoia, Basilica di S Zeno, Archivio Capitolare
Ra	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica
Rc	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, sezione Musica
Rdp	Rome, Archivio Doria Pamphili
Rig	Rome, Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma, Sezione Storia della Musica, Biblioteca
Rn	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II
Rsc	Rome, Conservatorio di Musica S Cecilia
Rvat	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
RVI	Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Biblioteca
SA	Savona, Biblioteca Civica Anton Giulio Barrili
Tac	Turin, Archivio Storico Civico
Tci	Turin, Civica Biblioteca Musicale Andrea della Corte
Tf	Turin, Accademia Filarmonica, Archivio
Tlegger	Turin, Collezione privata Legger
Tn	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, sezione Musicale
Tp	Turin, Biblioteca Storica della Provincia
Tstrona	Turin, Biblioteca privata Strona
Vc	Venice, Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Biblioteca
Vcg	Venice, Casa di Goldoni, Biblioteca
Vgc	Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Istituto per le Lettere, il Teatro ed il Melodramma, Biblioteca
Vnm	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
Vqs	Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Biblioteca
VCa	Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana e Diocesana

IRL – Ireland

Dtc Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin

J – Japan

Tk Tokyo, Kunitachi Ongaku Daigaku

P – Portugal

La Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda

PL – Poland

Kj Kraków, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
 WRu Wrocław, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
 Wu Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet
 Zbiorów Muzycznych

RUS – Russia

SPsc St. Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka

S – Sweden

Skma Stockholm, Statens Musikbibliothek
 Uu Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket

US – United States of America

AAu Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Music Library
 AUS Austin, University of Texas at Austin, The Harry Ransom Humanities
 Research Center
 Bp Boston, Public Library, Music Department
 BEm Berkeley, University of California at Berkeley, Music Library
 Cn Chicago, Newberry Library
 CA Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Harvard College Library
 CAh Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library
 CAt Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Library, Theatre Collection
 Eu Evanston (IL), Northwestern University
 FAy Farmington (CT), Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library
 I Ithaca (NY), Cornell University
 LAum Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles, Music Library
 NH New Haven (CT), Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library
 NHub New Haven (CT), Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript
 Library
 NYp New York, Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division
 SFsc San Francisco, San Francisco State University, Frank V. de Bellis
 Collection
 Su Seattle, University of Washington, Music Library
 Wc Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division
 Ws Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library

Abbreviations of Bibliographic References.

BAECHTOLD = *Aus dem Herder'schen Hause: Aufzeichnungen von Johann Georg Müller (1780–82)*, ed. Jakob Baechtold (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881).

BARBON/PLACHTA = Paola Barbon and Bodo Plachta, “‘Chi la dura la vince’–‘Wer ausharrt, siegt.’ Arminius auf der Opernbühne des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Arminius und die Varusschlacht: Geschichte–Mythos–Literatur*, ed. Rainer Wiegels and Winfried Woesler (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003), 288-290.

BRIEFE = Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Werke und Briefe: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe* (Hamburger Klopstock-Ausgabe), ed. Horst Gronemeyer et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974–).

BROCKPÄHLER = Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964).

DEAN = Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726–1741* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).

FORCHERT = Arno Forchert, “Arminius auf der Opernbühne,” in *Ein Jahrhundert Hermannsdenkmal 1875–1975*, ed. Günther Engelbert (Detmold: Naturwissenschaftlicher und Historischer Verein für das Land Lippe, 1975), 47.

GALLE = Daniela Galle, *Ignaz von Beeckes Singspiele: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gattung am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2010).

GROVE = *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001).

HENZEL = Christoph Henzel, *Berliner Klassik: Studien zur Graunüberlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2009), 136-140.

HERDER = Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe: Gesamtausgabe, 1763–1803*, 14 vols. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1977–2009).

HG = *Georg Friedrich Händel's Werke. Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. Händel-Gesellschaft (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858–1902).

HHA = *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ed. Georg-Friedrich-Händel Gesellschaft (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955–).

KOCH = Klaus-Peter Koch, “Klopstock, Hamburg und die musikalische Welt,” in *Klopstock und die Musik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen e.V. Jahrbuch 2003 (Beeskow: ortus musikverlag, 2005), 41-60.

KRUMP = Sandra Krump, *In scenam datus est cum plausu: Das Theater der Jesuiten in Passau, 1612–1773*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidler, 2000).

LEIST = Friedrich Leist, *Geschichte des Theaters in Bamberg bis zum Jahre 1862. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Bambergs*, 2nd ed., in *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 55 (1893): 1-284.

MAUL = Michael Maul, *Barockoper in Leipzig (1693–1720)*, 2 vols. (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, 2009).

MGG = *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2006).

NSA = *Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Walther Dürr, Arnold Feil, Christa Landon, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964–).

PEINLICH = Richard Peinlich, “Geschichte des Gymnasiums in Graz. Zweite Periode. Collegium, Gymnasium und Universität der Jesuiten,” in *Jahresbericht des kais. kön. ersten Staats-Gymnasiums in Graz* (Graz: Akademisches Gymnasium, 1871), 1-79.

REIPSCH = Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, “Johann Heinrich Rolles Werke für den Konzertsaal – Korrigenda und Errata zu Datierung, literarischen Vorlagen und Überlieferung,” in *Klopstock und die Musik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen e.V. Jahrbuch 2003 (Beeskow: ortus musikverlag, 2005), 311-340.

REISCHERT = Alexander Reischert, *Kompendium der musikalischen Sujets: Ein Werkkatalog*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001).

RIST = Johann Rist, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eberhard Mannack (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 2:1-203.

SARTORI = Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994).

SCHMIDT-HENSEL = Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, “*La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone*”: *Johann Adolf Hasses “Opere serie” der Jahre 1730 bis 1745. Quellen, Fassungen, Aufführungen*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009).

SCHWAB = Heinrich W. Schwab, “‘Da konnte er doch nicht umhin, von der Güte der Musik erschüttert zu werden.’ Zu Dichtungen Klopstocks in der Vertonung von Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen,” in *Klopstock und die Musik*, ed. Peter Wollny, Ständige

Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen e.V. Jahrbuch 2003 (Beeskow: ortus musikverlag, 2005), 115-154.

STROHM 1976 = Reinhard Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, in *Analecta Musicologica* 16, 2 vols. (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag Hans Gerig KG, 1976).

STROHM 1985 = Reinhard Strohm, "Handel and His Italian Opera Texts," in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 34-79.

SW = *Franz Schubert's Werke: Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eusebius Mandyczewski, Johannes Brahms, et al. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884-97).

SZAROTA = Elida Maria Szarota, *Die Jesuitendramen im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Eine Periochen-Edition. Texte und Kommentare*, 4 vols. (Munich: Fink, 1979-1987).

WACZKAT = Andreas Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen: Theorie, Werkbestand und Überlieferung einer Gattung im Kontext bürgerlicher Empfindsamkeit* (Beeskow: ortus, 2007).

I. OPERA

I.01 Germanico sul Reno

Dramma per musica (1676)

L: Giulio Cesare Corradi (fl. 1675–ca. 1701); German translation by Christine Dorothea Lachs (1672–after 1716) as *Die errettete Unschuld, oder Germanicus, Römischer General*.

Characters (parenthetical information refers to Lachs’s libretto).

Romans: GERMANICO (GERMANICUS), Roman general.
 AGRIPINA (AGRIPPINA), wife of Germanico.
 CALIGOLA (CALIGULA), son of Germanico and Agripina.
 FLORO (FLORUS), captain of a Roman legion.
 LESBO (LESBUS), confidant of Agripina.

Belgici: SEGESTE (SEGESTES), governor in Belgia (Holland).
 ARMINIO (ARMINIUS), presumed dead; in disguise.
 CLAUDIA (CLAUDIA), daughter of Segeste, and wife of Arminio.
 LUCIO (LUCIUS), prince; in love with Claudia.
 ARISTEO (ARISTEUS), a sorcerer.
 A MINISTER of the Temple.
 CHORUS of soldiers.

TIME.

MILITARY GLORY.

ETERNITY.

BELLONA.

A SPIRIT.

ORACLE.

FAME.

Synopsis.

Introduction.

The personifications of Time, Eternity, and Glory celebrate the victory of Germanico.

Act 1.

Having delivered a crushing defeat to the *Belgici* (*Holländer*), Germanico enters the city of Cologne in triumph with Claudia, wife of the presumed-dead Arminio, as his prisoner. Segeste offers his widowed daughter’s hand to Lucio, but Claudia refuses, swearing fidelity to Arminio. Elsewhere on the banks of the Rhine, a disguised Arminio—very much alive—attempts to kidnap Agripina in an act of revenge against Germanico, but he is captured by Floro (who does not recognize him), and imprisoned in a tower. Floro reveals a secret plan to usurp the imperial throne and kill Germanico, whom he tries to convince to return to Rome. Germanico refuses, but decides to send his wife and son

back home. Meanwhile, Claudia (disguised as a soldier) discovers Arminio's prison and effects his escape. She, however, is in turn caught by Lucio (who does not recognize her).

Act 2.

Germanico observes Agripina in an apparently clandestine meeting with an unknown man (actually Floro in disguise) and suspects the worst. He decides to put her to a test. The captured Claudia (still in disguise) is brought before Segeste, who orders her death, but Lucio intervenes on her behalf. She pretends to agree to Lucio's marriage proposal, but the lurking Arminio mistakes her ruse for reality. That night, Agripina arrives at Germanico's bed-chamber according to his request but does not find him. Lying in his bed, she is surprised by an assailant: it is Floro, who has come to murder Germanico while he sleeps. Thinking that the intruder is Germanico, Agripina moves to embrace him, just as Germanico himself enters the room and discovers the supposed affair. Floro flees before he is caught, but Germanico condemns Agripina to be executed. Later, having appeased Germanico (who does not suspect him), Floro frees Agripina from the rock to which she has been chained. Claudia continues to entreat her father to free her from her obligation to Lucio, while Arminio consults a sorcerer in an effort to hinder the nuptials.

Act 3.

A mighty earthquake interrupts the marriage ceremony of Claudia and Lucio and destroys part of the piazza. From the rubble, Lucio rescues an unknown man (Arminio still in disguise) and appoints him as a servant to Claudia. Floro tries to convince Agripina to murder her husband, but she is outraged at the suggestion. However when she tries to report Floro's treachery to Germanico, the truth falls on deaf ears. Germanico instead accuses her of slander and once again orders her death. Claudia and Arminio are reunited and attempt to escape from the city, but are stopped by Segeste, who still insists that his daughter marry Lucio. As Agripina is about to be sacrificed to the gods, her son's cries invoke a supernatural oracle, who testifies to Agripina's innocence. Germanico recognizes his error and begs forgiveness from his wife. Floro attempts to assassinate Germanico, but is thwarted by Arminio, who reveals his identity at last and pledges his loyalty to Germanico. Fame (a *deus ex machina*) crowns Germanico, as Claudia and Agripina rejoice in the victory of love over all.

Productions.

I.01.1676 Venice.

D: Louis I, Prince of Monaco (1642–1701).

S(L): B-Bc; D-HR; I-Bc -Fm -Mb -Ms -Nc -Pmc -PAc -Rc -Rig -Rsc -Rvat (Chigi) -Tci -Vcg -Vnm; US-BE -LAum -Wc. [SARTORI 11558]

M: Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690).

S(M): See I.01.1677b for details.

Remarks: The libretto contains a frontispiece that depicts the crowning of Germanico (see figure 16). Visible in the upper-right corner is the coat of arms belonging to the House of

Grimaldi, the ruling family of Monaco. Only this production includes the allegorical introduction noted in the synopsis above.



Figure 16. Frontispiece to *Germanico sul Reno* (Venice, 1676, and Milan, 1677). Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan: Corniani Algarotti–Racc.Dramm.1488. Reprinted with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

I.01.1677a Milan.

D: Clara Maria of Nassau-Siegen (1621–1695).

S(L): I-Bc -Mb. [SARTORI 11560]

M: Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690).

S(M): See I.01.1677b for details.

Remarks: The libretto contains the same frontispiece as I.01.1676, depicting the acclamation of Germanico and the coat of arms belonging to the House of Grimaldi (see figure 16 above). While Clara Maria had no connection to Monaco, the dedicatory letter does emphasize the setting of the work in Flanders.

I.01.1677b Modena.

D: Francesco II d'Este, Duke of Modena (1660–1694).

S(L): GB-Lbl; I-Bc -MOe -Mb. [SARTORI 11561]

M: Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690).

S(M): Ms. full score in I-MOe; various arias in I-Mb -Nc -Vcg -Vqs.

The extant full score corresponds to the production at Modena, which involved slight modifications to the 1676 libretto (the allegorical introduction, for example, is not

included). The extent to which the full score reflects the other Italian performances cannot be determined, though it is likely that the recitative and arias remained unchanged where no alterations were made to the libretto's text. No instrumentation is indicated, except in the case of a ritornello and aria specifically calling for trumpets (*trombe*). Recitative, arioso, and aria sections often flow seamlessly together. Of the over sixty arias, approximately fifty are scored for continuo-only accompaniment. Some arias are followed by three-part instrumental ritornellos (basso continuo plus two treble parts without specific instrumentation). Twelve arias call for obbligato two-part treble accompaniment in addition to the continuo. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Germanico (soprano); Agripina (soprano); Caligola (soprano) Floro (tenor); Lesbo (alto); Segeste (bass); Arminio (soprano); Claudia (soprano); Lucio (soprano); Aristeo (bass); Bellona (soprano); Ombra (alto) Oracolo (alto); Fama (soprano).

I.01.1680a Bologna.

D: Count Ercole Pepoli of Bologna.
 S(L): I-Bu -MOe. [SARTORI 11562]
 M: Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690).
 S(M): See I.01.1677b for details.

I.01.1680b Rimini.

D: Cardinal Lorenzo Raggi (1615–1687), papal legate in Romagna.
 S(L): I-Bu. [SARTORI 11562]
 M: Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690).
 S(M): See I.01.1677b for details.

I.01.1683 Palermo (under the title *Il Germanico al Reno*).

D: Vincenzo Pilo e Bologna, Count of Capaci.
 S(L): I-Rc. [SARTORI 11553, in which the text is mistakenly attributed to Giovanni Andrea Moniglia]
 M: Unknown, but perhaps an adaptation of Legrenzi's score.
 Remarks: The libretto for this production closely follows Corradi's text, with some notable exceptions. It begins with a new allegorical prologue, in which Mars visits Vulcan at work in his forge, preparing weapons and armor with the assistance of two cyclops. Mars informs Vulcan that Germanico urgently needs his battle armor at the Rhine, and foresees a future time when the Austrian Habsburgs, under the leadership of Leopold, will defeat the Ottoman empire. Cupid (Amor) arrives and declares his intention to bring his own brand of warfare to the Rhine; thus love and war will influence the course of events together. The libretto also contains expanded parts for Germanico and Lesbo, who sings an additional aria during every scene in which he appears. Lucio's arias, however, are reduced in number, and the second stanza of multistrophic arias is generally eliminated.

I.01.1704 Leipzig (in the translation by Lachs).

D: None. Presented “Mit Königl. Majestät in Pohlen und Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen Allergnädigster Verwilligung”—i.e., Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony; August II, King of Poland (1670-1733). No dedicatory letter.

S(L): D-HAu; RUS-SPsc. See MAUL 947.

M: Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767).

S(M): Over forty arias in D-F, many of which belong to the revised version (see I.01.1710/20). Critical edition: Michael Maul, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann: Germanicus*, Musik zwischen Elbe und Oder 15 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2010).

Remarks: The libretto by Christine Dorothea Lachs is a German poetic translation of Corradi’s text. According to annotations in the libretto in D-HAu, the characters were assigned to the following voice types: Germanicus (bass), Agrippina (alto), Caligula (soprano), Florus (bass), Lesbus (tenor), Segestes (no annotation), Claudia (soprano), Arminius (tenor), Lucius (no annotation), Aristeus (bass). See MAUL 685-698 and 946. A recording of the surviving arias with spoken narration is available: *Georg Philipp Telemann: Germanicus* (Sächsisches Barockorchester/Gotthold Schwarz), cpo CD 777 602-2 (2011).

I.01.1706 Hamburg (in the translation by Lachs).

D: None.

S(L): A-Wn; D-B -HvI -WRz.

M: Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767).

Remarks: On the basis of an erroneous attribution by Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), the composer of the music for the Hamburg production was formerly credited to Gottfried Grünewald (1673–1739), who sang the role of Germanicus in both the Leipzig premiere and in the Hamburg revival (see REISCHERT 1:391; MAUL 949). MAUL investigates and clarifies this point, making a strong case that Telemann’s music from the 1704 Leipzig production was heard at the Gänsemarkt opera house (see MAUL 645-698). The Hamburg libretto corresponds almost exactly to that of I.01.1704, with a new aria and some lines of recitative cut (MAUL 650). The work was sung entirely in German.

I.01.1710/20 Leipzig (in the translation by Lachs).

D: None. Presented “mit Ihr. Kön. Majestät in Pohlen, und Churfl. Durchl. zu Sachsen, Allergnädigsten Verwilligung”— i.e., Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony; August II, King of Poland (1670–1733). No dedicatory letter.

S(L): D-Dl; RUS-SPsc.

M: Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767).

S(M): Over forty arias in D-F. Critical edition: Michael Maul, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann: Germanicus*, Musik zwischen Elbe und Oder 15 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2010).

Remarks: According to the catalog of German dramatic works published by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) in 1757, performances of *Germanicus* were given in Leipzig in 1710 and 1720, but the surviving printed librettos in Dresden and St. Petersburg contain no date (for detailed discussion, see MAUL 652-663). These productions are notable for Telemann’s substitution of seventeen newly composed

Italian-language arias for the original German arias (of which thirty are retained from the 1704 production). The musical source material in Frankfurt (consisting of twenty-four German arias and sixteen Italian arias) likely reflects the 1710 revision. According to this material (some of which appears to be written in octave transposition), the characters were likely assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Germanicus (bass), Agrippina (soprano), Caligula (soprano), Florus (tenor), Lesbus (no surviving material), Segestes (tenor), Claudia (soprano), Arminius (bass), Lucius (bass)—see MAUL 685-698.

I.02 Il Germanico al Reno

Festa teatrale (before 1690)

L: Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (1624–1700).

Characters.

GERMANICO, general of Emperor Tiberius.

AGRIPPINA, wife of Germanico.

ARMINIO, chief of part of the *Germani*.

TUSNELDA, wife of Arminio.

RAMISE, niece of Arminio.

SEGESTE, chief of part of the *Germani*.

SEGIMONDO, son of Segeste.

TULEMACO, old man having served as a soldier under Arminio, Segeste, and Germanico.

CHORUS of priests in the Temple of the Ubii.

CHORUS of Roman soldiers.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

As a chorus of Germanic priests prepares to sacrifice at the altar of the Ubii, consecrated to the Emperor-god Augustus, Segimondo, who also serves as a priest, interrupts the ceremony, destroys the statue of Augustus, and flees from the temple. Elsewhere, Arminio informs a distressed Tusnelda of his planned uprising against the Roman invaders and those collaborators such as her father Segeste who support their tyranny. At his headquarters, Germanico receives word from Agrippina that Segeste is under siege and pledges to support his ally. In the presence of his father Segeste, Segimondo expresses remorse over his breach of conduct in the temple; Segeste sends his son to Germanico to entreat his understanding. Segimondo thinks about his beloved Ramise, who pays a visit to the retired warrior Tulemaco in order to outfit herself as a soldier. Tusnelda remains torn in her loyalties to her warring father and husband, but chastizes her brother for siding with the Roman faction. Meanwhile the retreat of a group of

Roman soldiers is stopped by Agrippina, who rallies their morale and dispenses medicine and money to the troops. Ramise, who was in disguise among these soldiers, reveals to Agrippina that she is a woman, and Agrippina takes her into her care.

Act 2.

Liberated from the siege with the help of Germanico's forces, Segeste tries to convince his daughter to become a Roman citizen along with him. Germanico forgives Segimondo for his previous rebellion and Segeste presents a dejected Tuscelda before the Roman general. Agrippina recognizes Tuscelda's distress and promises to ensure her well-being, but Tuscelda has her mind set on Arminio. Ramise tells Agrippina that she is Arminio's niece (the daughter of his brother Flavio, a Roman citizen) and that she joined the Roman forces to help free Segeste. Segeste, meanwhile, warns Germanico about Arminio's unbounded zeal and determination to achieve his ends. Segimondo reflects on his good fortune, but pines for Ramise, whose whereabouts are unknown to him. In conversing with Tulemaco, he recognizes a necklace that the old man had received from Ramise as payment for the military dress. On a field near the Rhine, Segeste encounters Arminio, who swears he will avenge Tuscelda's kidnapping. Segeste, confident in his position as an ally of Rome, taunts his rival. Arminio leads a group of soldiers in battle against the Romans and is soundly defeated.

Act 3.

Agrippina tries to console Tuscelda, who remains distraught over Arminio's unknown fate in the battle. Tulemaco later informs Agrippina that Arminio is still alive. The reunion of Segimondo and Ramise is marred by Segimondo's accusations of infidelity against Ramise, who confides her confusion and hurt to Agrippina. Tuscelda and Segeste receive the news that Arminio is alive, and Tuscelda—thanks to the advocacy of Agrippina—is granted her release in order that she might rejoin her husband. Tuscelda expresses her gratitude and the two women say farewell. Agrippina then goes about setting Segimondo and Ramise's relationship back in order, as she informs Segimondo that the soldier's garments he found in Ramise's bedroom were not those of a secret lover, but rather the clothes Ramise had received from Tulemaco to take part in the battle. Tulemaco leads Tuscelda and Segeste to his house in the woods, where Arminio also shows up, his face covered in blood from the battle. Despondent over the defeat, he is about to commit suicide, but is stopped by Tuscelda. Segeste gives his blessing on the union, and Arminio reconciles himself to his loss against Rome. At the Roman pavilion, Germanico and Agrippina rejoice over the reconciliation and imminent nuptials of Segimondo and Ramise, as Agrippina calls everyone to join in a celebratory dance.

Productions.

I.02.1690x

Remarks: Since there is no extant libretto associated with a specific production and no extant music for this work, it is possible that it was never performed. The text received publication in a collection of Moniglia's dramas: *Delle poesie drammatiche* (Florence 1698), 2:219-293. GROVE suggests that the work was written before 1690;

BARBON/PLACHTA accordingly list Florence 1690 as the place and year of production. SARTORI erroneously attributes Moniglia's text to a 1683 performance in Palermo, but this was a production of a different work (see I.01.1683).

I.03 Chi la dura la vince

Dramma musicale (ca. 1691–1692)

L: attributed to Francesco Maria Raffaelini (fl. 1680s–1690s).

Characters.

TIBERIO, Roman emperor.

GERMANICO, adopted son of Tiberio.

ARMINIO, captain of the *Germani*, disguised as a slave named Eraste.

SEGESTA, wife of Arminio, prisoner of Germanico.

NERONE, son of Germanico.

G. CESARE CALLIGOLA, son of Germanico.

GIULIA, daughter of Druso.

CLAUDIA, daughter of M. Silano.

SEIANO, favorite of Tiberio and prefect of the praetorian cohorts.

VITELLIO, friend of Germanico.

CLIMMIA, nurse of Giulia.

HERCHINO, court fool.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Returning to Rome after successful military campaigns against the Germanic tribes, Germanico is given a triumphant reception by his father, the Emperor Tiberio. Calligola and Nerone, Germanico's two sons, have also taken part in the campaign. Among the spoils of war is Segesta, the wife of Arminio (who has also secretly made his way to Rome, disguised as one of the slaves). Segesta's haughtiness and defiant behavior towards her Roman captors result in her imprisonment, but Calligola pines for her affections. Giulia and Claudia both vie for Calligola's attention, but he shows no interest in them. The scheming Seiano plants seeds of mistrust, intimating to Tiberio that Germanico wants to usurp the throne; in reality Seiano himself has designs on seizing power. Nerone woos Giulia, who scorns his advances. The nurse Climmia spars flirtatiously with the court fool Erchino.

Act 2.

Calligola laments that he has not yet told Segesta of his love for her, while Giulia flies into a rage over his continued rebuffs. The imprisoned Segesta laments her fate and receives a visit from Calligola, who tells her that Arminio died in battle. Germanico insists on his loyalty to Tiberio, but Seiano continues to instill doubt in the emperor's mind. Arminio, who has received a position as a slave in the household, is presented with an unexpected opportunity: Calligola (not knowing Arminio's true identity) entrusts him with the delivery of a letter to Segesta. Caught in a triangle with Giulia and Claudia, who now realize that they are rivals, Calligola extricates himself from the unpleasant situation. Arminio, not revealing his true identity in order to test the loyalty of his wife, attempts to deliver Calligola's letter to Segesta, but she chases him away, declaring her eternal devotion to her presumed-dead husband. Arminio is pleased at this reaction, and informs Calligola of the unfulfilled mission. Calligola decides to visit Segesta in person and declare his love.

Act 3.

Neither through professions of love nor threats of punishment can Calligola convince Segesta to pay him any attention. Later, Giulia reminds Calligola of his former promises to her, but he brushes her off. Nerone continues to pursue Giulia's heart, and she begins to see him in a new light. Arminio is sent once again to Segesta; this time he reveals his true identity to her and the two plan to escape Rome together. Germanico presents his son Nerone to Tiberio and recommends him for a position of authority in the empire. Calligola comes to the realization that he will not succeed in winning Segesta, and decides to ask Giulia's forgiveness. She, however, laughs in his face at the suggestion; Claudia, too, rejects him. Giulia and Nerone confirm their love, and Nerone receives a government appointment from Tiberio. Arminio and Segesta attempt to escape, but are caught by Seiano. Arminio's identity and noble motives (to free his beloved wife) are revealed to all, and Tiberio rewards him by making him a vassal of the empire. Germanico intends to punish his son Calligola by throwing him in prison, but Claudia intervenes, suggesting that the best chains for him are the bonds of matrimony. The three happy couples acknowledge that "the one who endures will be victorious."

Productions.

I.03.1691x Salzburg.

D: Johann Ernst von Thun (1643-1709), Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg.

S(L): No printed libretto is known. The date of performance cannot be determined.

M: Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (1644–1704).

S(M): Ms. full score in A-Sca. Facsimile edition: Sibylle Dahms, ed., *Chi la dura la vince (Wer ausharrt, siegt): Dramma musicale in 3 Akten. Faksimile der Partitur Hs 560 aus dem Besitz des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum* (Salzburg: Selke, 2004).

Remarks: Specific instrumentation is indicated only when the additional use of trumpets, timpani, and flutes is necessary. Recitative, arioso, and aria sections typically flow together seamlessly, and are supported almost exclusively by basso continuo accompaniment. Three-part instrumental ritornellos (basso continuo plus two treble parts

without specific instrumentation) often frame the arias, but only two arias include an obbligato two-part violin accompaniment in addition to the continuo. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Tiberio (bass); Germanico (tenor); Arminio (bass); Segesta (soprano); Nerone (tenor); Calligola (alto); Giulia (soprano); Claudia (soprano); Seiano (bass); Vitellio (alto); Climmia (tenor); Herchino (tenor). A complete recording of this opera is available: *Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber: Arminio* (Salzburger Hofmusik/Wolfgang Brunner), cpo CD 999 258-2 (1995).

I.04 Arminius, der Teutschen Erz-Held

Opera (1697)

L: Christoph Adam Negelein (1656–1701). Adapted from Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Arminius, tragedie* (Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684).

Characters.

TEUTONIA (prologue only).

VARUS, governor in *Teutschland* for Emperor Augustus.

SEGESTES, prince of the *Catten*.

ARMINIUS, prince of the *Cherusken*, engaged to Ismenia.

SIGMUND, son of Segestes, engaged to Polixena.

ISMENIA, daughter of Segestes.

POLIXENA, sister of Arminius.

BELLONDA, confidante of Ismenia.

TULLUS, confidant of Varus.

FELIX and LUCIUS, captains of Segestes's bodyguard.

Synopsis.

Prologue.

Teutonia praises Emperor Leopold I and his son Joseph as the protectors of Germania.

Act 1.

In an effort to ensure peace and prosperity, Segestes announces his intention to ally himself with Rome, and has arranged for his daughter Ismenia to marry the Roman governor Varus instead of the Germanic prince Arminius. When informed of this development, Ismenia is distraught and declares that she would rather die than betray her devotion to Arminius. Varus pledges his devotion to Ismenia but will not press the issue before she is ready. Ismenia receives news that Arminius is on his way to the camp.

Act 2.

Ismenia unhappily informs Arminius of her father's decision. Arminius vows to rectify the matter with Segestes. In their conversation, Arminius emphasizes the importance of keeping one's word and maintaining allegiance to one's homeland, while Segestes defends the use of opportunistic means in order to protect the greater good. Unable to dissuade Segestes from his course of action, Arminius tries to leave, but Segestes has him detained on false accusations of mutiny. Enraged, and believing he will be executed at once, Arminius declares his enmity towards Varus. Varus, however, refuses to overstep the proper procedure of Roman law, and instead orders Arminius to be placed in prison.

Act 3.

Polixena, the sister of Arminius, laments her brother's imprisonment and takes out her frustrations on Sigmund because of his father's connections to Rome. Suddenly Arminius appears and explains how he was rescued from prison by Felix, one of Segestes's men. Felix says that the love of his fatherland motivated him to disobey Segestes's orders. Ismenia and Arminius are briefly reunited in the course of his escape plan, but his declaration of war against Segestes troubles her.

Act 4.

Varus receives a letter from the Emperor, stressing the danger posed by Arminius and encouraging all measures necessary to eliminate this threat. Varus finds himself in a conundrum—if he kills Arminius, he will also kill all hope he has harbored for a future with Ismenia. He decides it would be better to shift the responsibility for Arminius's death sentence to Segestes. Varus tells Segestes that he has given Arminius an opportunity to repent and reconcile himself to Rome; if he refuses, he will suffer the consequences. A messenger brings news of Arminius's escape. Segestes is enraged, especially when Sigmund appears, followed by Polixena, and takes the blame for aiding in the escape. Varus tries to intervene in the family dispute, but the impending assault led by Arminius calls him to the battlefield, with Segestes not far behind.

Act 5.

Sigmund, Polixena, and Ismenia have been taken into custody and await news of the battle's progress. They fear the worst, especially when Segestes approaches, alludes to heavy Roman losses, and declares his intention to escape with Ismenia to Rome. Tullus, a friend of Varus, arrives to report Arminius's victory and Varus's honorable suicide. Segestes, despondent over this news, attempts to kill himself as well, but is stopped by his children. Arminius himself appears and extends a full pardon to Segestes, but Segestes is unable to accept this offer of generosity. All celebrate the victory of Arminius as the protector of Germania.

Productions.

I.04.1697 Nuremberg

D: Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705); Joseph I, King of the Romans (1678–1711).

S(L): D-WRz.

M: Unknown. BROCKPÄHLER suggests Johann Löhner (304); REISCHERT asserts the same (1:143). GROVE, however, does not corroborate this attribution.

S(M): No music is known to exist.

Remarks: In the introductory material, Negelein makes the following comment regarding his approach to fashioning a libretto in German, based on the established French and Italian traditions:

Was sonst die Poesie dieser meiner *Opera* betrifft; weilen wir Teutsche doch noch keinen Gesetz-Geber / welcher uns hierinnen was Gewisses *sub clausula pœnali*, vorschreibe / kennen und erkennen / auch unser weiser Christian Weis (in seiner Comödien-Probe Vorrede *de interpretatione dramatica* §.V.) dafür hält / daß der der beste Künstler sey / der sich / den nothwendigen Umständen nach / an keine Regul binde / und gleichwol die besorglichen *Absurditäten* zu vermeiden und zu verbergen wisse; als hab ich mich / wie andere vor mir / meist befeissen wollen / sowol in den Versen / als Arien / bald die Italiäner / bald die Frantzosen (derer beyder Manieren ich nicht nur gelesen / sondern auch auf ihren Bühnen gehört) dergestalt nachzuahmen / daß ich verhoffe / es werden solcher Theatralischen Vorstellungen Erfahne mir zu zugeben belieben / daß ich meinen Zweck / erstgedachte beyde in ihren Würden bleibende fremde Arten / in meinem Teutschen miteinander zu vermischen / einiger massen erreicht habe [vii].

I.05 La pace generosa

Dramma per musica (1700)

L: Francesco Silvani (ca.1660–1728/44)

Characters.

ARMINIO, German prince.

ISMENA, his wife.

CILENE, sister of Arminio.

GERMANICO CESARE.

FLORO, Roman captain.

CECINA, Roman captain.

SEGESTE, father of Ismena.

A CHILD (non-speaking), son of Arminio and Ismena.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Arminio makes his anxious wife Ismena pledge that, should the besieged fortress be overtaken by the Romans, she will kill their son and then herself to avoid disgrace at the hands of the enemy. In a nearby forest, Germanico musters the Roman troops to avenge the death of Varo. Cilene, the sister of Arminio, enters the camp and claims that she wants to join the Roman faction. Cecina and Floro, two Roman captains, are enchanted by Cilene, and she is taken under Roman protection. Later when she is alone, Cilene

reveals her plan to gain Germanico's trust through amorous advances and then effect his downfall. The Romans defeat Arminio, who is forced to retreat. Fleeing the Romans, but unable to carry out the violent oath she has made, Ismena hides her son in the ancestral tomb of Arminio's clan. Intending to kill herself, she is stopped by Segeste, who tells her that her life belongs to Rome now that Arminio is dead. Led before Germanico in chains, Ismena refuses to reveal the location of her son and expresses surprise that victorious Rome should fear a mere child. Germanico is impressed with Ismena's virtue and orders her to be released from the chains, though to remain under house arrest.

Act 2.

Floro and Cecina both vie for a promotion commensurate with their behavior in battle, but Germanico awards only Cecina, which arouses Floro's ire. Floro is further disgruntled after his request to marry Cilene is refused by Germanico. Alone with Germanico, Cilene attempts to seduce him, but he brushes her off. Cilene turns her attention to Floro, who begins to plot against Germanico. Arminio arrives at the ancestral tomb and encounters Ismena, whom he berates for her disobedience. Segestes arrives with a group of soldiers, intending to destroy the mausoleum out of spite. In order to stop him, Ismena must admit that her son is inside the tomb. Segestes takes the child into custody and disowns his daughter. Arminio, enraged at this double betrayal, rejects his wife. Cilene speaks to Germanico on behalf of her nephew, and Germanico entrusts the child's care to Segeste. Floro intimates to Germanico that he should usurp power from the emperor, but Germanico is outraged at the notion. Ismena confronts Arminio and begs his forgiveness; they are reconciled.

Act 3.

Armed with a bow and arrow, Arminio lies in wait for Germanico; elsewhere in the same garden, Cilene encourages Floro to follow through with his own plan to assassinate Germanico. When Germanico appears, Floro rushes forward, only to be struck down by Arminio's arrow. Arminio is caught and ordered to stand trial, with Segeste as judge. Arminio refuses to offer a defense, but Ismena appears and pleads on behalf of her husband. Segeste sentences Arminio to death. At the place of execution—where Varo's ashes lie scattered—Arminio extends a pathos-filled farewell to Ismena. Before the executioner's ax can fall, Cilene appears and tells Germanico that she is the one who deserves to die, since she incited Floro to his assassination attempt; it was thanks to Arminio's arrow that Germanico's life was spared. Germanico exhibits great magnanimity in pardoning and releasing Arminio. Arminio is overcome by this gesture of mercy and virtue and acknowledges Germanico's right to rule. Arminio pledges his loyalty as a vassal of Rome, Germanico will henceforth regard Arminio as a friend and ally, and all are reconciled in the promise that such a "generous peace" will prove everlasting.

Productions.

I.05.1700 Venice.

D: Charles Henri, Duke of Lorraine and Prince of Vaudémont (1649–1723).

S(L): D-DI; F-Pn; I-Bc -Mb -Pmc -Rc -Rig -Rsc -RVI -Vcg. [SARTORI 17668]

M: Marc'Antonio Ziani (1653–1715). Attribution in GROVE; no composer is stated in the libretto.

S(M): One aria (Arminio's "Ismena il piè sen parte"), scored for alto and continuo, is anonymously contained in a collection of arias in I-Nc, although it could also be from Albinoni's setting (see I.05.1711), or the Livorno production (see I.05.1701). Four of the extant arias and one duet from the production in London (see I.05.1714) match Silvani's texts, and may have been composed by Ziani.

Remarks: To date, few have noted that this libretto is in fact an Arminius narrative. It does not appear in the lists compiled by FORCHERT, BARBON/PLACHTA, and REISCHERT. GROVE misleadingly refers to it as an adaptation of Seneca's *Troades* (in a preface, Silvani refers to Seneca's work as a source of inspiration for the display of the affections). Apart from the entries in SARTORI, only STROHM has mentioned *La pace generosa* as an Arminius opera, without connecting it to the 1714 London production of *Arminio/Arminius* (see I.05.1714). The Venice libretto contains a frontispiece depicting Arminio, Ismena and their son; it possibly reflects the stage and costume design for this production (see figure 17).



Figure 17. Frontispiece to *La pace generosa* (Venice, 1700). Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan: Corniani Algarotti–Racc.Dramm.2933. Reprinted with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

I.05.1701 Livorno.

D: Violante Beatrice of Bavaria, Grand Princess of Tuscany (1673–1731).

S(L): I-Nn (Lucchesi Palli). [SARTORI 17669]

M: Unknown.

S(M): One aria (Arminio's "Ismena il piè sen parte") is anonymously contained in a collection of arias in I-Nc, although it could also be from Ziani or Albinoni's setting (see I.05.1700 and I.05.1711). It is possible that the production was a revival of the one performed in Venice the previous year. At least three of the extant arias from the production in London (see I.05.1714) match the texts from this version and may have been composed for Livorno or Venice.

Remarks: The character of Cecina is called Ceraspe in this production. Although pages 53–56 are missing from the only known copy of the printed libretto, the rest of the text is almost identical to that of I.05.1700, with only a couple of aria substitutions in the case of Ismena, and one such change for Floro. Handwritten annotations to the libretto indicate some cuts in recitative as well as the mid-act insertion points for a couple of "buffa" scenes, which are not elaborated further, and additional (unspecified) arias for Germanico and Segeste.

I.05.1711 Genoa.

D: "Consagrato alle gentilissime Dame, e nobilissimi Cavaglieri di Genova."

S(L): I-SA. [SARTORI 17670]

M: Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni (1671–1751).

S(M): One aria (Arminio's "Ismena il piè sen parte") is anonymously contained in a collection of arias in I-Nc, although it could also be from Ziani's setting (see I.05.1700). Two of the extant arias from the production in London (see I.05.1714) match the aria texts in this version and may have been composed by Albinoni.

Remarks: Additions to the cast of characters include the servants Pernella and Elpino, who appear in three comic intermezzos (following the first and second acts, and between scenes ten and eleven of the third act).

I.05.1714 London (under the title *Arminio/Arminius*).

D: Countess Henrietta Godolphin (1681–1733).

S(L): IRL-Dtc; F-Pc; GB-Lbl; US-Ws. [SARTORI 2790]

M: Unknown; likely a pasticcio.

S(M): GB-Lbl. A contemporary publication, *Songs in the Opera of Arminius as they are Perform'd at the Queens Theatre* (London: Walsh, n.d.), contains the overture, twenty-six arias, and two duets from the production, without composer attribution. Only four of these arias and one duet correspond to Silvani's aria texts from the original Venice production (I.05.1700); at least three of these same aria texts were included in the production in Livorno (I.05.1701), while only two of them were retained for the production in Genoa (I.05.1711). The Walsh publication contains three arias that are not printed in the libretto, and omits five others that are included in the libretto. Some of these are apparently substitute arias, although it is impossible to determine which text

was printed first. STROHM 1985 identifies Vivaldi, Orlandini, Ristori, Lotti, and others among the composers of the individual arias.

Remarks: The dual-language libretto contains the Italian text on the left-facing pages and an English translation on the right-facing pages. The origins of this Arminius opera have remained obscure—to date, no one has connected this “anonymous” libretto to Silvani’s *La pace generosa*. Although most of Silvani’s arias have been substituted with other texts, the recitative verses remain largely the same (with many “virgolated” lines printed in the libretto that were not sung in performance). One notable change is the elimination of Floro, whose treacherous character traits are assumed by Cecina (i.e., Cecina becomes the character of Floro).

I.05.1716 Fano.

D: Don Carlo Albani, Prince of Lorianò (1687–1724).

S(L): I-Fm -Rig. [SARTORI 17671] Also GB-Lbl.

M: Angelo Massarotti and others.

S(M): Ismena and Arminio’s duet “Vieni o caro” is held in H-Bb (scored for soprano and alto plus continuo) and B-Bc (scored for soprano and tenor plus continuo).

Remarks: Carlo Albani, a member of the aristocratic and politically influential Albani family, was a nephew of the reigning Pope Clement XI (1649–1721). The recitative of this production closely follows the sung recitative of Silvani’s 1700 text; lines marked with virgole in that text are not printed in the 1716 libretto, and there are no lines marked with virgole in the 1716 libretto. No scenes or characters are deleted from the original text, but in fact some are expanded. All of the primary characters receive more lines of recitative and are assigned at least one additional aria. Segeste benefits the most from these insertions (four new arias and a trio), since he was not provided with any solo vocal number in I.05.1700. Cilene’s role is also expanded to include more arias and more scenic interaction with Floro and Cecina. The libretto also contains descriptions of two balletic *intermedii* and the final *deus ex machina* that concludes the opera with an appearance by Amor and the goddess Diana.

I.05.1750x Unknown.

D: None.

S(L): D-Dl. Manuscript libretto with the title “Il Trionfo di Germanico Proconsolo Romano in Germania, overo la Pace generosa, trà Germanico, ed Arminio Principe d’Alemagna. Opera Tragicomica.” No date is indicated; the catalog entry in D-Dl currently suggests a date of composition ca. 1750.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The text of this libretto corresponds to Silvani’s *La pace generosa*. Additions to the cast of characters include Celinda (lady-in-waiting to Cilene) and Arsindo (servant), both of whose roles are restricted to that of commentative and comic exchanges.

I.06 Arminio

Dramma per musica (1703)

L: Antonio Salvi (1664–1724). Adapted from Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Arminius, tragedie* (Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684).

Characters.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cauci and the Cherusci.

TUSNELDA, his wife, daughter of

SEGESTE, prince of the Catti, ancillary of

VARO, general of the Roman armies at the Rhine.

SIGISMONDO, son of Segeste, in love with

RAMISE, sister of Arminio.

TULLIO, captain of Varo.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Tusnelda urges Arminio to flee rather than risk imprisonment or death at the hands of the advancing Romans. Varo admits to Tullio that he has fallen in love with Tusnelda.

Segeste eagerly submits to Roman authority, as Arminio is led in chains before Varo.

Arminio vows to remain ever loyal to his country and regards Segeste as a traitor. Ramise is distraught over the imprisonment of her brother Arminio. Her relationship with Sigismondo is strained when she learns that Segeste (Sigismondo's father) was the one responsible for Arminio's condemnation. Segeste later informs his son of their new favored status with Rome and orders him to forget about a future with Ramise.

Sigismondo maintains that he would rather die than live without love.

Act 2.

Segeste tells Tullio that Arminio must die in order to ensure peace with Rome, but he is concerned about the effect this will have on his daughter. Tullio suggests that Tusnelda can marry Varo, who loves her. Varo receives a letter from the emperor that confirms the threat posed by Arminio, and advises his death. Awaiting his fate, Arminio is prepared to die for his ideals, and rejects an offer from Segeste that would set him free if he submits to Rome. When Segeste similarly informs Tusnelda that she can free her husband by convincing him to side with Rome, he is likewise scorned. Ramise confronts Segeste and draws a dagger to kill him, but Sigismondo intervenes. Segeste declares in turn that he will sign Arminio's death sentence. Sigismondo tries to convince Ramise of his devotion to her, even if he is Segeste's son. Tusnelda encourages her imprisoned husband to sue for peace and save his life, but Arminio is determined to die. When Varo arrives, Arminio surprisingly entrusts Tusnelda to his care. After Arminio is led away, however, Tusnelda informs Varo that she could never love him, and that if he cares for her, he should spare Arminio's life.

Act 3.

At the place of execution, Ramise tells her brother that she is willing to die with him, but he admonishes her to continue the fight for freedom and to look after Tuscelda. Varo tries to hinder the proceedings, saying that a duel on the battlefield rather than an ignoble execution should determine Arminio's fate. Segeste protests, but they are interrupted by word of a new insurrection. Arminio is led back to his cell, and Varo takes to the field. Alone in her room and uncertain of Arminio's fate, Tuscelda contemplates suicide but is stopped by Ramise, who tells her that Arminio still lives. The two women go to Sigismondo and threaten to kill themselves unless he acts on behalf of Arminio. Suddenly freed from his wavering indecision and conflicting loyalties, Sigismondo rushes out and frees Arminio from prison. Arminio goes forth to engage in the battle against Varo. Segeste berates Sigismondo for this act of betrayal, and orders both his son and Ramise to be taken into custody. They declare their willingness to die for each other's sake. Tullio brings word of the Roman defeat and Varo's death. Segeste is about to kill himself, but Arminio intervenes, offering him forgiveness. Segeste is overwhelmed by this gesture of generosity and reconciles with his family. Sigismondo, Ramise, Tuscelda, and Arminio celebrate the happiness engendered through a virtuous heart.

Productions.

I.06.1703 Pratinolo.

D: Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany (1663–1713).

S(L): I-Bu -Fc -Fm -Mb -MOe -PAc -Vnm -SA; S-Uu; US-CA. [SARTORI 2787]

M: Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725).

S(M): Various arias in D-B; US-BEm.

Remarks: The manuscript material held in US-BEm (identified with the word "Pratinolo" in the upper left-hand corner of the first folio) consists of two arias for Segeste (tenor), four arias for Sigismondo (soprano), and two duets for Sigismondo and Ramise (soprano). All of these arias and ensembles are written for continuo accompaniment only. Another continuo aria ("Non disperare ancor") held at D-B, misleadingly identified in the manuscript as a "cantata" by Scarlatti, can also be added to the list of surviving material. The text of this aria for Varo (alto) corresponds to the 1703 libretto, and the compositional style of the music matches that of the collection in US-BEm.

I.06.1705 Genoa (under the title *L'Arminio*).

D: Catterina Lercara Pallavicina.

S(L): I-Bc -Mb. [SARTORI 2788]

M: Antonio Caldara (ca. 1671–1736).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The libretto includes a frontispiece depicting a party of armed warriors approaching a bound and blindfolded warrior of distinction; the group bears a standard on which the Gonzaga coat of arms is visible (see figure 18). The libretto is based on Salvi's dramatic structure, but is expanded. An on-stage battle scene ("ballo di combattenti") early in the first act depicts Arminio's defeat by the Roman forces and precedes the exchange between Arminio and his wife that opens Salvi's text. The added character of

Dalisa, “Vecchia del Corte,” becomes the romantic partner of Tullio, and their scenes function as comedic intermezzos. The names of the characters Tusnelda and Ramise are changed to Rosmonda and Climene, respectively. The *argomento* that introduces the historical context in the prefatory material is newly composed and not reprinted in any subsequent production of I.06.

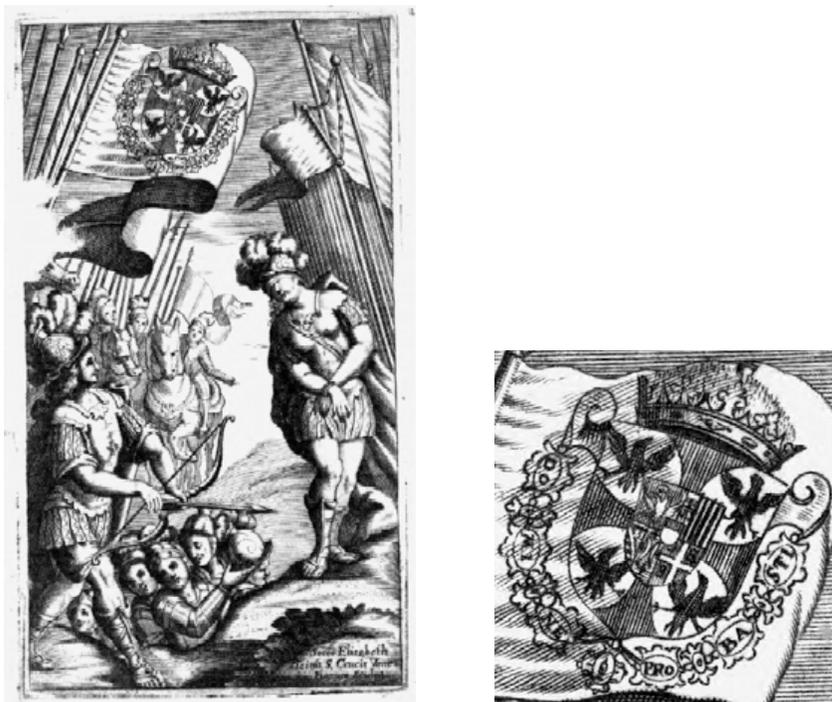


Figure 18. Frontispiece to *L'Arminio* (Genoa, 1705), with detail of the Gonzaga coat of arms. Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan: Corniani Algarotti–Racc.Dramm.1260. Reprinted with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

I.06.1714 Naples.

D: Maria Barbara of Herberstein, Countess of Daun, Vicereine of Naples (1675–1735).

S(L): I-Bc -Bu -Nc -Nn. [SARTORI 2791]

M: Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725).

Remarks: The libretto attributes the music of this work to Scarlatti, but the text has undergone considerable revision from the Pratolino production (I.06.1703). It is uncertain whether Scarlatti composed an entirely new setting of this opera or used parts of his 1703 version. Scarlatti was active in Naples during this time, which suggests that his direct involvement in this production was at least possible. In this version, the name of the character Tusnelda is changed to Elmira, and two comic characters, Dalisa (“Damigella di Elmira”) and Breno (“Servo confidente di Varo,” whose function partly corresponds to that of Tullio in the original libretto) are added. The prefatory material of the libretto draws attention to these changes: “Solo ti si aggiugne, che le Scene Buffe, che vi leggerai, si sono prese da altre Opere, altrove rappresentate, e vi si è variato, aggiunto, e

diminuito quanto è necessario, per meglio andarle adattando al genio di questo Città” (p. 8). This statement suggests that Scarlatti did not compose the comic scenes (which however do not correspond to similar scenes in I.06.1705). The dedicatory letter to the Countess of Daun is reprinted below:

[p. 5] ECCELLENTISS.MA SIG.RA.

Ora, che porto riverentemente a’ piedi dell’E.V. in questo Drama, le gloriose azioni d’un antico Eroe Germano, che posponeva intrepidamente la vita al pregio della libertà, da lui stimato inestimabile, e superiore ad ogni più elevata grandezza; [p. 6] siccome hò io per fermo, che in considerandolo Voi, Signora Eccellentiss. di quel Cielo medesimo, nel quale traeste i vostri gloriosi Natali, abbiate la bontà di accoglierlo generosamente sotto la vostra autorevole protezione, onde resti da ogni livida detrazione difeso; così mi accetto ancora, che vi piaccia di contrassegnare, con un benignissimo vostro gradimento, l’umiltà de’ miei ossequiosi rispetti, co’ quali à Voi lo consagro; perche venga io ad essere fatto degno dell’onore, che divotamente desidero, di manifestarmi perpetuamente

Di V.E.

Napoli 15. Novembre 1714,

Umiliss. Devotiss. & Obligatiss. Serv.

Nicolò Serino.

I.06.1716 Florence.

D: None. “Sotto la protezione...del...gran principe di Toscana.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): D-FUI -LEm; I-Bc -Fn -Mb Mc -Rn. [SARTORI 2792]

M: Unknown. BARBON/PLACHTA attribute this production to Alessandro Scarlatti. No identification of a composer is provided in the libretto, which together with other evidence (see remarks below) makes it likely that the work is a pasticcio.

Remarks: The recitative text of this libretto closely follows that of I.06.1703, although approximately half of the arias have been changed. An aria with the same incipit as Varo’s “Ti sento a palpitarmi” (scored for alto and strings) is held in D-B and has been attributed by Peter Ryom to Vivaldi (likely from *La Costanza trionfante*, Venice, 1716). An added aria for Tusnelda (“Sentire che nel sen”), printed at the end of the libretto “per non essere dell’Autore del Drama,” is apparently from Grazio Braccioli’s *Orlando finto pazzo* (Venice, 1714, music by Vivaldi).

I.06.1722a Rome.

D: Cardinal Nuno da Cunha (1664–1750).

S(L): B-Bc; F-Pn; GB-Lbl; I-Bc -Fm -Pmc -Rsc -Rig -Vgc; US-Wc. [SARTORI 2794]

M: Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)—new setting.

S(M): Six arias, one duet, and one ensemble in US-NH.

Remarks: The character of Tusnelda is called Ersinda in this production. Consistent with conventional practice in Rome, where women were not allowed to appear on stage, this opera was performed by an all-male cast (see SARTORI for cast list). On the basis of surviving music, the characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (alto; one ensemble), Ersinda (soprano; one aria, one ensemble), Segeste (no extant arias, but probably tenor, considering the casting of the tenor Giovanni Battista Pinacci in the role), Sigismondo (soprano; two arias, one duet, one ensemble), Varo (soprano; two arias), Ramise (soprano; one duet, one ensemble), Tullio (no extant music). A comparison of the surviving material with that of I.06.1703 indicates that Scarlatti most likely composed a new musical setting for this production. All of the arias and

ensembles in US-NH are scored for a full string ensemble. Two of the arias contain obbligato wind parts: “Del mio brando” (Varo) calls for a trumpet and two oboes; “Un pensier dice alla mente” (Sigismondo) has a solo oboe part. One soprano aria (“Per dar pace”) in the Yale collection does not appear in the printed libretto. It is possible that this aria was a substitution.

I.06.1722b Venice (under the title *L’Arminio*).

D: Giacomo Viale, Genoese patrician.

S(L): GB-Lbl; I-Bc -Fm -Mb -Pmc -Rn -Rsc -Rig -RVI -Vcg -Vnm; US-LAum - Wc. [SARTORI 2795]

M: Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (ca.1653–1723).

S(M): Various arias in B-Br; D-ROu; US-BEm.

Remarks: GROVE currently cites only one surviving aria: Ramise’s “Niente spero tutto credo,” held in D-ROu (contained in the pasticcio *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*); see STROHM 1976 (2:274-275). Further investigation has revealed that Arminio’s “Col far un Prence il cielo” (soprano and strings), Segeste’s “Al Reno la pace” (tenor and strings) and Varo’s “Non disperar ancor” (alto and strings) are contained in a (possibly autograph) manuscript collection of various Pollarolo arias in B-Br. An anonymously transmitted aria matching the text of Tusnelda’s “Scagliano amore, e sangue” (soprano and strings) is held in US-BEm and is likely from this production. The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi’s libretto.

I.06.1725 Florence.

D: None. “Sotto la protezione...di Gio. Gastone I gran duca di Toscana.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): I-Bc -Fc -Fn -Mb; US-CA -Wc. [SARTORI 2796]

M: Unknown; probably a pasticcio. See STROHM 1976 (2:223).

Remarks: An aria attributed to Leonardo Vinci and matching the incipit and first terzet of Segeste’s “Senza pietà di padre” (tenor and strings) is held in a manuscript collection of various arias in US-BEm. The text of the B section, however, does not correspond to that printed in the libretto. The same aria text also appears in I.06.1728.

I.06.1728 Perugia.

D: “Dedicato alle gentilissime dame della...città.”

S(L): I-Vgc; US-BE [SARTORI 2797]

M: Unknown; probably a pasticcio.

Remarks: All-male cast; see SARTORI. An aria attributed to Leonardo Vinci and matching the incipit and first terzet of Segeste’s “Senza pietà di padre” (tenor and strings) is held in a manuscript collection of various arias in US-BEm. The text of the B section, however, does not correspond to that printed in the libretto. The same aria text also appears in I.06.1725.

I.06.1730 Milan.

D: Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Holy Roman Empress (1691–1750);
Count Wirich Philipp von Daun, Governor of Milan (1669–1741).

S(L): I-LDEsormani -Mb; US-Wc [SARTORI 2798]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).

S(M): Various arias in A-Wn; B-Bc; D-Dl -Hs -Mbs -MÜs; F-Pc -Pn; GB-Lbl -Lcm
-Lk -Ob; I-Gl -MC -Nc -PLcon; US-FAy. See STROHM 1976 (2:177) and SCHMIDT-
HENSEL (2:109-124).

Remarks: Among the changes made to Salvi's libretto, this production begins with Arminio's defeat already having taken place (i.e., the first two to three scenes found in previous versions are eliminated), and the second act finale is reworked as a dramatic ensemble featuring Arminio, Tuscelda and Segeste. On the basis of the sixteen surviving solo arias (out of twenty-five), the characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Tuscelda (soprano), Ramise (soprano), Segeste (tenor), Varo (alto), Sigismondo (alto). The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation. The dedicatory letter to Count Wirich Philipp von Daun is reprinted below.

[p. 3] A SUA ECCELLENZA IL SIGNOR WIRICO FILIPPO LORENZO CONTE DI DAUN, PRINCIPE
DI TIANO &c. &c. Governatore, e Capitano Generale dello Stato di Milano &c.

Frà pubblici universali applausi nel felicissimo Natalizio giorno della Nostra [p. 4] sempre AUGUSTA
REGNANTE, ecco ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNORE si produce sù queste Scene quell' Arminio, che nelle
età passate a fronte del Romano Impero seppe con tanta intrepidezza, e valore sostenere la libertà, e gloria
della Germania. Se volgere un solo sguardo vi degnarete a questo Eroe, in Arminio ben presto potrete
rinvenire VOI STESSO; mentre d'eguale virtù, e prudenza munito in tante sì gloriose, e rinomate imprese
con quanti, e quali trionfi presso diversi altri Regni, e Provincie, non che nella Germania, reso vi siete
invitto, ed ammirabile. [p. 5] Se il vostro forte braccio fù terrore di tanti, e sì possenti Nemici
dell' Augustissimo Austriaco Soglio, ora ove altri pongono le mete, con la vostra gran mente intrprendete
insolito sentiero a nuovi meriti, e vittorie. Speriamo altresì in questa primiera nostra fatica di meritare il
validissimo Patrocinio, e generoso Compatimento di V.E., mentre si nella scielta de più rari Attori, come
nelle Teatrali decorazioni ci siamo in tutto, e per tutto affaticati di non punto defraudare quella sì gentile
propensione favorevole, che l'E.V. si è degnata dimostrare in vantaggio di questa nuova Società [p. 6] nel
Regio Ducal Teatro, e con umilissimo ossequio ci sottoscriviamo

Di Vostra Eccellenza

Umiliss. Divotiss. Obbligatiss. Serv.

Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio,

e Gio. Domenico Barbieri.

I.06.1732 Vienna.

D: None.

S(L): D-F -RT. [SARTORI 2799]

M: Francesco Rinaldi.

S(M): Ms. full score in D-MEIr.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are
assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Tuscelda
(soprano), Segeste (tenor), Varo (bass), Ramise (soprano).

Remarks: The dual-language libretto (the sung Italian text on left-facing pages, with a
German poetic translation on right-facing pages) calls the work a "Musicalisch-
Italiänisches Zwischen-Spiel" and does not contain any formal division into acts and
scenes. Rinaldi's score, however, refers to the work as an "opera" and specifies three

acts—consisting respectively of eleven, nine, and ten scenes—that (while shortened) correspond closely to the modified dramatic structure for the production at Milan and contain many of the same aria texts (see I.06.1730). A *sinfonia* precedes each act, and each act is followed by multi-movement dance music. The cast of characters is reduced to five in this adaptation (in addition to Tullio’s absence, the role of Sigismondo is eliminated), with the role of Arminio sung by a female soprano, not a male castrato. Yet in spite of Sigismondo’s absence, he remains the subject of an aria by Segeste (who learns in the third act that his son has betrayed him). One accordingly might assume either a general familiarity with the narrative and its characters when overt attention is drawn to a character who does not appear on stage, or else indifference to dramatic congruity.

I.06.1733 Alessandria.

D: None. “Sotto gl’ Alti Auspici di S.S.R.M. Carlo Emanuele Rè di Sardegna etc.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): US-CAt. [No entry in SARTORI]

M: Gaetano Maria Schiassi (1698–1754).

S(M): Arias in D-Wa; US-BEM; possibly B-Bc and GB-Lam.

Remarks: To date, this production has escaped the notice both of subject-specific lists of Arminius operas (FORCHERT, BARBON/PLACHTA, REISCHERT) as well as genre- and composer-specific catalogs of works (SARTORI, GROVE, MGG). The libretto held in the Harvard Theatre Collection is included in a bound collection of various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera librettos and appears to be the only archival holding of this text. The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi’s libretto, which reflects the modified dramatic structure and many of the same arias texts that originated with I.06.1730. Concerning Schiassi’s music, Tusnelda’s “L’empia mia stella irata” (soprano and strings) is held in D-Wa, and Ramise’s “Quel ch’intorno al cor mi sento” (alto and strings) is in US-BEM; both arias are expressly attributed to Schiassi in the manuscripts (without indication of the source opera). Two different arias with the incipit of Tusnelda’s “Ritorna a lusingarmi” (both written for soprano and strings) are held in B-Bc (attributed to Schiassi and a pasticcio performed in London two years later; contains slight text alterations) and US-BEM (anonymously transmitted, with slight text alterations). Yet strangely enough, the libretto indicates on the last page that “L’empia mia stella irata” will substitute for “Ritorna a lusingarmi” and the texts of both arias are rewritten. It is also possible that an anonymous aria held in GB-Lam is Ramise’s “Impara a non temer” (soprano + strings and continuo), although this could also be from Hasse’s Milan production (I.06.1730) or Scarlatti’s composition for Rome (1722).

I.06.1737 London.

D: None.

S(L): F-Pc; GB-En; US-BEM. [SARTORI 2800] Facsimile of US-BEM reproduced in Ellen Harris, ed., *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas* (New York: Garland, 1989), 8:1-43.

M: George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), HWV 36.

S(M): Ms. full score (autograph) in GB-Lbl. Editions in HG 89 and HHA ii/35.

Scoring: Flauto dolce I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II/III, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (alto), Tusnelda (soprano), Sigismondo (soprano), Ramise (alto), Varo (tenor), Segeste (bass), Tullio (alto).

Remarks: As Winton Dean notes, of the more than 1300 lines of recitative in Salvi's libretto, Handel "cut more than a thousand, leaving a rump of approximately 308" (see DEAN 2:352). While such cuts were made in an effort to appease Handel's recitative-weary, English-speaking audience, the result is a severe decimation of both the plot and character motivation. The dual-language libretto prints the Italian text and English translation on alternating left- and right-facing pages. The score of the overture and arias was initially published in conjunction with the production: *Arminius, an Opera as it is Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden* (London: Walsh, [1737]). A complete recording of this opera is available: *Handel: Arminio* (Il Complesso Barocco/Alan Curtis), Virgin CD 7243 S 45461 2 9 (2001).

I.06.1739 Milan (under the title *La Germania trionfante in Arminio*).

D: Maria Theresia, Archduchess of Austria and Grand Duchess of Tuscany (1717–1780).
S(L): CDN-Tu; I-Bc -LDEsormani -Mc. [SARTORI 11548]

M: Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio (? end of the 17th century–? ca.1758), according to GROVE; possibly at least in part a pasticcio.

S(M): None by Brivio is known, although the musical settings of some aria texts that originated from other contemporary operas (and other composers) have survived; whether any of these was performed in this particular production is unknowable.

Remarks: The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi's libretto, which reflects the modified dramatic structure that originated with the earlier production in Milan (see I.06.1730). In the libretto held by I-Mc, the following handwritten comment appears on the page facing the title page: "Rappresent. 3 Maggio per festeggiare l'Arciduchessa di Toscana Maria Teresa primagenita di Carlo VI venuta a visitare Milano con lo sposo e col cognato Principi lorenesi." The dedicatory letter addressed to Maria Theresia is reprinted below:

[p. 3] ALTEZZA REALE. Se allorquando ci risolvemmo di rimettere questo Teatro nell'antico suo splendore, e decoro, ci fosse caduto [p. 4] in pensiero alcun felice avvenimento di nostro singolar piacere ed onore, niun' altro certamente avrebbe questo potuto essere se non la venuta dell'ALTEZZA VOSTRA REALE a felicitare colla veneratissima sua presenza questa Metropoli: Nella gran sorte però toccataci di contribuire in qualche maniera alle ben dovute dimostrazioni del giusto ed universal giubilo, ci vediamo pur troppo costretti a dolerci e della strettezza del tempo, e delle varie presenti contingenze, che tolto ci hanno il modo di far comparire [p. 5] su queste Scene un Drama degno della benignissima approvazione dell'A.V.. Studiati non ostante ci siamo di porle sotto gli occhi uno dei più gloriosi giorni della Germania, come quella che dall'A.V.R. non meno per cagione della chiarezza dell'Augusto Sangue, che nelle vene le scorre, che per gli eccelsi singolarissimi pregi, che in V.A. risplendono, riceve il più mirabile, e più sublime ornamento; come altresì per darle un'immagine di quel festoso contento, che non solamente la Germania, ma la nostra Italia ancora [p. 6] risentiranno, allorchè gli comuni Voti s'adempiano nella sospirata generosa Prole di V.A.. Degnisi intanto la R.A.V. colla naturale sua Clemenza di gradire questo nostro picciol tributo, e con esso il profondissimo ossequio, con cui umilissimamente c'inchiniamo
Di V.A.R.

Umiliss.mi obblig.mi Servi.ri
Li Cavalieri Direttori.

I.06.1740 Vienna.

D: None.

S(L): A-Wn. [SARTORI 2801] Also US-CAh (incomplete).

M: Unknown; possibly a pasticcio.

Remarks: The dual-language libretto (the sung Italian text on left-facing pages, with a German poetic translation on right-facing pages) calls the work a “Musicalisches Schauspiel” and divides it into three acts with no formal designation of scenes apart from stage directions indicating locations as well as character entrances and exits. The libretto in A-Wn contains a handwritten attribution to Johann Adolf Hasse as composer of the music. Although the reduced cast of characters matches Francesco Rinaldi’s earlier version performed in Vienna (see I.06.1732) and the recitative remains almost exactly the same, over half of the arias have been changed. It is possible that parts of Rinaldi or Hasse’s scores were used in assembling the production. See also SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:125.

I.06.1745 Brunswick (under the title *Arminius und Thusnelda*).

D: None.

S(L): D-HV1.

M: Carl Heinrich Graun (1703–1759).

S(M): Arias in D-Dl; S-Skma.

Remarks: The production was held during the annual August trade fair (“Laurentii-Messe”) in Brunswick. The libretto is apparently derived from the severely cut adaptation of Salvi’s text that was used for Handel’s London production (I.06.1737), since almost every line of the recitative in that version is sung here in a German poetic translation. The arias, however—several of which are similar to or the same as the arias of I.06.1737—are sung in Italian (a German prose translation is provided in the libretto). The character names are rendered as Arminius, Thusnelda, Segestes, Varus, Sigmund, Ramise, and Tullius. Although Carl Heinrich Graun receives explicit credit in the libretto (“Die Overture, Arien und letzte Chor sind componirt von Herrn Graun, Königlichen Preußischen Capell Meister”), HENZEL argues that *Arminius und Thusnelda* was not an original composition, but instead a pasticcio consisting of arias from Graun’s other operas. Indeed, Graun’s 1744 setting of *Lucio Papirio* (GraunWV B:I:11) provides the original source for three surviving musical numbers that correspond to texts appearing in this production: Sigmund’s “Quei begli occhi,” Arminius and Thusnelda’s duet “In mezzo a questi amplessi” (both held in S-Skma), and Segestes’s “Sulla tomba coronata” (in D-Dl). Considering the strong textual link to I.06.1737, it is also possible that coincidences of aria texts between the two productions indicate borrowings from Handel’s composition.

I.06.1746 Hamburg (under the title *L’Arminio Principe de Cauci e de Cherusci / Arminius Fürst der Caucier und Cherusker*).

D: None.

S(L): D-B -Hs. [SARTORI 2827]

M: Paolo Scalabrini (1713–1803 or 1806). The libretto contains the following comment: “La Musica è del Signor Maestro di Capella Paulo Scalabrini. / Die Music ist von dem Herrn Capell-Meister, Paulo Scalabrini, fertigget worden.”

S(M): None known. Since Scalabrini was involved in the composition and arrangement of numerous operas, it is likely that this work is to some extent a pasticcio.

Remarks: The text of the libretto is dual-language: the sung Italian text is printed on left-facing pages, with a German prose translation credited to an anonymous translator (“Herr N.N. in Brunn”) on right-facing pages. The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi’s libretto, which otherwise closely follows the original text for the recitative (many of the arias, however, derive from librettos by Metastasio and Zeno) and dramatic structure. A notable exception is that the work begins with Arminio’s initial defeat having already taken place (i.e., the first scene featuring Arminio and Tuscelda before the impending battle is eliminated).

I.06.1747 Venice (under the title *L’Arminio*).

D: None.

S(L): I-Bc -Fm -Mb -PAc -Rsc -Vcg; US-LAum -Wc. [SARTORI 2807]

M: Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785).

S(M): Various arias in B-Bc; CDN-Lu; D-B -Mbs -ROu -SWI; I-MOe -Nc -PLcon -PS -Vc -Vnm; J-Tk; S-Skma; US-AUS -BEm.

Remarks: The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi’s libretto, which partly follows the revised dramatic structure of I.06.1730. Instead of the trio ensemble that closes the second act, however, this production substitutes a duet for Arminio and Tuscelda. On the basis of the ten surviving arias by Galuppi, the characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano; one aria), Tuscelda (soprano; two arias), Ramise (soprano; three arias), Varo (soprano; two arias), Segeste (tenor; one aria), Sigismondo (soprano; one aria). Sigismondo’s surviving aria originated in Metastasio’s libretto *Didone abbandonata*, which Galuppi set for a production in Modena in 1740. Galuppi’s score for this production of *L’Arminio* therefore appears to have been in part a self-pasticcio.

I.06.1749 Florence.

D: None. “Sotto la protezione della sac. ces. real maestà di Francesco I imperadore de’ romani...e gran duca di Toscana.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): I-Fc -PEc -Rn. [SARTORI 2809]

M: Unknown, probably a pasticcio.

Remarks: SARTORI notes that the libretto in I-Fc attributes the work to Baldassare Galuppi (perhaps a handwritten annotation) and BARBON/PLACHTA reinforce this attribution.

However the libretto consulted for this catalog (I-PEc) does not cite a composer; indeed, this production and that of I.06.1747 do not share a single aria in common. The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi’s libretto, which follows the revised dramatic structure of I.06.1730, including the same trio ensemble at the end of the second act. Most of the other arias, however, are different and have been assembled from various sources. Of those for which extant musical settings are known, an aria with the same

incipit as Varo's "Più non chiamo ingiusto amore" is held in J-Tk and attributed to Gioacchino Cocchi, and one matching the incipit of Tusnelda's "Freme orgoglioso" is held in D-MÜs and attributed to Leonardo Leo. Arias from Metastasio's operas also find their way into this production, including "È la fede degli amanti" (from *Demetrio*) and "Siete barbare, amate stelle" (from *Semiramide riconosciuta*).

I.06.1754 Graz (under the title *L'Arminio*).

D: "Dedicato al impareggiabile merito dell'eccell. ed illustriss. dame, e cavalieri della celeberrima città di Graz."

S(L): A-Gl. [SARTORI 2812]

M: Unknown; probably a pasticcio.

Remarks: The text of the libretto is dual-language, with the sung Italian text on left-facing pages, and a German prose translation on right-facing pages. Although the libretto provides the credit "In das Teutsche übersetzt von dem N.N. zu Brünn," this translation is not the same as the one in I.06.1746. The character of Tullio does not appear in this adaptation of Salvi's libretto, which partly follows the modified dramatic structure that originated with I.06.1730 (substituting a duet at the close of the second act for the trio ensemble). SARTORI attributes the work to Baldassare Galuppi and BARBON/PLACHTA reinforce this attribution, although no composer is stated in the libretto (and no handwritten annotation to this effect appears on the only surviving copy in the Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek in Graz). Of the surviving arias by Galuppi for I.06.1747, only "Se perde il caro bene" is contained in the Graz production and it is sung by a different character (Tusnelda instead of Ramise). Judging from its inclusion in numerous manuscript collections (B-Bc; CDN-Lu; CZ-KU -Pu; D-B -ROu -SWl; I-Nc -PLcon -Vnm; US-AUS -BEm), this aria was a popular hit of its day, both with its original text and as a sacred contrafactum. Several of the other aria texts for Graz are taken from librettos by Metastasio.

I.06.1760 London.

D: None.

S(L): GB-Lbl; US-AA -Wc -Ws. [SARTORI 2813]

M: Pasticcio. ("MUSICK by Several Masters. / La MUSICA è di Varj Autori.")

S(M): GB-Lbl; US-CAh -Cn -Su.

Remarks: Three arias (one each for Arminio, Tusnelda, and Sigismondo) and two duets (both featuring Arminio and Tusnelda) from this production are printed in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Call'd Arminio* (London: Walsh, [1760]). Two of these arias are expressly credited to David Perez (1711–1778) in the score, while the others are published without composer attribution. A handwritten annotation on the title page of the libretto in GB-Lbl states that the opera was "produced in March 1760" and that "all the airs sung by Mattei were by Perez." Of the two duets and one aria belonging to Tusnelda (sung by Colomba Mattei, a pupil of Perez) in the published songbook, however, only the aria ("Nel pensar a gran cimento") is credited to Perez. One of these duets ("Il fuggir, cara mia vita") seemingly appears in the libretto as a solo aria for Tusnelda. Similar to I.06.1737, the Italian text and English translation are printed on alternate left- and right-

facing pages in the libretto. The introductory “argument” contains the following comment: “N.B. Though history tells us, that Varus killed himself, in this Drama he is supposed only taken prisoner.” In addition to this major plot alteration, Salvi’s text is considerably shortened, although no characters are eliminated. Several of the aria texts are taken from librettos by Metastasio.

I.07 Arminio

Poemetto drammatico per musica (1706)

L: Pietro Antonio Bernardoni (1672–1714).

Characters.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cherusci, chief of the peoples rising up against Rome.

GERMANICO CESARE, commander of the Roman armies in Germania.

TUSNELDA, princess of the Cherusci, wife of Arminio.

SEGESTO, German prince, father of Tusnelda.

ISMENIA, daughter of Inguiomero, a prince related to Arminio.

SEGIMONDO, son of Segeste.

Synopsis.

In the Roman camp, Segesto pays obsequious homage to Germanico as the conquerer of Germania and presents his daughter Tusnelda, who denounces her father and scorns Germanico as a tyrant. While Germanico is impressed by this noble spirit, Tusnelda thinks nothing of his flattery. Segesto’s son Segimondo arrives with news that Arminio has crossed the river in order to pay a visit to Germanico’s camp. Tusnelda regards her brother as a turncoat; likewise does Ismenia reject her one-time love Segimondo as a traitor to his homeland. Segimondo protests that he abandoned Arminio only because he wanted to follow Ismenia into captivity and be near her. Ismenia forgives him. Arminio arrives and is prepared to return the Roman eagle standards he captured in the defeat of Varo in exchange for his wife’s freedom. Germanico is insulted by such an audacious reminder of Roman defeat and refuses the offer. However, he suggests that if Arminio is willing to make peace with Rome, he would be willing to release Tusnelda. Arminio is torn between his love for his wife and his duty towards his homeland. When Tusnelda learns of this choice, she encourages him to remain true to the ideals of freedom for Germania, even if it means her continued imprisonment. Segimondo awaits Ismenia’s arrival in the garden and they plot their escape from the Roman camp. Arminio begins to surrender to Germanico’s authority, but he is stopped by Tusnelda, who swears she will

never love him again if he admits defeat. Germanico is so impressed by this display of virtue that he grants Tusnelda her immediate release, and declares that he will engage Arminio in battle to take his revenge for Varo's death. As Germanico gloats, Arminio interrupts him to speak of a future when Rome will no longer have control of the world. An oracle has predicted a shift of the empire from the Tiber to the Danube, when the birth of the future Emperor Joseph I will usher in a new glorious era.

Productions.

I.07.1706 Vienna.

D: Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor (1678–1711).

S(L): Ms. libretto in D-DI. No printed libretto from the performance is known to be extant. The text is printed in *Poemi drammatici di Pietro Antonio Bernardoni poeta cesareo, et accademico arcade, gelato, scomposto, animoso, & acceso. Parte prima consagrada all'altezza serenissima del signor Principe di Toscana* (Bologna: Costantino Pisarri, 1706), 253-273.

M: Antonio Maria Bononcini (1677–1726).

S(M): Ms. full score in A-Wn and D-DI.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (alto), Germanico (tenor), Tusnelda (soprano), Segesto (bass), Ismenia (soprano), Segimondo (alto).

Remarks: The work was performed at the Teatro della Favorita on the occasion of the twenty-eighth birthday of Emperor Joseph I (July 26, 1706). The *Wienerisches Diarium* published the following report on the performance:

Sodann seynd allerhöchst besagte Kayserl. Majestäten wieder in die Favorita gekehret und haben sich in all dortigen schönen Lustgarten bey der Grotta unter der Beleuchtung vieler Wind-liechtern des Abends mit einer vortrefflichen *Serenada*, welche Ihrer Königl. Spanischen Majestät Kapellmeister Herr Bonacini, verfast.¹

¹ See Lowell Edwin Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and his Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 120. Lindgren cites as his source Wilfrid Scheib, "Die Entwicklung der Musikberichterstattung im Wienerischen Diarium von 1703-1780" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1950), 66.

I.08 Arminio

Tragedia per musica (1707)

L: Attributed to Stefano Benedetto Pallavicino (1672–1742).

Characters (as listed in D-BAs, folio 3r).

SEGESTE	Il Sig. Gio. Fran.co Benedetti
TUSNELDA sua figlia	Il Sig. Antonio Tosi
ARMINIO	Il Sig. Valeriano Pelegrini
INGUIOMERO zio d'Arminio	Il Sig. Vincenzo Giardi
ERMUDE sua figlia	Il Sig. Benedetto Baldassari
Q. VARO	Il Sig. Lorenzo Santorini
SERVILIO	Il Sig. Alessandro Mori
LIBISSO sacerdote	Il Sig. Gioseppe Olci.
CORI.	tutti servitori di S.A.S.E.
[Not listed: ERTA, earth goddess.]	

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Varo and Servilio, honored guests of the Roman sympathizer Segeste, regret the Roman custom that forbids them from intermarriage with foreigners, since they are both in love with the daughters (Tusnelda and Ermude, respectively) of German chieftains. Varo considers Arminio a two-fold enemy, since he both refuses to submit to Roman authority and is engaged to Tusnelda. He tells Segeste that it would not be proper for him as an ally of Rome to allow his daughter to marry a rebel such as Arminio. Segeste, who has never liked Arminio, sees this as an opportunity to break the engagement. In the banquet hall, Arminio refuses to attend Segeste's celebration of Roman conquest, but reluctantly agrees to stay at Tusnelda and Inguiomer's urging. During the banquet, however, Segeste's obsequious behavior becomes too much for Arminio to bear, and he angrily storms out of the room, insulting the Romans.

Act 2.

Ermude and Servilio have a clandestine meeting in the garden. Varo brings news that the emperor has granted Roman citizenship to Segeste, which means that Varo can now legally marry Tusnelda. Servilio suggests that Ermude exploit her influence with Tusnelda to manipulate her to their side. Meanwhile, Segeste informs a stunned Tusnelda that she must break off her engagement to Arminio. When Arminio arrives, Segeste justifies his position by saying that Arminio's recent disrespectful behavior has made him the enemy of the emperor and a threat to his family's security. Arminio would like to kill Segeste, but Tusnelda stops him. She is torn between her love for Arminio and the obligation to obey her father.

Act 3.

Ermude is unsuccessful in her attempt to direct Tusnelda's sympathies favorably to Rome. Segeste introduces Tusnelda to Varo as her future husband, but she rejects the notion. Servilio continues to court Ermude secretly, but Inguiomero catches them and angrily accuses the Roman of seducing his daughter. Servilio protests that he intends to marry Ermude, and invites Inguiomero to take the matter before the tribunal of Varo, where he is sure his case will find support. Arminio gathers together the various princes of Germania and incites them to insurrection against the Roman oppressors. When informed by his uncle about Segeste's plan to marry Tusnelda to Varo, Arminio's anger is further inflamed. Inguiomero, similarly incensed over his daughter's seduction, joins the others in the rebellion.

Act 4.

Tusnelda regards death as the only escape from her predicament, but as she is about to stab herself, Segeste bursts in with news that Arminio and Inguiomero are attacking the castle. Tusnelda urges her father to flee, but refuses to go with him. Inguiomero informs Arminio that Varo is not in the castle, but rather in his encampment, where they must pursue him. Tusnelda intends to accompany them as a fellow enemy of Rome, but nevertheless a daughter of Segeste. Servilio, unaware of the attack, reminds Inguiomero of their appointment at the tribunal. Inguiomero assures him justice will be done there. Meanwhile, Varo considers the best course of action in his role as judge, when a soldier informs him of the bloody uprising led by Arminio and Inguiomero. Varo takes up a sword and joins the battle as Segeste admonishes the Romans to fight. Arminio leads the cavalry as the battle rages.

Act 5.

The priest Libisso leads Ermude through a forest; as a vestal virgin, she is to consecrate a sacrifice to the gods in order to ensure Arminio's victory in the battle. Ermude hesitates, since she is concerned about the fate of the Romans. Inguiomero meets them and tells Ermude that the victim to be sacrificed is already in place. Ermude is horrified to discover the captured Servilio as this intended victim. Rather than kill her beloved, Ermude would take her own life, but this proves unnecessary as Arminio returns triumphant from the battle. Arminio frees Servilio and charges him to spread the news of the Roman defeat. Tusnelda advocates on behalf of her captured father, and Segeste finally gives his blessing to Arminio and Tusnelda's marriage. Suddenly the goddess Erta appears and expresses her divine approval of Arminio, whom she claims as her son. All celebrate the German victory.

Productions.

I.08.1707 Düsseldorf.

D: Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (1658–1716).

S(L): No printed libretto is known to be extant. The text of the opera has never been published, and the attribution to S.B. Pallavicino cannot be confirmed with certainty.

M: Attributed to Agostino Steffani (1653–1728).

S(M): Ms. full score in CDN-Lu; D-BAs -WD; GB-Lbl.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Tromba, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi, Timpani. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Segeste (bass), Tuscelda (alto), Arminio (soprano), Inguimero (alto), Ermude (soprano), Varo (tenor), Servilio (soprano), Libisso (tenor), Erta (soprano).

Remarks: The extent of Steffani's involvement in the composition of this opera is uncertain. Croll and Timms have shown that over half of the arias were assembled from Steffani's previously composed works, perhaps compiled under Steffani's directive by his copyist Gregorio Piva. Since the percentage of borrowed material increases in the last two-thirds of the opera, it is possible that Steffani intended *Arminio* to be an original work, but was unable to complete it due to other obligations. As a pasticcio, however, the opera displays a remarkable degree of dramatic unity and musical variety that certainly makes it worthy of revival (especially considering the existence of at least four complete scores). To date, the manuscript score in Bamberg (D-BAs) has not received scholarly attention. In comparison with the other scores, it is the most complete, and in the absence of a printed libretto, also provides valuable information regarding the 1707 production, including the cast of performers (see above) and a prefatory notice to the reader (transcribed below):

[2r] Molte cose dovrei dire al Lettore, per dichiarazione e moltissime per giustificazione di questa mia Tragedia. Il gran Principe, a cui ò la sorte di servire, si è contentato di prescrivermi un soggetto confacevole, più tosto, che al mio basso ingegno, alla sublime sua Mente, mosso per avventura a sceglerlo dalla conformità de suoi generosissimi sentimenti con quelli dell'antico Arminio.

Questo Duca de Cherusci acerrimo difensore della Patria mal soffrendo di vedere i Romani dilatar le conquiste loro dal Reno fino all'Albi, sorpreso Quintilio Varo Generale d'Augusto, che si trovava nella Vesfalia per ivi all'uso di Roma tener ragione, tagliò a pezzi tre Legioni, e ne riportò in trionfo le Insegne. Venne quindi a meritare da suoi Nemici il bel titolo di Liberatore della Germania, che lo ripose frà gli Dei tutelari, conghetturandosi da molti [2v] con fondamento, che l'Idolo d'Irmesule famoso à tempi di Carlo Magno altro non fosse, che una statua rappresentante Arminio. Ebbe per moglie Tuscelda Donna d'animo grande, ed altrettanto aliena da' Romani, quanto ne fù amico il di lei Padre Segeste che perciò ne ottenne da Augusto il dono della Cittadinanza. Nella tessitura di questi avvenimenti ò procurato d'accennare molti de costumi dell'antica Alemagna, come quelli, che per iscarsenza di scrittori non sono de più conosciuti; avendo i Germani di què secoli preferito ad ogn' altro il mestier della Guerra, da quale furono dinominati, e che viene tuttavia professato con tanta lode da questa valorosa Nazione.

I.09 Le gare generose

Dramma per musica (1712)

L: Antonio Zaniboni (d. 1767). Adapted from Jean de Campistron, *Arminius, tragedie* (Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684).

Characters.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cherusci, in love with Ismenia.

ISMENIA, sister of Sigismondo.

SIGISMONDO, son of Segeste.

SEGESTE, prince of the Catti.

POLISENA, sister of Arminio.

VARO, governor of Germania in the name of Augustus.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

In an official ceremony Varo awards Roman citizenship to Segeste, who swears allegiance to the emperor, and promises the hand of his daughter Ismenia to Varo. Sigismondo, who is in attendance at this ceremony, is ashamed of his father's submission to Rome and the betrayal of his earlier engagement between Ismenia and Arminio. Sigismondo's relationship with Polisenia, Arminio's sister, is also placed in jeopardy as a result of Segeste's actions. Arminio decides to confront Segeste. Later, Segeste tells Ismenia that she must purge all memory of Arminio from her heart and marry Varo. She refuses, but is concerned about her fate.

Act 2.

When Segeste defends his decisions for siding with Rome and giving Ismenia to Varo. Arminio advocates for the ideals of loyalty and liberty, declaring his enmity towards Rome. At Segeste's order, Arminio is arrested as an insurgent, but maintains his defiant stance even in the face of Varo. Ismenia and Polisenia plead on behalf on Arminio, but he is carried off to prison. Ismenia continues to reject the idea that she should marry Varo; Sigismondo, too, berates his father. In prison, Arminio, facing death, entrusts Tusedda to Varo's care because he wants her to be associated with the victor, not the vanquished—a gesture that deeply impresses Varo. Tusedda later informs Arminio that she could never love any other but him. Sigismondo arrives to rescue Arminio and encourages him to join with him in a rebellion against the Romans.

Act 3.

Sigismondo tells Polisenia and Ismenia that Arminio leads the battle against Varo; they are overjoyed. On the battlefield, Arminio is victorious over the Romans and engages in single combat with Varo. Though Varo loses the duel, Arminio spares his life and puts him in chains, which causes Varo more humiliation than death. Segeste is furious at the turn of events, and when he learns that Sigismondo was responsible for Arminio's escape, he tries to kill his son. Polisenia intervenes, insisting that she was the one who

freed Arminio. When the acclamations of Arminio's victory are heard, Segeste, fearing his fate at the hands of the victor, moves to kill himself, but is stopped by Sigismondo and Polisena. Arminio enters in triumph with Varo in chains. Arminio exhibits his magnanimous virtue by releasing Varo and pardoning Segeste. Varo concedes Ismenia to the victor, and all are reconciled.

Productions.

I.09.1712 Venice.

D: Niccolò Pisani.

S(L): I-Bc -Bu -Mb -MOe -Nc -Pmc -Rc -Rig -Rn -Rsc -RVI -Vcg -Vnm; US-BEm -LAum -Wc. [SARTORI 11285]

M: Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni (1671–1751).

S(M): Various arias in D-SW1.

Remarks: In the prefatory material, Zaniboni refers to this libretto as his first poetic work ("la mia prima Poetica fatica"), and alludes to Campistron's drama as the inspiration for the plot ("tolto dal famoso componimento Francese"). The five extant arias held in Schwerin are preserved in parts, not full score. They are all da capo arias, scored for full strings, with first and second violin often in unison. One aria (Polisena's "La mia sorte") contains an obbligato flute solo. On the basis of the surviving arias, the characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Ismenia (soprano), Sigismondo (no extant aria, but either soprano or alto, considering the castrato Stefano Romani, "il Pignattino," in the role), Segeste (alto), Polisena (soprano), Varo (no extant aria).

I.10 Il Germanico Marte

Dramma per musica (1721)

L: Unknown.

Characters.

SEGESTE, prince of the Catti, father of Ismenia and Sigismondo. In love with Telesia.

ISMENIA, wife of Arminio.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cauci and Cherusci. Husband of Ismenia.

TELESIA, sister of Arminio. In love with Idraspe.

SIGISMONDO, son of Segeste.

QUINTILIO VARO, general of the Roman troops in Germania. In love with Ismenia.

IDRASPE, protegé and captain of Segeste. In love with Telesia.

Characters in the Intermezzos.

GRESPIZZA, servant of the court.

FANFARONE, servant of Arminio.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Arminio publicly protests Segeste's recent alliance with Rome as opportunistic and cowardly. Resenting this insolence, Segeste in turn threatens Arminio, and Ismenia is concerned about the breach between her husband and her father. Idraspe assures her that he will look out for Arminio's interests. Idraspe also tries to console Telesia, Arminio's sister, but learns to his dismay that she is more concerned about Segeste. However, when Segeste appears with Quintilio Varo, Telesia embarrassingly berates him in front of the Roman general. Varo insists that Segeste must recover his lost honor through Arminio's death. Segeste hesitates, since Arminio is not only his son-in-law but a sovereign prince as well. When Arminio tries to apologize for his behavior, Segeste steels himself to remain harsh and condemns him to death. Arminio declares that he would rather die than live as a coward. Varo, who expresses romantic interest in Ismenia, is scorned by both Ismenia and Telesia; he bitterly swears vengeance. Later, Ismenia convinces Arminio to flee from her father's wrath.

Intermezzo.

Grespilla, a servant of the court, and Fanfarone, a servant of Arminio, encounter each other and exchange insults and flirtatious behavior.

Act 2.

Varo orders the Roman army to assault Segeste's castle. When Idraspe questions the motive, Varo tells him he acts to preserve the emperor's honor in the face of the insolence he has witnessed among Segeste's clan; but when alone, he reveals as his true motive the desire to win Ismenia. Idraspe warns Segeste of Varo's attack and goes to lead the defense. Ismenia pleads with her father on Arminio's behalf. Segeste remains outwardly firm in his commitment to Arminio's death sentence, but inwardly torn between his personal feelings and public responsibility. In prison, Arminio awaits his execution, which is hindered as Telesia appears and releases him from his chains. Segeste arrives and accuses Telesia of betraying him. Sigismondo begs his father to spare Arminio's life. Ismenia brings news that Idraspe has been captured by Varo's army. Segeste refuses to withdraw the death sentence, but must leave to fight Varo. Before Arminio is led away by the guards, Ismenia, Telesia, and Sigismondo pledge to support his cause. Sigismondo joins the battle; Ismenia and Telesia angrily confront Varo on the battlefield. When Varo learns his love for Ismenia is unrequited, he swears to win her by merciless force. Telesia advises Ismenia that she should feign affection to manipulate Varo into a vulnerable position.

Intermezzo.

Grespilla and Fanfarone continue their sparring and part company.

Act 3.

Having been captured in the battle, Segeste is led before Varo and expresses resentment over Varo's betrayal. Sigismondo begs for his father's release, but Varo dismisses the youth, paying him no attention. Ismenia arrives and tells the smitten Varo that she will give herself to him if he releases her father. Telesia likewise manipulates Varo by promising that her brother Arminio will submit to the emperor's power if Varo will free Idraspe. Varo orders Segeste's release as he dreams of possessing Ismenia. Meanwhile, Ismenia leads a crowd to rescue Arminio from prison and to prepare him to lead the battle against the Romans. Later, Varo shows up and expresses his happiness over Ismenia's love, which he doesn't know is only an act. He leaves, intending to call off his troops' assault, believing that Arminio is also in his power. Shortly thereafter, Idraspe arrives and informs Ismenia and Telesia that Varo is dead and Arminio has emerged as the glorious victor of the battle. [Intermezzo with Grespilla and Fanfarone.] Arminio enters the city in a triumphant procession and, acknowledging Segeste as an equal victor, dedicates all his glory to his beloved Ismenia. The crowd hails both Segeste and Arminio. Segeste gives his blessing to Telesia and Idraspe's relationship, and reconciles with his family.

Licenza.

The prince-archbishop of Salzburg is the subject of the panegyric epilogue, which celebrates his name-day.

Productions.

I.10.1721 Salzburg.

D: Franz Anton von Harrach, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (1663–1727).

S(L): US-Wc. [SARTORI 11557] Also A-Sfr.

M: Antonio Caldara (ca. 1671–1736).

S(M): Ms. full score (autograph) in A-Wgm.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Clarini I/II, Trombe I/II, Violini I/II, Viola, Bassi, Timpani. Specific instrumentation is identified in the score only when the wind instruments have obbligato parts—this occurs only in a couple of arias and the final chorus. Usually the arias are marked “con stromenti,” although a few of the arias are accompanied by continuo only. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (specified in the score): Segeste (bass), Ismenia (soprano), Arminio (alto), Telesia (soprano), Sigismondo (soprano), Quintilio Varo (soprano), Idraspe (tenor), Grespilla (soprano), Fanfarone (bass).

Remarks: FORCHERT, BARBON/PLACHTA, and REISCHERT do not include this work in their list of Arminius operas. The work was performed in honor of the name day of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (October 4, 1721). The year does not appear in the printed libretto, but is noted in Caldara's autograph score. The score contains some additional lines of dialogue (recitative) that are not printed in the libretto, as well as a third intermezzo featuring Grespilla and Fanfarone that is inserted before Arminio's triumphant entry into the city. Three arias are also inserted into the score at the appropriate places as substitutions for originally composed arias. Since the new arias correspond to the text as printed in the libretto, the autograph score appears to have been

composed to an earlier, slightly longer version of the libretto, which was then shortened before the publication and performance. No such cuts in the recitative are indicated in the score, however. The plot of this opera is notable for its relatively sympathetic portrayal of Segeste, who becomes a pawn in Varo's schemes. Varo in turn assumes a more active role as the drama's antagonist.

I.11 Germanico in Germania

Dramma per musica (1732)

L: Niccolò Coluzzi (fl. 1730s).

Characters.

GERMANICO, commander of the Roman army.

ARMINIO, prince of Germania, enemy of the Romans.

ROSMONDA, his wife, daughter of Segeste, enemy of the Romans.

CECINA, Roman captain.

ERSINDA, second daughter of Segeste, Roman citizen.

SEGESTE, prince of Germania, Roman citizen.

Small SON of Arminio and Rosmonda, who does not speak.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Rosmonda tells Arminio that her father Segeste has betrayed their city to the Romans. Arminio steals away to his encampment to plot a counter-attack. The Romans enter the city, and Rosmonda maintains a defiant stance in the face of Germanico, expressing disappointment and shame in her father's treachery. Germanico orders Cecina to meet with Arminio in his camp, but he refuses, having been frightened by a portentous dream of the slain Varo. Segeste offers to go instead. Ersinda, Segeste's other daughter, reassures Cecina that she will always remain faithful to him, just as her loyalty to her father and to Rome is unshakable. In Arminio's tent, Segeste justifies his alliance with mighty Rome as a means to ensure prosperity and avoid bloodshed; Arminio asserts that a life of freedom is preferable to subjugation. Ersinda tries to convince Rosmonda that being a Roman citizen has many benefits, but Rosmonda is not persuaded. Segeste returns with the news that Arminio has rejected a peace settlement, whereupon Germanico prepares for battle. Segeste regrets that only one of his daughters has remained faithful to him. Rosmonda, alone, confesses her conflicting feelings of obligation and love for both her father and her husband.

Act 2.

In the battle between the Germans and the Romans, Arminio's forces are defeated. Arminio contemplates suicide to avoid humiliation, but is captured by Cecina. Rosmonda and Ersinda worry about the outcome of the battle and the fate of their loved ones. Segeste returns and announces Arminio's defeat and capture. Germanico leads the enchained Arminio through the streets in a triumphant procession. In an emotional encounter, Arminio tells Rosmonda that she must live and take care of their son. Ersinda and Cecina have a joyful reunion. Later, Germanico tries to trick Arminio into pledging allegiance to Rome by making him believe that Rosmonda and her son have both already joined the Roman side. Rosmonda overhears this conversation and asserts her constancy for Arminio's cause. Germanico sentences Arminio to death, but Arminio and Rosmonda remain defiant.

Act 3.

Segeste persuades Germanico that Arminio will never turn his allegiance to Rome, and that he must die. Having lost her earlier scornful pride, Rosmonda pleads with Segeste and Ersinda to support her efforts on behalf of her husband, but they refuse. Germanico allows Rosmonda to make a final visit to Arminio, with Segeste's supervision. In the prison, Rosmonda tries to convince Arminio to make an honorable peace with Rome and thus save his life. Segeste is pleased at his daughter's apparent change of heart, but Arminio is outraged at the suggestion. When his steadfastness proves immune even to Rosmonda's pathos-filled description of their son growing up without a father, Rosmonda admits that her tactic was a deliberate attempt to find out the extent of her husband's commitment to his patriotic ideals. She resigns herself to his inevitable death. In a sacred grove, all gather for the execution of Arminio. As Arminio approaches the altar, he kisses it and curses the authority of Rome. Cecina and Germanico are impressed at this display of defiance, and Germanico orders Arminio's son to be brought forward. Arminio says a tender farewell to the child. Rosmonda draws a dagger and plans to kill herself, but Germanico halts the proceedings and declares that Arminio shall not die. Instead he shall be brought to Rome—either as a friend or as a prisoner. Denied a martyr's death, Arminio decides it would be better for him to make peace with Rome than become the object of derision as a slave. Germanico declares that a future day will see Rome and Germania united in peace and friendship.

Productions.

I.11.1732 Rome.

D: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740).

S(L): B-Bc; F-Pn; I-Bc -Fm -MAC -Rn -Rsc; US-Wc. [SARTORI 11554]

M: Nicola Porpora (1686–1768).

S(M): Ms. full score in I-MC. Diverse arias in A-Wn; B-Bc; GB-Lbl -Lcm -Lk -Ob; I-Rsc (see STROHM 1976, 2:207-208).

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Corno da caccia, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Germanico (alto), Arminio (soprano), Rosmonda (soprano), Cecina (soprano), Ersinda (soprano), Segeste (tenor).

Remarks: GROVE incorrectly cites the work as consisting of two acts instead of three, and the existence of a full score seems to be a relatively recent discovery, since it is not currently mentioned in GROVE or MGG. STROHM 1976 only makes reference to the possibility of a full score among the collections of the nineteenth-century bibliophile Fortunato Santini (whose archive is housed in the Diözesanbibliothek in Münster); however, the extant score held in I-MC once belonged to the Neapolitan aristocrat (and abbot at Montecassino) Vincenzo Bovio (1809–1860). One of Porpora’s arias from this work (Arminio’s “Parto, ti lascio, o cara”) has been recorded by Cecilia Bartoli and is included on the album *Sacrificium* (Il Giardino Armonico/Giovanni Antonini), Decca CD 0289 478 1522 8 (2009). It is interesting to note that even in setting a new libretto, Coluzzi incorporated an aria text by Metastasio (“Se viver non poss’io” from *Alessandro nell’Indie*, also called *Poro*) as a duet for Arminio and Rosmonda; Porpora accordingly recycled the same music he had composed a year earlier for this aria when it was first used in a production of *Poro* in Turin (1731).

I.11.1741 Florence (under the title *Arminio in Germania*).

D: Maria Theresia, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany (1717–1780).

S(L): F-Pn; I-Bc -Fc -Rn [SARTORI 2826]

M: Giuseppe Scarlatti (1718 or 1723–1777).

S(M): Various arias in D-Wa; I-Fc; PL-WRu; S-Skma.

Remarks: Since no librettist is mentioned in the printed libretto, the identification of this production as corresponding to Coluzzi’s drama has not previously been noted.

FORCHERT, BARBON/PLACHTA, and REISCHERT do not provide any information regarding the libretto, while GROVE incorrectly cites G.C. Pasquini as its author. In this adaptation the name of the character Cecina is changed to Valerio. Segeste’s surviving aria (“Immagini dolenti”), held in both D-Wa and I-Fc, is scored for tenor and strings. Two other arias, both attributed to Scarlatti in the manuscripts without mention of their operatic source, match the incipits in the libretto and were therefore possibly composed for this production: Rosmonda’s “Son qual misero naviglio” (in PL-WRu), for strings and two horns (vocal part missing), and Valerio’s “Se dopo ria procella” (in S-Skma), scored for soprano and strings. Another aria (Arminio’s “Parto, ti lascio, o cara”), scored for soprano and strings, is held in I-Fc and attributed to Scarlatti’s setting of *Siroe* a year later in 1742, although it could very well have been composed first for *Arminio in Germania*.

I.11.1744 Turin (under the title *Germanico*).

D: None, although the work was performed “alla presenza di sua maestà.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): B-Bc; I-FOSc -Ms -Rc -Rig -Rsc -Tac (Simeom) -Tci -Tn -Tstrona; US-Wc. [SARTORI 11551]

M: Andrea Bernasconi (1706–1784).

S(M): Ms. score in A-Wgm (incomplete). GROVE also cites A-Wn. Excerpts and arias in D-DI; I-Tf.

Scoring: Flauto traverso I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno da caccia I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Germanico (tenor), Arminio (soprano), Rosmonda (soprano), Cecina (alto), Ersinda (alto), Segeste (soprano).

Remarks: The libretto closely reflects that of I.11.1732, although verses marked with virgole in the original text are not reprinted in I.11.1744, and additional verses that were sung in I.11.1732 now appear with virgole, reducing the amount of recitative in lengthy dialogue scenes. Only minor changes are made to the aria texts: one substitution, one additional aria for Arminio, and the deletion of the Metastasian duet text. The score in A-Wgm consists of the overture, part of the first act (abruptly cut off in the middle of the sixth scene), and all of the third act. The pagination (by a later hand) remains consecutive throughout, which suggests the loss of the score's middle section before its acquisition by the archive (or other collector).

I.11.1749 Rome (under the title *Arminio*).

D: Marianna Cibo Albani (1726–1797).

S(L): B-Bc; I-Bam -Bc -Fn (Palatino) -IE -MAC -PLcom -Rsc -Rvat (Ferraioli).
[SARTORI 2810]

M: Gioacchino Cocchi (ca.1720–after 1788).

S(M): B-Bc; D-Dl -Mbs; F-Pn; I-MC; J-Tk; US-BEm.

Remarks: The richest source of extant musical material from this opera is a manuscript in D-Dl, which contains all five arias and the duet sung in this production by the famous Italian soprano castrato Gioacchino Conti (1714-1761), who portrayed the role of Arminio. In addition, one aria for Rosmonda (“Deh cessate funesti pensieri”) survives in J-Tk. The scoring of these surviving arias often contains obbligato wind parts in addition to the string section, necessitating an orchestra made up of at least Flauto traverso I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Tromba I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The involvement of Conti as the *primo uomo* in this production likely explains the change of the work's title to reflect his importance. However the title has also mislead catalogers of this work to identify it as an adaptation of Antonio Salvi's *Arminio* (see I.06)—FORCHERT, BARBON/PLACHTA, REISCHERT, and GROVE all erroneously attribute the libretto to Salvi. Although he did not go so far as to name Coluzzi as the author of the drama, the impresario saw fit to acknowledge the changes that had been made both to the recitative and the aria texts of the original libretto by including the following prefatory remark:

“Essendo stato necessario per servire alla Rappresentazione del Drama, il fare alcune leggiere alterazioni ne' Recitativi, come altresì mutare alcune Arie, si è poi stimato conveniente di notare tutte le variazioni ne' primi con due virgole, e contrassegnare le seconde con un'Asterisco *, affine di dimostrare con ciò la dovuta stima al degnissimo Autore del Drama” (6).

Indeed, approximately two-thirds of the arias in this production are marked with such asterisks.

I.11.1770 Rome.

D: “Dedicato all'inclito popolo romano.”

S(L): D-HR; I-Bc -MAC -Rsc -Rvat (Ferraioli) -Vgc; US-Wc. [SARTORI 11555]

M: Carlo Monza (ca.1735–1801).

S(M): Ms. full score in I-Rdp and P-La. Excerpts in CH-Gc; GB-Lbl; I-Fc -Gl -Rc; US-BEm -SFsc.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola I/II, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Germanico (soprano), Arminio (soprano), Rosmonda (soprano), Segeste (tenor), Ersinda (soprano), Virginio (soprano).

Remarks: Monza composes most of the lengthy, virtuosic arias in an abridged da capo (dal segno) form, incorporating a variety of textures through the use of obbligato instruments. Orchestrally accompanied recitative sections reinforce particularly dramatic moments. Although the score does not include music for the staged battle in the second act (it was likely pulled from another source, perhaps one of Monza's earlier *battaglia* compositions), two marches are included in the score to accompany stage action. In this production the character of Cecina is called Virginio. While the libretto maintains the dramatic structure established by Coluzzi, most of the arias are different (only seven correspond to aria texts used in I.11.1749), and much of the recitative has been substantially rewritten, considerably simplifying the poetic diction and thereby reducing the pathos that characterizes so many of Coluzzi's dramatic scenes. Especially noteworthy among these changes are the final scenes, in which Segeste and Germanico plan to force Arminio's peace with Rome by making him believe that the Romans will sacrifice his young son at the altar. Their strategy works and Arminio submits to Germanico, whose final speech emphasizes the current peace now established between Rome and Germania, not a future one as in Coluzzi's text. These closing lines and the final chorus (which has also been altered) are transcribed below.

Ger. Venite amici
Meco altrove a gioir. Della tua sorte
Quanto finor t'ho offerto:
Vedi come premiar sa Roma il merto.

CORO.

Ecco sorge il lieto giorno,
In cui l'Albi e il Tebro insieme
Dell'olivo il crine adorno,
Se n'andranno in seno al mar.
E obliando i danni allora,
Che avverata sia la speme,
Le sofferte pene ancora
Sarà dolce rammentar.

I.11.1781 Turin (under the title *Arminio*).

D: None, but performed "alla presenza delle maestà loro." No dedicatory letter.

S(L): B-Bc; D-Mbs -MHrm; I-Rc -Rn -Rsc -Tci -Tn -Tac (Simeom) -Tp -Tlegger -Vgc -VCa; US-BEm -Wc. [SARTORI 2817]

M: Bernardo Ottani (1736–1827).

S(M): Ms. full score (missing the final chorus) in P-La. Extracts and arias in D-Dl; I-Tf. Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Clarinetto I/II, Fagotto, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola I/II, Bassi, Timpani. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Rosmonda (soprano), Segeste (tenor), Ersinda (soprano), Germanico (soprano), Cecina (soprano).

Remarks: This production preserves more of Coluzzi's text (especially lines of recitative) than I.11.1770, in spite of several changes to the dramatic structure. For example, the first-act confrontation in Arminio's tent between Segeste and Arminio is cut; the battle scene between Germanico and Arminio occurs at the end of the first act instead of at the beginning of the second act; and at the end of the second act, it is Segeste who tries to trick Arminio into pledging allegiance to Rome by making him believe that Rosmonda has already joined the Roman side. In general, the part of Segeste is slightly expanded, while Germanico's role is slightly reduced (perhaps a reason for changing the name of the opera to *Arminio*). Cecina's scenes are also reduced (and his arias are by far the least demanding vocally), while an entirely new scene at the beginning of the first act expands on the antagonistic relationship between Ersinda and Rosmonda. Other scenes are shortened or elaborated and arias are sometimes inserted at different places; interestingly, some of the lines marked with virgole in Coluzzi's original libretto are now sung. Ottani's arias, which maintain their interest through a variety of instrumental textures and sometimes sectional contrasts in tempo, are typically cast in a through-composed modified ABA form. Some arias are marked *dal segno*, and a couple end with the text of the B section. Several extended accompanied recitative sections (preceding arias) reinforce particularly dramatic moments. Two marches are included in the score to accompany stage action, although the score does not include music for the *battaglia* at the end of the first act.

I.11.1784 Cremona (under the title *Arminio*).

D: "Alli nob.mi cavalieri e gentil.me dame."

S(L): I-CRg. [SARTORI 2817a]

M: Bernardo Ottani (1736–1827).

S(M): See I.11.1781.

Remarks: This production is a slightly abridged adaptation of I.11.1781, and Ottani receives credit in the libretto as the composer of the music. In the first act, all recitative and arias remain the same (line marked with virgole in the 1781 libretto are not printed), with two exceptions: Arminio's first aria is different (perhaps this was the singer's signature suitcase aria?), and Germanico sings a short aria at the end of scene nine instead of at the end of the act. No changes are made to the second act. However, the first four scenes of the third act are eliminated, and Arminio's prison scene—which now begins the act—is also subject to several cuts (including recitative, as well as Segeste's aria).

I.12 Arminio

Dramma per musica (1745)

L: Giovanni Claudio Pasquini (1695–1763).

Characters.

VARO, governor of Germania on behalf of Augustus.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cherusci, in love with Tuscelda.

SEGESTE, prince of the Catti, friend of Varo.

TUSNELDA, daughter of Segeste, engaged to Arminio.

SEGIMIRO, brother of Tuscelda, friend of Arminio.

MARZIA, sister of Varo, in love with Segimiro.

TULLO, legionary legate, confidant of Varo.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Segeste, the prince of the Catti, informs his daughter Tuscelda and son Segimiro that he has formed an alliance with Rome. Since the Cheruscan prince Arminio continues to resist Roman authority, Segeste orders his children to break off their relations with Arminio's family. This sudden development causes great distress to Tuscelda, who is engaged to Arminio, as well as Segimiro, who is Arminio's close friend. Varo informs his sister Marzia that the emperor desires to make peace with the princes of Germania through marriage. But to her dismay, Varo asks her to marry not Segimiro, whom she loves, but rather Arminio. In a meeting with Arminio, Varo tells him of Rome's offer of friendship, but Arminio refuses to submit to foreign domination. Varo warns him of the consequences of his stubbornness. Segimiro finds Arminio and tells him of Segeste's decision; Arminio sadly contemplates a life without Tuscelda. On a mountain path, Tuscelda plans to kill herself in order to avoid her fate, but Arminio arrives in time to stop her. Tuscelda tries to convince him to leave her, but Arminio tells her how he will arrange for them to escape together secretly (a plan that Segeste overhears). Segeste makes his presence known and orders the arrest of Arminio and Tuscelda.

Act 2.

In Varo's residence, Segimiro meets with Arminio and reveals a plan for his release. Segeste later informs Arminio that the escape plot has been uncovered and thwarted. Arminio fears for Segimiro and Tuscelda, and is led away by the guards. Marzia speaks to Segeste on behalf of Tuscelda, and convinces him to show mercy towards his daughter. Varo tells his sister of the foiled conspiracy, and insists that she marry Arminio that night or else the rebel will be executed. Marzia hesitates to accept this counterintuitive solution but has no choice. Segeste, who was to accompany Marzia to the prison to make this proposal, enlists Segimiro (who sees here the opportunity to free his friend) and Tuscelda to go in their place. Segimiro tells Tuscelda (who is not aware of her brother's plan) that she must persuade Arminio to marry Marzia. She sorrowfully tells Arminio of the only way his life can be saved, but Arminio refuses the proposal.

Tusnelda bids him a tearful farewell. Segimiro appears, dressed as a Roman soldier, and frees Arminio from his chains. He exchanges clothes with Arminio, staying in his place so that Arminio can escape unnoticed.

Act 3.

Arminio finds Tusnelda and explains his escape thanks to Segimiro. Tusnelda urges him to flee, but before he goes, Arminio assures her of his undying love. Marzia openly declares her love for Segimiro to Varo and Segeste, and is prepared to accept the consequences. Tullo brings word of a mounting insurrection. Varo calls for Arminio to be brought forth from prison, but Segimiro appears instead. The plot is exposed. Segeste is furious at his son's betrayal and tries to kill him, but is stopped. Varo leaves to meet Arminio in battle. Segeste orders both Segimiro and Tusnelda to be thrown into prison. Tullo admires the strength of spirit exhibited by these two supposed barbarians and sets them free. In the battle, Arminio's forces overcome the Romans. Segeste threatens to kill his daughter, but Arminio rescues her. In a display of remarkable filial devotion, Tusnelda and Segimiro still defend their father against Arminio's attack. Arminio marvels at this virtue, and throws down his own sword, offering Segeste the opportunity to kill him. Segeste, however, is overcome with shame at his behavior and reconciles with his children and Arminio. Arminio intends to make peace with Varo as well, but Tullo brings word that Varo has killed himself. Segimiro apologizes to Marzia for his role in her brother's downfall. All celebrate the good fortune afforded them by the gods, who bring punishment on oppressive tyrants.

Productions.

I.12.1745 Dresden.

D: August III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony (1696–1763). No dedicatory letter, but the libretto concludes with a laudatory *licenza*.

S(L): D-DI -Mbs -W -WRtl; F-Pc; US-Wc. [SARTORI 2803]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).

S(M): D-Bsa -HAmi -Mbs; I-Mc -Nc; PL-Wu; US-NH. For more details on the music sources for Hasse's *Arminio* operas, see SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:109-128.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Varo (soprano), Arminio (alto), Segeste (tenor), Tusnelda (soprano), Segimiro (soprano), Marzia (soprano), Tullo (bass). Remarks: A critical edition has been published: Rudolf Gerber, ed., *Arminio*, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 27-28 (Mainz: Schott, 1957-1966). The edition takes the 1753 version of the opera as its basis; the "variants" from the 1745 original version are included in the critical report. The libretto was issued in both monolingual (Italian) and bilingual (Italian-German) printings. The author of the German verse translation is unknown. The title page of the libretto states that the work was performed in honor of the birthday of August III (i.e., October 7), and a laudatory *licenza* (the text of which is printed below) closes the work, which was subsequently published in an edition of Pasquini's collected works: *Opere del Signor Abate Gio. Claudio Pasquini* (Arezzo: Bellotti, 1751). Since a musical setting of the *licenza* does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts, however, it is

possible that it either was not sung in the performance or perhaps was composed by someone other than Hasse.

A caso non espose,
SIRE, agli sguardi tuoi la Musa industrie,
 Della Germana Libertade oppressa,
 Nel forte Arminio, il Difensore illustre.
 Egli dal Ciel fu dato,
 Per divenir di lei base, e sostegno;
 Tu fosti a noi donato
 Per sostenerla in un più grave impegno.
 Arminio usò il valore; e tu al valore
 Quel moderato Core unir sapesti,
 Che nel fuggir la più sublime Cura,
 Render potè la Libertà sicura.

Se amor produce amore,
 SIGNOR, chi non t'adora,
 O ha di macigno il core,
 O che Anima non ha.
 Viva il *FELICE ALBORE*,
 Che ti produsse a noi:
 Ci diede il Ben maggiore
 Nell'alta tua Bontà.

I.12.1746/47 Berlin.

D: None, but the performance was commissioned by Friedrich II, King of Prussia (1712–1786). No dedicatory letter.

S(L): D-B -DI -MHrm; F-Pn; I-Mb. [SARTORI 2805]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783), with revisions of I.12.1745.

S(M): D-B -Bsa -ROu -W. See SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:125-126.

Remarks: The dual-language libretto contains the sung Italian text on left-facing pages, with a German poetic translation (featuring rhymed couplets in the arias and sometimes in the recitative) on right-facing pages. The names of the characters in the German translation are rendered as Varus, Herrmann (although the German title page retains the title *Arminio*), Segest, Thusnelde, Sigmar, Marzia, Tullus. The libretto bears a printing date of 1746; it is possible that the premiere performance occurred late in December of 1746 (the start of carnival season), however most of the performances were held in January of 1747. The surviving manuscript material that appears to correspond to this production shows it to be a revision of the 1745 setting. Recitative is cut and existing passages are sometimes set to newly composed music; six scenes are omitted. The character of Tullo is sung by a soprano; several arias of Tusnelda and Marzia are transposed. A new setting of the closing chorus was written by C.H. Graun. See SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:125-126.

I.12.1747a Vienna.

D: Maria Theresia, Holy Roman Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria (1717–1780). No dedicatory letter.

S(L): I-Mb -Vqs. [SARTORI 2808]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783), based on I.12.1745.

Remarks: The title page states that the work was performed in honor of the birthday of Maria Theresa (i.e., May 13). Based on a comparison of the librettos, this production is most likely based on the original 1745 version and not on the revisions made for the Berlin performances, since more of the recitative is retained from I.12.1745. The first three scenes of the second act have been cut, as have the first two scenes of the third act.

I.12.1747b Brunswick (under the title *Hermann und Varus*).

D: None.

S(L): D-BS. [SARTORI 2806]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).

S(M): No sources for the recitative (sung in German for this performance); the texts of the Italian-language arias correspond to all those set by Hasse, and almost exactly to those of the Berlin production (I.12.1746/47). See SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:126.

Remarks: German verse translations of the Italian arias are printed in a second column to the right of the original text in the libretto. The sung German recitative is adapted with slight differences (both additions and deletions) from the translated text of I.12.1746/47. The character names are rendered as Varus, Hermann, Segestes, Thusnelde, Marzia, Sigmar, and Tullus. The performances were held during the annual *Sommerversammlung* in August 1747. Similar to the production of *Arminius und Thusnelda* during the same occasion two years earlier (see I.06.1745), the second act of this production closes with a ballet that provides additional local color (and apparently makes use of the same backdrop). The list of scene changes at the beginning of the libretto provides the following description: “Ein Dorf an der Ems in einem Walde liegend, in welchen man die sieben Bild=Säulen der alten teutschen Wochen=Götter siehet, wo das *Cherusker* Bauer=Volk ihre Freude über ihres *Hermanns* Wiederkunft in einem Tanze bezeigen.”

I.12.1753 Dresden.

D: None.

S(L): D-DI -KNth; PL-Wu. [SARTORI 2811]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783), newly revised version.

S(M): B-Bc -Br; D-DI -LEm; F-Pc; GB-CDu; I-Mc; US-Wc. See SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:120-121.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Varo (soprano), Arminio (soprano), Segeste (tenor), Tusnelda (soprano), Segimiro (soprano), Marzia (soprano), Tullo (bass).

Remarks: The opera was performed during the carnival season (January 1753) in the electoral court theater. The libretto was issued in both monolingual (Italian) and bilingual (Italian-German) printings. The author of the German verse translation is unknown. Watercolor drawings of Francesco Ponte’s original costume designs for this production are held in the Albertina in Vienna (see figure 19). A critical edition of the music has been published: Rudolf Gerber, ed., *Arminio*, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 27-28 (Mainz: Schott, 1957–1966). The edition takes this 1753 version of the opera as its basis; the “variants” from the 1745 original version are included in the critical report.



Figure 19. Costume designs for *Arminio* (Dresden, 1753) by Francesco Ponte: Varo (a), Marzia (b), Tusnelda (c), Arminio (d), Segeste (e), Segimiro (f), Tullo (g). Source: Albertina (Vienna), Inv.4573-Inv.4579. Reprinted with permission of the Albertina.

I.12.1761 Warsaw.

D: August III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony (1696–1763). No dedicatory letter, but the libretto concludes with a laudatory *licenza*.

S(L): F-Pn; CZ-Pu; PL-Kj [SARTORI 2814]

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).

Remarks: The text of the libretto corresponds exactly to the sung text of I.12.1753 (lines denoted with virgole in the 1753 version are not reprinted in the 1761 libretto), although it is possible that Hasse made revisions based on the particular needs or demands of different singers (the libretto does not provide the singers' names). The title page states that the work was performed in honor of the name day of August III (i.e., August 3), and a newly appended *licenza* that closes the performance refers to this occasion. The text of the *licenza* is printed below.

Alto d'Arminio il nome
 Se ancor così risuona,
 Qual, magnanimo Augusto, a TE la Fama
 Serba Seggio d'onor? Men dee, che a Lui,
 Forse la Patria a TE? S'ei già di quella
 Vindice fu, di Lei
 Padre TU sei. Dell'Aquile Latine
 S'ei trionfo, TU della sorte aversa
 TI rendi vincitor. Del suo coraggio
 Maggior portento ormai
 È la costanza TUA. Ceda il guerriero
 Al pacifico Eroo. TU per TE stesso,
 Grande per altri è quello: In Lui Fortuna,
 In TE virtù s'adora: Egli il terrore,
 Amor sarai TU d'ogni età futura:
 I più gran nomi il sol TUO Nome oscura.
 Senza cangiar d'aspetto,
 TU ne' disastri immoto
 Sei d'ogni voto-oggetto,
 Ai d'ogni cor La fe.
 Sferzino pur lo scoglio
 E mille flutti, e mille:
 Quell'onde alfin tranquille
 Gli lambiranno il piè.

I.12.1773/74 Berlin.

S(L): None known.

M: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783).

Remarks: Although no printed libretto is known for this carnival-season production, Karl Heinrich Siegfried Rödenbeck provides the following documentation under the entry for December 24, 1773 in his *Tagebuch oder Geschichtskalender aus Friedrichs des Großen Regentenleben (1740–1786)*, 3:90: “Anfang des Carnevals. Die Ordnung desselben war: Sonntag und Mittwoch Mittag: die gewöhnliche Cour beim König; Sonntag Abend: Cour bei der verwittweten Prinzessin von Preußen; Montag: Oper; Dienstag: Redoute; Mittwoch: Französisches Schauspiel; Donnerstag: Cour bei der Prinzessin von Preußen; Freitag: Oper; Sonnabend: Ruhe. Die Opern waren: 1) Arminius, 2) Demophantes. Die

Französischen Schau- und Trauerspiele: Britannicus, le menteur, Titus, le Chevalier à la mode, Ariane.” That the cited Arminius opera corresponds to the work by Pasquini and Hasse is attested by Friedrich’s letter to Maria Antonia of Bavaria and Electress of Saxony (1724–1780), dated January 8, 1774: “Nous avons cet hiver les opéras d’*Arminius* et de *Demofonte*, l’un de Hasse et l’autre de Graun” (*Œuvres* 24:292). A collection of arias in D-Hhg, which provides the names of singers who participated in the 1746/47 performances also contains those allegedly from 1773/74. It is therefore likely that the production was based on I.12.1746/47. See SCHMIDT-HENSEL 2:127.

I.13 Thusnelde

Singspiel (1749)

L: Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776).

Characters.

THUSNELDE, daughter of Segest.

HERRMANN, leader [*Herzog*] of the Cherusci, and chosen commander of the Germans [*Deutschen*].

SIGISMUND, son of Segest, a priest of Augustus.

SEGEST, prince of the Cherusci.

ISMENE, sister of Herrmann.

MARBOD, a distinguished Cheruscan, friend of Herrmann.

ADELHEIT, chief priestess of the goddess Hertha.

Characters in the Choruses.

The BARDS and DRUIDS.

The German [*deutschen*] HEROES und SOLDIERS.

Various distinguished Cheruscan WOMEN, some of whom accompany Thusnelde, others accompany Ismene.

The PRIESTESSES of the goddess Hertha.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Thusnelde anxiously awaits the safe return of her beloved Herrmann from the battle against Varus. The celebration of Herrmann’s decisive victory and his reunion with Thusnelde is marred, however, by the revelation of Segest’s betrayal of his homeland. Because of an ancient custom that ostracizes the families of traitors, Herrmann and Thusnelde’s engagement must be called off.

Act 2.

Sigismund, whom Segest had given over to the Romans to serve as a priest at the altar of Augustus, reveals to Herrmann how he denounced his service and took up arms against the Romans in the battle. Herrmann tells him that his valiant behavior was much admired by all, and he is glad to know the identity of the anonymous (because disguised as a Roman) warrior who contributed so much to the German victory. Herrmann must also inform Sigismund of Segest's betrayal, which means Sigismund and Ismene (Herrmann's sister) cannot be together. Marbod brings word of Segest's capture. Herrmann is prepared to offer forgiveness, but Segest defiantly reasserts his allegiance to Rome. Marbod warns Herrmann that the people are out for Segest's blood. Thusnelde and Sigismund express concern for their father's life. Thusnelde proposes that Sigismund should speak to the people on Segest's behalf. The people remain divided on the justness of a law that prevents the happiness of the very heroes who defended their freedom.

Act 3.

Thusnelde worries about the fate of her father. Segest arrives and tries to kill his daughter, but is disarmed. Thusnelde pleads with Segest to see the error of his ways and repent the crimes against his fatherland and the divine will (*die Gottheit*). Segest's eyes are opened and he realizes the wrong he has done. Filled with remorse, he attempts to kill himself, but Thusnelde stops him and reassures him that his misdeeds will receive forgiveness both from the people and the divine will. Segest goes to the sacred grove to seek his pardon. Ismene brings word that the people have received Segest in reconciliation. Ismene and Thusnelde praise the divine will and the power of virtue that has made such a turn of events possible.

Act 4.

The soldiers, bards, and priests bear the victorious Herrmann on their shields. Sigismund reports how Herrmann spoke to the people and persuaded them to forgive Segest and allow the heroes of the battle to receive their due rewards. Herrmann reaffirms his commitment to the fatherland, and Thusnelde declares the triumph of virtue over all adversity. Adelheit, the priestess of the earth goddess Hertha, invokes a blessing on the sacrifices to be offered. She reports a vision of the goddess, whose prophecy of a future Germanic hegemony in Europe depends on the preservation of virtue and unity among the Germanic peoples. All celebrate the approval of the divine will.

Productions.

I.13.1749 [Unperformed].

D: Princess Philippine Charlotte of Prussia, Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1716–1801).

S(L): D-DI -DÜI -Rtt -W; DK-Kk; FIN-Hy.

M: Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776).

S(M): Short excerpt printed in Scheibe's treatise "Abhandlung über das Recitativ" (1764), in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* (Leipzig: Dyckische Buchhandlung, 1757-65), 11:228-231. Reprinted in George Joseph Skapski,

“The Recitative in Johann Adolph Scheibe’s Literary and Musical Work” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 210-211.

Remarks: There is no evidence that the work was ever performed, and no score is known to exist. The brief *accompagnato* recitative published by Scheibe in 1764 as an example of writing a dramatic interruption and “aside” does not correspond to any of the verses in the 1749 published libretto. Preceding the musical example, Scheibe makes the following remarks: “Das andere Beyspiel ist aus der vom Verfasser verbesserten Thusnelde genommen. Thusnelde tröstet aus Großmuth ihren Geliebten, weil ihre nahe Verbindung durch die Untreue ihres Vaters gänzlich vernichtet war; sie wird aber dabey von ihrem eigenen Kummer unterbrochen. Es ist ein *Accompagnement*.” In spite of Scheibe’s reference to a “revised” version of his opera, only the 1749 text is extant. The dedicatory poem to Philippine Charlotte is reprinted below:

Sinngedicht.

Erhaben, schön, der Wahrheit Schirm und Schild,
 Der Künste Kennerinn, der Tugend Schmuck und Krone,
 Des Stammes Ruhm, der Weisheit Ebenbild,
 Bey Der ich und mein Chor in Pracht und Freyheit wohne.
 So rief Apoll. Ich sah die Herzoginn.
 Der GOtt wies mir Ihr Bild. Voll Ehrfurcht, voll Entzücken,
 Erhabenste! als ihrer Richterinn,
 Naht Dir Thusnelde sich, naht sie sich Deinen Blicken.
 Ein Singspiel? wie? ruft mir ein Tadler zu:
 Verwegener Poet! Ein Loblied must du bringen.
 Ein Dichter, Freund! denkt nie so kühn, wie du.
 Charlott’ ist übers Lob: O! wer darf Sie besingen.

I.14 L’Arminio

Dramma per musica (1763)

L: Teodoro Reghini (fl. 1760s).

Characters.

ARMINIO, notable person [*personaggio ragguardevole*] among the Cauci and Cherusci.

PERILLA, his wife, daughter of

SEGESTE, notable person [*personaggio ragguardevole*] among the Catti, and father of

SEGIMONDO, friend of Arminio.

QUINTILIO VARO, general of the Roman legions, and friend of Segeste.

CHORUS of friends of Arminio.

Synopsis.

Day 1.

Part 1.

Arminio attempts to persuade his wife Perilla to flee from the impending battle with the Romans and her dangerous father Segeste, but she vows to fight at his side. Arminio expresses doubts about Segimondo's loyalties, having seen him consort with Segeste and Varo, but Segimondo assures him that he is on Arminio's side. Later, Segeste orders Segimondo to kill Arminio. Segimondo is torn between obedience to her father and devotion to his friend.

Part 2.

Segeste tries to inform Varo of Arminio's conspiracy, but Varo does not believe him. When Varo learns that Segeste has entrusted Segimondo with Arminio's death, he expresses his disapproval of such a plan and reminds Segeste of Segimondo's desecration of the temple and his friendship with Arminio. Elsewhere, Arminio expresses his disgust at Segeste's betrayal of his homeland. Segimondo informs Arminio of Segeste's plot to have him killed. Perilla tells her brother that he must obey their father, but still protect Arminio. When Segeste discovers that Segimondo has disobeyed him by not carrying out his orders, he rejects his son.

Day 2.

Part 1.

Segeste informs Varo of Segimondo's disobedience and decides to enlist his daughter instead to dispatch Arminio. Varo expresses doubt that Perilla would betray her husband, but Segeste is confident that she will obey him. When confronted with the dilemma, however, Perilla initially refuses her father's request. She then changes her mind, with the intent to deceive him, and agrees to kill Arminio. When alone with Arminio, she reveals her father's plot. Arminio is furious at the continued attempts to kill him.

Part 2.

Learning from Arminio about Segeste's plan to involve Perilla in the assassination, Segimondo expresses shame at his father's behavior and pledges his fidelity to Arminio. Segeste is outraged when he receives a letter from one of Arminio's vassals that reveals Perilla's betrayal of her father's command. He considers using this vassal to get to Arminio, but Varo convinces him that these tactics have already failed. He suggests that Rome would be a more reliable ally in carrying out the deed and says that he will confront Arminio personally.

Day 3.

Part 1.

Varo tries to convince Arminio to make peace with Rome, but Arminio defends his ideals of liberty in the face of a tyrannical empire. Varo warns him that every other nation that has resisted the power of Rome has fallen. Arminio expresses his willingness to die for freedom rather than submit to foreign domination. There remains no other option but war. Elsewhere, Segeste discovers Perilla in a garden and tries to kill her, but Varo's arrival

gives her the chance to escape. Varo informs Segeste of Arminio's stubborn intent on war, and Segeste pledges his support to Varo.

Part 2.

Perilla tells Segimondo of her encounter with Segeste and how he tried to kill her. She is worried about Arminio's fate in the battle and imagines that Segeste has killed him. Segimondo informs her instead that Arminio is victorious. The warriors return with Arminio in triumph and Segeste in chains. Segeste is unrepentant in the face of his captor, and Arminio sentences him to death. Perilla and Segimondo, however, plead on behalf of their father, and Arminio is moved to mercy. Segeste, overcome with this display of filial devotion, reconciles with his children. Arminio reiterates the importance of defending liberty.

Productions.

I.14.1763 Lucca.

D: None. Performed as part of the festivities surrounding the governmental elections in the republican city-state of Lucca.²

S(L): F-Pa -Pn; I-Baf -Fm -Lg -Li -Vgc. [SARTORI 2815]

M: Lelio Ignazio Di Poggio (1735–1787)—first *giornata*;

Giacomo Puccini (1714–1782)—second *giornata*;

Giovan Gualberto Brunetti (1706–1787)—third *giornata*.

S(M): Ms. full score of Puccini's second *giornata* in I-Li.

Scoring (second *giornata*): Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Perilla (soprano), Segeste (tenor), Segimondo (bass), Quintilio Varo (soprano).

Remarks: The choice of the name “Perilla” for Segeste's daughter is unprecedented, and apparently deliberate (Reghini acknowledges in his *argomento* that Strabo provides her with the name “Tosnelda”). Indeed, it seems that calling the heroine Perilla offered the librettist the opportunity to employ a character-revealing rhyme. In the first scene of the work, Perilla tries to persuade her husband to allow her to fight at his side. She counters his doubts about the capabilities of a woman in battle with the assertion:

E perchè nò? Non stimi
 Valore in me? Non paventar: Vedrai,
 Che son degna di te. Del sesso mio
 La natia debolezza
 Dimenticar saprò: La sua Camilla
 Anche il secolo nostro avrà in Perilla.³

In Roman mythology, Camilla was dedicated to Diana as a warrior virgin. In the *Aeneid*, she fights on the side of King Turnus against Aeneas and the Trojans.

² On the history and traditions of the so-called *tasche* in Lucca, see Gabriella Biagi-Ravenni and Carolyn Gianturco, “The *Tasche* of Lucca: 150 years of Political Serenatas,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 111 (1984-1985): 45-65.

³ *L'Arminio. Dramma per musica da cantarsi ne' tre giorni della solennità de' Comizj della sereniss. Repubblica di Lucca l'anno 1763. Del nobil signore Teodoro Reghini di Pontremoli* (Lucca: Filippo Maria Benedini, 1763), 8-9.

I.15 L'Arminio

Dramma per musica (1785)

L: Ferdinando Moretti (d. 1807).

Characters.

ARMINIO, German prince.

ERSILDA, his wife, prisoner of the Romans.

GERMANICO, proconsul of the Roman army.

PUBLIO, tribune in the Roman camp.

EGINA, confidante of Ersilda.

TEGENE, follower of Arminio.

A small BOY, son of Arminio, who does not speak.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Following his successful campaign against the Germans, Germanico enters their city in triumph. Although Arminio remains at large, his wife Ersilda and their young son, together with several other hostages, are led through the streets as the spoils of war. Germanico orders the noble prisoners to be released from their chains, and to receive appropriate care under house arrest. The proud Ersilda, however, continues to lament her captivity in spite of Germanico's humane treatment. In a forest outside the city walls, Arminio tells Tegene of his plan to enter the city by an underground tunnel and rescue his wife. Tegene stands guard at the entrance to the tunnel, and Arminio returns with Ersilda. He promises her that he will go back to free their son as well. Before he can do this, however, Germanico and Roman troops arrive and engage the outnumbered German faction in combat. Arminio and Tegene are captured. Arminio remains defiant as Germanico orders him to be carried off to prison. Germanico expresses disappointment over Ersilda's betrayal of his generosity. She asks to be taken to Arminio's prison. Germanico reluctantly agrees; he is primarily glad to have caught Rome's enemy. Arminio and Ersilda are sorrowfully reunited in prison and lament their fate.

Act 2.

Visiting Tegene in the prison, Egina reports of the nocturnal attack on the city by Vademiro, one of Arminio's allies, who was believed dead in the previous battle, and says that Germanico and the Romans are currently defending the city against the rebels. Arminio wishes that he were also engaged in the fight against Germanico. Egina is concerned about what will happen to them if Germanico emerges victorious. Elsewhere, Ersilda holds out little hope for the future. The Roman tribune Publio tries to offer her consolation, but she refuses his attentions. Germanico returns from the battle, having put down the rebellion, and orders Arminio to be brought before him. Ersilda and Egina plead with the Roman general to show mercy to Arminio. He insists he is duty-bound to protect the greater good of his own soldiers against mutinous attacks. Germanico later confides to Publio that he is prepared to exhibit clemency for Ersilda's sake, provided

that Arminio renounce his enmity towards Rome. When Arminio appears, however, he refuses any reconciliation, preferring death to servitude. Germanico has no choice but to carry out the death sentence. Ersilda enters, with her son in hand, to make a final plea for mercy. Germanico is touched by the display of pathos, but remains resolute: Arminio must die for his past crimes and the future threat he poses to Rome. Arminio is led away to be executed, but Publio brings word to Germanico that the army has refused his orders. The executioner was so moved to pity by the sight of Ersilda and her son that he could not fulfill his duty. Germanico realizes that if the army itself (in whose interests he was acting) has chosen mercy over obedience, then he, too, must exhibit clemency. Germanico orders Arminio to be released from his chains and even offers him a sword, should Arminio wish to kill him. Arminio in turn acknowledges the Roman victory and pledges friendship to Germanico and Rome. All celebrate the reconciliation.

Productions.

I.15.1785 Mantua.

D: Ferdinand Karl, Archduke of Austria (1754–1806), and Maria Beatrice d’Este (1750–1829).

S(L): I-Bam -Mc -MAc -PAc -Rn. [SARTORI 2818]

M: Angelo Tarchi (ca. 1760–1814).

S(M): Ms. full score in D-Mbs. Selections in F-Pn, GB-Lbl, according to GROVE.

Excerpts also in A-Ik; CH-E; I-BRc -Mc -OS -PAc -Rsc.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Fagotto, Corno I/II, Tromba I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi, Timpani.

The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Ersilda (soprano), Germanico (tenor), Publio (alto), Egina (soprano), Tegene (tenor).

Remarks: Tarchi’s score contains a variety of musical forms, including virtuosic da capo arias (always through-composed, with modified returns to the first section), simpler cavatinas, “double” arias, with strong contrasts in tempo between the two sections, extended accompanied recitative for scenes of pathos, as well as traditional secco recitative. Arminio’s farewell scene in the second act is composed as a rondo. The libretto states that the opera was scheduled to be performed thirty-three times between May 8 and June 30, 1785.

I.15.1786 Rome.

D: None.

S(L): B-Bc; I-Rsc -Rvat (Ferraioli) -Vgc; US-Wc. [SARTORI 2819]

M: Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824).

S(M): Ms. autograph score in I-Nc (incomplete). Recitative and aria in D-DO.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Tromba I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Germanico (tenor), Ersilda (soprano), Publio (soprano), Egina (soprano), Tegene (soprano).

Remarks: Moretti’s drama has undergone considerable revision from its original version. The work has been divided into three acts, to allow for the inclusion of two ballet intermezzos. The first act corresponds closely to the first act of I.15.1785, with minor

alterations in the recitative, one aria substitution for Ersilda, and a re-written finale for Ersilda and Arminio. The beginning of the second act has been substantially re-written to provide more material for Publio and Tegene (including different arias), while Arminio does not appear until the scene in Germanico's tent. The exercise of clemency that brings Moretti's original two-act libretto to an end is altered here with an unexpected complication: a rebel uprising led by Vademiro (the German captain who was only mentioned in the 1785 text) and Tegene against the Romans, for which Arminio is accorded blame. This change from initial joy to eventual confusion and horror is expressed through the act's ensemble finale (Arminio, Ersilda, Germanico), and necessitates the addition of a third act to arrive at the *lieto fine*. This new act is disproportionately short, however (two pages in the libretto), and immediately clears up all misunderstandings without building any dramatic tension, only allowing Germanico the opportunity to exercise his clemency yet a second time.

The extant autograph score begins almost at the end of the first act (final scene; incipit: "Fumanti ancora della Germania i campi"), while the beginning of the first act (including the first arias by Germanico and Publio) is inserted in the manuscript of Tritto's *Elpinice e Vologeso* (1806), also in I-Nc. The tenor aria and preceding accompanied recitative in D-DO (Germanico's "Vanne, o bella, al caro sposo") is from Act II, Scene 3.

I.15.1788 Venice (under the title *Arminio*).

D: None.

S(L): F-Pn; I-Bc -Fm -Pmc -Rsc -Vcg -Vnm. [SARTORI 2820]

M: Gaetano Andreozzi (1755–1826).

S(M): Ms. full score in F-Pn and P-La (the latter source contains the first act only).

Excerpts in DK-Kk; US-NYp.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Fagotto I/II, Corno I/II, Clarino I/II, Violino I/II, Viola I/II, Bassi.

The characters are assigned to the following voice types (indicated by clef): Arminio (soprano), Ersilda (soprano), Germanico (tenor), Publio (tenor), Egina (soprano), Tegene (soprano).

Remarks: The front-matter of the libretto provides a comment on the specific setting of the action: "La Scena è nella Capitale de' Cherusci oggi Bremen, e nella vicina pianura d'Idistaviso alle sponde del Weser." The libretto is divided into three acts, to allow for the inclusion of two ballet intermezzos. The second and third acts have been largely rewritten (differently from I.15.1786), including a major change in the plot: Arminio escapes from Germanico's custody and is re-captured at the end of the second act. The third act is disproportionately short (four pages in the libretto), presenting an especially sudden and illogical reconciliation between Arminio and Germanico that is glossed over on the way to a speedy and ill-executed resolution and final chorus. Andreozzi's score employs modified da capo aria forms (always through-composed), three rondo-form arias, accompanied recitative, as well as traditional secco recitative.

I.15.1790a Florence.

D: None. “Sotto l’augusta protezione di sua maestà apostolica Pietro Leopoldo [1747–1792] re d’Ungheria e di Boemia, Arciduca d’Austria, Gran-Duca di Toscana ec.” No dedicatory letter.

S(L): I-Bc -Fc -Fn -Vgc. [SARTORI 2821]

M: Francesco Bianchi (ca. 1752–1810).

S(M): Excerpts in I-Mc -Rsc; US-Wc.

Remarks: The two-act libretto reflects the dramatic structure of the 1785 version (although several of the arias have been changed), but contains additional scenes at the end of the second act, in which the reconciliation between Germanico and Arminio is threatened by a rebel attack on the Roman camp lead by Tegene and Vademiro—the same complication that occurs in I.15.1786. Germanico initially accuses Arminio of engineering the assault, and orders him and Ersilda to be imprisoned. It soon becomes apparent, however, that Vademiro (who appears on stage) was solely responsible for the attack. Germanico realizes that Arminio and Ersilda are innocent and sets them free. Publio convinces Germanico to grant clemency also to Vademiro, and all celebrate the *lieto fine*. Of Bianchi’s music for this production, one soprano aria (Arminio’s “Fa’ che baleni ancora”) survives in I-Rsc and US-Wc; it is scored for Oboe I/II, Clarinetto I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. A duet for two sopranos (Germanico and Ersilda’s “Serena quel ciglio”) and orchestral accompaniment (unknown orchestration) is also held in I-Mc.

I.15.1790b Venice (under the title *Arminio*).

D: None.

S(L): B-Br (Fétis); F-Pn; I-Bc -Mb -Psaggiori -PAc -Rsc -Vcg; US-Wc. [SARTORI 2822]

M: Francesco Antonio de Blasis (1765–1851).

S(M): Overture in HR-Zha (currently listed in RISM under the name Domenico Blasi).

Scoring: Overture scored for Oboe I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi.

Remarks: The libretto is divided into three acts to allow for two ballet intermezzos. The end of the second act reflects the changes to the plot that were introduced in I.15.1786. The act ends when Germanico withdraws his offer of reconciliation, believing that Arminio was behind the attack on the Roman camp, and orders both Arminio and Ersilda to be thrown into prison. The third act opens with a new prison scene in which Arminio and Ersilda express their unhappiness. This scene is followed by Publio’s explanation to Germanico of Tegene and Vademiro’s responsibility for the attack. Germanico orders Arminio and Ersilda to be released, and in a last gesture of clemency, pardons Tegene and Vademiro as well. The character Vademiro appears in this production as a non-speaking role.

I.15.1791 Brescia.

D: Cecilia Gradenigo, Countess of Collalto (1762–1827).

S(L): B-Bc; I-Tci. [SARTORI 2823]

M: Angelo Tarchi (ca. 1760–1814).

Remarks: Tarchi receives credit in the libretto as the composer of the music, however this production is not identical to that of I.15.1785. While the two-act structure is maintained (with ballets inserted after each act), and most of the recitative from the 1785 libretto is the same—including the lines marked with virgole as well as the detailed stage directions—some of the aria texts are different, with some inserted in different places. Most notably (and illogically), the first act finale is reworked to make it a melodramatic confrontation between Germanico, Arminio and Ersilda—one that is completely out of character for Germanico’s noble personality and is more reminiscent of the tirades of the villain Segeste. A couple of scenes are added to the beginning of the second act, giving more lines to Publio, and the closing number of the opera is not a duet between Arminio and Ersilda, but rather between Arminio and Germanico.

I.15.1792 Naples (under the title *Arminio*).

D: Maria Carolina of Austria, Queen of Naples (1752–1814), and Ferdinand IV, King of Naples (1751–1825)

S(L): A-Wmi; I-Bc -Fc -Fm -Nc -Ra -Vgc; US-BE. [SARTORI 2824]

M: Gaetano Marinelli (1754–after 1820).

S(M): An excerpt from Act II, Scene 5 (recitative and aria) is held in I-MC.

Scoring: The surviving soprano aria (Germanico’s “Pera un superbo orgoglio”) is scored for Oboe I/II, Fagotto I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi.

Remarks: The libretto is divided into three acts, reflecting the structural change made in I.15.1786, in which the second act finale turns from an act of pardon to a renewal of condemnation. Strangely, however, the resolution of this dramatic tension in the third act (which consists of only two pages and no final chorus), was not actually intended to be performed before the audience. A note at the beginning of the libretto states: “L’Atto Terzo si è stampato per servire allo scioglimento del Dramma, non perchè si recitasse.”

I.15.1797 Venice (under the title *Germanico*).

D: None.

S(L): F-Pn; I-Bc -Mb -Pmc -Rsc -Vcg -Vgc -Vnm; US-Wc. [SARTORI 11552]

M: Gaetano Marinelli (1754–after 1820).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The two-act libretto is a substantial revision of Moretti’s text. In addition to the six principal characters, two more singing roles have been added: Manlio (a Roman centurion), and Vademiro (captain of the German army). This is the first production in which Vademiro is given an active part, even if it is essentially limited to one scene in which he gathers the rebel forces and motivates them to attack. Marinelli is credited in the libretto as the composer of the music, although it is uncertain how much of his setting for Naples (see I.15.1792) he could recycle in light of the many changes made to the libretto. In addition to the new characters, the chorus also takes on a significant role (making this the first Arminius opera to make use of the chorus since the early eighteenth century). The plot of the extended ending (see I.15.1786 and I.15.1790a) is used here again in a modified form.

I.15.1800 Livorno (under the title *Arminio*).

D: None.

S(L): I-Fc -Fm. [SARTORI 2825]

M: Francesco Bianchi (ca. 1752–1810) and others.

Remarks: The two-act libretto retains the dramatic structure of Moretti's text, but much of the recitative and arias have been rewritten. An extended scene complex featuring the five principal characters (except Tegene) closes the first act. The chorus also assumes an important role as a commentator on the dramatic action and in extended ensembles with Arminio in the first act and Germanico in the second act. The libretto attributes the music in part to Francesco Bianchi (who also composed a setting of Moretti's drama ten years earlier; see I.15.1790a) and in part to "altri celebri Maestri."

I.15.1822 Madrid (under the title *Germanico en Germania*).

D: None, but performed at the Spanish royal court, where the reigning monarch was King Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) and the Queen consort Maria Josepha of Saxony (1803–1829).

S(L): US-NHub -Eu.

M: Gaetano Marinelli (1754–after 1820).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The title page states: "que se ha de representar por la compañía italiana en el teatro del Principe de esta Corte para beneficio del señor Luis Mari, músico honorario de la Real Capilla y Cámara de S. M. y primer tenor de dicha compañía." The tenor Luis Mari sang the role of Arminio in this production. The two-act libretto prints the Italian text on left-facing pages with a Spanish prose translation on right-facing pages. The existence of this libretto has hitherto gone unnoticed in scholarship related both to operas on the subject of Arminius as well as to the career of the composer Gaetano Marinelli. If Marinelli was in fact directly involved with this production (he is expressly credited in the libretto as the composer of the music), it sheds new light on his later activities in life. The production is an adaptation of I.15.1797, with some cuts made to recitative and arias. Newly composed music would also have been necessary, however, since the role of the chorus is expanded even more in this version, especially in the opening scene of each act. Similar to its function in I.15.1800, the chorus also engages in ensembles with Arminio and Ersilda in the first act, and with Germanico in the second act.

II. INCIDENTAL MUSIC

II.01 Friedens Sieg

Freuden Spiel (1642)

A: Justus Georg Schottelius (1612–1676).

Characters (singing roles denoted by *).

Das GLÜCK / Die FORTUNA.

Der FRIEDE.

HENRICUS AUCEPS.

CUPIDO.

ARMINIUS.

Der TEUTSCHER.

Der FRANTZOS.

Der SPANIER.

Der TÜRK.

MARS.

MERCURIUS.

Die TUGEND.

Die GERECHTIGKEIT.

Die WAHRE VERNUNFT.

CERES, die Göttin des Wohlstandes.

Die EINIGKEIT.

Die GOTTESFURCHT.

Die TAPFRIGKEIT.

BOLDERIAN, ein alomodo Cavalier.

TEUTSCHER BAUR.

ARITOSON, shepherd.*

SYLVOSA, shepherdess.*

EUTYCHAS, shepherd.*

STREPHONE, shepherdess.*

Der TOD.*

Die ARMUHT.*

Der HUNGER.*

Die UNGERECHTIGKEIT.*

Eine WALDNYMPHA FRIEDEGULD.*

ECHO.*

Die NEUN MUSEN (including EUTERPE, THALIA, MELPOMENE, CALLIOPE).*

Synopsis.

Act 1.

With a grand entrance, Fortuna declares herself the ruler of the world, since all are subject to her influence, whether for good or ill. Mars enters with a bloody dagger, boasts

of the pleasures he gains from human destruction, and thanks Fortuna for assisting him in his conquest of Germany (*Teutschland*). Cupido entreats Fortuna to bless his efforts to effect wounds of love in all whom his arrows pierce. A Spaniard and a Turk approach Fortuna to entreat her favor on the continued expanse of their world empires, and both receive the endorsement of Mars. A Frenchman, however, receives the war god's rebuff on account of his preoccupation with matters of love, and is instead assured of Fortuna's assistance by Cupido. A German enters and denounces Fortuna on account of the death and destruction that has befallen his homeland. The Spaniard, Turk, and Frenchman all draw their swords and surround the German, who begs Fortuna and Mars to free him from their oppression. Fortuna exits, followed by the Spaniard, Turk, Frenchman and German, all clamoring for her attention.

Intermezzo 1a.

Cupido interacts with the audience as he couples hearts together with his arrows, which sometimes bring happiness and sometimes sorrow.

Intermezzo 1b.

Two shepherd couples debate the merits of luck (*Glück*) versus virtue (*Tugend*), with virtue eventually emerging as the winner.

Act 2.

Mercurius, the conductor of souls from the dead, escorts the ancient German chieftain Arminius and the medieval king Henricus Auceps into the contemporary Germany. The two disoriented revenants can hardly believe that the ruined landscape overrun with foreigners is their old homeland. When they ask a German peasant about the present war and its belligerents, he admits that he doesn't know who the enemy is supposed to be. His local dialect also confuses them, causing them to wonder at what has happened to the German language. An encounter with Bolderian, a foppish native German who peppers his speech with French words and has adopted French "à la mode" mannerisms and fashions, further puzzles them and leads them to suspect that their land has fallen into moral decadency. The German from the first act appears and, once he learns the identity of the two visitors, begs them to offer their assistance in restoring peace and proper virtue to Germany. They agree to beseech the gods on his behalf.

Intermezzo 2

The forest nymph Friedeguld grieves over the consequences of war. Mars bursts in and makes threatening gestures with his sword while Death, Hunger, Injustice and Poverty attribute their existence to the results of war. Friedeguld returns with Echo to lament war and pray for peace.

Act 3.

Peace enters in a triumphant procession, accompanied by True Reason and Virtue and an extensive retinue. The nine Muses welcome Peace with a song of praise. Peace gives credit to Henricus Auceps and Arminius for their successful intercession that prompted

her arrival, and introduces her companions whose presence will restore prosperity to Germany: Justice, Courage, Godliness, Unity, and Ceres (the goddess of agriculture). The German expresses his newfound joy and hope for the future. Henricus Auceps admonishes the German to preserve unity among the various princes of the land, and True Reason scolds the behavior of Christians who kill other Christians in God's name. The Muses praise the attending members of the ducal court for their virtue. Peace and her retinue depart from the room accompanied by a song of joy. The performance closes with a dance initiated by a peasant couple, who are then joined by a shepherd and shepherdess, and finally by a lord and lady, symbolizing the happiness that Peace has brought to all social classes.



Figure 20. Details of the engraving from the finale of *Friedens Sieg* (Conrad Buno, 1648). Source: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: M: Lo 6992. Reprinted with permission.

Productions.

II.01.1642 Brunswick.

D: Ducal court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. The publication of the play in 1648 was dedicated to Anna Sophia of Brandenburg, Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1598–1659).

M: Sophie Elisabeth of Mecklenburg, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1613–1676).

S(M): *Neu erfundenes Freuden-Spiel genandt Friedens-Sieg...* (Wolfenbüttel: Buno, 1648); second printing in Brunswick, 1649.

Remarks: The publication of Schottelius's drama provides a valuable historical document of the 1642 performance, since it includes not only the music composed by Duchess Sophie Elisabeth (a pupil of Heinrich Schütz), but also several detailed copper engravings by the court printer Conrad Buno (1613–1671) that portray scenes from the production. These engravings, in addition to illustrating costumes and the spatial dimension of the staging, also provide clues regarding the musical instruments that were used in the performance. For example in the engraving that depicts the close of the third act, the nine Muses are each shown playing a different instrument (see figure 20, counter-clockwise from top): recorder, trombone, cornett, [unknown, not visible], long-necked lute or cittern, viola da braccio, harp, bass viol, lute. The text itself also provides a vivid description of the sonic intensity of the music performed at the end of this scene:

“Die Orgel lies sich mit jhren klaresten Stimmen hören / Zinken / Posaunen / und Trommeten gingen mit Lust darein / allerley Seitenspiel vermengete aufs lieblichste das künstliche Getöhne / und das Gemaur und die Wände selbst schienen lustiger und anmuhtiger zu seyn / als ob sie mit empfunden / und in jhrem herzlichem baulichem Wesen mit zu geniessen hetten / der so seligen Gaben und Wollust / des allerliebsten Friedens” (151-152).

Sophie Elisabeth's music does not specify instrumentation. Apart from a four-part instrumental prelude that introduces the scene with the shepherds, the intermezzos consist of strophic vocal compositions (solo and choral) with continuo accompaniment. The strophic songs of the Muses in the third act are written in five to six parts (generally homophonic) for voices and instruments. The closing dances are scored in two parts (melody and continuo).

II.02 Das friedewünschende Teutschland

Schau-Spiel (1647)

A: Johann Rist (1607–1667).

Characters.

MERKURIUS.

KÖNIG EHRENVEST.

HEERZOG HERMAN.

FÜRST KLAUDIUS CIVILIS.

HEERZOG WEDEKIND.

TEUTSCHLAND.

FRIEDE.
 WOLLUST.
 HOFEMEISTER.
 DON ANTHONIO.
 MONSIEUR GASTON.
 SIGNORO BARTHOLOMEO.
 HERR KAREL.
 PAGE der Königinnen.
 MARS.
 SAUSEWIND.
 HUNGER.
 PEST.
 TOD.
 MEISTER RATIO STATUS, der Wundarzt.
 GOTT.
 GERECHTIGKEIT.
 LIEBE.
 HOFFNUNG.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Mercurius conducts four German heroes from the past—Ehrenvest (Ariovistus), Herman (Arminius), Klaudius Civilis (Gaius Julius Civilis), and Wedekind (Widukind)—to present-day Germany in order that they might see how their homeland has changed. As a point of comparison, Mercurius reveals an image of their former Teutschland surrounded by symbols of military splendor, virtuous morals, and nature-bound customs. Mercurius informs the heroes that when they meet the new Teutschland, they will see that she has advanced far beyond the simplicity of ancient days and has acquired wealth, power, and world-wide renown. Meanwhile, the majestic Teutschland enters with an extensive retinue, including Friede and Wollust, and boasts of her high standing and untouchable status among the nations of Europe. Friede reminds Teutschland that she owes her well-being to the grace of God and criticizes her association with the wanton Wollust. Teutschland however rebukes Friede for interfering in her affairs. When Mercurius and his four strangely attired guests arrive, Teutschland treats the ancient heroes with haughty disrespect on account of their rough appearance and lack of sophisticated manners. Mercurius denounces Teutschland for her behavior and accuses her of a list of crimes against God and humanity. Upon hearing this chastisement, Teutschland flies into a rage at Mercurius's insolence and orders him from her sight. Mercurius and the four heroes depart, saddened by the extent of Teutschland's transformation. When Friede tries to defend the heroes, Teutschland turns on her as well and furiously dismisses her from her court, relying henceforth only on Wollust for her counsel. A servant announces the arrival of four foreign cavaliers, whom Teutschland looks forward to entertaining.

Intermezzo.

A musical interlude laments Teutschland's haughty pride and rash behavior.

Act 2.

Friede sorrowfully departs with the knowledge that without her, Teutschland's prosperity will not last. Meanwhile, Teutschland welcomes the arrival of the Spaniard Don Anthonio, the Frenchman Monsieur Gaston, the Italian Signoro Bartholomeo, and the German Herr Karel, all of whom praise her and endear themselves to her favor. Teutschland leads the guests to a sumptuous banquet table where she invites them to indulge in food, drink and merrymaking with Wollust. The guests present Teutschland with gifts of wine, cheese, and fine leather gloves, all of which she eagerly accepts. They all dance and drink until Teutschland must excuse herself on account of a sudden attack of drowsiness. After she falls fast asleep, the four guests reveal that the gifts they presented to her had been laced with sleeping agents, and they plot to rob and plunder her riches while she is unconscious. Since they fear her strength, they realize that the best way to overcome her might is to enlist the help of Mars and to steal the necklace of Concordia that hangs around her neck. In a musical interlude, the foreigners' exploitation of Teutschland is lamented, and Mercurius sings a song of warning to the sleeping Teutschland. The sound of war drums, trumpets, and firearms announces the arrival of Mars. Teutschland awakes and challenges the god of war, succeeding in wresting his dagger away from him, and continues to acquit herself well against the four guests who arrive as reinforcements. Finally, however, once Don Anthonio manages to snatch away the necklace of Concordia, they overpower her and tear away her regalia. Mars orders her to be humiliated, abused, and tortured. A song of lament closes the act.

Intermezzo.

The braggart Monsieur Sausewind boasts of his accomplishments in all fields of learning. Mars attempts to persuade Sausewind that the best life is the life of a soldier, and shows him visions of soldiers winning large sums of money in gambling, carousing in idleness, consorting with women, and achieving high ranking positions of authority. Sausewind is convinced and determines to abandon his commitment to scholarship and instead become a soldier. After Mars departs, Mercurius arrives and is dismayed that Sausewind has been deceived by the false promises of Mars. He shows Sausewind another series of visions in which the seemingly attractive aspects of a soldier's life as presented by Mars actually only bring about death and destruction. Freed of his disillusion, Sausewind renounces Mars and affirms his commitment to peace.

Act 3.

Dressed in rags, Teutschland bemoans the extent of her humiliation at the hands of Mars and his sisters Hunger and Pest. Mars enters in triumph and boasts of his victory over Teutschland, whom he has devastated for the past thirty years but whom he suspects still has treasures that she is hiding from him. Together with Hunger and Pest, Mars continues to torture Teutschland until she begs that she may die. Exasperated by her continued stubbornness, Mars draws a pistol and shoots Teutschland, wounding her in the shoulder.

Mars summons the army surgeon, Ratio Status, to tend to the wound. A musical interlude laments Teutschland's condition. Ratio Status appears and, in a comic scene, tries various methods to cure Teutschland, all of which she refuses. When she finally accepts a pill of hypocrisy, it brings about waves of nausea. Friede comes upon Teutschland in her miserable state but does not recognize her at first. Teutschland tries to grasp at Friede, begging her to stay with her, but Friede refuses, saying that God has not yet permitted it. Mercurius arrives and tells Teutschland that she must first acknowledge her faults and repent of her past decadence before Friede will be allowed to dwell with her again. Teutschland entreats Mercurius and Friede to intercede on her behalf, and they agree to lead her before the throne of God, where she confesses her sins and begs that she may be relieved of the thirty years of war, famine and pestilence that have left her a broken object of scorn. Gerechtigkeit demands that she be punished, but Liebe and the angels speak and sing on her behalf and thus persuade God to have mercy on Teutschland and allow Friede to return to her. All give thanks to God.

Productions.

II.02.1647 Hamburg.

M: Michael Jacobi (1618–1663).

S(M): *Das Friedewünschende Teütschland / In einem Schauspielle öffentlich vorgestellt und beschrieben Durch einem Mitgenossen der Hochlöblichen Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft. Nun zum letsten mahl auffgeleget und mit etlichen neüen schönen Liederen / benebenst anmühtigen auff dieselben / auch neügesetzten Melodeien vermehret und gebessert* (Hamburg: Wärner, 1649). Edition (hereafter cited as RIST): Johann Rist, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eberhard Mannack (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 2:1-203.

Remarks: The initial printing of the drama was published in 1647 in Hamburg, where it was also produced at that time by a travelling theater troupe from Königsberg under the management of Andreas Gartner (see RIST 14-17). Unauthorized pirated editions soon followed, provoking Rist to issue an official reprint of the work in 1649 with newly composed song texts, set to music by his frequent collaborator Michael Jacobi. Whereas the 1647 edition usually supplies only general descriptions of the affect and content of the music to be inserted at the proper places in the drama (a musical setting is provided for only one song), the 1649 edition makes these interludes specific. For example, following the first act in the 1647 edition, the instructions read:

“Hie muß ein ZwischenSpiel (Interscenium) gemacht / oder / welches meines bedünkens sich viel besser würde schikken / eine gravitetische Musik mit unterschiedlichen Instrumenten (in welche etliche Lieder von der grossen Unbesonnenheit / Stoltz und Frechheit deß Teutschlandes handelende zu singen) füglich angestellet werden / Jedoch kan ein jedweder hierinnen nach seinem belieben verfahren / nur / daß alles gantz ernsthaftt und beweglich abgehandelt werde” (Rist 78, footnote).

In contrast, the 1649 edition provides a detailed description of the intermezzo together with the song text and music:

“So bald die Erste Handlung sich geendet / muß einer auff die Uhralte Celtische Ahrt gekleidet / alb ein Witdod (welche bey den Alten Teutschen vor Kunst und Weißheitliebende / als Dichter / Singer / Sittenlehrer / Naturforscher und derogleichen Leute würden gehalten) auff dem Platz kommen und nach gesetztes Lied fein deutlich und beweglich daher singen / kan Er eine Laute oder Pandor selber dazu schlagen / stehet solches nicht übel / wie es den auch gahr fein klinget / wen etliche andere verborgene Instrumentisten die Melodei dazu spielen: Es muß aber solches gahr sanft geschehen / damit man ein jedes

wohrt deß Gesanges gantz eigentlich könne hören und deutlich vernemen / dieweil fast der gantzer Jnhalt der verlauffener Handlung in gedachtem Liede wird enthalten / wie den der Leser eben ein solches auch bei den Anderen nachfolgenden Liedern wird befinden” (RIST 78).

The five songs distributed throughout the drama are all two-part (melody and continuo) strophic arias composed in simple, mostly syllabic hymn-like settings. Four of the five are written in bar form (AAB). A sixth vocal work is not included in the text, but rather mentioned in the stage directions of the final scene:

“Alsobald fahen DIE ENGEL / welche hie und da zwischen den gemachten Wolken in grosser Klarheit sitzen / an zu singen und zu spielen *Verleihe uns Frieden gnädiglich* u. s. w. wie dasselbe Herr Schütze oder Herr Schoop in die Melodeien haben versetzt” (RIST 200).

The composers named here refer to Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) and Johann Schop (ca. 1590–1667).

II.03 Arminius Germaniae Vindex

Jesuit drama (1700)

A: Unknown.

Characters.

ARMINIUS,

SEGESTES, German rulers (*Imperatores*).

FLAVIUS,

ISMENUS, sons of Segestes.

QUINCTILIUS VARUS, general (*Dux*) of the Roman army.

SUNNO,

TULLUS,

SINORIX, patricians (*Optimates*).

MARCUS, guard.

Synopsis (translated from the surviving perioche).

Act 1.

Having allied himself with the Roman camp, Segestes is uncertain about the will of his own men. In order to sway opinion to his side, he explains his reasoning to one of the patricians of his council. But his efforts come to nothing, with another man hiding the plots of a conspiracy. Still anxious, Segestes has his son Ismenus arrested as a sympathizer with the cause of Arminius. Flavius beseeches his enraged father to spare his brother’s life, and finally, thanks to the intervention of Quincitilus Varus, his request is granted. Varus, having bestowed this kindness as a pledge of his goodwill towards the people, entrusts his men to Arminius and an offer of peace is made.

Part 1 of the Intermedio.

Act 2.

Arminius, roused by the report of the arrested Ismenus whom he holds dear, secretly orders his men to halt not far off from the Roman encampment, and he himself covertly enters the enemy camp. Those associated with the conspiracy lead him to Ismenus. While he pretends to have come on account of the peace agreement, he is recognized and captured by Segestes. Ismenus reminds his brother Flavius that the life of Arminius and the liberty of the fatherland are in danger, and that the greatest occasion to demonstrate their loyalty is near. Inspired enough by his own loyalty to attempt any challenges, Flavius dedicates the present effort to his brother.

Part 2 of the Intermedio.

Act 3.

In despair over his fate, the imprisoned Arminius decides to rescue himself from a death occasioned by the verdict of the enemy. He accordingly requests a last pledge of loyalty from Marcus, whom he had formerly discharged from his band of soldiers: namely to kill him with the sword offered to him. Compelled to do so, Marcus takes hold of the sword at the end, so that he may not stain his hands with the blood of his beloved lord; but with Arminius awaiting the blow, he instead inflicts death on himself. Arminius is liberated and led out of the enemy camp by the arriving conspirators.

Part 3 of the Intermedio.

Act 4.

Quintilius Varus is disturbed by a foreboding sense of imminent disaster: he is uncertain what action Arminius may take, and he fears the hatred of the entire German people if he should punish the prisoner. He therefore decides to remove him by attributing the action to Segestes's doing. Arminius is summoned to be put to death, but they discover that he has fled. Segestes order the guards to be dragged off and tortured. However Flavius takes pity on the misfortune of the innocent and declares himself to be the one responsible for the deed. Meanwhile Arminius suddenly invades the camp with his army. Varus and Segestes rush out to the rebellion.

Part 4 of the Intermedio.

Act 5.

Separated in their imprisonment, Flavius and Ismenus are stirred by hope and anxiety: the victory of Arminius would mean their father's death, but a defeat would mean the loss of their people's liberty. Meanwhile from the unsettled battle it is declared on both sides: at last fate inclines towards the Germans and inflicts the first disaster on the empire and name of Augustus; Quintilius Varus falls; the Roman army is slaughtered in a massacre!

Put to flight, Segestes plans to kill his sons, but is himself seized in that moment by the pursuing victor. By emulating Roman clemency, Arminius does not so much return Segestes to the tears of his sons as much as he restores the man to his former dignity. Having thus renewed their alliance, both princes swear a fellowship of arms and a perpetual hatred toward the Romans.

Productions.

II.03.1700 Bruges.

S: Reprint in SZAROTA III/2: 851-854.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The content of the drama is transmitted only in a Latin perioche from the performance, which was held in the Jesuit school on the afternoon of December 22, 1700. No descriptions of the intermezzos are provided in the perioche.

II.04 Amor Patriae

Jesuit drama (1701)

A: Johann Baptist Adolph (1657–1708).

Characters in the Prologue, Intermezzos, and Epilogue (singing roles).

ATLAS GERMANIAE (silent).

MARS (bass).

DOLUS (bass).

CONCORDIA (soprano).

FIDELITAS (soprano).

AMBITIO (soprano).

REGALIS GLORIA (soprano).

MAJESTAS (tenor).

ALEMANNIA (alto/soprano).

VIRTUS ARMINII (tenor).

Characters in the Main Play (speaking roles; singing roles as noted).

ARMINIUS, German prince, leader of the insurrection against Rome.

CATUALDA, German prince.

GOTULFUS, German prince.

SIGEBERTUS, German prince.

WOLRADUS, German prince.

SEGESTES, German prince, sympathizer with Rome.

SEGEMUNDUS, son of Segestes.

VOLUMNUS, lieutenant under Varus, Roman spy.

GERMANICUS, Roman general.

FLAVIUS, brother of Germanicus.

UXOR ARMINII (alto), wife of Arminius, daughter of Segestes.
 CRISPULUS, younger brother of Uxor Arminii, son of Segestes.
 INGUIOMER, paternal uncle of Arminius.
 RUSTICELLUS, a peasant.
 VELLEDA (soprano), German sorceress.
 SPIRITELLUS, a supernatural being.
 SIFRIDUS, German warrior.
 CAECINNA, Roman commander.
 MARIUS, Roman soldier
 LAELIUS, Roman soldier.
 ANNIUS, Roman soldier.
 CAMILLUS, Roman soldier.
 Various SOLDIERS.
 CRISPUS, Roman messenger.
 SIGMARUS, German judge.

Synopsis.

Prologue.

The Atlas Germaniae, carrying the territory of his realm, is defended by Fidelitas and Concordia against the attacks of Dolus and Mars.

Act 1.

Arminius rejoices after the Varian defeat and several younger princes of Germania pledge to him their support in continuing the fight against the traitor Segestes. Under siege, Segestes sends his son Segemundus to Germanicus in order to entreat his assistance against Arminius. Receiving word that Germanicus is on his way, Arminius admonishes his troops to maintain their loyalty and courage for the German cause. In disguise, the Roman lieutenant Volumnus reconnoiters the camp of Arminius; when he is intercepted he pretends to seek refuge among the Germans because of a falling-out with Germanicus. Segemundus presents his case to Germanicus, who keeps him in custody, but intends to free Segestes. Volumnus tries to persuade the German leaders to reconcile with Rome, but to no avail.

Intermezzo.

Under the guise of friendship, Ambitio plans to usurp the throne of Regalis Gloria, but he is punished for his audacity.

Act 2.

Having been freed thanks to the intervention of Germanicus, Segestes submits himself to Rome's authority and presents his daughter, the wife of Arminius, before the Roman general. She is placed in chains as the result of the insolence she displays to Germanicus and her father. Arminius reels from his defeat at the hands of Germanicus, but plans to rebuild his troops. Arminius is then informed about Volumnus's efforts to undermine the

German cause. Even on the execution scaffold, the wife of Arminius demonstrates her loyalty to her absent husband; however her father decides to send her to Ravenna so that she will be as far away from Arminius as possible. Uncertain in his strategy concerning the impending battle, Arminius and his uncle Inguiomer decide to consult the seeress Velleda. A letter from Segestes to Volumnus, which orders the death of Arminius, is intercepted, thus exposing the conspiracy against Arminius. In consulting Velleda, Arminius learns that he will conquer his enemy by coaxing them to follow him into the Teutoburg Forest.

Intermezzo.

In an attempt to steal the royal apple from Majestas, Mars is trapped by Concordia.

Act 3.

Arriving at the camps in the Teutoburg Forest where Varus met his defeat, Germanicus reflects on his predecessor and orders the exposed corpses to be given a proper burial. Arminius learns that his wife has been sent to Ravenna and dispatches a rescue party to retrieve her. The Roman commander Caecinna has a disturbing vision of the slain Varus rising up out of the swamp, and then must halt the cowardly retreat of Roman soldiers fleeing from the warring Arminius. Flavius, a brother of Germanicus, finds himself in enemy territory and disguises himself in the clothes of a slain German soldier to elude notice. Germanicus learns of Flavius's supposed capture, and releases one of his own hostages in exchange for his brother's life. Catualda, one of the German leaders, buys Flavius's cast-off Roman clothes from a merchant and, being mistaken for the Roman, is detained by a German retinue. Flavius safely makes his way back to Germanicus, who rejoices in the return of his brother, and decides to withdraw his troops from Germania in order to prevent further bloodshed. Catualda (believed to be Flavius) is brought before Arminius to be exchanged for the hostage released by Germanicus. The mistaken identity is disclosed amid the joy of Arminius and the other German leaders. Volumnus is executed as a spy but faces death with dignity. The wife of Arminius returns to her husband, and together with his fellow princes, Arminius pledges once again to uphold the freedom of Germania in the face of all enemies.

Epilogue.

Alemannia rejoices with Concordia and Fidelitas that the virtue of Arminius successfully preserved Regalis Gloria and Majestas against the threats of Mars, Dolus, and Ambitio. She invites future generations to love the fatherland, and to imitate this heroic virtue.

Productions.

II.04.1701 Vienna.

S: Ms. full text and music in A-Wn.

M: Johann Bernhard Staudt (1654–1712).

Remarks: According to the manuscript in A-Wn, the play was performed at the Jesuit college in Vienna on July 31, 1701, in the presence of the entire Habsburg imperial

family. In addition to the musical prologue, intermezzo choruses, and epilogue, two songs are performed within the main play: the wife of Arminius laments in a strophic song her imprisonment, and the sorceress Velleda sings in order to conjure the spirit oracle. Staudt's music is simply constructed, with lightly embellished vocal lines (sometimes featuring extended roulades) and continuo accompaniment. The four-part ritornellos do not usually indicate instrumentation other than the implied strings, although two are written specifically for trumpets (*clarini*). Only in the epilogue does the full orchestra join in accompanying the performers as they sing.

II.05 L'Arminio

Tragedia (1710)

A: Anonymous prose adaptation of Jean-Galbert de Campistron, *Arminius, tragedie* (Paris: Pierre Ribou, 1684).

Characters.

VARO, governor of Germania in the name of Augustus.

SEGESTE, prince of the Catti.

ARMINIO, prince of the Cheruschi, betrothed to Ismenia.

SIGISMONDO, son of Segeste, betrothed to Polissena.

ISMENIA, daughter of Segeste.

POLISSENA, sister of Arminio.

BARSINA, confidante of Ismenia.

TULLO, confidant of Varo.

SUNNONE,

SINNORICE, captains of Segeste's guard.

RETINUE.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

In an effort to ensure peace and prosperity, Segeste announces his intention to ally himself with Rome, and has arranged for his daughter Ismenia to marry the Roman governor Varo instead of the Germanic prince Arminio. When informed of this development, Ismenia is distraught and declares that she would rather die than betray her devotion to Arminio. Varo pledges his devotion to Ismenia but will not press the issue before she is ready. Ismenia receives news that Arminio is on his way to the camp.

Act 2.

Ismenia unhappily informs Arminio of her father's decision. Arminio vows to rectify the matter with Segeste. In their conversation, Arminio emphasizes the importance of keeping one's word and maintaining allegiance to one's homeland, while Segeste defends the use of opportunistic means in order to protect the greater good. Unable to dissuade Segeste from his course of action, Arminio tries to leave, but Segeste has him detained on false accusations of mutiny. Enraged, and believing he will be executed at once, Arminio declares his enmity towards Varo. Varo, however, refuses to overstep the proper procedure of Roman law, even as he confesses to Arminio his love for Ismenia. [*Ismenia enters and expresses her anguish over the role of her father in her beloved Arminio's fate.*] Segeste orders Sunnone to lead a defiant Arminio off to prison.

Act 3.

[*In a prison cell, Arminio laments that his impending death will forever separate him from Ismenia. Ismenia arrives and declares her intention to die with Arminio, but he refuses to allow her to take such a drastic step, despite her fears that she will be led as a slave through the streets of Rome. Arminio assures her that she will instead experience triumph, not shame. Varo arrives and is astounded when Arminio entrusts Ismenia to the Roman governor's care and gives his blessing to their marriage. Arminio would rather that Rome see Ismenia wedded to the conqueror than the conquered. Ismenia, however, asserts to Varo that she will never love him and demands that he set Arminio free. Varo considers that only by proving himself in combat with Arminio on the battlefield can he win Ismenia's favor.*] Polissena laments her brother's imprisonment and takes out her frustrations on Sigismondo because of his father's connections to Rome. Suddenly Arminio appears and explains how he was rescued from prison by Sunnone. Sunnone says that the love of his fatherland motivated him to disobey Segeste's orders. Ismenia and Arminio are briefly reunited in the course of his escape plan, but his declaration of war against Segeste troubles her.

Act 4.

Varo receives a letter from the Emperor, stressing the danger posed by Arminio and encouraging all measures necessary to eliminate this threat. Varo finds himself in a conundrum—if he kills Arminio, he will also kill all hope he has harbored for a future with Ismenia. He decides it would be better to shift the responsibility for Arminio's death sentence to Segeste. Varo tells Segeste that he has given Arminio an opportunity to repent and reconcile himself to Rome; if he refuses, he will suffer the consequences. Sinnorice brings news of Arminio's escape. Segeste is enraged, especially when Sigismondo appears, followed by Polissena, and takes the blame for aiding in the escape. Varo tries to intervene in the family dispute, but the impending assault led by Arminio calls him to the battlefield, with Segeste not far behind.

Act 5.

Sigismondo, Polissena, and Ismenia have been taken into custody and await news of the battle's progress. They fear the worst, especially when Segeste approaches, alludes to

heavy Roman losses, and declares his intention to escape with Ismenia to Rome. Tullo, a friend of Varo, arrives to report Arminio's victory and Varo's honorable suicide. Segeste, despondent over this news, attempts to kill himself as well, but is stopped by his children. Arminio himself appears and extends a full pardon to Segeste, but Segeste is unable to accept this offer of generosity and goes off by himself. Ismenia wants to follow her father to ensure that he does not harm himself, and Arminio, having expressed his thanks to those who aided in his escape, declares an everlasting hatred toward Rome.

Productions.

II.05.1712 Rome (under the title *Arminio*).

S: I-Mb. [SARTORI 2789] Also in I-BACa.

D: Francesco Capece Minutolo.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: An Italian prose translation of Campistron's drama appeared in two duodecimo (12o) editions from the same printer in Bologna at the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century. The shorter one, numbering 89 pages, bears a publication date of 1710; the other encompasses 103 pages with no date imprint. In both cases the authorship of Campistron's work was attributed to Pierre Corneille (1606–1684), but the longer edition actually consisted of a mixture of Campistron's drama and Antonio Salvi's 1703 adaptation of the work as a *dramma per musica* (see I.06.1703). The italicized and bracketed portions of the synopsis above designate the added interpolations from Salvi. The production performed in Rome during the carnival season of 1712 is however a different translation of Campistron's drama than that published around 1710 in Bologna. Here Campistron receives credit on the title page as the author of the original drama, and the translation strictly adheres to his established dramatic structure (i.e., no "Salvi scenes" appear), even as it converts the alexandrines to an often highly verbose prose. There is also the minor addition of a page called Teodato, who appears briefly to announce Varo's arrival in the first act. The role of Varo was portrayed by the dedicatee himself, and although the actual content of the drama has not been changed to enlarge Varo's role or to embellish his character, the *argomento* places this figure (as well as Segeste) in a much more favorable light—especially in comparison to the drama's eponymous hero, who is described as a treasonous rebel and kidnapper/rapist:

"Si sa dall'Istorie la fedeltà di Segeste verso i Romani, e la perfidia d'Arminio, l'uno e l'altro de' primi della Germania. Era al governo di quella bellicosa Provincia Quintilio Varo, che applicatosi a reggerla coll'arti della pace, niun pensiero si prendea dell'armi, e dell'esercito, dal che prese Arminio l'aspettata occasione di ribellarsi. Varo fu avvisato da Segeste dell'imminente pericolo, ma non venendogli data tutta la fede, ebbe Arminio il comodo di poter eseguire il disegno con una totale rotta dell'esercito Romano, nella quale Varo disperando di poter vincere da sè stesso si uccise. È ancora istoria, che il figliuolo di Segeste chiamato Segimondo abbia seguito il partito d'Arminio, come ancora che Arminio fosse Genero di Segeste, avendo per sposa la figliuola di lui rapitagli, mentre era promessa ad altri. Sopra queste verità ha lavorato l'intreccio della sua Tragedia Monsù Capistrone" (5).

The four ballet intermedi that separate the acts may seem to be random diversions that have little connection to the content of the main play, yet some programmatic significance is also apparent. The libretto describes the content of these intermedi as follows:

1. Ballo di cinque Cavalieri.
Gioco di Bandiera (solo).
2. Ballo a solo.
Ballo di sei Tedeschi.
3. Ballo a solo.
Ballo di otto Marinari, che sbarcano a terra salvandosi da una tempesta.
4. Abbattimento.
Alcuni Soldati volendo guadagnare un ponte vengono a combattimento co' nimici.
In fine ballo a solo.

Considered within the context of the drama as a whole, their placement within the narrative “breaks” seems to provide an interpretive bridge to the next act. It is clear that the battle scene in the fourth intermedio depicts the uprising against the Romans. The other three invite more speculation, but it is possible that the *cavalieri* prepare Arminio’s entrance, the *tedeschi* perhaps mourn Arminio’s arrest, and the *marinari* are the ones who arrive with the letter from Augustus to Varo.

II.05.1722 Mantua.

S: D-DI. [SARTORI 2793] Also in I-Mb.

D: Heinrich, Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt (1674–1741).

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The text of this production corresponds to the translation published in Bologna circa 1710 (see II.05.1712), without the Salvi scenes at the beginning of the third act. The added entrance of Tusnelda near the end of the second act does, however, appear in this version. The cast included the three children of the imperial field marshal Philipp of Hesse-Darmstadt (1671–1736), who had been appointed Governor of Mantua after the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714. Joseph (1699–1768) portrayed the role of Arminio, his sister Theodora (1706–1784) played Tusnelda, and their younger brother Leopold (1708–1764) appeared as Tullo. The work’s dedicatee was a brother of Philipp and had himself served as an officer of high rank in the imperial army during the War of the Spanish Succession. Since he had returned to Hesse after the war, his presence in Mantua during the carnival season was perhaps a family visit.

The ballet *intermedi* of this production involve far fewer performers than II.05.1712.

Only four dancers are named in the printed libretto, and the number of ballets is reduced to three: “ballo di sacrificatori” (following Act I), “ballo de’ marinari” (following Act II), and “ballo de’ guerrieri” (following Act IV). Any narrative significance of the first two ballets cannot be explained within the context of the main play.

II.06 Arminii Corona

Tragoedia (1749)

A: Ignaz Weitenauer (1709–1783).

Characters.

ARMINIUS.

FLAVIUS, brother of Arminius.

MAROBODUUS, king.

ADGANDESTRIUS, leader of the Chatti.

VIBILIUS, son-in-law of Arminius.

SIGIMERUS, son of Arminius.

SERGIUS VARUS, son of Quintilius, Roman legate.

MARKUS VARUS, brother of Sergius.

EDELBOLDUS, son of Adgandestrius.

Characters in the choruses.

THUISCO. The planet MARS, or ARMINIUS.

PHOEBUS.

The planet MERCURY.

SIGIMERUS, son of Arminius.

CHORUS of Germans.

MARS.

SATURN.

MOON.

VENUS.

Synopsis.

Prologue.

The famous Irminsul is erected in honor of Arminius, the German Mars.

Act 1.

Adgandestrius praises the achievements of his brother-in-law Arminius who, having defeated the Romans, will now be crowned king in place of the banished Maroboduus. After Arminius departs, Adgandestrius is surprised by the arrival of two Romans, Sergius and Markus, who are the sons of the defeated Roman general Quintilius Varus. They say that they have returned to pay their respects to their deceased father, but soon Adgandestrius inquires whether they have prepared the poison. Sergius replies that they have delivered Adgandestrius's son from Roman captivity, but that the Emperor and Senate consider poison a dishonorable means to dispatch their enemies. Adgandestrius leaves once Arminius returns with his brother Flavius, who remains in the service of Rome. Sergius informs Arminius that a traitor plots against him, and hands him a letter that was written to the Emperor by one of Arminius's own people in order to plot his assassination by poison. Arminius is surprised at Rome's concern for his well-being and

is uncertain whom he should trust. Flavius reminds Arminius that if he has aroused the hatred of his people, he must consider whether his own behavior is at fault. Arminius realizes that his attempt to win absolute power may have been ill-advised, but it is too late to stop the coronation preparations. Suddenly Sigimerus, who had been held in Roman captivity, appears and is reunited with his father. He tells Arminius that he owes his freedom to Markus, who helped him escape, but reports that his mother Thusnelda remains imprisoned. Arminius tells his admiring son not to imitate his father's failures in proper virtue. Vibilius and Adgandestrius bring word that Maroboduus has returned with Sergius. Arminius confides to Adgandestrius that he owes his life to the goodwill of Rome and shows him the letter that Sergius brought. When Arminius is about to open it to reveal the identity of the traitor, Adgandestrius stops him and almost convinces Arminius to give him the letter. After Arminius leaves, Adgandestrius is reunited with his son Edelbold but seethes at the way Rome betrayed him.

Chorus 1.

The planets, which the ancient Germans worshiped as gods (especially Mercury), compete for supremacy.

Act 2.

Arminius praises his young nephew Edelbold on account of the courage he displayed both in the battle against Varus and in captivity, and presents him with a spear and shield. Edelbold swears always to emulate the virtue of his ancestors. He confides to Arminius that his father Adgandestrius has seemed troubled, and Arminius shows Edelbold the letter and poison that Adgandestrius sent to Emperor Tiberius. Edelbold is shocked and dismayed at his father's betrayal, but Arminius says that he will not take revenge on his brother-in-law. He tells Edelbold to take the letter and poison to Adgandestrius, who will then exercise judgment on himself. After Edelbold leaves, Flavius and Arminius argue about the merits of making peace with Rome, and Arminius insists that Flavius is a traitor for allying himself with the Emperor. Sergius arrives and informs Arminius that Rome supports Maroboduus's claim to the throne. When Maroboduus enters, he and Arminius disagree over who should rightly deserve the title of king. Apart from the others, Sergius tells Markus that the best way for Rome to conquer the Germans is to sow seeds of discord among them and let them destroy themselves.

Dance.

Act 3.

Arminius tells Maroboduus that he will gladly step aside from his claims to the throne if Maroboduus renounces the aid of Rome and commits himself to the German cause. Maroboduus departs to think about his options. Adgandestrius arrives and pledges his allegiance to Arminius. He repents of his past actions and swears to do his part to gather support for Arminius among the people. Arminius assures his brother-in-law that all is forgiven. Flavius and Vibilius ask Arminius if the rumors are true that Maroboduus will receive his kingdom back again. They agree that Maroboduus was hated among the

people because he elevated himself to kingship, but doubt that he will be able to resist the allure of regaining power once again. Sigimerus expresses his dismay that Arminius should now aspire to achieve absolute power when he had earlier fought against the oppression of such tyranny. Markus enters and greets Arminius as King of the Germans, then argues with Sigimerus about the merits of a monarchy. Arminius tells them that he will secretly reveal his intentions to them.

Dance.

Act 4.

Adgandestrius tells Edelbold that both Rome and Arminius are now his enemies. Edelbold is astounded that his father, having seemingly made amends with Arminius, now plots once again to kill him. Adgandestrius defends his position, saying that Arminius's ambition threatens the freedom of the people, and he forces his son to cooperate with him in his plan to trap Arminius. Edelbold despairs that he is caught between his duty-bound loyalty to his father and his love for his uncle Arminius. Meanwhile, Arminius tries to convince Maroboduus that Rome will always be their enemy, and that the Romans are manipulating them to turn against each other, thus making it easier to conquer them. Maroboduus is swayed by these arguments and pledges friendship to Arminius and hatred to Rome. Sergius arrives and learns of the alliance that Arminius and Maroboduus have formed against Rome, and that Arminius has consented to restore Maroboduus's kingdom to him. Once Sergius leaves, Maroboduus asks Arminius about his own intentions regarding the throne. Arminius says he will tell him his plan.

Chorus 2.

In the contest between the planets, Phoebus acts as arbitrator and subsequently assigns precedence to Mars.

Act 5.

Flavius informs Sergius and Markus of the uprising that has occurred among the Cherusci, Hermundri and Chatti on account of Adgandestrius's betrayal. Ultimately with the help of Flavius and Maroboduus, the wounded Arminius was able to put down the rebellion, but Adgandestrius escaped capture. Arminius approaches with Sigimerus, and Sergius congratulates him on overcoming the mutiny. Edelbold arrives and begs Arminius's forgiveness for taking up arms against him in the battle, but says that he was forced to do so by his father. Arminius forgives Edelbold, and when the boy entreats him on behalf of his father as well, Arminius also extends his pardon to Adgandestrius. He tells Edelbold to find Adgandestrius, inform him of this decision, and invite him to attend the *Landtag* without fear of reprisal. As Edelbold takes his leave, however, Maroboduus approaches and shows him the lance he just used to kill Adgandestrius in order to prevent the latter from assassinating Arminius outside his tent. Edelbold mourns his father and laments that he died in shame. Arminius comforts the boy, pledges to accept him as his own son, and offers a prayer of thanks to the gods for their protection. All proceed to the

Landtag where Flavius and Maroboduus praise Arminius on his way to the throne. Sigimerus reminds his father to reveal the secret he has already told to him and Markus. Vibilius extends the royal scepter to Arminius, but then suddenly stabs him with a concealed dagger, boasting that he has completed the work Adgandestrius had intended. Horrified, Sigimerus and Markus disclose that Arminius had planned to thank the people for the honors bestowed on him, but then to decline the crown. Maroboduus confirms knowledge of Arminius's selfless plan and moves to kill Vibilius for his treachery. Vibilius, however, realizing the consequences of his actions, asks for his father-in-law's forgiveness and then stabs and kills himself. As Arminius dies, he admonishes his son to serve his homeland without hope of reward. Maroboduus warns Sergius not to become too proud; Rome should always beware the strength of Germans when they are united.

Productions.

II.06.1749 Mindelheim.

S: Perioche in D-As -OB. Latin text (without choruses) published in Ignaz Weitenauer, *Tragoediae autumnales* (Freiburg/Breisgau: Wagner, 1758). German translation (by "K.B. v. M. und L.B.") published in *Ignazens Weitenauer, und Karls de la Rue Trauerspiele* (Augsburg: Wolff, 1777).

M: Thomas Molitor.

S(M): None known.

Remarks: Weitenauer's drama was performed at the Jesuit school in Mindelheim on September 3 and 5, 1749. In addition to the list of the participants' names and roles, the perioche from the performance contains brief synopses of the acts and intermezzos in both Latin and German. Although the title page states that the texts of the choruses were also available from the same printer, no copies of this publication are currently known to survive. Weitenauer's publication of the drama several years later includes only the spoken text of the five acts.

II.07 Arminius

Jesuit drama (1750)

A: Unknown.

Productions.

II.07.1750 Graz.

S: None known.

Remarks: No text or perioche from this production is known to be extant; only the name of the play has been transmitted through school records. See PEINLICH 13.

II.08 Die deutschen Helden

Trauerspiel (1764)

A: Unknown.

Characters (speaking roles).

HERMANN, a German prince.

SEGEST, Hermann's brother.

SIGIMER, Hermann's son.

FREKOLF.

DANKRED.

BERNULF.

EBAN.

SOLDIERS.

Characters in the Intermezzos (singing roles).

Two GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF GERMANY (*Deutschland*).

GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF FREEDOM.

Synopsis (based on the surviving perioche).

Act 1.

In the grove where Hermann once defeated the Romans, Sigimer and Dankred express their joy in returning to their homeland once again, yet they arouse the suspicions of Frekolf, who is plotting against the now power-hungry Hermann. Frekolf leads Segest to share this mistrust and tries to convince him to take up arms against Hermann. Meanwhile, Hermann makes preparations to ascend to the throne but when he learns that Frekolf opposes this plan, he begins to reconsider. Bernulf, however, persuades him to ignore Frekolf's accusations.

Intermezzo (*Erstes Singspiel*).

A guardian spirit (*Schutzgeist*) of Germany denounces the victor as a tyrant who wants to usurp the people's freedom. He calls on the heroes to rise up against the bully.

Act 2.

Segest is suspicious of Frekolf's loyalties, but Bernulf convinces him of his error and he therefore decides to oppose Hermann. In order to avoid imprisonment and death, Dankred reveals his and Sigimer's noble standing to Bernulf. Segest, however, holds them both in chains and informs Dankred as well as Hermann that he plans to avenge the suppressed freedom of Germany through the death of Sigimer. Hermann decides to use force in order to free his son from the hands of Segest.

Intermezzo (*Zweites Singspiel*).

The guardian spirits of Germany and freedom praise Segest as the hero who will free the German nation from the enemy's tyrannous pride.

Act 3.

Hermann, who has been victorious in the battle against Segest, tries in vain to win the friendship of Frekolf. Bernulf informs Hermann that Segest, who had earlier fled, has retaken the field once again, and Hermann departs to finish the battle. Dankred is concerned about the fate of Sigimer, but the latter returns a free man with the news that Segest—while having been defeated in battle by Hermann—managed to kill Hermann as he rushed toward the altar to claim the crown. This account is confirmed by Eban, and while they mourn Hermann's death, they also rejoice with Segest and their fellow citizens that their freedom was preserved.

Intermezzo (*Drittes Singspiel*).

The guardian spirit of freedom celebrates Segest's victory over the enemy.

Productions.

II.08.1764 Passau.

S: A-Wn. Reprinted in KRUMP 2:403-409.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The content of the drama and the names of the student performers are transmitted in a German perioche from the performance, which was held in the Jesuit school on September 9, 1764. The text of the sung intermezzo strophes is also printed in the perioche, which however contains no reference to a composer. This drama is notable for its apparent vilification of Hermann as a tyrant and contrasting depiction of Segest as a heroic figure. For a contextual analysis of the work, see KRUMP 1:252-261.

II.09 Hermanns Schlacht

Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne (1769)

A: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

D: Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1741–1790).

Characters.

HERMANN.

SIEGMAR, his father.

FLAVIUS, brother of Hermann.

SEGEST, prince of the Cherusci.

SIEGMUND, his son.

HORST, one of Siegmars battle companions.

GERMAN CAPTAINS.

TWO CENTURIONS.

BRENNO, chief Druid.

DRUIDS.

WERDOMAR, leader of the bardic chorus.

BARDS.

ALTAR BOYS (OPFERKNABEN).

THUSNELDA with her MAIDENS.

BERCENNIS, mother of Hermann.

Synopsis.

As the battle between the Germanic tribes (led by Hermann) and the Romans (led by Varus) proceeds for the third consecutive day in the valleys below, Horst leads Hermann's elderly father Siegmar up a rocky cliff, from where the course of the advancing combat may be observed. Siegmar summons the druid priests and bards to prepare a sacrificial offering to Wodan and to sing choruses that will inspire the warriors to keep up the fight. When a captain brings word that the singing has in fact helped turn the course of the battle in their favor, Siegmar decides to go to the battlefield to see his son. Brenno, the druid chieftain, continues to lead the bards in their singing of the past heroic deeds of the Germanic tribes against Roman oppression. Segest arrives, but Brenno is suspicious of his allegiances and calls him a traitor and a spy. After Segest leaves, his daughter Thusnelda brings news of a rumor that Hermann has been wounded in the battle. As she expresses her concern to Brenno, her brother Siegmund arrives and says he has deserted his duties as a Roman priest and decided to return to his own people. Brenno mistrusts him at first, citing the participation of Hermann's brother Flavius on the Roman side as reason for doubt, but eventually embraces him, allows him to be armed, and blesses him on his way into the battle. Word comes that Siegmar has been struck by a lance and has been carried away from the battlefield. Brenno orders the bards to sing their war song to all the Germanic peoples to spur them on. The young altar boys who have heard the bardic song are themselves so inspired that they want to join the combat as well. The son of Werdomar, the leader of the bards, is so insistent on this point that his father and Brenno ultimately give their consent. Horst arrives with the wounded Siegmar, who desires to die near Wodan's altar. Horst wants to take revenge on the Romans for Siegmar's impending death, but Siegmar refuses to allow him to return to the battlefield. At Siegmar's request, the bards sing to him of the love for one's fatherland and the honor to die for its sake. As he slips further into delirium, Siegmar calls for his son Hermann. Meanwhile, the altar boys carry in Werdomar's wounded son, who mutters hallucinations of Varus when he sees Siegmar lying at the altar. A druid brings news of the Roman retreat and Hermann's victory. Siegmar gives thanks to Wodan for allowing him to live long enough to witness this moment. The captured Flavius is led in but remains defiant in defeat. Brenno confronts him and orders him to be put to death. Thusnelda enters with her attendant maidens and joyfully awaits Hermann's return from the battle, but is shocked to learn that Flavius has been captured and marked for execution. She entreats Brenno on his behalf, but is interrupted by Hermann's arrival, accompanied with news of

Varus's death. Hermann does not yet know the severity of his father's wound. Two captured Romans centurions, Valerius and Licinius, are brought before Hermann and assure him that Rome will not let this insurrection go unpunished. Instead of putting them to death, however, Hermann allows them to live to return to Rome and report to the emperor. Hermann also frees Flavius, and at Thusnelda's insistence hinders the druids from choosing by lot whether Flavius will be allowed to live. Thusnelda and her maidens sing of Hermann's victory and crown him with a wreath of oak leaves. Amid the preparations for the victory feast, Hermann learns of his father's death and mourns the loss of the great man. Werdomar's son also lies near death, still hallucinating visions of Varus, but Hermann comforts him as the bards sing of the fatherland and Siegmund's entry into Walhalla. Hermann is then immediately confronted with a dispute between a Cheruscan and a Marsian soldier over which tribe deserves to possess one of the captured Roman eagles; when he decides in favor of the Marsi, the Cheruscan goes away bitter. Hermann's mother, Bercennis, enters and tells her son that he should put the more than two hundred captured Romans to death to avenge Siegmund. Hermann refuses, since the battle is over and the prisoners are unarmed, but Bercennis berates him for this decision. Hermann calls the tribes together and they all swear that they will exercise revenge for the dead on the new Roman legions that will come.

Musical Settings.

II.09.1769

M: Johann Georg Christoph Schetky (1737–1824).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: Klopstock's correspondence from the fall of 1769 provides evidence of the first musical settings of choruses from his bardiet. Klopstock writes to his friend Johann Carl Tiedemann on December 2, 1769 (BRIEFE V.I.141.73-79):

“Schetky, der Componist der beyden Bardenges. ‘Ihr stammet von Mana’ u: Geschlagen ist die blutige Todesschlacht.—hat sie mir geschickt. Fünf Stimmen, u lauter Blasinstrumente. Wir können nicht eher recht davon urtheilen, als bis es aufgeführt ist. Gerstenberg vermutet, daß es nicht stark genug sey. Simpel ist es an den meisten Stellen u dafür bin ich dem Comp. schon vielen Dank schuldig.”

Christoph Willibald Gluck also expressed interest in reviewing Schetky's settings, as conveyed by Ignaz Matt in letters from December 1769 and April 1770. Whether Klopstock in fact sent Schetky's compositions to Gluck is unknown.

II.09.1770x

M: Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787).

S(M): None.

Remarks: Gluck expressed immediate interest in *Hermanns Schlacht*, and epistolary evidence suggests that he did in fact compose music for the choruses and even gave performances for private audiences. However, this music apparently existed only in Gluck's own memory and—in spite of Klopstock's urging—was never written down. Klopstock's correspondence reveals the long development of Gluck's involvement with a highly anticipated project that unfortunately never came to fruition.

Ignaz Matt writes to Klopstock from Vienna on December 3, 1768 (BRIEFE V.I.71.58-90):

“So bald der Gluck vom Lande zurückgekommen, habe ich mich in Ceremonie mit H. v Sonnenfels zu ihm begeben, und ihm die Gesänge aus H:Schlacht überreicht. Er schien voller Freude zu seyn, auch einen Theil an diesem vaterländischen Stücke so gering er auch ist, nehmen zu können. und ihr Namen allein war ihm schon genug, um diese Ehre mit beyden Händen zu ergreifen. [...] Ich bin vor einigen Tagen wieder bey ihm gewesen, ein wenig nachzusehen. und da mußte ich eine Menge Schwierigkeiten erfahren, die er, da er sich darüber machen wollte, gefunden. [...] Vors erste sagt er, wäre um die Gesänge in die angemessene Musick zu bringen, fast ohnentberlich, das ganze Stück zu lesen, und sich so recht in das gehörige Feür zu setzen; dann müßte jede Stroffe sich selber gleich seyn, das heißt, die musikalischen Nachdrucke müßten in dem zweyten Verse einer Stroffe auf die nemliche Syllbe kommen, als in dem ersten, und weil alle Musick bey allen Völkern auf die letzt allemal fiel: so könnte auch kein solcher Nachdruck auf die letzte Syllbe einer Stroffe kommen, ja es müßten so gar aus eben der Ursach, alle männlichen Ausgänge, so viel möglich, verhütet werden, es wäre dann, setzte er hinzu, Sie wollten alles in Rezitativ haben, und das würde er Ihnen nie rathen.”

Matt reports again to Klopstock on February 20, 1769 (BRIEFE V.I.90.39-45):

“[Gluck] hat auch schon eine Stropfe in Musik gesetzt, die in meinem, und aller derer, die es gehört, ganz besonders vortreflich ist [...]. Die Musik aber kann ich Ihnen nicht schicken, weil er selber nicht aufgeschrieben [...].”

Klopstock writes to Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim on September 2, 1769 (BRIEFE V.I.126.29-32):

“[Gluck] hat einige Strophen aus den Bardengesängen mit dem vollen Tone der Wahrheit ausgedrückt. Ich habe zwar die Composition noch nicht; aber alle, die sie gehört haben, sind sehr dafür eingenommen.”

Matt writes to Klopstock on December 28, 1769 (BRIEFE V.I.143.56-72):

“Nun noch was wichtiges vom Gluck. Er ist so von H<ermanns> Sch<lacht> eingenommen, daß, wenn es sonst noch starke Empfehlungen nöthig gehabt hätte, um ihn zur Verfertigung der Musick dazu zu engagiren, es jtz keine weitere mehr braucht, als allein der Hermann selbst. Er hat es mir recht mit einem Eyfer versprochen, daß er es übernehmen wolle, die Musick zu machen. Nur müsse man ihm Gedult lassen [...]. Auch sollen Sie ihm sagen lassen, was eigentlich die alten Deutschen für musikalische Instrumenten gehabt—er will alles nach ihrem Sinne nach den Zeiten richten.”

Gluck himself first addresses the subject several years later in a letter to Klopstock dated August 14, 1773 (BRIEFE VI.I.79.3-8):

“Der Pater Denis hat mir zu wißen gebracht, daß Sie ein Verlangen tragen, diejenigen Strophen, so ich über Dero Herrmanns Schlacht componiret, zu erhalten. Ich hätte Ihnen schon lange damit gedienet, wenn ich nicht geometrisch versichert wäre, daß viele keinen Geschmack daran finden würden, weil sie mit einem gewissen Anstand müßen gesungen werden, welcher noch nicht sehr in der Mode ist [...].”

In a letter to Klopstock from November 18, 1773, Heinrich Christian Boie claims that Gluck has set all of the choruses to music, with an important qualification (BRIEFE VI.I.101.35-37):

“Allerdings hat Gluck alles Sangbare aus Hermannsschlacht componirt. Vielleicht kann ich ihn nach seine Zurückkunft von Paris dahin bringen, daß er’s schreibt. Denn jetzt steht die Composition nur in seinem Kopfe.”

After several more years pass, Gluck once again makes excuses to Klopstock for the long delay in progress. His letter from May 10, 1780, presents his final word on the subject (BRIEFE VII.I.147.27-34):

“Sie wüssen nicht warumb ich so lange mit der Herrmannsschlacht zaudre, weilen ich will mit selbiger meine Musicalische arbeiten beschliessen, bihero habe ich es nicht thun können, weilen mich die Herr Frantzosen so sehr beschäftiget hatten, obschon nun die Herrmannsschlacht meine letzte Arbeit seyn wierd, so glaube dennoch, das sie nicht die unbedeitenste von meinen productionen seyn wierd, weilen ich den Hauptstoff darzu gesammelt hab, in der Zeit, Ehe mir das alter die Denckungskrafft geschwächet hat.”

The composer and music critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) offers two anecdotes related to Gluck’s involvement with *Hermanns Schlacht*. In the first volume of his *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (Berlin, 1782), he writes:

“Ich muß hier einen Originalgeniezug von Gluck erzählen: er hat die Schlachtgesänge zu Klopstocks Hermanns Schlacht komponirt, aber noch nicht aufgesetzt oder ausgearbeitet; Klopstock mit Recht besorgt, das herrliche Kunstwerk könne verloren gehen, schreibt ihm einst und führt die besten Gründe an ihm zum Vollenden des Werks zu bewegen. Darauf antwortet Gluck, uneingedenk seines hohen Alters, er müste erst neue Instrumente erfinden, die gegenwärtigen gnügten ihm nicht ganz zu seinem Werke” (204). During the summer of 1783 Reichardt subsequently paid a visit to Gluck, who performed parts of the composition for his guest. Reichardt relates the following experience years later in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15 (1813):

“Zwischen den Gesängen aus der Herrmannsschlacht ahmte Gluck mehrmalen den Hörnerklang und den Ruf der Fechtenden hinter ihren Schilden nach; einmal unterbrach er sich auch, um zu sagen, dass er zu dem Gesänge noch erst ein eignes Instrument erfinden müsse. — Es ist sehr schwer, von diesen Gesängen, nach jenem Vortrage, eine deutliche Vorstellung zu geben: sie schienen fast ganz declamatorisch, sehr selten nur melodisch zu seyn. Es ist gewiss ein unersetzlicher Verlust, dass der Künstler sie nicht aufzeichnete; man hätte daran das eigene Genie des grossen Mannes gewiss am sichersten erkennen können, da er sich dabey durchaus an kein conventionelles Bedürfnis der modernen Bühne und Sänger band, sondern ganz frey seinem hohen Genius folgte, innigst durchdrungen von dem gleichen Geiste des grossen Dichters” (col. 669-670).

II.09.1784

M: Ignaz von Beecke (1733–1803).

S(M): Ms. full score (autograph) in D-HR.

Scoring: Mixed chorus (Soprano, Tenor, Bass); bass solo (Brenno); Piccolo I/II, Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Fagotto I/II, Corno I/II, Clarino I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi, Timpani, Grand Tambour, Cymbales, Triangolo.

Remarks: Beecke’s score—consisting of an overture, two marches (one with chorus), three bardic choruses, and the final scene (recitative, chorus, and orchestrally accompanied stage action)—was composed for an adaptation of Klopstock’s bardiet by Johann Gottfried Dyck ([Dyk], 1750–1813), the proprietor of a Leipzig bookshop and in-house publisher who occupied himself as a translator and adapter of foreign and domestic plays, as well as a writer of new theatrical works. This adaptation of *Hermanns Schlacht* appears to have been uncommissioned, for Klopstock himself makes no reference either to Dyck or to the publication in his extant letters. Dyck writes in the foreword:

[p. 4] “Mir wenigstens ist kein dramatisches Werk irgend eines Neuern bekannt, in welchem der Charakter des griechischen Trauerspiels, und insbesondere der Geist des Sophokles, so ganz zu finden wäre, wie in Klopstocks Hermanns-Schlacht. Der einzige Vorwurf, den man [p. 5] vielleicht Herrn Klopstock über dieses Stück machen könnte, da er es zu Folge des Titels für die *Schaubühne* bestimmt hat, ist, daß es wegen der zu großen Menge von Gesängen, die noch dazu eine sehr einfache Musikbekleidung fodern, nothwendig auf der Bühne langweilig werden müßte; nicht zu rechnen, daß die Vorstellung davon vier bis sechs Stunden dauern würde. So schön die Klopstockischen Gesänge, wegen der trefflichen Ideen, die sie enthalten, zum Lesen sind, so unbequem sind sie für den Componisten: ich habe daher, an den drey Stellen, wo ich Gesänge brauchte, andere Gesänge an die Stelle der Klopstockischen gesetzt; hingegen hab ich in dem Dialog nicht das geringste geändert, und mir nur einige Versezungen und kleine Einschüßel erlaubt. In Gesängen für die Musik können uns die Griechen unmöglich zum Muster dienen, weil wir eine ganz andere Musik haben als die Griechen: in allen Stücken wo die *Form* bey uns anders ist, als sie bey ihnen

war, thun wir gut, wenn wir von ihnen abweichen, um eben so nützlich und brauchbar für unsere Landesleute zu werden, als die griechischen Dich- [p. 6] ter es für die ihrigen gewesen sind.”⁴

In his adaptation, Dyck divides the drama into three acts by grouping the bardiet’s original fourteen scenes in the following way: Klopstock’s scenes one to four = Act I; scenes five to eight = Act II; and nine to fourteen = Act III. These acts are further divided with traditional scene designations based on entrances and exits that do not necessarily correspond to Klopstock’s original schema. Although Dyck claims not to have changed anything of the prose dialogue, there are some cuts as well as some new lines and speeches, especially as replacements for the missing choruses. Dyck also changes the name of the bard Werdomar to Rhingulf, no doubt under the influence of the popular poem *Der Gesang Rhingulphs des Barden* (1769) by Karl Friedrich Kretschmann (1738–1809), and re-assigns some dialogue to reduce the number of speaking roles. None of the bardic choruses in Dyck’s adaptation is drawn from Klopstock’s text. The text of the chorus that precedes Hermann’s entrance in the third act (“Dich begrüßen unsre Lieder”) may have been written by Dyck himself. The other two—“Wie glänzend ist es! o wie schön!” (sung during the sacrificial offering in the first act) and “Wie schön! wenn für das Vaterland” (sung at Siegmars directive to inspire the course of the battle in the second act)—are assembled from various strophes of the ancient Greek war poet Tyrtæus (seventh century BCE) as published in German translation by Christian Felix Weiße (1726–1804) in the second edition of his *Amazonen-Lieder* (Leipzig, 1762). The only verses by Klopstock that Dyck retained and Beecke set to music are those of the final scene (“Wodan! unbeleidigt von uns”). Beecke’s music employs pronounced janissary elements (reinforced through the percussion section) and martial keys (especially favoring D major, suitable for the trumpets), with declamatory vocal lines often sung in unison. This music, which suitably evokes the battle context of the drama, may also reflect the extensive military experience of the composer himself (who achieved distinction as a high-ranking officer). Beecke, who was a friend of Gluck and an admirer of his music, seems to have approached Klopstock’s drama with some of the same musical ideas that were fermenting in the mind of the elder composer (see II.09.1770x). Throughout 1784 and 1785, Beecke enthusiastically tried to convince Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg (1750–1806), the general manager of the theater in Mannheim, to produce *Hermanns Schlacht* with his music, which he considered “d’un genre Extraordinaire, et d’un Caractere Etranger” (see GALLE 35). Dalberg’s continued lack of interest in the stageworthiness of Klopstock’s drama, however, precluded a production.

II.09.1788

M: Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761–1817).

S(M): DK-Kk; GB-Lbl.

Remarks: Kunzen dedicated the publication of *Weisen und Lyrische Gesänge* (Flensburg and Leipzig, 1788) to his royal patron Sophie Friederike of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Hereditary Princess of Denmark and Norway (1758–1794). The collection contains one song from *Hermanns Schlacht* (“Auf Moos’, am luftigen Bach”), set for voice and

⁴ *Hermanns Schlacht. Ein heroisches Schauspiel in drey Akten. Das berühmte Bardiet des Herrn Klopstock für die Bühne eingerichtet* (Leipzig: Dyk, 1784), 4-6.

keyboard and evoking in its simple but effective homophony the sound of hunting horns. The texts of the two songs that follow in this collection (“In deinen Thälern, Einsamkeit” and “Schlachtgesang”)—which sometimes have been attributed erroneously to *Hermanns Schlacht*—are in fact not by Klopstock (the authorship of the former is unknown; the latter is by Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg).

II.09.1906

M: Richard Strauss (1864–1949), op. 55.

Edition: Richard Strauss, *Werke für Chor und Orchester*, vol. 30 of *Richard Strauss Edition* (Vienna: Verlag Dr. Richard Strauss, 1999), 139-202.

Scoring: 2 Flauti piccoli, 2 Flauti (doppio), 2 Oboi (doppio), 2 Clarinetti piccoli, 2 Clarinetti (doppio), 2 Fagotti (doppio), Contraffagotto; 6 Corni, 4 Trombe, 3 Tromboni, Tuba; Timpani, Gran Cassa, Piatti, Campanelli, Tamburo militare, Tamburino, 4 Arpe (ad lib.); 3 Cori: Tenori I/II, Bassi I/II; Violini I, Violini II, Violeni, Violoncelli, Contrabbassi; off-stage: 4 Corni, 4 Trombe, 4 Tromboni.

Remarks: Strauss’s large-scale *Bardengesang*, composed for male chorus and orchestra, is a setting of the bardic chorus in Scene 6 of *Hermanns Schlacht* (“Herbey, herbey, wo der Kühnsten Wunde blutet!”). Similar to Klopstock’s indications that the strophes are to be divided among distinct groupings of multiple voices, Strauss writes for three TTBB choruses, which are variously isolated and combined, often interacting antiphonally. The work begins in C minor and ends in C major, musically depicting the progression from tumultuous battle-cries to a triumphant hymn of victory. Strauss apparently intended to dedicate the work to Emperor Wilhelm II, but for reasons that are not clear, ultimately inscribed the piece to the Leipzig choral director Gustav Wohlgemuth (1863–1937).

II.10 Hermann, ein deutscher Held

Pantomimisches Zwischenspiel (1770)

A: Unknown.

Characters.

HERMANN.

Der LUST.

Der FRÜHLING with twelve SHEPHERDS.

Der SOMMER with eight REAPERS.

ORPHEUS and der HERBST with six VINEYARD WORKERS.

Der WINTER.

PROTHEUS.
 NEPTUN and AEOL.
 ARMY OF GERMANS.
 GHOST of Hermann's father.
 FOREST GODS.
 THEUT with four OLD MEN.
 Die FREIHEIT.
 Das GLÜCK.
 PLUTUS.
 Die FREIGEBIGKEIT.
 Das VERGNÜGEN and die SINNLICHKEIT with her FREUDEN.
 Ein GÖTZENPRIESTER.
 Der BETRUG.

Synopsis (based on the surviving perioche).

Part 1.

Hermann finds himself alone and struggles with his passions. *Der Lust* encounters him and calls forth *Frühling*, who shows Hermann the happiness of the shepherds. The shepherds crown Hermann as their king. *Der Sommer* enters and the reapers enjoy themselves after their labors. The pleasures of *Herbst* are depicted as Orpheus plays his lyre and Bacchus is led around on a keg. Hermann becomes drunk with pleasure. *Der Winter* encounters him and shows him the transitoriness of earthly delights as Protheus argues with Aeol and Neptun. Finally the army of Germans arrives and the warriors exercise their weapons. Hermann challenges two of them to combat and is victorious.

Part 2.

The German army joyfully honors Hermann for his victories. Hermann withdraws from the group and encounters the ghost of his father, who leads him to his hollow where the gods of the forest dwell. Hermann receives the sword of Theut. *Die Freiheit* and *das Glück* engage in a struggle for possession of Hermann. *Die Freigebigkeit* tries to bribe him with money. *Das Vergnügen* offers him pleasures of all kinds. Hermann is bound and led around in silken chains, but once again he reaches for his weapons. An altar is erected and Hermann dedicates his laurels to the gods. *Der Betrug* offers him a poisoned drink. Hermann dies and is welcomed by his friends in the Elysian Fields.

Productions.

II.10.1770 Bamberg.

D: Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg (1708–1779).

S: Transcription of the perioche in LEIST 31-33. Archival source unknown.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The two-part intermezzo was enacted by the students of the Jesuit school and performed between the acts of the main play *S. Henricus Romanorum imperator* on

September 20, 1770. Since it is described in the perioches as a “pantomimisches Zwischenspiel” and an “episodium musicum,” it appears that the fifty participants named in the program enacted the narrative only through dance and gesture, not through speech or song. No composer is credited for providing the accompanying ballet music. The relationship between the narrative of the main play—which concerns the ascent of the faithful Christian Heinrich II (973 or 978–1024) to the imperial throne—and the intermezzo, which illustrates the downfall of the heathen Hermann, is intended to be complementary. The perioche for the intermezzo states this relationship as follows: “Da wir den heiligen Heinrich als einen christlichen Helden vorstellen, der den Tod erwartete, und ganz unverhofft die Kaiserliche Krone erlangte, führen wir zugleich Hermann einen deutschen Helden aus den ältesten Zeiten in den Zwischenspielen auf, welcher für sein Vaterland ritterlich stritt, solches von dem Joche der Römer befreite, und, da er den Lohn seiner Verdienste suchte, von den seinigen durch Gift aufgerieben worden; woraus man die Eitelkeit des heidnischen Ruhmes erkennen und die Belohnung christlicher Tugend schätzen lernet” (LEIST 33).

II.11 Pietas in patriam

Tragoedia (1771)

A: Florian Reichssiegel (1735–1793).

Characters.

HERMANNUS (HERMANN), son of Siegmarus.

SIEGMARUS (SIEGMAR), prince of the Cherusci.

SEGESTHES (SEGESTH), prince of the Saxons.

RASTOLFUS (RASTOLF), prince of the Catti.

TREUMUNDUS (TREUMUND), prince of the Marsi.

EDMUNDUS (EDMUND), prince of the Marcomanni.

HAUBOLDUS (HAUBOLD), prince of the Cauci.

EISMARUS (EISMAR), noble of the Cherusci.

MORCANUS (MORKAN), chief of the bards.

THUSNELDA, daughter of Segesthes.

BARDS.

TARPEIUS, Roman commander and legate.

MARCUS (MARKUS), Roman cavalryman and legate.

Characters in the dedication and intermezzo (singing roles).

MONTANUS (tenor), protector of the Salzach.

TEUTOGENUS (tenor), protector of the Danube.

BACCHUS (tenor).

VENUS (tenor).

CUPIDO.

Characters in the dances.

AMBITIO.

PLUTO.

MINISTERS of Pluto.

MORPHEUS, FURIAE, MORS, FUROR, and other demons.

GERMANS (*TEUTONES*).

ROMANS.

Synopsis.

Introduction.

Montanus and Teutogenus join together in praising Hermannus and the Prince-Archbishop Sigismund, both of whom are protectors of Germania.

Act 1.

When the other German princes unite behind Siegmarus in opposition to the Roman yoke, Segesthes, who has allied himself with the Romans, only pretends to support Siegmarus's cause. Tarpeius and Marcus, two Roman envoys, are received by the German princes, who proudly refuse any display of subservience. The envoys bring orders that the German princes are to cease their confederation and surrender their weapons. They also want Hermannus to return to the Romans, from whom he received his upbringing and military honors. The Germans maintain that they are the injured party, having been subjected to foreign domination, and refuse to stand down. Hermannus in turn rejects the emblems of his Roman service. Siegmarus tells the envoys that the Romans should prepare themselves for battle. Seeing Segesthes among Siegmarus's supporters, Tarpeius assumes that his alliance with Rome was only a ruse. Segesthes is concerned that Tarpeius will tell Varus about his seeming betrayal. He informs his daughter Thusnelda that she is to marry Tarpeius, but she finds the suggestion repugnant. Segesthes threatens to kill her for her disobedience but is stopped by Hermannus. When Hermannus raises his sword against Segesthes, however, Thusnelda and her brother Siegmundus both plead for their father's life. Hermannus is overcome by their filial devotion. Alone, Segesthes is troubled by his many personal tribulations and conflicts. In a dream vision, Morpheus leads Segesthes's soul into hell, where he is crowned and enthroned over the slain Siegmarus and imprisoned Hermannus.

Act 2.

Segesthes awakens from the dream, strengthened in his determination to betray the Germans and support the Romans. Siegmundus and Thusnelda swear their allegiance to Siegmarus's cause and renounce their father's treachery. Hermannus, who modestly accepts the leadership role pressed on him by the other princes, organizes the plan of battle. The other princes wonder at Segesthes's absence. Before Hermannus can give an answer, Segesthes is led in; he was discovered in the act of joining Varus's forces and arrested. The German princes reject Segesthes as a traitor. Instead of putting him to death, however, Hermannus orders Segesthes's expulsion, allowing him to join the enemy. The Germans depart to attend a religious ceremony before the battle begins. In an intermezzo, Venus and Bacchus observe their influence on the love-struck and drunk

Romans, whose success in the battle against the vigilant and sober Germans appears unlikely.

Act 3.

At the religious ceremony, the bards invoke the gods' (and God's) blessing on Hermannus and the outcome of the battle. Siegmarus, who because of his advanced age will not take active part in the battle, entrusts the princes to Hermannus's leadership and urges them to maintain their unity under his command. Hermannus reveals his plan: the Germans will feign retreat into the woods and mountains in order to lure the Romans away from their advantageous level battlefield. The Roman advance is reported and the princes depart for their battle positions. Hermannus says farewell to his father and Thusnelda as he leaves for the battle. Siegmarus expresses his determination to fight if necessary, and Thusnelda also wants to take active part in the battle. In a musical intermezzo, the course of the battle is portrayed.

Act 4.

Segesthes secretly leads Tarpeius and a group of Romans towards the German encampment, where they are to lie in wait and mount a surprise attack. He intends to ambush Siegmarus when he sees the old man approach with Thusnelda. Segesthes gives a mortal wound to Siegmarus, whom Thusnelda tries to defend by striking Segesthes on the head. When she sees that she has attacked her own father, she is repentant, but Segesthes tries to kill her as well. Tarpeius protects his intended fiancée, and takes her into his custody amid her protests. Hermannus, victorious in the battle, discovers his dying father, who tells him of Segesthes's action and Thusnelda's kidnapping. Hermannus regrets having spared Segesthes's life earlier. Hermannus must leave his father when he receives word that the overly zealous actions of Rastolfus, one of the confederation of princes, could cost the Germans their victory. The bards arrive to tend to Siegmarus's wound, but it is clear that the old man does not have long to live. In an intermezzo, the defeat of the Romans is depicted in pantomime.

Act 5.

Treumundus, Hauboldus, and Edmundus celebrate the victory. When Siegmundus arrives with Thusnelda and a captured Segesthes, Rastolfus demands to know what Segesthes has done and why Thusnelda was not with Siegmarus. All express concern over the absent Siegmarus. Hermannus enters in triumph, carrying the head of Varus. Only the sorrow over his lost father darkens the victory. Siegmarus, however, still clings to life and thanks the princes for their successful fight against the Romans. To the consternation of Rastolfus, Siegmarus does not order Segesthes's death, but rather his banishment to Rome. Rastolfus intends to take justice into his own hands, but Hermannus stops him from killing Segesthes. Hermannus believes that forcing Segesthes to live with his own conscience is a fate worse than death. He also releases the captured Roman envoys to return to the emperor with the head of Varus. The other German princes admire Hermannus's ability as a victorious conqueror to show mercy to the conquered. Just before dying, Siegmar gives his blessing to the marriage of Hermannus and Thusnelda.

Productions.

II.11.1771 Salzburg.

D: Sigismund Christoph von Schrattenbach, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (1698–1771).

S(L): A-Sfr -Ssp.

M: Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806).

S(M): Ms. full score in F-Pn. Orchestral parts to one ballet in D-Mbs; keyboard reduction in HR-Zha.

Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Corno I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi. Additional instruments used only in the marches: Piffero I/II, Tromba, Tamburo, Tamburino, Triangolo, Manicordo, Instrumento d'acciaio.

Remarks: Reichssiegel's Latin drama was performed by students of the Benedictine university on August 8 ("VI. et pridie Iduum Augusti"), 1771. Haydn's composition of the incidental music for the production includes the opening Dedicatio (sung in Latin by Montanus and Teutogenus in praise of the Prince-Archbishop), four intermezzos, a chorus of the bards (sung in Latin), and a series of marches that accompany the entry of the various Germanic tribes. The narrative content of two of the ballet intermezzos, "Traum des Segesthes" (following Act I) and "Das besiegte Rom" (following Act III), is described in detail (i.e., movement by movement) in the libretto. These descriptions are printed in German, and the intermezzo featuring Venus and Bacchus (following Act II) is sung in German. The intermezzo following Act IV is described only as depicting the defeat and flight of the Romans, without further scenic elaboration.

II.11.1773 Salzburg (as *Hermann, Ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande*).

D: Hieronymus Colloredo, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (1732–1812).

S(L): A-Ssp.

M: Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806).

S(M): Ms. full score in F-Pn (written for II.11.1771).

Remarks: The German verse translation of Reichssiegel's drama—composed of twelve-syllable lines in rhymed couplets with frequent enjambment (modified heroic alexandrines)—received its premiere by students of the Benedictine university on August 31, 1773, with further performances held "in den ersteren Tagen des Herbstmonathes." The libretto boasts that hundreds of people took part in the production ("In allem 250. Personen, die öffentlich auf dem Theater vorkommen"). The musical Dedicatio from 1771 is omitted and replaced with a spoken introduction (in classical dactylic hexameter) addressed to the new Prince-Archbishop and delivered by Hermann "aus der fliegenden Wolke." The content of the drama itself is otherwise unchanged (except for the addition of some spoken lines of dialogue for Cupido at the beginning of the second intermezzo), and Haydn's score was used again for this production. The chorus of the bards in Act III is sung here in a German translation that exactly matches the meter of the original Latin text, thus necessitating no changes to the music.

II.12 Theutomal, Hermanns und Thusneldens Sohn

Trauerspiel (1771)

A: Wilhelm Johann Christian Gustav Casparson (1729–1802).

Characters.

INGUIOMAR, a prince and army commander of the Cherusci.

THEUTOMAL, Hermann and Thusnelde's son.

CATUMAR, Inguiomar's son.

MACRIN, a Roman tribune.

A MILITARY COMMANDER (*Kriegsbefehlshaber*).

A CHERUSCAN WARRIOR, with several others.

Characters in the intermezzos (singing roles).

Die WUTH.

Der NEID.

Die GERECHTIGKEIT.

Die HERRSCHSUCHT.

Die TUGEND.

ASSOCIATES of Wuth and Neid.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Having fled from Roman imprisonment in Ravenna with the intent to avenge his father's death, Theutomal arrives at the sacred oak grove where Hermann was treacherously murdered and where his grave now lies. Catumar discovers Theutomal and mistakes him for a Roman on account of his clothing, but Theutomal reveals his identity and gains Catumar's trust, learning that Catumar is the son of Inguiomar (his great-uncle). Catumar warns Theutomal that the Germans have been corrupted by the influence of Roman domination and that he should beware of duplicity. After Catumar leaves to find his father, Theutomal lies down on his father's grave and falls asleep. Meanwhile, Inguiomar and the Roman tribune Macrin (who was pursuing Theutomal after his escape) enter the grove and discuss the German alliance with Rome. Inguiomar is disturbed when Macrin tells him that Rome knows of Inguiomar's part in Hermann's assassination and that Theutomal seeks revenge on the conspirators. When they notice that Theutomal is sleeping on Hermann's grave, Macrin wants to kill him quickly, but Inguiomar refuses on account of the sacred place. After Macrin leaves, Inguiomar debates whether or not he should kill Theutomal or run the risk of being killed himself. When Theutomal awakes, Inguiomar does not reveal his identity, saying only that he was a friend of Hermann. After he leaves, Catumar returns and Theutomal tells him of his encounter with an old man. Catumar pledges his support of Theutomal's cause and as the two depart to find Inguiomar, Theutomal renews his pledge to exact revenge on this day.

Intermezzo, Part 1.

Herrschaft thanks Wuth and Neid for their part in assisting her ascent to the throne, and although she fears the whims of fickle fortune, Wuth and Neid pledge always to protect her. Gerechtigkeit appears and denounces Herrschaft's claim to rule. Wuth and Neid rise up against Gerechtigkeit and chase her away. The chorus praises Herrschaft as their queen.

Act 2.

A concerned Inguiomar tells Macrin of Catumar's entreaties on behalf of Theutomal. When Macrin reminds Inguiomar that he should have killed Theutomal when he had the chance, Inguiomar replies that murder is not a heroic act and that he participated in the conspiracy against Hermann only because of Hermann's tyrannous ambitions to crown himself king over the Germans. Inguiomar cannot however justify killing the innocent Theutomal, who is a member of his own kin. Macrin suggests that Inguiomar should convince his son that Theutomal is an imposter sent to sow discord among the Germans, and persuade him to kill Theutomal. Wracked with guilt, Inguiomar hesitates to take this action, but he does eventually use his parental authority to influence Catumar in this direction and finally obtains his son's pledge to kill Theutomal. Later, Theutomal returns to the grove and discovers Macrin with Inguiomar (whose identity he does not yet know), and berates the Roman for trespassing on hallowed ground and the old man for timidly submitting to Roman authority. Just before Catumar returns, Inguiomar and Macrin depart, expecting that Catumar will kill Theutomal. Catumar, however, is torn between loyalty to his father and his friendship with Theutomal and cannot kill his cousin. He tries to plead with his father in order to persuade him that Theutomal is not an imposter but rather the real son of the hero Hermann. Inguiomar finally admits that it was he who killed Hermann, and that Theutomal will kill him in revenge once he discovers the truth. Catumar is devastated by this revelation. When Theutomal returns, he tells Catumar that Macrin has promised to disclose the name of Hermann's murderer later that day. Catumar breaks down in tears, but cannot reveal the source of his turmoil. Theutomal interprets this behavior as weakness and denounces him, intent on fulfilling his pledge of vengeance.

Intermezzo, Part 2.

Herrschaft is toppled from the height of her power, having built her authority on Wuth and Neid. Gerechtigkeit introduces Tugend as the new queen, explaining that a proper ruler must first be able to govern his or her own passions. Tugend pledges to conduct herself as the first servant of the state, and pardons Herrschaft, Wuth, and Neid for their rebellion. The chorus praises the bounty that will befall their land under Tugend's leadership.

Act 3.

As evening falls, Catumar leads his father into the grove and tells him that he will kill Macrin before the Roman can reveal the name of Hermann's murderer. Inguiomar however has resigned himself to death and does not want his son to risk his life in order

to protect him from a just punishment. In spite of his father's protests, Catumar rushes off to find Macrin. Later, Theutomal pursues Macrin into the forest and demands that he reveal the identity of the assassin. Macrin promises to do so only at a public gathering of the Cherusci, and on the condition that he be granted protection from harm. Theutomal agrees. Inguiomar continues to be plagued by his conscience and calls on the gods to strike him dead. Catumar returns and frantically reports of his failed attempt to approach Macrin, whom the Cherusci were closely protecting. He urges his father to flee, but Inguiomar begins to hallucinate, seeming to see the ghost of Hermann rising out of his grave. Inguiomar asks his son to kill him before Theutomal arrives, but Catumar cannot bring himself to do it, and instead declares that he will protect his father even if it means killing Theutomal. A group of Cherusci arrive with Theutomal and bestow Hermann's sword and shield on him. Theutomal is introduced for the first time to Inguiomar, and he apologizes for his earlier behavior, praising the reputation of his great-uncle. Theutomal also reconciles with Catumar, then calls on Macrin to name the murderer. Concerned about the fate of his father, Catumar tries to delay the proceedings, which makes Theutomal suspicious. All are shocked when Macrin names Inguiomar as Hermann's murderer, but Inguiomar admits his guilt and invites his punishment, which Theutomal duly carries out. Catumar tries to attack Theutomal, but is held back by the others. With his dying words, Inguiomar asks that his death not be avenged on Theutomal but rather on Rome. Catumar and Theutomal reconcile.

Productions.

II.12.1775 Landshut.

S: Perioche in D-Mu. Published text in D-HAu.

M: Christian Miller.

S(M): None known.

Remarks: Casparson's prose drama (without choruses) was first published in Kassel in 1771, but the only known production of the work was performed as a school drama at the former Jesuit school (the order was officially suppressed in 1773) in Landshut on September 4 and 6, 1775. The surviving perioche from this production supplies documentation of the participants as well as the complete text of the two musical intermezzos. Nothing more is known about the composer of the music than what is stated in the perioche: "Die Musik hat verfertiget: Admodum Reverendus, ac Doctissimus Dominus Christianus Miller, Sacerdos curatus, Instituti Clericorum in commune viventium, & Beneficiatus in Erding."

II.13 Tumelicus, oder der gerächte Hermann

Trauerspiel mit Chören (1774)

A: Cornelius Hermann von Ayrenhoff (1733–1819).

D: “Dem Verfasser der Leipziger Beyträge zum deutschen Theater gewidmet,” i.e., Christian Felix Weiße (1726–1804).

Characters.

TUMELICUS, Hermann’s son.

AELIA, his wife.

VELLEDA, prophetess of the Germans.

FROMWALD, the chief druid.

KATUMER,

AGANDESTES,

RASTOLF,

CHILDRICH, German princes.

TREUMUND, Tumelicus’s tutor (*Hofmeister*).

ALBINA, Aelia’s confidante.

SIEGFRIED, a druid.

DRUIDS, BARDS, MAIDENS of Velleda, WARRIORS, POPULACE.

Synopsis.

In the grove that shelters Hermann’s tomb, the bards sing as the druid priests offer a sacrifice to the gods. Fromwald and Katumer are surprised by the sight of Treumund, who informs them that he has returned home with Hermann’s son Tumelicus, who has been freed from Roman captivity. Carrying a letter from Tumelicus to the respected prophetess Velleda, Treumund says that this happy turn of events is due to the intervention of Tumelicus’s Roman wife Aelia. When Treumund inquires about the state of his homeland, Katumer sorrowfully tells him of the internal power struggles that have set the Germans against each other. In an attempt to put an end to the civil war, Katumer had consulted Velleda who, by conjuring the spirit of Hermann, was able to learn that the people would be saved only through sacrificing the blood of the one responsible for Hermann’s death. Treumund is alarmed at this news, knowing that since Segest murdered Hermann, the only blood relative still alive would be Segest’s grandson Tumelicus. Katumer reminds Treumund that it is generally agreed that Segest was coerced to murder Hermann by someone else—perhaps a Roman or perhaps the traitorous German prince Agandestes—and that this person could also be held to account. Katumer says that the authority to name the future leader of Hermann’s territories still rests with Velleda, and that no decision has yet been made. The princes Agandestes, Rastolf, and Childrich arrive for the assembly, each eager to know whom Velleda will appoint as leader of Cheruska.

As they wait, the bards sing of Hermann’s heroic deeds against Rome.

When Fromwald receives word of Tumelicus’s approach, he calls the assembly to order. The princes draw lots as part of the ceremony, as the bards intone a hymn. Tumelicus

enters the assembly and arouses suspicion among the princes, who remain ignorant of his identity. Velleda arrives and declares that Tumelicus will inherit his father's lands. The warriors acclaim Tumelicus as their leader, but Agandestes reminds them of Hermann's demand for blood revenge. That blood, Agandestes asserts, is found in Tumelicus. Katumer rebukes Agandestes and Tumelicus expresses his thanks to his friends and his wife Aelia for allowing him the opportunity to achieve these honors.

The bards continue to sing of Hermann's leadership against the Romans.

Fromwald receives a message from Velleda stating that Aelia must not be allowed to leave the grove. Velleda has determined that Aelia (as the daughter of Aelius Sejanus, the instigator of Hermann's assassination), is the blood sacrifice demanded by Hermann's spirit. Fromwald can hardly believe this news and wonders if Velleda could be mistaken. Later, Aelia encounters Velleda and confides in her that she is concerned about Tumelicus because of his blood connection to Segest. Velleda in turn questions Aelia about her father and his role in the Roman campaigns against the Germans. After Velleda leaves, Treumund rushes in, warns Aelia that the people are demanding her life as the atonement for Hermann's death, and urges her to flee. Before she can do so, the princes prevent her escape. Tumelicus arrives and defends his wife against the accusations of Agandestes, but a sorrowful Katumer informs him of the facts regarding Segest's unholy alliance with Aelius Sejanus. When Velleda insists that the divine decree must be carried out, Tumelicus denounces the gods and defies the death sentence imposed on his wife. Tumelicus draw his sword to defend Aelia, prompting Velleda to order him to be arrested and sentenced to death. At Aelia's entreaties, however, Velleda softens her stance and instructs the guards to hold Tumelicus captive until the sacrifice has been accomplished.

As the druids prepare for the sacrifice, the bards complete their songs of Hermann's deeds against the Romans.

Katumer urgently requests to speak with Velleda, and informs her that a coalition of forces has freed Tumelicus from prison and that they are on their way to prevent the sacrifice. Velleda remains firm in her belief that Hermann's spirit demands Aelia's death, but Katumer tries to convince her that Agandestes also played a role in the plot against Hermann. Treumund attests that Agandestes unsuccessfully tried to obtain poison from Rome in order to kill Hermann, but Velleda dismisses this incident as irrelevant. Agandestes himself arrives and assures Velleda that he and the other princes are positioned to defend her against the rebel uprising. The ceremony surrounding the sacrifice begins. In order to protect his beloved Tumelicus, Treumund offers himself as the sacrificial victim, but Velleda refuses. Aelia is led to the altar and asks permission to see her husband one last time before she dies. Velleda expresses her sorrow at Aelia's fate, but orders the sacrifice to continue. Suddenly word comes that Tumelicus has broken through the defenses and is approaching the grove. In spite of Tumelicus's calls to the Cherusker to support him, Velleda's religious authority prevails and she has Tumelicus arrested. Treumund rushes in with the news that Agandestes—to whom Tumelicus had dealt a fatal blow as he was breaking through the defense line—has just confessed to his part in Hermann's death. The wounded Agandestes is carried in and,

before he dies, confirms Treumund's story. Aelia is set free and reunited with Tumelicus. Velleda asks Aelia's forgiveness for her error. All celebrate and acclaim Tumelicus.

Productions.

II.13.1774 Vienna.

S: Printed libretto from the performance published as *Tumelicus, oder der gerächte Hermann. Ein Trauerspiel mit Chören* (Vienna: bey dem Logenmeister, 1774).

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The play received its premiere at the Kärntnertortheater on December 31, 1774, with two further performances in 1775. Although Ayrenhoff's drama is constructed as one act divided into scenes—similar to the structure of Klopstock's *Hermanns Schlacht* and the other bardic choruses essentially divide the narrative into four act-like segments. Ayrenhoff comments on these choruses in his prefatory remarks: "Meine Bardenlieder sind eigentlich von zwo sehr verschiedenen Gattungen. Die kürzern, so im I. VIII. und XXXIII. Auftritte vorkommen, sind kleine, den Situationen anpassende Hymne—von geringem Belange. Ueber die längern hingegen, diejenigen nämlich, worin die Thaten Hermanns besungen werden, muß ich mich erklären, daß ich sie nicht gerne als Nachahmungen dieses oder jenes berühmten Musters beurtheilt wissen möchte: nicht nur, weil ich gar zu wohl erkenne, wie viel sie, gegen die Klopstockischen, Kretschmanischen und Denisischen gehalten, durch die Vergleichung verlieren müßten, sondern auch, weil sie in der That ihrer Natur, folgar auch dem Tone nach, merklich von denselben unterschieden sind, und seyn mußten. Als Choralgesänge, und zwar theatralische Chorälgesänge, lassen sie wohl sogleich einige Aehnlichkeit des Gepräges mit den Klopstockischen in *Hermanns Schlacht* vermuthen; allein Zeit, Ort, und Umstände sind so sehr verschieden, daß auch die vermuthete Aehnlichkeit des Gepräges hinweg fallen mußte. Meine Bardenchöre sind nicht Schlacht-bardiet, nicht brausendes Kriegsgeschrey, das zur Zeit eines entscheidungsvollen Treffens, den eignen Krieger zu Sieg oder Tod zu begeistern, und dem feindlichen zugleich durch fürchterlich tönenden Schall Schrecken einzujagen, zur Absicht hat; sie sind Lob und Danklieder, einem vergötterten Helden, zu Erbauung des sein Andenken feyernden Vaterlands, in dem ruhigern Zeitpunkt einer allgemeinen Versammlung des Volkes gesungen; sie sind—und mit dieser Charakterisirung hoff ich am besten durchzukommen—sie sind nichts mehr als poetisch eingekleidete Erzählung einer wahren Geschichte, wovon ich mir (bey Erwägung der Gelegenheit, wo sie erzählt wird, und der moralischen Absichten, welche unsre alten Germanier mit ihren Liedern verbunden zu haben scheinen) das Ideal von Form und Einrichtung selbst gemacht habe. — Sollten sie aber auch mit dieser Eigenschaft nicht glücklich genug seyn, den Beyfall des Kenners zu verdienen, so bitte ich auch hier zu erwägen, daß bey Bearbeitung des Tumelicus der tragische Endzweck mein vorzüglicher war; die Bardenchöre aber blos als eine schickliche Ausfüllung der Zwischenakte und stummen Szenen hinzugekommen sind, durch welche ich zu Folge der Handlung, in welcher hier die Völker des alten Deutschlands erscheinen, vielmehr dem Costume ein Opfer zu entrichten, als dem Stücke selbst ein wesentliches Verdienst zu ertheilen dachte. In dieser Betrachtung glaube ich mir noch immer, durch Hülfe einer guten Musick, einige gute Würkung davon versprechen zu dürfen. Nur ist es unumgänglich nothwendig, diese langen Cantaten, bey der Vorstellung in eine der theatralischen Vorstellung, angemessnere Kürze zu bringen, wenn sie anders nicht lange Weile verursachen sollen. Meines Erachtens sollten nur diejenigen Stellen abgesungen werden die ich mit der sogenannten Schwabacher Schrift abdrucken ließ" (6-10).

However, a contemporary review published in *Der Teutsche Merkur* 4 (1775) by Christian Heinrich Schmid states that the choruses were not performed at all:

"Endlich ward das Jahr am 31sten December mit einem neuen Trauerspiele des Herrn Obristlieutenant von Ayrenhoff beschlossen, das den Titel Tumelikus führt. [...] Was charakteristische Züge und Sprache überhaupt betrifft, so kann ich keine einzige meisterhafte Stelle rühmen. [...] Die Schwäche der eingeschalteten Bardengesänge bekennt der Verfasser selbst. [...] Bey der Vorstellung wurden diese

Gesänge ausgelassen, ob man gleich bereits vorher bey dem Thamos eine glückliche Probe gemacht hatte, solche Chöre auf der Bühne auszuführen” (181-182).⁵

II.14 **Hermanns Traum**

Trauerspiel mit Chören (1778)

A: Unknown (“von einem k. k. Officier”).

Characters.

TUISKO,

MARS,

APOLLO,

PLUTO,

MINERVA,

FAMA, gods.

MINOS,

AEACUS,

RHADAMANTUS, judges in Hades (*Höllengerichte*).

NEID,

HASS,

ZWIETRACHT,

VERLÄUMDUNG, vices.

Many FURIES.

HERMANN, army commander of the Germans.

THUSNELDE, his wife.

ELIODORE, Hermann’s daughter, fiancée of Fanton.

ELISE, her confidante.

FANTON, Hermann’s favorite (*Liebling*).

ERMIN,

HUNOLD, Hermann’s generals.

QUINTILIUS VARUS, Roman general.

GERMANICUS,

TIBERIUS, Roman captains (*Hauptleute*).

FLAVIA, a noble Roman, wife of Brutus, prisoner of Hermann.

⁵ “Thamos” refers to *Thamos, König in Ägypten*, a play by Tobias Philipp von Gebler that was performed in the spring of 1774 at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna. The choruses included in this play were set to music by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

BRUTUS, a noble Roman, prisoner of Hermann.

The first PRIESTESS.

RINO, chief druid.

A speaking DRUID.

Singing BARDS.

Singing DRUIDS.

Singing PRIESTESSES.

ROMAN SLAVES.

ROMAN SOLDIERS.

GERMAN SOLDIERS.

ARMS BEARERS (*Waffenträger*).

POPULACE (*Volk*).

Synopsis.

Part 1.

In the underworld before the throne of Pluto, the vices Discord, Envy, Hatred, and Slander denounce the victories and heroic deeds of Hermann and plot his destruction, lest he soon invade and conquer hell itself. The judges Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamantus admire and defend Hermann and the Germans, whose ongoing defeat of the Romans continues to increase the number of inhabitants in the realm of the dead. The stance of the judges further enrages Pluto, and he orders all the forces of hell to sabotage the Germans as they return home by boat so that the Romans might defeat them.

Part 2.

In a forested area near the sea, Hermann and his soldiers lie fast asleep as the Roman fleet under the command of Varus arrives at the shore. Varus curses the forces of nature and the gods for the shame they have brought upon him and the Romans. Tiberius and Germanicus caution Varus against uttering blasphemy and affirm their own reverence for the divine powers. A flash of lightning illuminates the forest, allowing Varus to see the sleeping Germans, and he prepares to murder Hermann. Instead of slaying Hermann, however, Varus mistakenly wounds Fanton and is immediately struck dead by a bolt of lightning. The Germans awake at this sound just as Germanicus and Tiberius arrive with Roman reinforcements. The Roman soldiers panic and flee to their ships, pursued by Hermann and his warriors. Germanicus and Tiberius look on in horror as the storm destroys the Roman fleet, and they are taken into custody without a struggle. Rino and the bards tend to the wounded Fanton, who laments that death will separate him from his beloved Eliodore, but knows that death will also reunite them. When Hermann returns, the captured Germanicus and Tiberius offer their lives as atonement for Varus's shameful actions. Hermann recognizes their virtue and promises to treat them honorably as prisoners of war. Hermann then tearfully comforts Fanton, telling him of a dream he had in which the forces of hell conspired to take away all that he held dear in life. The bards sing a song of thanksgiving to Tuisko.

Part 3.

In anticipation of a union in the afterlife with her beloved Fanton, whom she fears will be killed in battle and without whom she cannot live, Eliodore has surrounded herself with objects of death. Her mother Thusnelde and confidante Elise express great concern over Eliodore's emotional state and arrange to have these objects removed from Eliodore's room while she is asleep. When she awakes, Eliodore is distraught over Fanton's fate. Thusnelde tries to comfort her and they decide to consult the druids in the matter. Meanwhile, in a sacred grove the druids and priestesses prepare a sacrificial offering in order to divine the will of the gods. Rino prophesies that the Romans will return for revenge and the powers of hell have sown discord among the German princes. Rino prays that the gods may protect the Germans from internal division. As the druids and priestesses sing, Hermann arrives at the head of a triumphant procession in which the wounded Fanton is carried on shields and the Roman prisoners are led forth in chains. Hermann declares that the Roman yoke has been broken and gives thanks to the gods. Amid the celebration, Eliodore arrives and frantically asks about Fanton. When she sees that he is wounded, she swoons and falls to the ground. Fanton desperately tries to rouse her, then begs that he may die with her, threatening to tear the bandage from his wound. Hermann berates Fanton for his irrational behavior, insisting that Eliodore is not dead, but that if Fanton kills himself, Eliodore will do so as well. The bards take Fanton into their custody and lead him away. When Eliodore regains consciousness and notices that Fanton is gone, she assumes that he has died. Increasingly delusional, she ignores her parents' assurances that Fanton is alive, demanding to be taken to his grave so that she may die there as well, and singing a song of despair and impending madness. As she rushes off, Hermann fears impending disaster.

Part 4.

In the sacred grove, Rino determines that a human sacrifice is necessary to appease the gods. Meanwhile, Brutus, one of the Roman prisoners of war, laments that he has become separated from his wife Flavia, who was also captured. Flavia appears, but their joyful reunion is saddened when she reveals that she has been offered to one of the German princes as a spoil of war. Flavia nevertheless urges her husband to remain steadfast and display proper Roman virtue. She reminds him that although they must endure tribulation on earth, they will be united forever in the next world. Brutus and Flavia are led with the other Roman slaves to the sacrificial altar where, after casting lots, they are chosen as the victims. As the druids and priestesses sing, Brutus and Flavia are led to the altar. Rino instructs the people not to despise the victims but rather to honor them for the atonement that their deaths will effect between the gods and the people. Flavia expresses her admiration for Rino's piety even though she regards the act of sacrifice as barbarous. She and Brutus embrace and await their death-blows. But just as the sacrifice is about to be completed, Tuisko appears from a fiery cloud amid thunder and lightning and hinders the proceedings. Hermann arrives and Tuisko declares that Eliodore and Fanton are healed and Germany remains secure against its enemies. Hermann receives the keys to the temple of the future, where he will be able to glimpse the greatness that lies in store for Germany under two divinely-favored regents. Hermann entrusts the keys to Rino, then

frees Brutus and Flavia, who gratefully praise his generosity. Eliodore and Fanton arrive and express their joy and surprise at their sudden change of fate. Hermann beckons them to go with him to the temple.

Part 5.

Within the temple stands the imperial eagle together with the images of Maria Theresia and Joseph II, as well as the insignia of the various kingdoms within the empire. The druids and priestesses sing a hymn in praise of the virtues of the future monarchs. Hermann reiterates these virtues in a speech, and Germanicus expresses his desire to become a German citizen, since the future of Germany under the leadership of Maria Theresia and Joseph will be so illustrious. Brutus and Flavia also pledge their loyalty to Hermann. The happiness of Eliodore and Fanton knows no bounds, and Hermann blesses his family in the knowledge that their descendants will be the most fortunate of all.

Productions.

II.14.1778 Pressburg (Bratislava).

S: A-Wst.

M: Unknown.

Remarks: The authorship of this work has previously been attributed to Cornelius von Ayrenhoff. However, in his recent doctoral dissertation “Cornelius von Ayrenhoff: Eine Monographie” (University of Vienna, 2010), Matthias Mansky argues that Ayrenhoff wrote neither this work nor *Die Liebe in Pannonien* (1777)—which has also been erroneously attributed to him—although the two dramas are indeed by the same (so far unidentified) author. *Hermanns Traum* was produced by the well-known itinerant theatrical troupe under the direction of Carl [Karl] Wahr (1745–1811?). The following notice appeared in the *Preßburger Zeitung* on May 30, 1778:

“Heute giebt die Wahrische Schauspielergesellschaft ihr letztes Stück vor ihrer Abreise nach Pest. Sie beschließt ihre Vorstellungen mit der Arbeit eines hiesigen Dichters, mit dem heroischen Trauerspiele: *Hermanns Traum*. Die Fabel zu diesem Stück hat der Dichter aus den sechsten Buch der *Aeneide* genommen, und die dortige Prophezeihungen auf unsre neue Zeiten, mit kühnem Muth gezogen. Da bey der Vorstellung das meiste auf die Theaterverzierungen ankömmt, so kann das hiesige Publikum sich zum voraus alles Vergnügen versprechen, da Herr Wahr sich vor andern bestrebt, ohne Rücksicht auf Unkosten, des Dichters Absicht und der Erwartung des Publikums zu entsprechen. Der Herr Verfasser der *Wilden* hat seinen gelehrten Landsleuten den Weg gezeigt, wie sie das Publikum ihrer Vaterstadt würdig unterhalten solten. Erreicht der Verfasser des *Hermanns* den Verfasser der *Wilden* auch nicht gänzlich in der Anlage und Ausführung, so müssen wir doch rühmen, daß er alle Hoffnung dazu giebt.

“Zu Theaterarbeiten gehört Erfahrung, Welt und Menschenkenntniß verbunden mit den Wissenschaften. Daß der Hr. Verfasser mit den letzten bekannt sey, hat er sattsam in der *Liebe in Panonien* gezeigt, und zeigt heute, wie bekannt er in der Mythologie ist” (8).

II.15 Hermann und die Fürsten

Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne (1784)

A: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

D: Karl Friedrich, Margrave of Baden (1728–1811).

Characters.

HERMANN.

INGOMAR, prince of the Cherusci.

ARPE, prince of the Catti.

MALWEND, prince of the Marsi.

KATWALD, his brother.

GAMBRIV, prince of the Bructeri.

FLAVIUS, brother of Hermann.

ITALUS, his son.

HORST, Hermann's comrade in battle.

THEUDE, Hermann's young son.

BRENNO, chief Druid of the Cherusci.

LIBUSCH, chief Druid of the Catti.

WERDOMAR, leader of the bardic chorus.

BARDS.

A captured CHAZIER.

VALERIUS.

A CENTURION, and other Romans.

BERCENNIS, mother of Hermann.

ISTÄWONA,

HERMINONE, princesses of the Catti.

Synopsis.

Gathered on a hill near the Roman encampment to celebrate two days of success against their adversaries, Ingomar, Arpe, Gambriv, Malwend and Katwald—all chieftains of various Germanic tribes—disagree about Hermann's leadership role in their coalition. Katwald tries to defuse the tension and orders Werdomar and the bards to sing of past glories in the Battle of Winfield (Battle of Teutoburg Forest). Ingomar declares that one person (namely Hermann) should not make the decisions for everyone, but rather that they all should have a say in how to deal with Cäcina and the Romans. Several of them doubt that Hermann would be in favor of their current plan to storm the Roman camp. Katwald defends Hermann's leadership in the conflicts with Germanicus and Cäcina, even if the Germans have not always met with victories. Hermann arrives and tells of his plan to trap Cäcina, but the princes refuse and insist on a direct assault of the Roman camp. Hermann is dismayed at this resistance and believes that such a course of action would be ill-advised. Hermann's son Theude arrives and is introduced to the princes. Hermann makes his son swear to avenge the abduction of Thusnelda. The druid chief Brenno arrives and is reunited with Hermann, but is not pleased to learn of the princes'

plan to abandon their heretofore successful forest ambushes in favor of an open attack on the Roman camp. He warns them that the cycle of violence and bloodshed must end. Arpe's wife Istawona and their daughter Herminone enter, and bring forward a captured Chazer (a Germanic tribe allied with the Romans) who reports on Thusnelda's Roman captivity. The debate resumes among the princes concerning the best method to attack the Romans. Hermann sends for a representative from Cäcina's camp to negotiate a temporary truce and receives Flavius, who comes with his son Italus. Hermann tries to convince Flavius to return to his own people again, and Italus expresses his own desire to be accepted by the Germans as one of them and to hear one of their bardic songs. Bercennis enters and is upset to see her errant son Flavius but quickly warms to her grandson, whom she meets for the first time. Italus wants to stay with his German family, but Flavius refuses and they leave. Bercennis is distraught and admonishes the princes not to follow through with their plan. Brenno interprets her warning as a divine message, and Katwald celebrates what he sees as the imminent victory of the Germans through their usual tactic of the forest ambush. Herminone and the bards sing in praise of the warriors. Later, Arpe questions Hermann with envy regarding the title "liberator of the fatherland": why does Hermann deserve that title and not Arpe, if Arpe also fought nobly in the Battle of Winfield? Hermann tries to quell the dissent that is present among the princes by ordering an ordeal by battle between a German and a Roman that will presage the outcome of the assault. From the Roman prisoners, Valerius volunteers to perform the combat, while Katwald persuades Hermann to let him represent the Germans. Alone with Brenno, Hermann confides his feeling of uncertainty about what will come. Theude arrives with the news that Katwald has won the ordeal. When the princes begin once again to disagree about the proper course of action, Hermann angrily reveals his ambitious plan to lead a united Germanic army across the Alps to Rome itself. This revelation only strengthens the princes' desire to achieve their own victory apart from Hermann's leadership, and they decide to assault the Roman camp under Arpe's command. From a distance, Brenno, Istawona, Herminone and the druid Libusch observe the disastrous course of the siege, as the Romans slaughter the attacking Germans. Ingomar is wounded and Katwald arrives with Theude to lead Istawona and Herminone to safety. Brenno refuses to leave and is captured by Roman soldiers, but insists that though they may defeat the Germans, the Romans will never conquer the German homeland.

Musical Settings.

II.15.1784

M: Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760–1802).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: According to a dissertation published in 1900 by Ludwig Landshoff (*Johann Rudolph Zumsteeg (1760–1802). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Liedes und der Ballade*), the autograph manuscript of Zumsteeg's setting (for voice and keyboard) of "Mein rasches Mädchen ist so fern von mir" was collected by his wife Luise in an album of compositions, which later came into the possession of Rudolph Zumsteeg (grandson of the composer) in Stuttgart. The album is currently considered lost, according to KOCH 56.

II.15.1786/90

M: Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761–1817).

S(M): Ms. orchestral and choral parts in D-HER. Piano-vocal score (Kiel and Altona, 1790) in D-Bhm -Hs -Mbs; DK-Kk; GB-Lbl; US-Bp -I.

Scoring: Chorus (SATB); vl 1, vl 2, vla, vlc, b; 2 fl, 2 cl, 2 fag; 2 cor, 2 tr, trb.

Remarks: Kunzen's composition includes music for every sung portion of Klopstock's bardiet as well as an overture that incorporates thematic material from the choruses. In his correspondence Carl Friedrich Cramer (1752–1807), who later published a piano-vocal edition of this music, provides documentation of Kunzen's involvement with the project. Cramer writes to Klopstock on April 20, 1785 (BRIEFE VIII.I.61.79-102): "[Kunzen] hat sich nun ganz mit Leib und Seele in die Composition Ihrer Chöre von H. u d. F. hinein geworfen. Drey davon haben Sie schon so einigermaßen gehört; er hat aber auch nun schon den Chor: *Da steht er vor euch* etc. und den *großen der Dichter Wallhallas u Elysiums* fertig gemacht. [...] Was er seit einem halben Jahre in kräftigem Ausdruck, Simplicität des Gesangs, und tieferem Gebrauch der Harmonie [...] gewonnen hat, kann ich Ihnen gar nicht sagen; aber ich fühle es. Er fühlts auch selbst; und daß es ihm so geglückt ist, mit diesem Chor, hat ihn nun zu dem festen Entschluß gebracht die Compos. *aller* Ihrer Chöre u Gesänge in den drey Bardieten zu seiner einzigen Beschäftigung nun zu machen. Unser gemeinschaftlicher Plan ist, wenn Sie nicht zu sehr eilen, die drey Bardiete herauszugeben, [...] daß alsdann mit Ihren Bardieten zugleich mein Commentar u in einem Theile der Polyhymnia der Clavierauszug seiner Comp. erscheine. Das wirds doch endlich wenigstens möglich machen, daß sie noch auf ein Theater gebracht werden [...]."

In a letter to Klopstock dated November 18, 1786, Cramer describes the events of a literary soiree held at the home of Friederike Brun (1765–1835) in Copenhagen, at which Kunzen's music was integrated with a partial reading of *Hermann und die Fürsten* (BRIEFE VIII.I.74.51-57):

"So auch verschiedne sollenne Vorlesungen Ihres Herm. u. d. F. mit Kunzens Musik. Die ist nun vollendet, und meiner Meynung nach, ein vortrefliches Werk, das, den einzigen Schulz ausgenommen, keiner der itzlebenden deutschen Componisten so würde zu Stande gebracht haben. Sie haben mir durch Niemann sagen lassen, daß Sie noch k. Verleger hätten finden können; ich habe mich aber jezt fest entschloßen, daß sie auch auf *meine* Kosten einen Theil der Polyhymnia ausmachen soll."

Three years later (September 20, 1789), Cramer reports to Klopstock that the score will be published in the spring of 1790 as part of his Polyhymnia series (BRIEFE VIII.I.129.73-75):

"Auch habe ich nun Kunzens fertiges Manuscript seiner Compositionen dazu, die auf Ostern als ein Theil meiner Polyh. erscheinen."

Two of Kunzen's settings from the bardiet had already received initial publication in Cramer's *Flora. Erste Sammlung* (1787). The edition that followed (*Chöre und Gesänge zu Klopstocks Hermann und die Fürsten im Clavierauszuge* [Kiel, 1790]) prints the complete text of Klopstock's drama as well as Kunzen's music, each chorus of which is inserted immediately following the corresponding printed verses. One excerpt from Kunzen's setting (the strophe "Folgt ihr, sie ist es") was subsequently published in the ninth issue of the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (1791). It is unknown whether the orchestrated composition (which is transmitted only through the individual instrumental and vocal parts, not a full score) was ever performed. For a detailed analysis of Kunzen's musical engagement with the works of Klopstock, see SCHWAB.

II.15.1788

M: Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814).

S(M): D-BNu; GB-Lbl.

Remarks: Reichardt set one chorus for voice and keyboard (“Mana, Mana! er nahm das Schwert!”), publishing it under the title “Theuds Einweihung” in his song collection *Deutsche Gesänge mit Clavierbegleitung* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1788). Klopstock’s first three strophes, which are metrically similar and textually reiterative, are set to the same homophonic musical material, and the melodic motives and harmonic progressions established here recur throughout the following three strophes. Reichardt provides the performance mark “feierlich und stark” to describe the general character of the piece, which is consistently declamatory in its bright D-major key.

II.16 Hermanns Tod

Ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne (1787)

A: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

Characters.

HERMANN.

THEUDE, his son.

SEGEST,

INGOMAR, princes of the Cherusci.

GAMBRIV, prince of the Bructeri.

KATWALD, prince of the Marsi.

BOJOKAL, prince of the Ansibari.

HORST,

STOLBERG, Hermann’s comrades in battle.

COMRADES IN BATTLE.

BARDS.

An ACCUSER.

A MEDIC.

HUNTERS, FISHERMEN, SHEPHERDS, MARINERS, and FARMERS.

COTTA,

CEPIO, tribunes.

THUSNELDA.

HILDA, her nurse.

Synopsis.

Having been wounded in the assault on the Roman encampment, Hermann recuperates in his hall, tended by Horst, who wishes that Hermann would repudiate the accusations made by the other German princes that Hermann seeks tyranny over them. Hermann has heard that Thusnelda has been freed from captivity and is on her way home. A soldier brings word that the Marsi have turned against the Cherusci, Malwend has fallen in battle, and Katwald taken his place. Hermann despairs that his friend Katwald has betrayed him. Horst advises Hermann to flee while he still can, now that the other German princes see him as their enemy, but Hermann firmly refuses. After Hermann falls into a restless sleep, Bojokal, a Germanic prince allied with the Cherusci, enters and reveals to Horst that he has abandoned worship of the Germanic gods, who seemingly have deserted their people, in favor of the Roman gods. Horst considers it ill-advised to forsake the gods of the fatherland, but Bojokal's pessimism affects him. Hermann speaks in his sleep, relating visions of a German invasion of Rome, but also of destruction and death. When he awakes, Hermann tells Horst that he wishes to return to the battle, but Horst protests. Hilda, Thusnelda's former nurse, is pleased to hear of Thusnelda's imminent return, but Bojokal sees only foreboding signs all around. Hermann instructs Hilda to prepare a joyous reception for Thusnelda. Horst reports on the movements of the adversarial German princes. Theude rushes in and declares that Thusnelda has returned. Thusnelda herself appears and tells Hermann that she was freed on orders of the Roman Markus Valerius (from the same clan whose paths had crossed with Hermann's in the other dramas). Hermann expresses his gratitude by returning to the Roman envoys accompanying Thusnelda the sword that had belonged to Markus's brother. Hermann and Thusnelda's reunion is dimmed by Thusnelda's report of the deaths of Thumeliko (their other son) and Herminone in Rome. Hermann also keeps the true cause of his wound from Thusnelda, not wanting her to know about the battle. Thusnelda summons the bards, who speak their battle cry chorus. Groups of hunters, fishers, shepherds and peasants arrive at the hall to celebrate Thusnelda's return with dancing and singing. The celebration is interrupted by news that Hermann's fortress is under attack by the German princes. Hermann calls for his weapons as Thusnelda is struck with panic. Theude vows to fight alongside his father, as do the peasants. Ingomar, Segest and Gambriv, together with their warriors, burst into the hall and declare their intention to try and execute Hermann. Katwald is also with them, but without a retinue. The prosecutor accuses Hermann of mass murder at the Battle of Winfield, leading to the disastrous consequences of the Roman campaigns of revenge, and of leading unjust wars against other Germanic princes such as Marbod. The princes sentence Hermann to death. Hermann wishes to know Katwald's motive for turning against him. Katwald responds that Hermann's mistake was the desire to subjugate the fatherland to his control. Hermann protests that his ambitions were for the good of all, not for his own sake. After Hermann's impassioned speech, Katwald softens and pledges his allegiance to him once again. No reconciliation is brought about, however, between Hermann and Segest, who tries in vain to win his daughter Thusnelda over to his side. After a short truce during which drinking horns are brought out, Gambriv orders Thusnelda to leave the hall, but

she refuses. Hermann declares the truce over and a bloodbath ensues: Theude kills Ingomar and is in turn killed in his mother's presence. Hermann takes his father's lance and goes out to meet Segest and his accusers as Katwald plans to defend Hermann. Gambriv has a pang of conscience and stabs himself. The wounded Katwald staggers into the hall and reports the deaths of both Hermann and Segest before he himself dies. Thusnelda, upon hearing of Hermann's death, sinks lifeless to the floor.

Musical Settings.

Note: In contrast to the bardic choruses' prominence in *Hermanns Schlacht* and *Hermann und die Fürsten*, they play a conspicuously minor role in Klopstock's final bardiet, which brings the trilogy to a dark and pessimistic conclusion. The bards appear only once, with the indication that their songs are to be spoken, not sung—although Klopstock also specifies that “Die Musik der Instrumente unterbricht, oder begleitet [den Bardiet] zuweilen.” Songs and dances are performed instead by the various hunters, fishermen, shepherds, mariners, and farmers who celebrate Thusnelda's return.

II.16.1788

M: Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760–1802).

Remarks: Zumsteeg's setting of the *Jägerlied* (“Ich habe den Rehbock Künste gelehrt”) was published in Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Vaterlandschronik von 1788* (Stuttgart, 1788). Composed for voice, keyboard, and obbligato horn, the piece effectively evokes the course of the hunt through the associative instrumental color as well as through rhythmic and melodic “leaping” motives. Zumsteeg also incorporates several meter and tempo changes, including a brief recitative section.

II.16.1791

M: Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761–1817).

S(M): DK-Kk; F-Pn.

Remarks: Two songs for voice and keyboard—the *Fischerlied* (“Ich fand den schönsten der Bäche”) and the *Hirtenlied* (“Ich kam zu der Grotte, da fand ich”)—were published in Kunzen's musical miscellany *Zerstreute Compositionen für Gesang und Clavier* (Copenhagen, n.d.). The first strophe of the *Fischerlied*—with an editorial “correction” of one note in the bass line—was also printed as a “Lockspeise” in conjunction with a review of Kunzen's publication in the fourth issue of the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (1791). The anonymous reviewer comments:

“Diese ganze Sammlung macht Herrn K. Ehre. Doch zeichnet sich unter den ersten Singesachen das *Fischerlied* durch grosse Anmuth und Wahrheit [...]. Die Melodie der ersten Strophen [...] hat vorzüglich den anmuthigen Charakter, der den Recensenten so ganz dafür einnimmt, wiewohl die übrigen Strophen auch sehr wahr ausgedrückt sind. [...] Dass die übrigen Strophen eine abgeänderte, auch hier und da ihre eigene Melodie haben, ist zu völlig richtiger Deklamation jedes Verses, freilich nothwendig, indess hört das Lied damit auf Lied zu seyn, und würde nach des Recensenten Gefühl und Sinn unendlich mehr werth seyn, wenn Dichter und Componist gemeinschaftlich hätten dazu thun können und mögen, es zum eigentlich vollkommnen Liede zu machen” (26).

II.17 **Germania**

Heroisches Singspiel (1800)

A: C. J. Schott.

D: Archduke Karl of Austria, Duke of Teschen (1771–1847).

Characters.

GERMANIA, ruler of the Germans.

ARMIN, prince from the east.

KLORE, Germania's confidante.

WILLMAR, a German prince.

A GENERAL of the Germans.

A GENERAL of the Gauls.

A CAPTAIN of the Gauls.

A German OLD MAN.

PRIESTESSES. MAIDENS. BARDS.

ALTAR BOYS. SOLDIERS. MESSENGERS.

GUARDS. POPULACE.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

Germania and Klore fear for the safety of their homeland, which the military advance of the Gauls threatens to destroy. Germania anxiously and longingly awaits the arrival of Armin and his army to reinforce her defenses and protect her. Willmar reports the approach of Armin and his troops, prompting renewed hope in Germania and Klore, but a messenger brings news that the enemy is attempting to breach the fortress. After ordering her remaining forces to defend their homeland, Germania and Klore flee to the sacred grove. The Gauls and Germans engage in battle, in which the Germans are forced to fall back. The general of the Gauls expresses his ambivalence about the human cost of military victory. An unconscious Germania is delivered to the Gallic general, who tries to revive her. In her delirium, however, she mistakes him for Armin, whom she believes has come to rescue her. The general feels pity for Germania and finds himself attracted to her beauty. He leads her away with him. Meanwhile in the sacred grove, the priestesses, maidens, altar boys, and bards conduct a sacrifice to the gods, beseeching their protection. Willmar arrives to tell of Germania's capture, and inspires those present to defend their homeland until Armin's impending arrival.

Act 2.

Imprisoned in an underground chamber, Germania laments her fate. A captain of the Gauls leads in Klore, who has surrendered herself to the enemy in order that she may join the company of her beloved Germania. Their tender reunion touches the heart of the captain. After he leaves them, Klore informs Germania that the Germans have regrouped their forces in anticipation of Armin's arrival from the east. Taking comfort in each other's company, the two women hope for the deliverance of their homeland. In the

Gallic camp, the soldiers relax after their victories in battle. The captain and general both express their admiration of Germania and regret the consequences of war, but the general insists that they must remain impartially committed to their martial duty and not submit to the softer impulses of personal sentiment. A messenger brings word that the German forces have advanced and sent a representative to speak with the Gauls. The general, suspecting a trap laid by Armin, decides to transport Germania into Gaul as a hostage. Even though he remains conflicted in his feelings toward Germania, the general orders his troops to prepare for battle against the oncoming Germans. Willmar arrives as his people's representative and rejects the invasion of a sovereign nation's homeland as barbarism. The captain enters with Germania, who asks if she is being set free. The general, suppressing his altruistic instincts, informs her instead that she and Klore will be taken to Gaul. After Germania is led away and Willmar departs (having sworn to fight for her return), the German assault on the Gauls begins. Although the Gauls initially drive the Germans back, they are soon put to rout in turn by a new surge under the leadership of Armin, who inspires the German onslaught with a rousing battle cry.

Act 3.

Armin and the Germans emerge victorious from their siege on the enemy fortress, but the celebration is dampened when they learn from the captured Gallic general that Germania has been taken as a prisoner to Gaul. Armin and the German commanders swear to continue the fight for her freedom. After Armin orders the prisoners of war to be led away and held in protective custody, he frees the Gallic general and returns his military regalia to him. The general praises Armin's magnanimity. A tearful Klore recounts how the Gauls forcefully separated her from Germania before abducting her. The general insists that this action was done without his command, and Klore expresses her admiration for his goodness. All renew their pledge to free Germania. Accompanied by three youths, an old man approaches Armin and tells him of an auxiliary force of Germans that has come together to fight against those who mercilessly murdered so many of their family members. They seek Armin as their leader. Armin is touched by this account and accepts his leadership role, even granting the old man's request that he too may join in the battle. Having received word that the enemy is on the retreat, Armin and the warriors depart to engage in combat. Meanwhile on the banks of the Rhine, groups of refugees lament the brutality of the enemy. When they hear of Armin's approach, some maidens eagerly weave crowns of flowers for the liberators. As dusk falls, Klore and a bard arrive with news of the battle; all hope for a favorable outcome. From a distance, the sound of singing is heard, and a torch-lit procession of boats on the Rhine draws nearer and the victorious troops approach. Armin and the rescued Germania arrive amid general acclamation and Germania is reunited with Klore. Germania expresses forgiveness of her enemies and all celebrate her return and Armin's triumph with joy. They beg Armin to stay with them, and Armin invites them to join him in a temple where he will give thanks to the gods and his fellow heroes. All proceed by torchlight to the temple of immortality, where an inscription above the throne reads "Carl – Armin." At the altar of fame, the priestesses and maidens consecrate the temple to Armin and all commit themselves to faithful service of their homeland.

Productions.

II.17.1800 Stuttgart.

S(L): A-Wn; D-Gs -Mbs -Sl; US-Wc.

M: Johann Evangelist Brandl (1760–1837).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The copy of the libretto held in Vienna contains a calligraphy title page and dedication page as well as a copper engraving frontispiece that depicts a scene from the end of the third act (the rescued Germania extends her hand to Armin and expresses her thanks with the words “Du gibst mir Alles—gibst mich Allem wieder”). This copy evidently represents a later printing than the copy in D-Gs (which does not contain these initial pages), since it also includes a short list of printing errors at the end of the libretto. Apart from these pages, the printed text of the *Singspiel* itself is otherwise identical. The librettist Schott, about whom nothing more is currently known than what is revealed on the title page (“Hochfürstlich Speyerscher Hofkammer Assessor und Secretarius”), explains the contemporary allegorical associations of the drama in his prefatory comments:

“Der Titel dieses heroischen Singspiels läßt zwar nichts von seinem Inhalte ahnden: aber bey dem ersten Durchblick wird man bemerken, daß das jetzt so bedrängte Deutschland unter seinem römischen Namen—Germania—personifiziert auftritt, und daß unter dem, jedem biedern Deutschen unvergeßlichen Namen—Armin—Seine Königliche Hoheit der Erzherzog Carl als Deutschlands zweyter Hermann erscheint.

“Das unbeschreibliche Elend, in welches die sonst so kultivirte Französische Nation das schuldlose Deutschland durch ihre Unmenschlichkeiten stürzte, und die Befreyung von den französischen Greueln durch Seine Königliche Hoheit, den Erzherzog Carl, als die Feinde unter ihren Anführern Moreau und Jourdan von den deutschen Kaiserherren im Jahre 1796 aus dem innern Deutschland über den Rhein geschlagen wurden, gaben die Idee zu gegenwärtigem Drama.

“Ganz Deutschland jubelte damals dem unsterblichen Helden Carl seinen gegründeten Dank entgegen, und nannte ihn in der Fülle seines Frohgefühls zum erstenmale seinen Retter, und der bleibt bis jetzt unsre Hoffnung und unser Schutz.

“Die deutschen Krieger in diesem Werke sind zwar unsre ruhmvolle Zeitgenossen, so wie die Geschichte desselben die Geschichte unsrer Tage ist; dennoch lasse ich sie im Kostume ihrer älteren Brüder auftreten, die zu den Zeiten Hermanns gegen das Joch der Römer kämpften. Auch erscheinen hier die Franzosen nicht als halbnackte Konkribirte oder Freywillige in ihrem modernen Schmutz und Unflat, sondern als geharnischte Römer, oder als würdige Nachkömmlinge der alten Gallier, die wegen ihrer unermeßlichen Bevölkerung ihr Geburtsland verließen, und um Brod und Wohnsitze zu erhalten unter ihren Heerführern Belgius und Brennus Mazedonien und Griechenland überschwemmt, und mit gleichem Frevel, wie ihre jüngern Söhne, die Tempel der Götter bestürmten, um zu ihren irrdischen Beuten auch noch die Schätze von Delphi zu häusen.

“Hab ich bei Schilderung der französischen Barbarey in dieser Oper die Farbe der Wahrheit zu grell aufgetragen, so erinnre man sich des muthwilligen Spottes, den die Franzosen mit deutscher Gutmüthigkeit, mit deutscher Tugend trieben, und bedaure, daß ich sie noch als Menschen auftreten lasse, derer Dünkel schamlose Narren, und derer Verderbtheit Ungeheuer aus ihnen gemacht hat.

“Selbst an vielen Generälen der sogenannten Neufranken wurde man des Staubs und der tiefsten Niederträchtigkeit gewahr, der an ihren Handlungen klebte.

“Doch, um gerecht zu seyn, muß ich hier das Bekenntniß niederschreiben, daß Frankreich auch Feldherrn zähle, die unter jeder Regierung der Stolz und die Ehre ihres Vaterlandes bleiben” (unpaginated *Vorbericht*).

The play consists of spoken dialogue as well as what appear to be lines intended for recitative or arioso musical settings. Arias, duets, ensembles, and choruses are labelled as

such in the libretto. All the characters are required to speak as well as sing at different points throughout the course of the play.

III. BALLET

III.01 Germanico in Germania

Ballo eroico-pantomimo (1778)

Scenario/Choreography: Innocenzo Gambuzzi (fl. 1760s–1770s).

Characters.

GERMANICO, commander of the Roman army.

ARMINIO, prince of Germania, enemy of the Romans.

TUSNELDA, wife of Arminio, daughter of Segeste, and enemy of the Romans.

SEGESTE, prince rebelling against Germania, registered citizen of Rome, and father of ERSINDA, registered citizen of Rome, and in love with

CECCINA, captain of the Romans.

ARGONIO, Arminio's captain.

Small SON of Arminio and Tusnelda.

PRIESTS of the Temple of Hercules.

GUARDS, and German SOLDIERS with Arminio.

MAIDENS in the service of Tusnelda.

MAIDENS in the service of Ersinda.

EXECUTIONERS at the altar of Vengeance.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

At the temple dedicated to Hercules, the Germans offer a sacrifice and invoke the gods' assistance in the impending battle against Germanico. They pledge their support to Arminio. Tusnelda arrives and Arminio assures her of his courage and the soldiers' commitment to their cause. Argonio, Arminio's captain, reports of Segeste's treachery in opening the gates of the city to the Romans. He also brings Arminio and Tusnelda's young son to them. Arminio plans to lead his troops through an underground passage near the temple that leads to the city. Arminio entrusts Tusnelda and his son to the priest's care, and leads his troops into the tunnel. When he has gone, Roman troops including Ceccina, Germanico, and also Segeste arrive at the temple. The priest hides

Tusnelda's son under the altar. Germanico exhibits kindness to Tusnelda but she responds with haughtiness. Seeing the Roman trophies that adorn the temple, Germanico orders them pulled down. Tusnelda rebukes him and Segeste threatens to punish her for her insubordination, but Germanico restrains him. Ceccina reports that Arminio has not been found. Ersinda, Segeste's other daughter, shows up in Roman dress. Tusnelda chastizes her sister for consorting with the Romans. Ceccina and Ersinda's engagement is celebrated.

Act 2.

Arminio leads his troops out of the tunnel near the city walls. The city gate opens and Germanico, Segeste, and Ceccina emerge, followed by the Roman legions. Segeste tries to make peace with Arminio, but he refuses. A battle is fought, and Arminio's forces are routed. Arminio is despondent over the loss and contemplates suicide. Segeste hinders this act and takes Arminio prisoner, handing him over to Germanico. Arminio remains defiant in the face of Germanico, though his captor treats him with respect.

Act 3.

Ersinda learns the outcome of the battle from Ceccina and rejoices over the Roman victory. Germanico makes a triumphant entrance into a large plaza, followed by the prisoners of war. Segeste walks among the victors. Tusnelda continues to scorn Germanico, but he exhibits generosity, offering Arminio his freedom and his wife in exchange for friendship with Rome. Arminio refuses. Germanico orders Arminio to be brought to prison. As Arminio and Tusnelda say their farewells, their son is led in, having been discovered at his hiding place. Segeste presents the son to Germanico as Arminio is carried off to prison and Tusnelda faints. Ersinda tends to her. Germanico offers Tusnelda a Roman dress and promises her Roman citizenship; he also says he will return her husband to her. Ersinda tries to convince her sister to accept. Tusnelda finally pretends to acquiesce, and is reunited with her son.

Act 4.

Arminio lies in prison, awaiting his fate. Segeste brings Tusnelda to see him, but when Arminio notices that she is wearing a Roman dress, he rejects her. Tusnelda is pleased to see his continued zeal on behalf of his fatherland. She tests this commitment again, by presenting their son to Arminio. Arminio's initial joy turns to disgust when he sees that the boy is also dressed as a Roman. He tears off the boy's clothes, but hugs him affectionately. Tusnelda is unable to resist, and also removes her Roman dress, tears it up, and runs to Arminio. Segeste is enraged. Suddenly a troop of Arminio's soldiers storms the prison in an attempt to free their leader. Ceccina arrives and wards them off. He orders Arminio and Tusnelda to be separated, and grabs their son, threatening to kill him. Tusnelda tries to rescue her son but is caught and dragged off. The son is also carried away. Arminio is left alone in the prison, breathing threats of violence.

Act 5.

At an altar dedicated to Vengeance, Germanico orders Arminio and Tusnelda's son to be sacrificed. Ersinda tries to convince him to reconsider his judgement, but to no avail. Arminio is led before Germanico, who gives the rebel one last chance to make peace with Rome. Arminio remains defiant. Germanico sentences him to death. Tusnelda pleads for her husband's life, but Germanico only yields when she draws a dagger and threatens to kill herself. Germanico withdraws the death sentence from Arminio, but still intends to have the son sacrificed. When Tusnelda sees her son on the altar, she faints. Seeing the plight of his son and his wife, Arminio weakens his resolve and pledges friendship with Rome. Germanico frees Arminio from his chains. When Tusnelda awakens, Arminio informs her of the necessity of making peace with Rome in order to save both her life and that of their son. She reconciles with her father and with Germanico, and all celebrate.

Productions.

III.01.1778 Milan.

D: None.

S(L): I-Mc.

M: Luigi Gatti (1740–1817).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: GROVE cites the premiere performance as taking place on December 27, 1777.

The printed libretto, however, is dated 1778 (likely denoting the carnival season).

III.02 Arminio

Ballo eroico-tragico (1781)

Scenario/Choreography: Domenico Ricciardi (fl. 1760s–1780s).

Characters.

ARMINIO, prince of Germany, fiancé of

ISMENA, daughter of

SEGESTE, another prince of Germany.

VARO, prefect of the Roman legions.

FLORO, Roman captain.

CILENE, confidante of Ismena.

Retinue of Ismena's ladies.

Retinue of Roman and German soldiers.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

On the banks of the Rhine, Arminio and his men disembark and are warmly received by Segeste and his daughter Ismena. Arminio assures Segeste of his commitment to defeat the Romans and asks Segeste to hasten preparations for Arminio's wedding to Ismena. As the ceremony is about to begin, the sound of trumpets announces the arrival of the Romans. Arminio rallies his troops and departs to engage in battle, leaving the concerned Ismena behind. In the ensuing combat, the Romans prevail and set Arminio's fleet of ships ablaze. They pursue the German warriors and manage to capture Arminio and Segeste. The victorious Varo encounters Ismena, who begs for mercy. Varo is attracted to her and decides to free Arminio and Segeste from their chains, provided they all remain his prisoners.

Act 2.

In the tent where she is being held, Ismena and her companions lament their fate. Ismena sends her confidante Cilene to find Arminio. Varo arrives with Segeste, who informs his daughter that she shall be married to Varo. Ismena is horrified at this command, but neither Varo nor Segeste are moved by her protests. After they leave the tent, Arminio arrives and rushes to embrace Ismena. When she tells him of her father's plan that she should wed Varo, however, Arminio is confounded and accuses Ismena of infidelity. Ismena steadfastly denies this charge, swearing that she loves no other but Arminio. Varo returns and, after witnessing the mutual affection shared between Arminio and Ismena, rushes at Arminio in order to kill him. Ismena tries to calm Varo, but he orders Arminio to be thrown into prison.

Act 3.

Arminio has visions of death as he languishes in prison. Floro, one of Varo's ministers, offers Arminio the choice between a dagger or poison as his method of death. As Arminio is about to drink the poison, he is stopped by the arrival of Ismena, who expresses her wish to die with him. Arminio is consoled by Ismena's presence and they decide to take the poison together. However, they are interrupted by Varo, who offers to free Arminio if Ismena should agree to marry Varo. Ismena asserts that she would rather sacrifice herself for the sake of Arminio, but Arminio vehemently opposes such action. Varo orders Floro to put Arminio to death. Ismena is forcibly separated from Arminio and led away. Arminio entreats Floro to perform the execution quickly, but Floro—moved by compassion over Arminio's plight—offers to help him escape by giving him his cloak as a disguise. Arminio, filled with joy and hope at the chance to arm his troops and rescue Ismena from Varo, embraces Floro and escapes.

Act 4.

Ismena is brought to Varo's encampment, where Varo makes his final unsuccessful efforts to convince her to marry him. Now filled with sympathy for his daughter's situation, Segeste arrives and tries to move Varo by pleas and threats, but Varo orders

Segeste to be led off to prison. Varo presents the bloodied cloak of Arminio (whom he believes to be dead) to Ismena, who is appalled at the sight. When she accuses Varo of tyranny, Varo becomes indignant with rage. He orders Floro to lead Ismena away and kill her. Floro pretends to carry out the order, but conducts Ismena elsewhere to safety. Meanwhile, Arminio and his troops launch an attack against Varo, who is mortally wounded in the battle. With the Roman camp under his control, Arminio searches for Ismena but is told that she is dead. In despair, Arminio attempts to kill himself but is stopped by his friends. When Floro learns that Arminio has taken the camp, he makes haste to deliver Ismena and Segeste to him, and all are joyfully reunited.

Productions.

III.02.1781 Padua.

D: None.

S(L): I-Pci -Vc.

M: Giuseppe Antonio Capuzzi (1755–1818).

S(M): Ms. parts (Violino I/II, Violetta II, Basso) in I-Pl.

Remarks: The work was performed during the annual summer trade fair (*Fiera del Santo*), most likely between the acts of an opera, with Domenico Ricciardi in the role of Arminio. GROVE currently cites Capuzzi's music as lost, but fortunately four complete manuscript instrumental parts are held at the Conservatorio Cesare Pollini in Padua. In the absence of a full score, it is difficult to determine the intended orchestration (for example, to what extent divided violas were employed throughout the work, since only the second part survives). The first violin part, however, does contain some oboe cues, and there may have been additional wind instruments. For a useful survey of pantomime ballet in Padua during this period (and the source of the reference to the surviving score), see Maria Nevilla Massaro, "Il Ballo pantomimo al Teatro Nuovo di Padova, 1751-1830," *Acta musicologica* 57 (1985): 215-275.

III.03 La Tusnelda, o sia La disfatta di Varo

Ballo eroico (1785)

Scenario/Choreography: Paolino Franchi (fl. 1770s–1790s).

Characters.

ARMINIO, Cheruscan prince, enemy of the Romans, in love with Tusnelda.

SEGESTE, Cheruscan prince, friend of the Romans, adversary of Arminio, and father of TUSNELDA, in love with Arminio, and

ADELINDA, in love with Sigismondo.

SIGISMONDO, allied prince and friend of Arminio.

QUINTILIO VARO, general of the Roman armies.

CEJANO, Roman captain, and confidant of Varo.

GIZELLA,
 ZELINDA, confidantes of Tuscelda.
 LADIES and Cheruscan OFFICIALS.
 Roman OFFICIALS.
 LICTORS in the retinue of Varo.
 BARDS in the temple of Mars.
 Cheruscan and Roman SOLDIERS.

Synopsis.

Act 1.

In their sacred forest, the Cherusci people are engaged in worship of their gods when the arrival of Varo and the Romans interrupts the ceremony. Varo presents an olive branch and a sword to Segeste and prompts him to choose one; Segeste accepts the olive branch of peace. Arminio, however, is not content with the written terms of this alliance and prevents Segeste from committing to them. Varo grants the Cherusci some time to think it over, and the Romans dance with the Cherusci. Varo is taken with the beauty of Tuscelda, who however shows him no interest. Varo takes his leave after Segeste assures him of his friendship. Arminio, who is in love with Tuscelda and has noticed Varo's interest in her, asks Segeste for her hand in marriage. Segeste, upset over Arminio's interference with the solidification of the Roman alliance, refuses.

Act 2.

In Segeste's palace, Armino expresses his frustration to Tuscelda over her father's refusal of their marriage. Tuscelda, her sister Adelinda, and Sigismondo try to calm him. When Segeste, Varo and Cejano enter, Arminio confronts Segeste and threatens him. Segeste announces his plan to marry Tuscelda to Varo and Adelinda to Cejano. Adelina timidly accepts this decision, but Tuscelda openly defies it. Segeste grants them some time to reconsider, and leaves with the Romans. As Tuscelda berates Adelinda for her timidity, Arminio and Sigismondo return with reinforcements and overcome the guards. Arminio and Sigismondo urge Tuscelda and Adelinda to flee with them, and Adelinda finally concedes to Sigismondo's pleas.

Act 3.

Arminio, Tuscelda, Sigismondo and Adelinda enter the temple of Mars, where the two couples are married and the event celebrated by all those in attendance. Segeste, Varo and Cejano arrive and disrupt the festivities. Segeste is enraged to learn of his daughters' marriage without his permission and demands vengeance for this impropriety. Still deluded in his attraction to Tuscelda, Varo likewise calls for retribution. Arminio asks the people whether they want war or peace, and when they cry out for war, Arminio throws down the written terms of alliance and declares war. Segeste and Varo leave as Arminio gathers the support of a coalition.

Act 4.

In Arminio's palace, the court celebrates the marriage of Arminio and Tusnelda, and Sigismondo and Adelinda. Arminio and Sigismondo leave with their retinue to launch an attack on the Romans by night. Tusnelda and Adelinda remain behind with only a few attendants, who comfort them in the absence of their husbands. Suddenly Segeste and Cejano appear with a band of Roman soldiers and carry the two women off. By the time Arminio receives word of the abduction, he is already too late to rescue them. He swears vengeance.

Act 5.

In the Roman camp, Tusnelda and Adelinda plead in vain with their father to release them. Arminio and Sigismondo, with their retinue, infiltrate the camp and launch an attack. The Romans flee across the plain in spite of Varo's attempts to keep them together, and are subsequently routed by Arminio's forces. When Varo tries to hinder Tusnelda and Adelinda's escape, he is disarmed by Arminio. Seeing that the battle is lost, Varo tries to kill himself, but is prevented by Cejano, and flees instead, pursued by the Cherusci. Having liberated the fatherland, Arminio orders Cejano and Segeste to be put in prison, but Tusnelda and Adelinda intervene on their father's behalf. Segeste is reconciled with his daughters. The victors carry the spoils of war as trophies to the sacred forest for a celebration.

Productions.

III.03.1785 Turin.

D: None.

S(L): I-NOVc -Rsc -Tci -Tn -Tac (Simeom) -Tp -Tlegger; US-Wc [Sartori 3095].

Also in I-ASs; US-CAh.

M: Vittorio Amedeo Canavasso (fl. late 1770s–1790s).

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The work was performed with Domenico Cimarosa's setting of *Artaserse* during the carnival season of 1785 (premiere performance on December 26, 1784), featuring Paolino Franchi in the role of Arminio.

III.04 Arminio; ossia La sconfitta di Varo

Ballo eroico-pantomimo (1792)

Scenario/Choreography: Antonio Muzzarelli (fl. 1790s).

Characters.

ARMINIO (HERRMANN).

SEGESTE (SEGEST), father of

TUSNELDA (THUBNELDE), wife of Arminio.

SIGMARO (SIGMAR), father of Arminio.

VARO (VARUS), Roman general.

German PRINCES.

German LADIES.

OFFICIALS of Varo.

SLAVES of Varo.

Synopsis.

Scene 1: Sacred grove with the temple of Tanfana.

The German princes, including Arminio and Sigmaro, gather at the temple to consecrate their pact against the Romans. Segeste also appears to join their cause and to reconcile with Arminio, whom his daughter Tuscelda loves. A Roman messenger arrives with news that Varo has called an end to the truce and will resume his war with the Germans unless they submit peacefully to Roman rule. Arminio refuses and declares war. Segeste takes advantage of the trust he has gained with Arminio to suggest a military strategy for dealing with the Romans. The Germans go off to fight.

Scene 2: Inside Varo's military tent.

The effeminate Varo entertains himself by dancing with his slave girls. The Roman messenger interrupts with news of the Germans' war preparations. Segeste arrives and informs Varo of Arminio's plan of attack. Varo promises Segeste an appropriate reward for his services.

Scene 3: Field with Roman encampment.

Arminio attacks the Roman encampment, but is surprised by a second wave of Roman troops from the rear. His troops are surrounded and defeated by the Romans. Some of the Germans manage to escape, but others—including Arminio, Segeste, and Tuscelda—are captured. Varo, because of his understanding with Segeste, orders the prisoners to be freed from their bonds. Segeste tries to convince the Germans to show their gratitude for this mercy by submitting to Varo, but Arminio refuses, sensing Segeste's treachery. He intends to kill Segeste, but is stopped by Varo, the soldiers, and even Tuscelda. Varo has Arminio thrown into chains and sentences him to death. Arminio and Sigmaro are led away. When Tuscelda tries to follow them and is hindered by her father, she runs away.

Scene 4: Courtyard of a castle.

Sigmaro praises the virtue of his son, who is prepared to meet his fate with honor. The guards separate father and son and imprison Arminio in a tower; only Arminio's cloak remains in Sigmar's arms. Tusnelda arrives and, seeing the weeping Sigmar with Arminio's cloak, assumes that Arminio is already dead. Arminio calls to her from the tower window and she begs the guards to allow her entrance to see him. Varo and Segest arrive. Varo tries to appeal to Arminio through bribery. He releases Arminio from the prison and shows him the honors that could be his if he would side with the Romans. Arminio takes advantage of the situation and seems to agree, dressing himself in the Roman clothes Varo offers him. He then escapes by scaling the castle walls. Sigmaro and Tusnelda are arrested as hostages and Varo orders his legions to renew the battle.

Scene 5: A forest with caves and peasants' huts.

The peasants see a Roman soldier approaching their dwellings and decide to attack him, but in doing so, they discover that it is Arminio in disguise. They pledge their loyalty to him, and he informs them of the new plan for a surprise attack against the Romans. They all engage in the battle preparations.

Scene 6: The forest.

Arminio rallies his troops and leads the attack on the Romans, who are taken off guard. The Germans defeat the Romans; Varo is wounded and drags himself off to die away from the eyes of his enemies. Tusnelda and Sigmaro are released from captivity. Arminio generously pardons Segeste, who is ashamed of his deeds and withdraws. Arminio orders a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods.

Productions.

III.04.1792 **Vienna.**

D: None.

S(L): A-Wn.

M: Pierre Dutillieu (1754–1798).

S(M): Ms. full score in I-Nc. Manuscript reduction score for keyboard, and first violin part in A-Wn.

Remarks: The libretto (scenario) is published in a dual-language (Italian and German) format with the German title *Hermann, oder: Varus Niederlage*. The libretto refers to the composer's name as "Matteo Dutillieu." GROVE erroneously lists the music to this work as lost.

IV. ORATORIO, CANTATA, SONG

IV.01 **Auf zum Waffen! Auf zum Jagen!**

Oratorio (1727)

L: Unknown, possibly Christian Gottfried Hellmund (1698–1772).

Characters.

ARMINIUS, a lover of weaponry (bass).

SYLVIO, a lover of the hunt (soprano).

IRENO, a lover of peace (tenor).

MERCURIUS, a herald (alto).

Synopsis.

Arminius and Sylvio compete over which occupation is the more dangerous: warfare or hunting. Ireno's arrival barely prevents the two belligerents from coming to blows. Ireno declares that he who wishes to fight an enemy should direct that energy first to the taming of his own destructive passions. Arminius and Sylvio initially scoff at the idea, but Ireno eventually convinces Arminius that anger, the thirst for revenge, hatred, and envy are the greatest challenges to overcome. Arminius vows to resist his martial urges and tame his temperament with generosity. After Arminius challenges Sylvio to follow his example, Sylvio also vows to supplant anger with gentleness. Mercurius arrives with the news that today is Duke Carol Friedrich's birthday and that preparations for a celebration are underway. Mercurius reminds Arminius and Sylvio that Carol Friedrich is the perfect example for them to follow as they pursue the virtues of generosity and gentleness. Ireno likewise can learn from Carol Friedrich's serenity. All celebrate their duke's birthday.

Productions.

IV.01.1727 **Oels? or Bernstadt? or Forst?**

D: Karl Friedrich II, Duke of Württemberg-Oels (1690–1761).

S(L): None known.

M: Christian Gottfried Hellmund (1698–1772).

S(M): Ms. full score in D-Dl.

Scoring: Oboe I/II, Clarino I/II, Corne de chasse I/II, Corne de poste, Violino I/II, Violetta, Viola, Bassi, Timpani.

Remarks: The existence of this occasional work has not previously received notice in the literature, and few details are known about the life and career of its composer, who apparently was a pupil of Georg Philipp Telemann in Hamburg and later held an organist position in the Upper Lusatian town of Lauban (today situated in southwest Poland), where he also composed music and owned a factory. Since Hellmund wrote and published at least one cycle of cantata texts for the church year, it is probable that he also wrote the text for this work in addition to the music. Nothing is currently known about the location or circumstances of its performance, except what can be gleaned from the references in the text to the birthday of "Carol Friedrich," who most likely is Karl Friedrich II, Duke of Württemberg-Oels. The description of the duke found in Johann

Christian Benjamin Regehly's *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Carlsruhe in Oberschlesien* (Nuremberg, 1799) seems especially apt in light of the kind of characters that appear in Hellmund's oratorio and the moral attitudes that the work reinforces: "Er war Ritter des Königl. Polnischen weissen Adler- und des Württembergischen grossen Jagd-Ordens, überhaupt aber ein Herr von vieler Menschenfreundlichkeit, Klugheit und Güte des Herzens, ein Ruhm, den er nicht nur in seinem Fürstenthum sich erwarb, sondern den er auch mit aus dem Herzogthum Württemberg in seine Gruft nahm" (30-31).

IV.02 Hermann und Thusnelda

Ode (1752)

A: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

Ha, dort kömt er mit Schweiß, mit Römerblute,
Mit dem Staube der Schlacht bedeckt! so schön war
Hermann niemals! So hats ihm
Nie von dem Auge geflammt!

Kom! ich bebe vor Lust! reich mir den Adler
Und das triefende Schwert! kom, athm', und ruh hier
Aus in meiner Umarmung,
Von der zu schrecklichen Schlacht!

Ruh hier, dass ich den Schweiß der Stirn abtrockne,
Und der Wange das Blut! Wie glüht die Wange!
Hermann! Hermann! so hat dich
Niemand Thusnelda geliebt!

Selbst nicht, da du zuerst im Eichenschatten
Mit dem bräunlichen Arm mich wilder faßtest!
Fliehend blieb ich, und sah dir
Schon die Unsterblichkeit an,

Die nun dein ist! Erzählts in allen Hainen,
Daß Augustus nun bang mit seinen Göttern
Nektar trinket! dass Hermann,
Hermann unsterblicher ist!

“Warum lockst du mein Haar? Liegt nicht der stumme
 Todte Vater vor uns? O hätt’ Augustus
 Seine Heere geführt; er
 Läge noch blutiger da!”

Laß dein sinkendes Haar mich, Hermann, heben,
 Daß es über dem Kranz’ in Locken drohe!
 Siegmar ist bey den Göttern!
 Folg du, und wein’ ihm nicht nach!

Settings.

IV.02.1776

M: Christoph Gottlob Neefe (1748–1798).

S(M): Ms. in D-HR -LÜh. Published by Neefe in *Oden von Klopstock mit Melodien* (Flensburg and Leipzig, 1776; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 2003).

Remarks: Neefe dedicated his settings of Klopstock’s odes to the singer Betty von Alvensleben (ca. 1749–1779). This setting of “Hermann und Thusnelda” is strophic, with the exception of the sixth stanza, which is set as a recitative. Neefe provides the performance mark “heldenmäßig” to describe the general character of the piece, which in addition to its D-major key employs a dotted eighth-sixteenth rhythmic motive to evoke martial connotations.

IV.02.1780x

M: Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814).

S(M): None; lost composition.

Remarks: Reichardt’s setting, which he sent to Johann Gottfried Herder in 1780, remained unpublished and is not known to be extant. Herder’s pupil Johann Georg Müller (1759–1819) offers the following impressions upon hearing the work shortly after his arrival at Herder’s house in Weimar (October 8, 1780):

“Nach dem [Mittagessen] schlug [Herder] einige Oden von Klopstock auf dem Klavier: Hermann und Thusnelda, der Zürchersee, ‘der Welten erschuf’ und noch einige Lieder von Seckendorf. Die Musik zu jenen Oden hat ihm Reichardt von Berlin im Vertrauen geschenkt. Herder exercirte seine Frau alle Tage im Webicht, bis sie’s singen konnte. Itzt kann sie’s. Ich habe noch nie so viel beim Klavier gefühlt, wie diesmal; es waren nur einzelne Schläge, aber diese und sein lebhafter Gesang waren so herrlich, so genievoll, daß ich bei der ersten Zeile tief empfand, so und nicht anders muß das gesungen werden. Ich hörte mit der größten Aufmerksamkeit zu, besonders, jener ersten: Hermann, die mir vorzüglich gerathen zu sein scheint. Ich wußte nicht bei dieser und den andern, wo ich hinkam, solches Leben, solche überirdische Herrlichkeit füllte mein Herz. O, kömmt nun erst der, der die Harmonie hat, die einzig für mich ist!?” (BAECHTOLD 38-39).

A few weeks later, in a letter to Reichardt dated October 30, 1780, Herder comments rather more critically on the subject matter of the song:

“Haben Sie Dank für Ihre Oden, insonderheit für *Hermann* u. *Thusnelda*; ich hätte das Stück noch lieber, wenn der Inhalt wahr wäre und *Hermann* den Deutschen Freiheit gebracht hätte; das er nun nicht hat. Sein Sieg war Verrätherei gegen die Römer und Er war ein deutscher Römer, der in Varus Heer diente und seinen Nachzug führte, ein Römischer Ritter und Varus Freund, der wenige Stunden vorher an des Feldherrn Tafel saß und dem dieser selbst aus Zutrauen zu ihm das Gerücht von seiner Verrätherei als eine

falsche Mähre Segests erzählte – Doch, was thue ich? Ihnen einen süßen Traum verderben und bittere Wahrheit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür geben?” (HERDER 4:137).

IV.02.1793

M: Andreas Jakob Romberg (1767–1821).

S(M): Published by Romberg in *Oden und Lieder fürs Clavier* (Bonn: Welsch, [1793]). Publication held in D-MÜu; DK-Kk; GB-Lbl; I-MOe; US-I.

Remarks: The setting is through-composed (although the last stanza initially repeats the same musical material as the first), with a couple of minor textual changes to Klopstock’s ode, including some repeated phrases for emphasis. Romberg provides the performance mark “majestätisch” to describe the general character of the piece, which is composed in E-flat major. Similar to Neefe’s setting (IV.02.1776), Romberg employs a dotted rhythmic motive to evoke this sense of majestic triumph, but also provides contrast through gently flowing eighth note arpeggiations that recur when Thusnelda expresses more tender sentiments.

IV.02.1815

M: Franz Schubert (1797–1828), D 322.

S(M): Ms. (autograph) in A-Wst, digitized and available online (www.schubert-online.at). Critical editions: SW iii,159; NSA ix.

Remarks: Schubert’s manuscript is dated October 27, 1815, but this setting of Klopstock’s ode was first published posthumously in 1837. The extended piano introduction (much of which is crossed out in Schubert’s manuscript) apparently depicts Hermann’s return from the battle, as it is characterized by a dotted rhythmic motive and grace note figures that evoke the sound of drums. The setting of the text is through-composed, with each stanza given its own distinctive features through changes in tempo, meter, key, or texture. As a whole, the integration of secco recitative with lyrical and dramatic passages creates an effective operatic scene.

IV.02.1890x (under the title “Thusnelda”)

M: Camillo Horn (1860–1941), Op. 10.

S(M): Published by Horn as *Thusnelda. Gesangsscene für Sopran und Clavier* (Vienna: F. Rörich, n.d.). Reprinted in Camillo Horn, *Ausgewählte Lieder* (Huntsville, Texas: Recital Publications, 2005).

Remarks: No publication year appears on the published score, but two clues suggest a date of composition between 1888 and 1892. First, the fact that the work was included in the April 1892 issue of Hofmeister’s *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen* (pages 163-164) necessarily establishes an earlier date for its conception. Second, in his dedication of the work to the celebrated Wagnerian soprano Rosa Sucher (1849–1927), Horn refers to her as “k. preuss. Kammersängerin,” a position she held between 1888 and 1898, when she was employed at the court opera in Berlin. Horn’s setting is indeed operatic in its dramatic intensity, and his chromatic musical language is highly reminiscent of Richard Wagner’s style. By omitting the last two stanzas of Klopstock’s poem, Horn also keeps the focus of the piece entirely on the Thusnelda figure.

IV.03 Herrmanns Tod

Musikalisches Drama (1770)

L: Johann Samuel Patzke (1727–1787).

Characters.

SEGEST (bass).

SIGISMUND, his son (tenor).

THUSNELDE, Segest's daughter (alto).

HERRMANN (tenor).

TUMMELICUS, his son, a tender child (soprano).

Several GERMANS, including KATUMER, KATTWALD,

ADGANDESTER, German princes (bass).

Chorus of BARDS (SATB)

Chorus of YOUNG MEN (TTB) and MAIDENS (SSA).

Chorus of GERMANS (SATB).

Synopsis.

Choruses of bards and young German men and women sing of the virtues afforded to them as a people of strength and moral uprightness, intimately connected with nature and the gods. They also celebrate Herrmann, who has restored freedom to them once again, and they plan to crown him as their king. Segest resents the acclamations given to Herrmann and bitterly observes to his son Sigismund that Herrmann intends to make himself a tyrant over them all. He urges Sigismund to kill Herrmann. Sigismund confronts Herrmann with Segest's accusation, but Herrmann says that in becoming king he only desires to unite the disparate principalities under the strength of a single leader. When Sigismund cannot bring himself to kill Herrmann, Segest denounces his son as a coward. Thusnelde pleads with her father to let go of his vendetta, but he retains his solemn oath. Other German princes agree with Segest that Herrmann must die. Thusnelde and her son Tummelicus are distraught; Thusnelde urges her brother to stop Segest from doing violence. A messenger arrives with the news that Segest has killed Herrmann, and that the people in turn have killed Segest to avenge Herrmann's death. Thusnelde expresses her sorrow, and the bards sing a funeral chorus in commemoration of their fallen hero.

Productions.

IV.03.1771 Magdeburg.

D: None.

S(L): Published in Johann Samuel Patzke, *Musikalische Gedichte* (Magdeburg and Leipzig: Scheidhauer, 1780), 123-146. No contemporary libretto from the performance is known to be extant.

M: Johann Heinrich Rolle (1716–1785).

S(M): Ms. full score in D-HER (complete; also instrumental and vocal parts) and D-B (with some orchestration changes; see WACZKAT 373). Printed piano-vocal score

(Leipzig: Schwickert, [1783]) in A-Wgm -Wn; B-Bc; D-B -Bhm -Bsommer -Dl -Hs -HAmi -HAs -Mbs; DK-Km; GB-Gu -Lbl; I-BGc -MOe; US-AAu -Bp -Wc.
 Scoring: Flauto I/II, Oboe I/II, Fagotto I/II, Corno I/II, Tromba I/II, Violino I/II, Viola, Bassi, Timpani.

Remarks: The premiere performance of this “musical drama” was held as part of Rolle’s subscription concert season in the Magdeburg concert hall on December 7, 1771. Further performances were given in Hamburg (1775) and Leipzig (1783); see WACZKAT 372. The misinformation that has perpetuated itself in the literature regarding the inspiration for Patzke’s libretto has only recently been corrected (see REIPSCH 318-319 and WACZKAT 222-224); beginning with Erich Valentin’s studies of Johann Heinrich Rolle in the 1930s, and in spite of the chronological discrepancy, the model for this work has erroneously been attributed in MGG and GROVE to Klopstock’s drama of the same name (see II.16). In the prefatory material to the libretto, however, Patzke himself in fact explicitly reveals his source for a substantial portion of the text to be Karl Friedrich Kretschmann’s *Der Gesang Ringulphs des Barden* (Hamburg, 1769)—which, as Reipsch notes, constitutes approximately a quarter of the drama’s content. Patzke writes in this introduction:

“[Hermanns] Untergang ist der Inhalt des Drama. Mit einem Fest, an welchem die Nation versammelt ist, und wo es scheint, daß er wird zum Könige ausgerufen werden, hebt es an. Man hat bey Gelegenheit dieses Festes eine Beschreibung der Sitten der alten Deutschen, aus dem Gesange Rhingulph, des Barden, angebracht, aus welchem der Anfang des Drama, bis zu dem Chor: Feyert ihn, ihr Lieder! u.s.w. fast wörtlich beybehalten worden” (124).

The chorus, which alternately represents various collective segments of the ancient Germanic society, assumes a primary function in this work. The individual character of Herrmann, in contrast, remains an abstraction; although he is the subject of the entire dramatic conflict, he only appears in one scene.

IV.04 L'Arminio

Cantata (1774)

A: Giulio Roberto [Julius Robert] Sanseverino (1722–after 1776).

Recit.: Presso quell' aureo Monte,
 Cui L'HERCINIA Foresta il dorso ingombra,
 Vidi D' ARMINIO l'Ombra
 Girsene vagheggiando il fier' Trofèò,
 Che porta in fronte scritto:
 QUÌ L' AQUILE ROMANE
 STENDER' ARDIRO IL VOLO:
 VINTO QUÌ GIACE VARO, E MORDE IL SUOLO.
 Pensosa alquanto in giro
 Torse il guardo feroce: indi, la torva
 Fronte rasserenata,
 Prese a parlar' così l'Ombra onorata:

Aria: Vado alfin' contento in pace,
 Cara mia Germana sponda:
 Or' che siei d'Eroi feconda,
 Per te cessa il mio timor.
 Ah! se tai nemici Roma
 Visto avesse a i fianchi miei,
 Il Tarpèò salito avrei
 Vinto nò, ma vincitor'!

Recit.: Ma qual' sorgente amica
 Di tua felicità, GERMANIA mia,
 Tanti di dare a te sarà capace
 Presidj in guerra, ed ornamenti in pace?
 „DONNA Real', Tu siei
 „Fonte del grande onor' ... A te si denno
 „Inclita FILIPPINA
 „I GERMANICI nostri... Al sen' fecondo
 „Di Genitrice tal' la Patria dèe
 „L'onor' suo, la sua gloria... Augusta DONNA,
 „I secoli venturi il tuo gran' Nome
 „Chiameranno immortal! ... Anzi diranno,
 „La Real FILIPPINA,
 Che al MAGGIOR' frà gli Eroi nacque germana,
 Al magnanimo SPOSO,
 Al Parnasso, alla Patria, ed alle Squadre
 Partorì FIGLI Eroi, d'Eroi fù MADRE!

Aria: Quanto a SEMIRA il Gange
 L'Affrica debbe a Dido,
 Tanto il Germano Lido,
 DONNA Reale, a Te.
 Viva l'augusta Madre!
 Vivano i Figli Eroi!
 Vostra Virtù fra noi
 Cosa mortal' non è.

Settings.

IV.04.1774

D: Princess Philippine Charlotte of Prussia, Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1716–1801).

S(L): D-DI.

M: Unknown. Perhaps Johann Gottfried Schwanenberger (ca. 1740–1804), Kapellmeister at the court of the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

S(M): None known.

Remarks: The cantata text places great emphasis on Philippine Charlotte as the mother of German progeny. She and Duke Karl I of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel had thirteen children, seven of whom were still alive in 1774.

Appendix B

Side-by-side comparison of Friedrich II's account of the Prussian entry into Dresden following the Battle of Kesselsdorf in December 1745.

<p><i>Histoire de mon temps</i> (1746) (reprinted from Posner, ed., 426-427)</p>	<p><i>Histoire de mon temps</i> (1775) (reprinted from Preuss, ed., 3:190-192)</p>
<p>Le 18, à la pointe du jour, mes troupes consignèrent les portes de la ville. La milice fut désarmée, et quinze cents blessés de la journée de Kesselsdorf que les Saxons n'avaient pu conduire avec eux furent encore faits prisonniers avec quatre cent quinze officiers, tant de blessés que de la milice. Dix bataillons entrèrent en garnison à Dresde, où je me rendis ainsi que l'état-major de mes deux armées. Je ne sais pourquoi l'on débita dans le monde que le prince d'Anhalt m'avait demandé le pillage de Dresde pour son armée, lui ayant promis le sac de cette ville pour l'encourager à la bataille. Le penchant qu'ont tous les hommes à croire des contes malicieux ou satiriques a seul pu accréditer cette fausseté; jamais le prince d'Anhalt n'aurait osé me faire une proposition aussi barbare, et ces sortes de promesses, faites de la part de l'officier commandant aux soldats, sont bien éloignées de la subordination et de la discipline prussienne. L'intérêt n'a point eu part aux belles actions de nos troupes, le principes de nos victoires ne doivent se chercher que dans la valeur et l'ambition des officiers et dans l'ordre et obéissance des troupes.</p> <p>La première chose que je fis, étant à Dresde, fut de rendre visite aux enfants du roi pour les faire revenir des craintes que leur causait le</p>	<p>Le 18, les Prussiens entrèrent dans la ville. La milice fut désarmée, et servit à recruter les troupes: on y prit quatre cent quinze officiers et quinze cents blessés de la bataille de Kesselsdorf. Le Roi établit son quartier à Dresde avec l'état-major des deux armées. On divulgua dans le monde les bruits les plus injurieux au sujet des intentions du Roi sur cette capitale: on disait que le prince d'Anhalt avait demandé le pillage de Dresde pour son armée, lui ayant promis le sac de cette ville pour l'encourager pendant faction. Le penchant des hommes pour la crédulité peut seul accréditer de telles calomnies: jamais le prince d'Anhalt n'aurait osé faire au Roi une proposition aussi barbare; et d'ailleurs ces sortes de promesses peuvent se faire à des troupes indisciplinées, et non à des Prussiens qui n'ont combattu que pour l'honneur et pour la gloire: le principe de leurs succès doit s'attribuer uniquement à l'ambition des officiers comme à l'obéissance des soldats.</p> <p>A peine le Roi fut-il à Dresde, qu'il rendit visite aux enfants du Roi, pour calmer leur crainte et les rassurer entièrement. Il tâcha d'adoucir leur infortune, en leur faisant rendre scrupuleusement tous les honneurs qui leur étaient dus; la garde du château fut même soumise à leurs ordres. Le Roi répondit ensuite au sieur Villiers: 'Qu'il avait été</p>

malheur de leur patrie; j'adoucis autant que je le pus la dureté de leur infortune, en leur faisant rendre tous les honneurs dus à leur condition, en leur laissant une entière liberté; et en soumettant la garde du château à leurs ordres. Je répondis ensuite au sieur Villiers, que j'avais été fort surpris de recevoir des propositions de paix le jour d'une bataille, que j'étais convaincu de la fausseté des intentions de Brühl par le retour de l'armée du prince de Lorraine en Saxe, que la fortune qui avait secondé ma cause m'avait mis en état de ressentir bien vivement ces sortes de procédés; mais que bien loin de penser de cette façon-là, j'offrais encore pour la dernière fois mon amitié au roi du Pologne, que mes succès ne m'aveuglaient, et que j'attendais que les sieurs de Bülow et de Rex eussent reçu leur pleins pouvoirs, pour finir sans délai avec eux; que je ne me départirais point des engagements où j'étais entré avec le roi de l'Angleterre par la convention d'Hanovre, que je rehausserais mes prétentions bien loin de plier, si la reine d'Hongrie ne voulait point s'accommoder sur ce pied-là, et je finis, en lui enjoignant sérieusement, de m'apporter les dernières volontés du roi de Pologne, afin que rien ne portât plus d'empêchement à la pacification de l'Allemagne et au repos du Nord.

Je fis inviter chez moi tous les ministres saxons, et leur exposai la pureté de mes intentions pour la paix, je fus assez heureux de les en convaincre, en les faisant convenir que les conditions que je leur offrais étaient les plus désirables pour leur roi, pour leur pays et relativement à leurs fortunes particulières.

Je fis observer à l'armée le meilleur ordre du

assez étonné de recevoir des propositions de paix un jour de bataille; que pour abrégé les négociations, il s'était rendu lui-même à Dresde; que la fortune qui avait secondé sa cause, l'avait mis en situation de ressentir vivement les mauvais procédés, la duplicité et la perfidie dont le comte de Brühl avait fait usage dans toutes ses négociations: mais que bien éloigné d'avoir une façon de penser aussi basse, il offrait, mais pour la dernière fois, son amitié au roi de Pologne; qu'il attendait que les sieurs de Bülow et de Rex eussent reçu leurs pleins pouvoirs, pour qu'on pût finir avec eux sans autre délai; qu'enfin il ne se départirait en rien des engagements qu'il avait pris avec le roi d'Angleterre par la convention de Hanovre; que pour lui, loin d'être aveuglé par la fortune, il ne hausserait ni ne baisserait ses prétentions, et qu'ainsi la reine de Hongrie ne devait pas s'attendre à lui faire changer de résolution.' Le Roi finit en recommandant à M. de Villiers de lui rapporter exactement le dernier mot du roi de Pologne, afin que dorénavant rien ne mît de nouveaux empêchements à la pacification de l'Allemagne et du Nord. Bientôt le Roi fit inviter chez lui tous les ministres saxons: il récapitula tout ce qui s'était passé; il leur exposa avec vérité ses sentiments, et les conditions de paix modérées qu'il offrait à ses ennemis: il fut assez heureux pour les convaincre que ces conditions étaient telles qu'ils les auraient pu souhaiter ou dicter eux-mêmes, et que leur roi n'avait d'autre parti à prendre que de les signer.

On prit en même temps des mesures pour que les troupes observassent le meilleur ordre: le Roi mit dans ses procédés toute la douceur possible,

monde, et je mis toute la douceur imaginable dans mes procédés, pour que cette nation voisine et malheureuse ne se ressentît que légèrement des rigueurs de la guerre à laquelle le peuple n'avait aucune part. Le 20, on chanta le *Te Deum* dans les églises sous la triple décharge de l'artillerie de la ville, pour suivre en cela l'usage établi à la guerre. Le soir on représentait l'opéra d'*Arminio*. Si je me souviens de cette bagatelle, c'est qu'elle a rapport à une anecdote singulière. Brühl se servait de toute sorte de moyens pour gouverner l'esprit de son maître; l'opéra même était un des ressorts qu'il faisait jouer pour y parvenir. Ainsi les opéras contenaient pour la plupart une allégorie sur la conduite du roi: la *Clémence de Titus* avait été composée au sujet de la disgrâce de Sulkowski et des prétendus crimes que le roi lui pardonna. *Arminio* fut fait à l'occasion de cette dernière guerre et à la protection que le roi de Pologne donnait à l'empire et la reine d'Hongrie contre la France et la Prusse qui voulaient tout subjuguier. Les louanges flatteuses de la poésie italienne, rehaussées des charmes de l'harmonie et du gosier des châtrés persuadaient au roi qu'il était l'exemple des princes et le modèle de l'humanité. Les musiciens n'osèrent jamais exécuter en ma présence le chœur de cet opéra; leur silence modeste venait des paroles du chœur, auxquelles ce qui venait d'arriver donnait un sens rétorqué:

Sulle rovine altrui alzar non pensi il soglio,
Colui che al sol' orgoglio riduce ogni virtù.

La licence était encore plus forte et d'un encens plus outrageant: les chœurs des opéras d'Auguste valaient les prologues de ceux de Louis XIV; il n'y avait de la différence que des personnes.

afin que cette province voisine et malheureuse ne se ressentît que légèrement des fléaux d'une guerre dont le peuple était innocent. Pour s'accommoder à la coutume, on chanta dans les églises le *Te Deum*, sous la triple décharge de l'artillerie de la ville; et le soir on fit représenter l'opéra d'*Arminius*. On ne rappelle ces bagatelles que relativement aux anecdotes où elles tiennent. Jusqu'à l'opéra tout devenait entre les mains de Brühl un ressort pour gouverner l'esprit de son maître: il avait fait représenter la *Clémence de Titus* au sujet de la disgrâce de Sulkowski et des prétendus crimes que le Roi lui pardonna; *Arminius* parut pendant cette dernière guerre: cette histoire devait servir d'allégorie au secours qu'Auguste III donnait à la reine de Hongrie contre les Français et les Prussiens, qu'on accusait de vouloir tout subjuguier. Les louanges flatteuses de la poésie italienne, rehaussées du charme de l'harmonie, et rendues par le gosier flexible des châtrés, persuadaient au roi de Pologne qu'il était l'exemple des princes et un modèle d'humanité. Les musiciens supprimèrent un chœur de l'opéra, qu'ils n'osèrent produire en présence des Prussiens, parce que les paroles pouvaient être justement rétorquées après ce qui venait d'arriver en Saxe; les voici :

Sulle rovine altrui alzar non pensi il soglio,
Colui che al sol' orgoglio riduce ogni virtù.

Les chœurs des opéras d'Auguste valaient les prologues de ceux de Louis XIV.