

**Metastasio as Dramatist:
The Example of
*Demetrius***

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts.

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Montreal, Quebec

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March, 1990

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the reception and importance of Pietro Metastasio's dramatic work in Vienna and other major German centres and concentrates on the German dramatic versions of *Demetrius*. The first chapter discusses the eighteenth-century reception of Metastasio's *Demetrius* as opera and as drama in Vienna and across Germany, considers the Viennese dramatic performances of other well-known metastasian dramas and argues that Metastasio's works had their own independent literary validity before serving the music. The second chapter, which examines the publication history of both Metastasio's individual and collected works until 1800, maintains that German translations of Metastasio's texts were indeed required by Germans and Austrians during the eighteenth century. The last chapter, an intensive study of *Demetrius*, draws a precise comparison of a Viennese dramatic version of this work with the original *Demetrio* libretto, and comments on other German dramatic versions of the play. It is contended that Metastasio's texts could easily be adapted to become dramatic works. It is further argued that Metastasio was not only successful as librettist but also as dramatist in eighteenth-century German-speaking territory.

RÉSUMÉ

Il est courant de penser que la popularité dont jouissait l'écrivain italien Pietro Metastasio parmi les publics allemand et viennois du dix-huitième siècle tenait uniquement à ses talents de librettiste.

Or, un examen approfondi à la fois de l'accueil fait aux nombreuses mises en scène de ses ouvrages dramatiques, et notamment de son *Demetrius*, et de l'histoire de leur publication - lequel fait l'objet des deux premiers chapitres du présent mémoire - démontre au contraire que Metastasio était apprécié en son temps non seulement à titre de librettiste mais aussi en tant que dramaturge à part entière.

Le troisième et dernier chapitre, une comparaison minutieuse entre une version publiée à Vienne et le libretto original intitulé en italien *Demetrio* suivie d'un commentaire général sur les autres versions de *Demetrius*, met d'ailleurs en valeur les qualités littéraires de ce texte qui pouvait être aussi bien mis en scène qu'en musique.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like first of all to thank my supervisor Professor David G. John of the Germanic and Slavic Department at Waterloo University, who suggested the topic of Metastasio, for his guidance, unfailing support and patience during the preparation and completion of this thesis. I am also indebted to the consultants of the McGill University Computing Centre, particularly to Nicola Richards, who taught me how to use Waterloo Script, and Joyce Sabados, for their many kindnesses and assistance. Particular thanks are due to Mr. Hans Walter Frischkopf for his valuable advice and helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank the Interlibrary Loans Department of McGill University for their help in locating sources in Vienna and FCAR for a generous fellowship in 1986-87. A special acknowledgement is also extended to Jean Marc Cormier whose support and encouragement contributed in no small way to the successful completion of this work. Finally, my love and gratitude go to my parents, Giosie and Emilio, for their vigorous support during my long education.

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INTRODUCTION

Both theatre and opera histories of well-known European stages acclaim the vast popularity attained by the dramatist and librettist Pietro Metastasio during the eighteenth century. Throughout this period, his dramas were produced and performed regularly on virtually every stage across Europe. Musical compositions frequently followed the writings of new texts. Metastasio was regarded as a privileged and favourite poet by all composers of his time. His twenty-seven three-act heroic dramas were all set to music - some many times over - by the greatest composers of the age: Pergolesi, Hasse, Caldara, Vivaldi, Scarlatti, Johann Christian Bach, Beethoven and Mozart.¹ Although the numerous musical settings contributed highly to his enormous success, they were not the only means of measuring his popularity. The many editions published from 1733 to his death in 1782 and much afterwards, along with the translations of his works into many languages were also indicative of his success. This shows further that a large number of readers also appreciated his dramas as pure literature without musical accompaniment as well.

Pietro Metastasio produced his finest works after assuming the post of poet laureate to the Emperor Charles VI and later to the Empress Queen Maria Theresia. His task was to compose at the request and for the pleasure of members of the Viennese court serious dramas or operas of three acts. His other writings include a large number of minor pieces - sonnets, odes, cantatas, *azioni sacre* or oratorios, epitalamia, mythological idylls and canzonettas, many of which were set to music. Emperor Charles VI often asked for a new oratorio at Lent and a new opera for the

¹ There is some disagreement about the total number of dramas composed by Metastasio. In his *Memoirs*, III 316-324, Charles Burney lists 26 operas/dramas, the most complete edition on Metastasio by Bruno Brunelli reproduces 27 of Metastasio's dramatic pieces, the *Dizionario della musica e dei musicisti*, directed by Alberto Basso, 5 66, mentions that Metastasio wrote 27 *drammi per musica* in three acts. Other reliable sources, such as *L'enciclopedia dello spettacolo* list the same number of dramas as Brunelli.

birthday of the Empress; the Empress in turn sometimes required a new opera for the name day of the Emperor. Because of these and other demands, Metastasio's first years in Vienna were among his most productive. Between 1730 and 1740 he wrote most of the musical dramas upon which his reputation is based. After Charles VI's death in 1740, Metastasio's position in the court of the new patroness Maria Theresia remained unchanged, but the new Empress was less interested than her father had been in costly court ceremony and made fewer demands on Metastasio for elaborate dramas. Henceforth, the Italian poet was normally called upon to write shorter, more intimate works for the pleasure of the court. Nevertheless, the Empress was prepared on occasion to order a complete opera for some particularly important event. During the 1740's and early 1750's the poet wrote several texts to be acted and sung by her daughters in private; and during the 1760's and early 1770's he completed some further dramas to honour important family occasions such as the marriages of her children or the birth of a grandchild. In the remaining years of his life, he was never able to match his earlier literary achievements, though he continued to write until his death. During his service in Vienna, he felt bound to the imperial family; his loyal attitude towards the court is documented through his letters.

In Vienna, German versions of both his individual and collected works were published, mainly during the second half of the eighteenth century.² Furthermore, because his works were so popular and satisfied so much the taste of his contemporaries, they were also performed in German without the music. It is therefore possible to acknowledge dramatic qualities in this poet's work. The dramatic element in Metastasio's work is, however, insufficiently researched and underrated; further, the German texts of his dramas have been insufficiently compared with the originals, but they alone can describe the basis on which audiences understood him. A detailed

² Refer to the bibliography of the thesis. The publication history of his major works until 1800 will be discussed in Chapter Two

comparison of a Viennese German version of one of his works with the original Italian version has never been undertaken. Such a comparison will form part of the thesis. Moreover, by measuring the broad impact of one of his most successful works in Vienna and in other main theatrical centres, and by closely studying the performance records of some other well-known works on the Viennese stage, Metastasio's importance for the age can be explored and comprehended more fully than has been the case to date. In order to show what has been done and what has not been done on Metastasio, a survey of secondary literature will be discussed. By carefully examining these studies, the reasons for choosing this topic will be made clear.

Summary of Previous Research

Several musicologists have contributed critical works on the various musical settings of the more popular metastasian dramas.³ A review of the critical literature on Metastasio by musicologists will not be undertaken here, since the intention of the thesis is to do primarily a linguistic and dramatic analysis, not a musical one. Furthermore, the history of Italian criticism of Metastasio will not be treated here either, since these studies are not directly linked to the topic at hand.

The important critical secondary literature by German scholars ranges from two very old works to a handful of more recent ones; among these are three dissertations on the subject.⁴ These share a common denominator: they all emphasize

³ For an appreciation of Metastasio's works by musicologists refer to W J Weichlein, "A comparative study of 5 musical settings of *La Clemenza di Tito*," diss., U of Michigan, 1957, Lorenzo Bianconi, "Die pastorale Szene in Metastasios *Olimpiade*," *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn*, 1970, Cheryl Ruth Sprague, "A comparison of 5 musical settings of Metastasio's *Artaserse*," diss., U of California, 1979, Raymond John Monelle, "Opera Seria as Drama The musical dramas of Hasse and Metastasio," diss., U of Edinburgh, 1979, Kenneth J Wilson, "L'Olimpiade Selected Eighteenth Century Settings of Metastasio's Libretto," Vols I and II, diss., Harvard U, 1982, Helga Lühning, "Titus Vertonungen im 18. Jh.," *Analecta Musicologica* 20 (1983), G Cummings, "Reminiscence and recall in 3 early settings of Metastasio's *Alessandro nelle Indie*," *Table Royal Music Association* 109 (1983-84) 80-104

Metastasio's popularity in the Viennese court.

Johann Adam Hiller's *Über Metastasio und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Dyck, 1786) is the oldest and one of the most complete critical works dealing solely with Metastasio. Hiller's own treatise extends for twenty-seven pages; there follows a translation of Ranieri de' Calzabigi's *Dissertazione su le Poesie Drammatiche del Sig. Abbate Pietro Metastasio* which appeared in 1755 as the preface to the complete Parisian edition of Metastasio's works. While Hiller acknowledges that Metastasio's works consist of operas, cantatas, canzonettas, sonatas, etc., his intention is to regard Metastasio's works as plays in their own right. Hiller discusses the published versions of Metastasio's collected works and compares a few passages from Metastasio's dramas in their original language with the German versions. He comes to the conclusion that the translations of Metastasio's works into German were unsuccessful. He asserts that these incorrect translations made Metastasio an object of ridicule during his time. Much is distorted in the translations and, as a result, the worth of the poet is underestimated. Hiller's appraisal of Metastasio is further expressed in his translation of Calzabigi's *Dissertazione*. Calzabigi defends Metastasio against accusations or reproaches that were brought upon him by his contemporaries (for example, Metastasio's imitation of French tragedies and the monotony of the denouement in almost all of his works). Calzabigi also proves that Metastasio's operas are true tragedies when one considers the unity, the costumes and the plans, and that they surpass the Greek tragedies in their better use of the chorus. Moreover, the fact that there were numerous editions of Metastasio's works during the eighteenth century is, according to Hiller, solid proof of how highly esteemed he was. The thesis then, will extend Hiller's work, in that it will critically assess the translation of one of

⁴ There are actually four dissertations in all. A fourth dissertation on Metastasio was detected only toward the end of this study and therefore was not readily accessible. Renate Herklotz, "Die Opera seria und die Ideen der Aufklärung zum Menschenbild Metastasios," diss., Universität Leipzig, 1986.

Metastasio's dramas into German. Furthermore, the contemporary view of the poet, which is also discussed by Hiller, will be of fundamental importance to the thesis.

A subsequent essay entitled "Metastasio's 'La Clemenza di Tito'" by H.J. Heller was published in 1885. This essay, however, is not very useful for this topic, since it concentrates only on one drama and one not part of my own study. Heller states that in the early nineteenth century *La Clemenza di Tito* was the only drama among the rest of Metastasio's works which was not forgotten, for it had a sweeping success on all the well-known stages. According to Heller, it is actually Mozart's music that should be credited for the popularity of the drama even in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, in this essay Heller tries to show how this drama stems from French classical poetry. Heller also points to the fact that the German treatment of the text is not at all in accordance with the original Italian version; in fact, even the words are not suitable for music. Although the present thesis deals primarily with a different work, Heller's observations in translation accuracy are a good starting point.

Among the twentieth century critical works on Metastasio is Alois Nagler's "Der Hofdichter als Regisseur" (1961). In this brief study there is evidence that Metastasio personally assumed the direction of his works. Nagler points out Metastasio's exhausting rehearsals by discussing the various problems encountered by the poet when preparing the actors and singers for their respective roles. He mentions further that the poet was also responsible for setting up the scenery and determining the appropriate costumes for each role. Nagler specifies that Metastasio required an average of three months to complete an opera text and that he disliked being pressed for time not only with respect to concluding his works, but also when having to take care of their production. Nagler discusses the enormous success of the Viennese opera *Demetrio* and describes Metastasio's satisfaction regarding the public's reaction to this drama. Nagler also indicates that there is evidence in the letters written by Metastasio

to the singer-actress Marianna Bulgarelli of the dramatist's responsibility for the production of his *Demetrio* and *Issipile*. According to Nagler, it was impossible for Metastasio to direct the production of the numerous performances of these dramas across Europe. Therefore, composers would receive Metastasio's advice for the casting, decor and costumes from his letters. The first sign of such "*Fernregie*," states Nagler, is present in the letters written to Marianna Bulgarelli. Nagler discusses Metastasio's instructions to Bulgarelli regarding the performance of *Demetrio* and *Issipile* and gives other examples of his correspondence with different composers. Moreover, Nagler clearly defines Metastasio's full responsibility as dramatist and producer of his works. When writing his librettos, Metastasio kept in mind not only the stage, but he was constantly aware of the task with which he confronted his composers. Nagler brings forth a talent of Metastasio's which had been overlooked by the preceding studies on the poet.

Another recent study, Hans Kramer's "*Pietro Metastasio in Wien*" appeared in 1970 and is a poorly-documented reprint of a lecture. According to Kramer, Metastasio was a leading personality who strengthened the ties between Austria and Italy in the eighteenth century. Kramer stresses the fact that Metastasio is nearly forgotten outside Italian territory and only mentioned today in histories of literature or in "*wissenschaftlichen Monographien*." He emphasizes Metastasio's fortune as first European librettist, but strangely enough, maintains that the translations of Metastasio's works into German were not used and that the works were performed only in Italian. In Kramer's view the Italian language was no obstacle to the Viennese court, since Italian was well-known to them. A translation into German, asserts Kramer, was not in much demand, for this would have decreased the true value of the verses in their original language. In these claims, Metastasio's importance and fame in the Viennese court are very much accentuated. Nevertheless, Kramer presents these arguments without providing any substantiation. Translations of metastasian dramas

into German were indeed required for Vienna and especially for other German stages. The thesis then, will show that such translations were needed and that performances in German of metastasian dramas were certainly very common. Moreover, the thesis will take Kramer's study further by demonstrating Metastasio's importance and success not only in Vienna but on other German stages as well.

The next study dealing with Metastasio is Horst Bosch's dissertation, "Die Aufführungen des Abate Pietro Metastasio nach Zeugnissen aus seinen Briefen" (Vienna, 1968). Bosch expands on Nagler's study by accentuating Metastasio's importance in a similar manner: not only is Metastasio considered "*Textdichter*" but stage director as well. Bosch aims at presenting Metastasio as great theatrical genius of his time. He shows Metastasio's strong concerns with the production of his own dramas through close analysis of Metastasio's letters. Since it was impossible for Metastasio to direct the performances of his dramas in German-speaking centres and on stages all across Europe, he was likely in correspondence with different composers, such as Pasquini and Hasse from Dresden, in order to share his ideas on the staging of his works. These letters constitute the most important part of Bosch's source material. Bosch clearly demonstrates how preoccupied Metastasio was with the individual features of the characters he was portraying; the poet intended to prepare them for highly theatrical situations. Bosch also discusses the great success of *Demetrio* and, like Nagler, gives evidence of Metastasio's concern for the production of this drama. Furthermore, Bosch emphasizes that Metastasio never wrote dramas simply so that they could be read, and that he never held rigidly to traditional stage conventions of the time. Therefore, Bosch not only discusses Metastasio's importance in Vienna, as do the majority of other studies, he also places emphasis on Metastasio's role in the production of his dramas in other European courts.

The second dissertation, "Metastasio und sein Freundeskreis" (Vienna, 1972)

by Christine Halusa, examines closely Metastasio's circle of friends. Halusa limits her analysis to only those friends whom Metastasio personally met in Vienna. She divides her work into two parts. The first of the two deals with the general personality of the poet. Here she discusses his life in Italy and in Vienna, his occupation in Vienna, his financial conditions, his success, the honours bestowed upon him and so forth. The second part considers exclusively the poet's circle of friends which Halusa classifies into different groups: the patrons, the close friends and the acquaintances. She remarks that the poet attached much importance to friendly social contacts. These did not only result from his occupation, she states, but rather represented in many ways a true necessity of the poet's personal disposition. Therefore, he maintained close ties with the simple people and at the same time had a great number of meaningful patrons and friends from different fields of interest. Apart from the personal contacts, he also established written communication which is demonstrated by over two thousand letters, still preserved today. Halusa points to the fact that both the contemporary and later depictions of the life and work of the poet give much valuable information only on the basis of either the author's personal knowledge or written evidence. She affirms that nobody could or wanted to consult the entire source material. Halusa, on the other hand, does not attempt to give a complete portrayal of Metastasio's life. She does, however, try to collect what can presently be said about the person and his position, in order to become acquainted with him and the people around him. In her dissertation, she also places emphasis on Metastasio's position as court poet in the Viennese court and on his close relationship to the members of the imperial family.

The last dissertation on the topic, "Die Entwicklung des Hochstildramas in Österreich von Metastasio bis Collin" (Vienna, 1978) by William Kirk, depicts the rise and development of the German "*Hochstildrama*" in Austria. Kirk dedicates only his first chapter to Metastasio in which he examines a few characteristics of Metastasio's librettos. Kirk attempts: 1) to demonstrate that between 1730 and 1820 there was a

developmental tendency which was specific to Austria in the Austrian "*Hochstildrama*"; 2) to research the common characteristics of the Austrian "*Hochstildrama*" during this period; and 3) to explain how this development came about and then slowly died away. Kirk also discusses Metastasio's critical writings and compares Metastasio's views to Aristoteles'. Furthermore, he claims that Metastasio's poetry is lost in the translations, but gives no examples to support his claim. The thesis will analyze this point in depth.

Erika Kanduth's essay of 1980, "*Der Kaiserliche Hofdichter im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*" differentiates between two types of court poets: "*poeta cesareo*" and "*poeta di corte*." She mentions programmes of dramas performed in Vienna which have been cited by Hadamowsky and Kunz⁵ to show that there was a preference for metastasian dramas until the 1750's. She affirms that the earlier Viennese dramas were set to music more frequently than the later ones. Nevertheless, she does not mention where the dramas were performed each time and whether they were considered dramatic works or operas. Kanduth does not explore this area very thoroughly. She does, however, stress a very important point in her study: the fact that Metastasio's works were closely tied to the family structure. Kanduth states that the life of the ruling house in Vienna is not only reflected in his poetry, but in his letters as well, and that most of Metastasio's dramas were written to celebrate either birthdays or name days of members of the imperial family and their respective relatives. When one considers that Metastasio wrote dramas mostly on the occasion of feasts pertaining to the imperial court of Vienna alone, then one should ask: if these dramas were written in Italian for the Viennese court, to what extent were the translations true to the originals? Further, to what extent was their focus restricted to the Viennese court milieu, or did they

⁵ Franz Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof, mit einem Spielplan (1625-1740)* (Wien: Verlag A. Sperl, 1955) 110-115, Harald Kunz, "Höfisches Theater in Wien zur Zeit der Maria Theresias. Der Wiener Theaterspielplan 1741-1765," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung* 1953/54, Wien, 1958 3-

0 speak to a more universal audience?

Objectives and Chapter Outline

In the critical secondary literature, there is a trend to attach much importance to Vienna alone. With respect to Metastasio, Vienna was certainly different from other stages at the time, since Metastasio spent most of his life there and also because most of his works premiered there. In addition, the Italian language was not the obstacle at the Viennese court that it was for other German-speaking stages at the time. Therefore, no generalization can be drawn about other German stages based on Vienna. There is a need to investigate the extent of Metastasio's popularity in Vienna and ask whether or not he was also popular in other German centres. This analysis can only be possible through close examination of the repertoires and the theatre histories of these cities. Furthermore, a few critical studies, as previously mentioned, allude to the poor translations that were produced during the eighteenth century. Apart from Hiller, there has been no attempt to critically assess the translations of the most popular metastasian dramas or to draw precise comparisons among their many Italian and German versions. Moreover, no thorough attempt has been made to verify how popular Metastasio's works were in German as opposed to in their original language. These aspects will be the focus of this study.

Chapter One will discuss the reception of Metastasio's *Demetrius* as opera and as dramatic work in Vienna and across Germany. A statistical survey of Viennese dramatic performances of his most successful works will follow: *Adrianus in Syrien*, *Themistokles*, *Achilles auf der Insul Scyros* and *Regulus*. This will lead us to conclusions about the popularity of *Demetrius* in German-speaking territory and of the other major dramas in Vienna both as opera and dramatic works during the eighteenth

century. Among the many questions that will arise in this chapter are these: Were Metastasio's dramas better received in their original language or in translation? Did Metastasio write his dramas with the primary intention of having them set to music or having them performed even as dramatic works?

Chapter Two will examine the publication history of both Metastasio's individual and collected works until 1800 to further determine their popularity in German-speaking centres at the time. Because of the restrictions of my topic, only the publications of the dramatic versions of the poet's works, primarily *Demetrius*, as well as other major works, namely *Adrianus (Hadrianus) in Syrien*, *Demophoon*, *Themistokles*, *Achilles in der Insul Scyros* and *Regulus*, and editions of the collected works which contain dramas will be taken into account.

Chapter Three will comprise a study of *Demetrius*. A comparison of the Viennese dramatic version of *Demetrius* translated by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern with the original *Demetrio* libretto set to music by Caldara will be undertaken. The following list of criteria will be adopted for this comparison:

1 Similarities of German translation to the original.

1.1. Structure: number of acts/scenes, *dramatis personae*, *argomento* (summary).

2 Changes in German translation with respect to the original

2.1. Changes in formal dramatic elements and their functions if any and/or possible reasons for such changes: title page (genre designation, homage to the ruler), *Licenza*, division of scenes, role change, expansion/omission of speeches, omission or insertion of arias at the end of a speech/monologue, verse form, rhythm, rhyme at the expense of clarity and meaning, metaphors, imagery, wordier speeches, more exaggerated speeches, changes in character depiction, stage directions.

2.2. Changes in ideas expressed: their functions and/or possible reasons for such changes. It must be emphasized that the first subtitle listed under the second

category is intended in a very broad sense so that even elements of poetic language are included here, thus avoiding redundancy and the overlapping of ideas. The drama will not be analyzed from a musical point of view as several musicologists have done for other metastasian dramas. It will be treated rather as a dramatic work, in other words, the libretto as a piece of dramatic literature. A synopsis of the *Demetrio* plot and a summary of Hiller's comments concerning metastasian translations will precede the comparison of Weiskern's *Demetrius* rendition with the original. Furthermore, general observations will be made regarding three other German dramatic publications of *Demetrius* and conclusions will be drawn with respect to the differences among versions.

The Conclusion will contain a summary of the most important points from the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In order to give a precise indication of Metastasio's popularity in Vienna during the eighteenth century, reference must be made to programmes of performances for this time period. Franz Hadamowsky's repertoire of Viennese performances for the years 1625 until 1740 lists mainly Italian titles. After careful analysis of these performance records, one can conclude that from 1730 until 1740 there was a strong preference for Metastasio's works.¹ Furthermore, the *Wiener Theaterspielplan von 1741-1765* by Kunz, along with the *Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Ur-und Erstaufführungen von 1747- 1776* by Gustav Zechmeister, which covers the broader performance sphere, show the predominance of Metastasio's dramas until the 1750's. Thereafter, the interest of the court moved from *dramma per musica* to *dramma giocosa*. Metastasio's dramas were so well-liked, however, that numerous restagings of each occur on the Viennese stage for many years.

A closer look at the performance records of some of Metastasio's most popular works will be useful for establishing the extent of their popularity in Vienna. More attention will be given, however, to the drama *Demetrius*, since the thesis concentrates on this work.

Reception of *Demetrius* (*Demetrio*) as Opera in Vienna

Demetrius (*Demetrio*) was the first drama written for the Viennese court as part of the festivities surrounding the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, November 4, 1731. On this day the three-act opera *Demetrio* premiered in the Hoftheater of

¹ Hadamowsky 110-115.

Vienna and was set to music by Antonio Caldara, the assistant Kapellmeister to Charles VI. In an exhaustive letter of November 10, 1731, to Marianna Bulgarelli, his friend, benefactress and instructress in the ways of the theatre, Metastasio gives a detailed report of the public's and Emperor's reactions to this opera. He mentions that the opera was so successful that the audience repeated parts of it in conversation. Furthermore, the oldest people among the Viennese could not recall such universal approbation and the spectators shed abundant tears of tenderness at the parting scene: the whole theatre rang out with applause and Metastasio himself felt honoured to be praised by the sovereign himself:

Last Sunday, my opera of *Demetrio* was performed for the first time, with such applause, that the oldest people in the country assure me, they never remember approbation so universal. The audience wept at the parting scene; to which my august patron was not insensible. And notwithstanding the great respect for the Sovereign, in many of the recitatives, the applause of the theatre was not restrained by his presence. Those who were before my enemies, are now become my apostles. I am unable to express to you my surprise at this success, as it is a gentle and delicate opera, without those bold strokes which produce great effects; nor did I believe it adapted to the national taste. But I was mistaken. Everything demonstrated that it was well understood by the audience, and they repeat parts of it in conversation as if it were written in German. My master began to shew his satisfaction, from the end of the first act, and afterwards spoke it openly to all around him. The music is of the most modern kind that Caldara has composed; but all the discontented world is not to be satisfied. The scenes were beautiful. Minelli has both acted and sung better than usual and pleases almost universally in the part of Alceste. Dominichino, acquitted himself in the

part of Cleonice, with general approbation. Casati has exalted the part of Olinto, as Borghi has that of Fenicio. The Olzausern sung as she still looks, beautifully....²

Because this opera was ordered by a member of the Viennese court, the Empress Elizabeth, and consequently intended for an aristocratic or courtly audience who was highly cultured, the Italian language should not have been difficult for them to grasp. Nevertheless, since Metastasio's success extended across European stages and among different social milieus, translations of his works were certainly very much in demand, for it was unlikely that the audience from lower social classes thoroughly understood the Italian language and its subtleties. In a subsequent letter to Mme. Bulgarelli written January 12, 1732, Metastasio adds that he had seen even the "*orsi*" (bears: unruly spectators) weep during its performance.³ In still another letter to her, dated January 19, 1732, he states that he hopes for the success of *Demetrio* on the public stage, but that it runs the risk of being disliked because "it depends more on good performance than decorations or stage effects."⁴ The frequent eighteenth-century performances of *Demetrius* (*Demetrio*) both as opera and as a dramatic piece in Vienna confirm the popularity of this work. The first opera performance of *Demetrio* by Caldara gave rise to four other musical performances in the same year aside from its premiere: November 25, 28 and December 1.⁵ *Demetrio* was also set to music by

² Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*, 3 vols. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971) 1: 75-76 Burney's translation of Metastasio's original Italian.

³ Pietro Metastasio, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed Bruno Brunelli, 5 vols. (Milano: Mondadori, 1943-54) 3: 61

⁴ Burney 1: 79

⁵ Hadamowsky 111; *Wienerisches Diarium* (Wien: Johann Peter von Ghelen 1703-1740) nos 89, 91, 95, 96

⁶ Gustav Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nachst der Burg und nachst dem Kärntnerthor von 1747 bis*

Hasse in 1732, by Pescetti in 1732,⁶ by Hasse in 1733 with the title *Cleonice*,⁷ by Perez in 1742⁸ and once again by Hasse in 1739 "mit Abänderungen und eingelegten Arien."⁹ There followed a series of other musical settings: 1742 - Gluck,¹⁰ October 15, 25, 1744 in the Burgtheater, music by Caldara;¹¹ October 16, 1748 - premiere of *Demetrio* by Galuppi in the Burgtheater on the occasion of the name day of the Empress, restaged October 17, 21, 23, 27 (with illumination), 29, 31, November 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, 19 (with illumination), 21, 23, 25, 27;¹² in 1749 by Jommelli;¹³ and in 1760 by Wagenseil in the Burgtheater.¹⁴ From this one can deduce that there were at least eleven productions of the opera *Demetrio* in Vienna, among which more than one production was put on by Hasse and Caldara. In the chronology of box-office takings listed by Zechmeister¹⁵ for the performance years 1748/49 in the Burgtheater, Galuppi's premiere of the opera *Demetrio* on October 16, 1748 brought in a total of 719 florins, 33 kreuzer. Among the works mentioned in the chronology, the premiere performance of the opera *Demetrio* received the highest earnings. The subsequent Galuppi performances also earned considerable receipts. In his journal, Khevenhüller-Metsch points out the splendid outcome of Galuppi's premiere performance of *Demetrio*:

1776, vol 3 (Graz/Wien/Köln: Commissionsverlag, 1971): 203, 244.

⁷ Alexander von Weilen, *Zur Wiener Theatergeschichte* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1901): 103, 109.

⁸ Zechmeister 203, 244.

⁹ Weilen 103, 109.

¹⁰ Zechmeister 203, 244.

¹¹ Kunz 76.

¹² Zechmeister 199, 200, 203, 403; Kunz 81, 82.

¹³ Zechmeister 203, 244

¹⁴ Zechmeister 203, 244, Kunz 102

¹⁵ Zechmeister 195-200

Den 16. kamme [sic] der Kaiser au retour de la chasse du cerf in das Operahauß, der dem gestrigen Tag zu Ehren angestellten neuen Opera, Demetrio genannt, beizuwohnen, worzu die Musique von einen vornehmen wälschen Compositore, Sre Chaluppi, mit villem Applaudissement verfertigt worden.¹⁶

Repeated performances of the opera *Demetrio* in the Burgtheater along with the excellent takings all serve to demonstrate the work's magnificent appeal.

Reception of *Demetrius* as Drama in Vienna

According to Zechmeister, this piece was also performed in German without the music the same year as Galuppi's performance: "*Das Jahr der Uraufführung des Demetrio Galuppi's war auch der Uraufführung der deutschen Übersetzung des Metastasio Libretto nächst dem Kärntnerthor.*"¹⁷ In December 1748, *Demetrius*, translated by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern, was performed as a three-act "*deutsches Schauspiel*" in the Kärntnerthortheater.¹⁸ It was restaged August 30, 1753 in the same theatre house, in 1761 and August 4, 1763 once again in the Kärntnerthortheater.¹⁹ On December 30, 1749 another dramatic representation of *Demetrius* took place in the Höfisches Theater, in the Wiener Hofburgreichskanzlei. The text was possibly translated by Johann Leopold von Ghelen.²⁰ Harald Kunz makes brief mention of the outcome of this *Demetrius* performance:

¹⁶ Rudolf Graf Khevenhüller - Hans Schlitter, *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias. Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch*, Wien, 1907-, 16 X 1748.

¹⁷ Zechmeister 203

¹⁸ Zechmeister 401, Kunz 108 Only the performance on August 4, 1763 is listed by Kunz Zechmeister does not mention the place of performance for the restaging of *Demetrius* in 1761

¹⁹ Zechmeister 401, Kunz 108

²⁰ Kunz 84 Kunz questions whether or not Ghelen was the translator of this text

In der Reichskanzlei spielten Erzherzog Joseph und seine Schwestern am 30. Dezember, 1749 und Anfang Januar des Folgejahres fünfmal die deutsche Verstragödie 'Demetrius.' Khevenhüller fand die 'Pièce besser herausgekommen als man es vermuthet.'²¹

The fact that members of the court were the actors of this *Demetrius* performance in German could probably indicate that even some court members and nobles had difficulty understanding Italian. A representation in German would make it accessible to them as well. This version of *Demetrius* was restaged January 8, 11, 21, 24, 1750.²² By examining the German Viennese performances of *Demetrius* as a dramatic work, one can conclude that there were at least four productions by Weiskern and one by Ghelen. Furthermore, *Demetrio* was performed as opera in the Hof- and Burgtheater over a period of twenty-nine years (1731-1760). *Demetrius*, performed as *deutsches Schauspiel*, spanned a period of fifteen years (1748-1763) in the Viennese Kärntnerthor- and Höfisches Theater. Regarding the reception of this drama in both its original language and in German translation, Gustav Zechmeister states:

Die Oper wurde jedenfalls 1760/61 in Wien gegeben, das Libretto war bereits etliche Mal vertont worden ... Die Übersetzung des Metastasio-Librettos ins Deutsche hielt sich jedenfalls lange an den Wiener-Bühnen.²³

Evidently, it was customary in Vienna to issue "*Schauspielfassungen*" of the dramas shortly after the corresponding opera performances. Kunz refers to this practice in his remarks concerning the *Wiener Theaterspielplan*: "*Andererseits ist unbestreitbar, daß*

²¹ Kunz 40. Kunz specifies in his *Spielplan* (p 84) that this drama was performed by amateurs for the exclusive public of the Viennese court and nobles

²² Kunz 84

²³ Zechmeister 244

das deutsche Theater Schauspielfassungen der Opern kurz nach deren Premiere herausbrachte."²⁴ The statistical review of performance records of *Demetrius* as opera and as a dramatic piece clearly attests to the enormous success of this work in Vienna as both drama and opera.

Reception of *Demetrius* as Opera in Germany

This drama obtained very favourable reception in other main German centres as well. Moritz Fürstenau mentions three opera performances of *Demetrio* at the court of Dresden: two were staged in 1740 - the first set to music by Hasse, the second by an unknown composer and the last performance appeared in 1747 with music by Scalabrini.²⁵ Emphasis must be placed on the fact that during the reign of Friedrich August II, that is between 1740 and 1763, there was a preference for Italian opera in Dresden, and the works composed by Metastasio predominated in the programmes of Dresden for those years.

Opera performances of Metastasio's works also prevailed in Mannheim during the second half of the eighteenth century. Friedrich Walter places emphasis on the great success of one *Demetrio* performance at the court of Mannheim in 1753, includes a brief summary of the plot, and provides the cast of singers.²⁶ The other German cities in which the opera *Demetrio* was also popular were Munich, Braunschweig and Hamburg.

²⁴ Kunz 74.

²⁵ Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (Dresden: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Rudolf Kunze, 1861-62): 225, 235, 248.

²⁶ Friedrich Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel Verlag, 1965) 118

Dramatic Performances of *Demetrius* in Eighteenth-Century German-Speaking Centres

Demetrius as a dramatic work was not performed exclusively in Vienna, but across Germany as well. The following table indicates the various performances of *Demetrius* as drama in German-speaking territory.

TABLE 1: Dramatic Performances of *Demetrius* (*Demetrio*, 1731) in Germany and Vienna in the Eighteenth Century

Translator	Theatrical Genre & No. of Acts	Year & Place of Performance	Restagings
1 F. W. Weiskern	dt.Schauspiel, 3	Dec. 1748 Kärnt- nerthor- theater (Vienna)	30. 08. 1753 (K) 1761 (K) 4. 8. 1763 (K)
2 J. L. von Ghelen (possible translator)	dt.Vers- tragödie, 3	30. 12. 1749 Höfisches Theater (Vienna)	Jan. 8, 11, 21, 24 1750
3 ?	Heroisches Schauspiel, ?	21. 8. 1765 Cologne ²⁷	?
4 Weiskern	Schauspiel, 5	19. 5. 1768 Cologne ²⁸	?
5 ?	Trauerspiel, ?	20. 4. 1751 Wittenberg ²⁹	?

²⁷ Jacob Martin, *Kölner Theater im XVIII. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Reichsstädtischen Zeit (1700-1794)* (Emsdetten. Heinr. & J. Lechte, 1938) 55

²⁹ Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Chronologie des deutschen Theaters*, hrsg. von Paul Legband (Berlin: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1902). 98-99; see also Hertha Michel, "Calzabigi als Dichter von Musikdramen und als Kritiker" *Glück-Jahrbuch IV* (1918) 139

It is interesting to note that the division of acts of Weiskern's 1768 version is altered in order to conform to the standard classical mode of the drama. The other Weiskern versions of *Demetrius* performed in Vienna, however, did not assume the same five-act division used for the performance in Cologne. Such a modification, which Jacob does not clarify, was perhaps dependent upon the demands of the entrepreneur responsible for the performance as well as the expectations of the spectators attending regular performances of dramas in Cologne. According to the published *Demetrius* versions in Austria and Germany, other performances of *Demetrius* as drama may have been staged as well.³⁰ Furthermore, the different dramatic renditions of *Demetrius* produced in Vienna and across Germany in the eighteenth century could be said to represent an attempt to acknowledge poetic values to this work.

Statistical Survey of Eighteenth-Century Viennese Performances of *Adrianus in Syrien*, *Themistokles*, *Achilles auf (in) der Insul Scyrus* and *Regulus*

Demetrius was not the only metastasian drama which was successful as a dramatic work in Vienna. Metastasio's other major works were also performed quite frequently both as operas and dramas. A survey of eighteenth-century performances of *Adrianus in Syrien* (*Adriano in Siria*, 1732), *Themistokles* (*Temistocle*, 1736), *Achilles auf (in) der Insul Scyrus* (*Achille in Sciro*, 1736) and *Regulus* (*Attilio Regolo*, 1740) presents a more complete picture of Metastasio's popularity there. With the exception of *Attilio Regolo*, the other works were all performed as opera in Vienna: *Adriano in Siria* was set to music once, *Temistocle* and *Achille in Sciro* received two musical settings each

³⁰ In his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der von 1700 bis zu Ende 1800 erschienenen Romane und Schauspiele welche in Deutschland und in den durch Sprache und Literatur verwandten Ländern gedruckt worden sind*, Jg. 1700-1810 (Leipzig, 1813) 4: 267, Wilhelm Heinsius lists four published versions of *Demetrius* in Germany: Wittenberg (1791), Salzburg (1756), Leipzig (1749) and Jena (1793). Schmid mentions a performance of *Demetrius* in Wittenberg (1751). Whether or not the other published versions were also performed in the corresponding cities will not be determined in this present study, for this would require a close examination of all theatre histories available for each city in question.

and were also restaged quite often. *Attilio Regolo*, Metastasio's favourite piece,³¹ was first staged in 1750 in Dresden. It was written in 1740 for the name day of the Emperor Charles VI, but its performance was postponed on account of his death. This work was thus performed ten years later. The lack of interest in this drama by composers of the time is mainly due to the fact that Metastasio's characters are made to adhere more closely to historical tradition.³²

The opera performances of Metastasio's works were customarily in Italian. The libretto was usually in two languages with Italian on the verso sides of pages and German on the recto. In certain instances, however, it is not clear whether or not an opera was sung in German as well. Translations of opera librettos were normally produced to facilitate the spectators' comprehension. Zechmeister and Kunz do not provide any information regarding opera translations. Further study of primary sources such as musical scores, which is beyond the scope of this topic, would be necessary to determine the role of opera translations during this time.

The above-mentioned works also enjoyed popularity as dramas in German translation. Similar to the table drawn up for *Demetrius*, the table which follows shows the various dramatic performances of each work.³³

³¹ See letter to Hasse (20. X. 1749) and to Filippona (20. IV. 1750).

³² See Pietro Metastasio, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed. Bruno Brunelli, 1. 1506

³³ The dramatic performances listed for each drama are verified in the same theatre histories of Vienna which were consulted for *Demetrius*, unless otherwise specified in the subsequent footnotes

TABLE 2: Dramatic Performances of *Adrianus in Syrien* (*Adriano in Siria*, 1732); *Themistokles* (*Temistocle*, 1736); *Achilles auf der Insul Scyrus* (*Achille in Sciro*, 1736) and *Regulus* (*Attilio Regolo*, 1750) in Vienna in the Eighteenth Century

Title of Drama	Translator	Theatrical Genre & No. of Acts	Year & Place of Performance	Restagings
1 Arianus in Syrien	Salazar	dt. Trag., 5	1752 Kärntnerthortheater	?
2 Arianus in Syrien	J.G. Heubel	dt. Trag., 5	15. 10. 1755 Kärntnerthortheater	1756
3 Themistokles	Funken/ Weiskern	dt. Trag., 5	1754/55 Kärntnerthortheater	30. 3. 1758 (K) 15. 7. 1760 (K) 25. 8. 1763 (K)
4 Achilles auf der Insul Scyrus	?	dt. Schauspiel, 3	1761 Kärntnerthortheater	?
5 Regulus	?	? 5	1750 Kärntnerthortheater ³⁴	?

The table above indicates that the dramatic works listed were performed primarily as *deutsche Tragödie* in five acts, with the exceptions of *Achilles auf der Insul Scyrus* which was staged as *deutsches Schauspiel* and *Regulus* whose theatrical genre is not

³⁴ Other dramatic performances of *Regulus* in Vienna may have been staged according to Bruno Brunelli and Elena Sala di Felice. Zechmeister mentions only one performance of *Regulus* in Vienna (1750). Brunelli (2. 1505) states that this drama was repeatedly performed by German actors in 1751. Furthermore, Elena Sala di Felice (*Opere*: 578) makes similar claims. Therefore, no definite conclusions can be drawn regarding the number of dramatic performances of *Regulus* in Vienna.

specified by Zechmeister.

Metastasio's Talent as Dramatist

The demand for German translations of metastasian works by the Viennese court is no doubt indicative of their success. The eighteenth-century Viennese theatre histories do not specify whether Metastasio's dramas were better received in their original language or in translation. There are certainly many musical settings by notable composers of the time. Nevertheless, the fact that Metastasio's dramas were also performed as tragedies in five acts reveals a poetic appreciation of such works. Translations of his works were produced not only because of the popularity of the play in question, but to acknowledge poetic value to the poet's dramas which is lost through the various musical settings. In a letter to Philipp Helem (16. XII. 1765), Metastasio himself expressed the desire to write tragedies. Furthermore, in one of his letters the poet states: "I know by daily experience that my own dramas are much more certain of success when declaimed by comedians than when sung by musicians."³⁵ In his *Dissertazione* Calzabigi eulogizes Metastasio by calling his librettos sublime tragedies even when unadorned by music - tragedies worthy of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Calzabigi remarks:

Ich will nämlich den Auswärtigen begreiflich machen, daß sie mit Unrecht unser Theater verachtet, daß die Poesien des Metastasio mit Musik begleitet, musikalische Poesien, ohne Verschönerung der Musik aber, wahre, vollkommene und herrliche Tragödien sind, die man den besten anderer Nationen getrost an die Seite setzen kann;³⁶

³⁵ Burney 2. 318.

³⁶ Johann Adam Hiller, *Über Metastasio und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Verlag der Dykischen Buchhandlung, 1786) 31

Nino Pirrotta, a well-known Italian scholar, in discussing the relationship between Metastasio and his literary culture, maintains that Metastasio's dramas are suitable to the spoken theatre and have their own independent literary validity before serving the music. He notes:

Metastasio's life-long dream, in fact, was to write libretti that could be read as tragedies - purely literary texts to which the strophes of the arietta, elegant and verbally melodious as they are, were intended to bring only an added ornament, unnecessary to the dramatic context. Many indeed must have read them as dramatic poems, and perhaps this allowed listeners to lend only a distracted ear to the tediousness they acquired when sung as interminable recitatives.³⁷

Moreover, Hagedorn also recognizes Metastasio's talents, for he notes that the poet's usual three-act dramas have just as much right to be considered tragedies as the regular five-act ones. He states:

Ich weiß aber, oder glaube zu wissen, daß... ein Metastasio in gewisse Opern, von den gewöhnlichen drei Handlungen, so vollständig und bündige Tragödien, die nur, wie diese nicht, singbar sind, geliefert hat, als der stolzeste Tragödienschreiber in seinen fünf regelmäßigen Handlungen.³⁸

Hiller justifies the translation of Calzabigi's *Dissertazione* in that the poet "im Fache der tragischen Dichtkunst den ersten und größten an die Seite gestellt werden kann; in Ansehung der lyrischen Dichtkunst aber, und in Anordnung eines singenden

³⁷ Nino Pirrotta, "Metastasio and the demands of his literary tradition," proc. of *Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera 1730-1790, a symposium*, February 11-13, 1982, in: *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7/1. 20.

³⁸ Friedrich von Hagedorn, *Poetische Werke*, ed. by J. J. Eschenburg (V. Theil, Hamburg, 1800) 184

Schauspiels, alle anderen übertrifft."³⁹ Hiller understands and appreciates Metastasio in immediate connection with the specific demands of the *opera seria*. Further, in the *Risposta* (1790), Calzabigi quotes the enormous popularity of Metastasio's works by claiming that they were performed "*sogar ohne Musik*."⁴⁰ Metastasio's best works were unfortunately a victim of their popularity; in the midst of all the musical settings and the translations, the original version lost its essence. A "*Diskrepanz ... zwischen Bühnenerfolg bzw. -wirksamkeit und angeblich minderer Poetizität*"⁴¹ ensued in the work of the poet. As a result, Metastasio maintained that his works would have had much more success if performed without the music. Only then could the spectators admire the tender and delicate power of his poetry. Moreover, the publication history of the poet's works during the eighteenth century will show whether the readers at the time were also interested in the appreciation of the dramas without the music.

³⁹ Hiller 1.

⁴⁰ Quoted in A. Einstein "Calzabigis 'Erwiderung' von 1790," *Gluck-Jahrbuch* II (1915): 57.

⁴¹ Reinhart Meyer, *Bibliographia Dramatica et Dramaticorum*, 3 vols (Tubingen Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986) XXIX

CHAPTER 2

In order to determine the complete publication history of Metastasio's individual and collected works until 1800, catalogues of printed books, librettos and dramas, as well as bibliographies must be consulted, since no single source covers the entire primary material. Because this study is mainly concerned with the dramatic renditions of Metastasio's works, *Demetrius* serving as principal example, attention will mostly be given to the publication history of *Demetrius* as a dramatic work in German-speaking centres. The publication history of the dramatic works mentioned in Chapter One and of the collected works which include dramatic works will also be considered here.

Reassessment of Translations of Foreign Dramas in Eighteenth-Century Germany

The mere translation of a foreign drama into German is not enough to show the dramatist's overall popularity in German-speaking territory. The frequency of reprints of either the original or translated version of the work in question plays a more decisive role in the reception of a dramatic work, and further in the success of the dramatist.¹ In the introductory pages to his *Bibliographia Dramatica et Dramaticorum*, Reinhart Meyer discusses the different forms of reception and production of the complete French and Italian "*Dramenliteratur*" in eighteenth-century Germany. He states:

Die gesamte französische und italienische Dramenliteratur ist in Deutschland durchweg in zwei Wegen rezipiert worden: einerseits durch Übersetzungen andererseits originalsprachlich - und hier wieder auf zwei Wegen: durch Bestellung französischer oder italienischer Drucke aus

¹ See Reinhart Meyer, *Bibliographia Dramatica et Dramaticorum*, 3 vols (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986) 1 XLIII

dem Ausland oder durch Kauf von Drucken, die im Reich hergestellt wurden. Rein quantitativ gesehen, übertrifft bei den meisten französischen und italienischen Autoren schon die im Reich gedruckte originalsprachliche Produktion die Zahl der Übersetzungen bei weitem. Berücksichtigt man doch die Einfuhr der Originaldrucke aus dem Ausland, gleiten die Übersetzungen fast ins Marginale ab (Moliere, Racine, Corneille, Metastasio, Zeno, Goldoni, Gozzi, usw.).²

When Meyer affirms that for most of the French and Italian authors the works published in their original language in Germany exceed by far their corresponding translations, he does not provide any statistical data to support his claims. Furthermore, Meyer lists Metastasio along with other French and Italian dramatists and emphasizes the triviality of the translations of their works, if one considers the import of original publications from abroad, but presents no evidence to sustain his statement. In German-speaking territory, Metastasio's works were first published as librettos usually in both Italian and German and thereafter appeared as dramatic works in German. Although one could argue that the poetic quality of the libretto translations and similarly the dramatic pieces did not correspond to the originals,³ this is by no means an indication that far more originals than translations of Metastasio's works were published in German-speaking centres during the eighteenth century. Only a closer scrutiny of the eighteenth-century publications of Metastasio's individual and collected works will reveal whether or not the number of original versions printed was greater than the amount of printed translated versions.

The dramatic works, which were adapted from their corresponding librettos, as is

² Meyer 1 XLIV-XLV.

³ Hiller tries to show the poor quality of the translations of Metastasio's works into German. This point will be discussed in greater depth at the end of this chapter and in Chapter Three of the thesis

the case here for *Demetrius*, required a more literary text, since they were not only meant for the theatre, but also to be enjoyed as literature. Because of the more literary demands of these dramatic works as opposed to the librettos, the poetic content of the original version was not always faithfully rendered by the translator.

Publication History of *Demetrius* as Drama in German-Speaking Centres until 1800

Several versions of *Demetrius* as a dramatic work were published in German-speaking centres over an extensive period of forty-three years, subtitled either *Schauspiel* or *Trauerspiel* so that the curious public would be attracted to the seemingly "new" drama on account of the change in theatrical genre.⁴ This practice to easily transform a *Schauspiel* into a *Trauerspiel* was very common in the eighteenth century. Reinhart Meyer best describes this convention of the age.

Nicht nur gelingt es mühelos, einen Roman oder eine Novelle in ein Trauerspiel, ein Schauspiel, eine Oper, ein Singspiel und schließlich noch in ein Ballett zu verwandeln (z.B. Shakespeares 'Romeo und Julia'), es wird auch ein und dasselbe Werk mit nur geringen oder überhaupt keinen Abweichungen als Drama, Schauspiel oder Trauerspiel bezeichnet. Und zwar unterscheidet sich das Vornehmen der Verleger oder Drucker nicht von dem der Prinzipale. Außerdem fordert die Zensur findiges Vorgehen, und eine gute benutzte Finte besteht darin, einem Stück einfach einen neuen Titel zu geben, um es beim zweitenmal und hoffentlich bei einem anderen Zensor durchzubringen.⁵

⁴ See Reinhart Meyer, *Das deutsche Trauerspiel des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Eine Bibliographie.* (München: Fink, 1977) 9.

⁵ Meyer 9.

Furthermore, Meyer states that the designation "*Trauerspiel*" ought not to be coupled with the idealistic understanding of a tragedy whose structure has been discussed throughout the eighteenth century up to the present.⁶ The number of *Demetrius* publications as drama listed in the following table is contingent upon the reference works accessible for this study.⁷ The following table clearly illustrates the repeated and widespread publications of *Demetrius* as a dramatic work.

⁶ Meyer 9.

⁷ The *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (GV) 1700-1910*, vol. 95 (München u. G.: Sauer, 1979-) was not adequate enough to verify the number of *Demetrius* publications as drama. In the *Verzeichnis der von 1700 bis zu Ende 1810 erschienenen Romane und Schauspiele ...*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1813): 267, Heinsius lists three publications of *Demetrius* in German-speaking centres which are not included in the *Gesamtverzeichnis*. Therefore, the *Gesamtverzeichnis* does not contain all the entries in Kayser and Heinsius. The other sources consulted were James Walsh, *Guide to the Microfilm Collection* 439-440, Reinhart Meyer, *Das deutsche Trauerspiel des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* 77, Reinhart Meyer, *Bibliographia Dramatica et Dramaticorum* 2 728-735, 3 1334; and Franz Hadamowsky/A. Fr. Mayer/ Felix Trojan, *Katalog der 'alten Bibliothek' des Theaters an der Wien*, hrsg. von der Generaldirektion der Nationalbibliothek, 3 vols. (Wien, 1928) 1 26.

TABLE 3: Publications of *Demetrius* as a Dramatic Work in German-Speaking Territory until 1800

Theatrical Genre & No. of Acts	Translator	Place & Date of Publication
1 Ein Schauspiel in drey Aufzügen	Weiskern	Vienna, 1748
2 Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen	?	Vienna, 1749
3 Ein Schauspiel von drey Aufzügen	Weiskern	Vienna, 1749
4 Trauerspiel	?	Leipzig, 1749
5 Ein Schauspiel 3 Akte	?	Vienna, 1753
6 Ein Schauspiel von drey Aufzügen	Weiskern	Vienna, 1756
7 Ein Schauspiel 3 Akte	Andreas Schachtner	Salzburg, 1756
8 Ein Schauspiel von drey Aufzügen	Weiskern	Vienna, 1761
9 Ein Schauspiel	Johann Friedrich Bramigk	Wittenberg, 1791
10 Trauerspiel	?	Jena, 1793

Among the ten publications of *Demetrius* listed, not one was published in its original language in German-speaking centres in the eighteenth century. This suggests that the Italian language was not well-understood by all Germans and Austrians during this period. Therefore, Hans Kramer's claims that the Italian language was in "*keiner Weise ein Hindernis*," and further that "*Der Wohllaut und der Schwung der Verse*

Metastasios waren zu bekannt; man wollte sie nicht durch eine Übersetzung in die deutsche Sprache mindern,"⁸ are not well-founded. If Kramer's claims were valid, it would not have been necessary to issue so many versions of *Demetrius* in German. The table indicates that one publication of *Demetrius* appeared in Salzburg, and six in Vienna, four of which were different editions translated by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern, the rest by unknown translators. The other publications were scattered across Germany. Because different translators were interested in this particular work and since quite a few versions were published in Germany and Austria, one can conclude that *Demetrius* was a very popular work among spectators and readers alike in German-speaking territory.

Publication History of *Adrianus in Syrien*, *Demophoon*, *Themistokles*, *Achilles auf (in) der Insul Scyrus* and *Regulus* as Dramatic Works in German-Speaking Centres until 1800

Dramatic publications of *Adrianus in Syrien*, *Demophoon*, *Themistokles*, *Achilles auf (in) der Insul Scyrus*, *Regulus* and of other metastasian works appeared in Vienna and Germany in the eighteenth century. Because of the limitations of the thesis, only the above-mentioned works until 1800 are specified in the following table.⁹

⁸ Hans Kramer, "Pietro Metastasio in Wien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte Köln* 52 (1970) 54.

⁹ The publications of the works listed in table four as dramas were verified in the same sources consulted for the publications of *Demetrius* as drama

TABLE 4: Publications of *Adrianus* (*Hadrian*, *Hadrianus*), *Themistokles*, *Achilles auf (in) der Insul Scyrus* and *Regulus* as Dramatic Works in German-Speaking Centres until 1800

Title of Drama	Theatrical Genre & No. of Acts	Place & Date of Publication
1 Hadrianus in Syrien	Ein Schauspiel in drey Abhandlungen	Frankfurt, 1740
2 Hadrian in Syrien	Ein Schauspiel, ?	Frankfurt, 1746
3 Hadrianus in Syrien	Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen	performed 3. 8. 1752, n.d.
4 Adrianus in Syrien	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Vienna, 1756
5 Demophoon	Ein Schauspiel in Versen, 3 Akte	1764, n.p.
6 Themistokles	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Vienna, 1754
7 Themistocles	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Vienna, 1756
8 Achilles, in der Insul Scyrus	Ein Schauspiel, ?	Nürnberg, Krauß, 1761
9 Regulus	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Vienna, 1750
10 Regulus	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Vienna, 1752
11 Regulus	Ein Trauerspiel, ?	Potsdam, Voß, 1767

According to the publications listed for each work, the two dramas published most frequently were *Adrianus in Syrien* and *Regulus*. Like *Demetrius* these works were also designated either *Schauspiel* or *Trauerspiel*, in order to arouse the interest of the audience as previously mentioned. If the number of publications of each of these dramas is compared to the overall number of *Demetrius* publications, one can conclude

that *Demetrius* as drama was the most popular of all. Furthermore, because a corresponding dramatic version was published for nearly each metastasian libretto, this is an indication that Metastasio's works were so well-constructed that they could easily be adapted to dramatic works.

Publication History of Metastasio's Collected Works in German-Speaking Centres until 1800

Metastasio's collected works received a total of sixteen publications across Germany and in Vienna by 1800.¹⁰ The collected works were not meant for the stage, since such publications usually comprised five to ten volumes and were therefore a hindrance to practical use in theatre work. Because they were aimed at the reader, the poetic quality of the language acquired much more importance for the translator or the editor of the edition. In German-speaking territory, seven publications appeared in Italian, seven in German and two in French. The fact that there were an equal number of publications in German and Italian contradicts Meyer's claims that the publications from Italian and French authors, including Metastasio, in the original language exceed those in German translation by a great deal. Most of the collected works published in Vienna and Germany contain the dramatic renditions of Metastasio's works. In Vienna the collected works in German, entitled *Dramatische Gedichte*, were translated by Anton Koch and published in eight volumes (1772-1775). Regarding this edition, Reinhart Meyer notes:

Von dieser Ausgabe hat sich nicht ein einziger Band nachweisen lassen.

Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine Parallelausgabe zur

¹⁰ Among the sixteen publications, seven appeared in Vienna - two in French, four in Italian, one in German, two in Leipzig - one in German and the other in Italian, two in Augsburg - both in German, one in Stuttgart - in Italian, two in Frankfurt and Leipzig - both in German, one in Dresden - in Italian, and one in Augsburg and Leipzig - in German

vorangehenden, die der Wiener Verleger für seine Heimatstadt druckte,
während die Frankfurt-Leipziger für das Reich gedacht war.¹¹

The collected work which Meyer refers to was also translated into German by Anton Koch and was published in eight volumes in Frankfurt and Leipzig (1768-1776). According to Meyer it is probably analogous to the above-mentioned Viennese one (1772-1775), although no precise conclusions can be drawn as to their similarity. Both positive and negative remarks were made pertaining to the Viennese edition and the parallel Frankfurt-Leipzig one. On the one hand, it was praised highly by the Viennese weekly newspapers,¹² on the other hand, it was harshly criticized by Hiller and by the critics of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*.¹³ In order to justify his criticism Hiller provides examples of some poorly-translated passages of Metastasio's dramas and rebukes the translator of these editions for neglecting the meaning, the metre, the expressions and the language on account of his unnecessary concern for the rhyme in the poetry which according to Hiller is the major cause of the translator's failure. Hiller openly criticizes the Viennese translator when he states:

Der Wiener Übersetzer zeichnet sich hier vorzüglich aus. Er hat eine besondere Gabe, den Metastasio unverständliches albernes Zeug, in der abentheurerlichsten incorrectesten Sprache, sagen zu lassen. Da ich seine Übersetzungen nie ohne Lachen lesen kann, und ich das gute Vertrauen zu meinen Lesern habe, daß ich auch zuweilen gern lachen mögen, so will ich ihnen einige Proben davon vorlegen.¹⁴

¹¹ Meyer 2: 733

¹² See *Gazette Française Littéraire de Vienne*, Jg. 1769, Nr. 5.

¹³ See *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 13 (1770) 526-527; 21 (1774) 532-34; 27 (1775) 157-158.

¹⁴ Hiller 17

Further, in the twenty-first volume of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, a more forceful criticism than the first, which appeared in the thirteenth volume of this work, was brought upon the translator of the Viennese and Frankfurt-Leipzig editions for ill-treating and disfiguring the poetry of Metastasio. The following commentary, intended for the Frankfurt-Leipzig edition, appeared in the twenty-first volume of this work:

Ohne uns auf dasjenige einzulassen, was der Übersetzer in der Vorrede des Vten Bandes gegen die Kritik dieser Bibliothek über den ersten Band seiner Übersetzung erinnert, müssen wir ihm offenherzig sagen, daß der damalige Recensent ihn noch viel zu säuberlich behandelt hat, und daß er den Dichter, der leider unter uns dies Schicksal schon so oft in den Opernbüchern Stückweise hat erfahren müssen, nun so jämmerlich zerrt, mißhandelt und verunstaltet, daß man einem solchen Verfahren nicht ohne den äußersten Unwillen zusehen kann, seine Gönner und Freunde, worauf er sich einmal über das andre beruft, mögen auch noch so sehr ihr Wohlgefallen daran haben.¹⁵

An example of Koch's translations will be examined in the next chapter with his translated version of *Demetrius*. Other publications of Metastasio's collected works containing dramatic works appeared across Germany. A seven-volume edition in Italian, entitled *Dramatische Gedichte*, was published in Dresden in 1753. Three other collected works appeared in Augsburg, all with the same title *Geistliche Schaubühne*: the first, translated by Pietro Obladen, was published in 1753; the second a reprint of the first was published in Augsburg and Leipzig in 1766; and the third, also a reprint from 1753 was published in 1775. Furthermore, two metastasian dramas: *Verlassene Dido* and *Hypsipile* were published in one volume in German as "*Zwey Schauspiele*" in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1747. Hiller also translated four of Metastasio's works in

¹⁵ *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 21 533

German which were published in Leipzig in 1786. From this statistical analysis of the publication history of those collected works which include dramatic works until 1800 in German-speaking territory, one can conclude that more collected works were published as *Schauspiele* than as *Opern*, *Musikalische Schauspiele* or *Musikalische Opern*. The publication of seven editions of Metastasio's collected works in German indicates the need for issuing translated texts in German-speaking territory during the eighteenth century. Whether or not the translations were true to their originals is questionable, but some were no doubt superior to others so that foreigners also had the opportunity to read and appreciate Metastasio's works. The extent to which some translations respected the originals will be discussed in the next chapter with the example of *Demetrius*.

CHAPTER 3

Introduction

According to the German dramatic publications of Metastasio's works, *Demetrius* certainly enjoyed much more popularity among eighteenth-century readers than any other metastasian drama, as illustrated in the preceding chapter. The comparison of the many *Demetrius* dramatic versions with Metastasio's original *Demetrio* libretto set by Caldara and published in the Metastasio editions not only completes the depiction of this work's reception in German-speaking territory, but also determines the source/s of each translation, the extent to which the translator was faithful to the source, and which adaptations were made to the original text in order for it to conform to the new theatrical genre of the translation. Four different dramatic versions of *Demetrius* (Vienna - 1749, Salzburg - 1756?¹ Frankfurt and Leipzig - 1769, Wittenberg 1791) will be compared to the original *Demetrio* libretto first set to music by Caldara in 1731. Weiskern's version published in Vienna will be compared to the original according to the methodology explained in the Introduction. A general, non-detailed comparison of three other translations with the original and if necessary with Weiskern's translation will follow. Other librettos will be consulted for the comparisons so as to verify the degree of corruption and adaptation of the original.² Before undertaking a discussion on the comparison of *Demetrius* versions to the original, a synopsis of the plot is necessary.

¹ Although the year of publication does not appear on the title page of this *Demetrius* translation, in the *Verzeichnis der von 1700 bis zu Ende 1810 erschienenen Romane und Schauspiele ..*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1813): 267, Heinsius lists a publication of *Demetrius* which appeared in Salzburg in 1756. Therefore, the year of publication specified by Heinsius could probably belong to the undated publication of *Demetrius* in Salzburg.

² The other librettos will be cited only when they further illustrate the extent of source material for the translations

Demetrius: Plot Summary

Six characters take part in the drama of *Demetrio*:

Cleonice – Queen of Syria, loved by Alceste

Alceste – revealed later as Demetrio, King of Syria

Fenicio – nobleman, tutor of Alceste and father of Olinto

Olinto – nobleman and rival of Alceste

Barsene – confidante of Cleonice, secretly in love with Alceste

Mitrane – captain of the royal guards and friend of Fenicio

The drama adheres to the Aristotelian unities of time and place, as the story covers a twenty-four-hour period set within the royal apartments and gardens in Seleucia, the Syrian capital.

Act one begins with Cleonice as she is pressed by the aspirants to the crown to choose a husband as soon as possible. Since Cleonice loves only Alceste and impatiently awaits his return, she continues delaying her choice by making various excuses. Meanwhile Barsene reveals to the public that she is secretly in love with someone whose name she does not mention. Fenicio confides in Mitrane the truth about Alceste's real identity. When the queen is about to choose the king, Alceste opportunely arrives. At this point Cleonice decides to prolong her decision and disdains her role as queen. She would prefer to be a simple woman with the freedom to marry the man she really loves, without needing to consider matters of rank and social class. The relationship in which Barsene is secretly involved begins to unveil, unknown to the queen and to her "idol" Alceste. The first act closes with the theme of unyielding loyalty, hope, and the expected solution to the dilemma which troubles the queen.

In the second act Cleonice decides to avoid seeing Alceste temporarily. We learn that Olinto has long been in love with Barsene. Cleonice writes Alceste a letter in which she tells him to live happily and to renounce her. In the meantime Fenicio describes to Cleonice Alceste's miserable state and implores her to have pity on Alceste by at least allowing him to see her one last time before dying. Olinto announces to the queen and his father that Alceste has left under his command, which he thought would find the queen's favour. Upon hearing Olinto's news Cleonice immediately orders her guards to look for Alceste and tells Olinto that if Alceste is not found he will pay for his rashness. Olinto falls back on his love for Barsene, prevented from gaining access to the royal power by his rival Alceste. Barsene, however, with reckless coquetry escapes Olinto's amorous advances. The conflict of love and the rigid demands of the throne reaches its climax, while the latter appears to predominate. Alceste returns and meets with Cleonice so as to discuss their predicament. The "*gloria tirannia*" (tyrannical glory) seems to have triumphed over Cleonice's love for Alceste. As a result, she decides to yield to the demands of the throne and to renounce her love. Fenicio is astonished at the cruelty of the queen, whereas Barsene is satisfied, since her secret idol is now available to her affection. Fenicio confesses his desire to avenge the sceptre "*per un oppresso re*" (for an oppressed king). At the end of act two all the dramatic elements reach their peak and await the final, still unforeseen outcome of the plot.

At the outset of act three, Alceste is preparing to depart by making his last farewells to everyone, when he encounters Cleonice. She delays Alceste's departure by convincing him to stay until she chooses the king. Alceste cannot understand why Cleonice wants him to suffer this election. She explains to Alceste that the harsh fate which is cruel to her will not allow her to enjoy both Alceste and her duty as queen. Cleonice, unable to give up her love for Alceste, plans to renounce her throne; as a result we witness the generous self-denial of Alceste who refuses such a sacrifice in the

name of the country's exigencies, and therefore Cleonice ends up winning for the time being; nevertheless, she reciprocates with the surprise of the election of the old and faithful Fenicio, the only person who could never provoke jealousy in Alceste. Fenicio, obliged to reveal all the truth concerning Alceste's identity, decides to approach Alceste first, for it was his right to know. In the meantime, Barsene, believing that Alceste is now free of Cleonice's love, resolves to inform Alceste of her true feelings for him. Alceste cannot and would never have accepted this alternative love. Cleonice finally discovers the truth about Alceste's identity first from Fenicio and then officially from Olinto who freezes upon reading the irrefutable text written by king Demetrio, father of Alceste, just before dying. Alceste, recognized now as the real Demetrio, is permitted to marry Cleonice and to regain the paternal crown.

Repeated heroic displays, the exaltation of passions for the sake of more general interests of the state were offered to the Viennese spectators who wept and sobbed during the performance. The drama's conclusion confirms the moral that virtue can unite glory and love.

Summary of Hiller's Comments Regarding Metastasian Translations

In order to properly assess the dramatic renditions of *Demetrius*, reference must be made to a contemporary of Metastasio's, Johann Adam Hiller. Hiller's views regarding German metastasian translations are very valuable to the comparison of *Demetrius* versions, since he was the only eighteenth-century dramatist to write a critical essay on the German translations of Metastasio's works. A summary of Hiller's comments will reveal the main faults of metastasian translations, how they could have been avoided, and his expectations of translators.

An important observation which Hiller makes regarding the interest of the eighteenth-century audience is that they were primarily attracted to a dramatic

representation because of the beautiful and costly decorations, or the artistic and expensive ballets or the voices of Signora X or Signora Y, so that the poetic quality of Metastasio's works was not paid much attention: *"In der That hört man auch die Leute an Höfen lieber von Decorationen, Aufzügen, Tänzern und Sängern schwatzen, als den Werth oder Unwerth eines Gedichts beurteilen."*³ As a result, translators often produced inaccurate translations, since they were aware of their spectators' chief interests. The poetry of the translations, adds Hiller, does not often reflect Metastasio's pattern, for the Italian verse forms are often rendered in dragging alexandrines. Another pitfall for most translators is the use of the rhyme which often explains their disregard for the meaning and the metre, the expression and the language. Hiller acknowledges the fact that some Italian constructions and the melodious sound of Metastasio's dialogues are difficult to imitate in German; nevertheless the translator can build the metre and the *"musikalische Periode"* according to the pattern adopted by Metastasio. Furthermore, a translator should not introduce conjunctions when they are not present in the source language. Although Hiller feels that one should translate in verse, he also sees the possibility of translating the recitatives in prose, since Metastasio does not adopt a uniform metre or rhymed verse, but uses rather symmetrical breaks: *"Jede fließende Prose läßt sich als Recitativ declamiren, und ist gewiß eben so wohlklingend, als ein in schleppenden Alexandrinern scandirtes, mit aufgehaschten Reimen behängtes Recitativ."*⁴ Keeping the division of short and long lines in a varied fashion is, according to Hiller, visually appealing. Hiller also notes that because Metastasio's works are intended for musical accompaniment and therefore require rhythm and *"musikalische Periode,"* the arias in the translations should also have rhyme, metre and *"musikalische Peiode."* Moreover, as regards the arias, it would be best to choose the type of verse most appropriate for

³ Hiller 5

⁴ Hiller 25

the intended person and passion. These comments constitute Hiller's main expectations from a translator of Metastasio's works, and are of particular importance since they reveal an eighteenth-century judgment of German translations. To assess the translations following the criteria of current theories of translation, on the other hand, would not have much bearing on the translations analyzed here, for such methods of translation were unknown to translators at the time. The theory of translation of the early eighteenth century propounded by Gottsched and his contemporaries placed more emphasis on content than on form or style. Thus the style of the original work could be sacrificed if the content was to be rendered accurately. It is only from the mid-century onwards with Herder's doctrine that the ideals of translation underwent a significant change: the translator should reproduce form as well as content and it was his role to make the original intelligible to German spectators. Hiller's views seem to coincide with the theory of translation which gained ground in the second half of the eighteenth century, that is with the principle of fidelity to form and content.

Methodology Used for the Comparisons of *Demetrius* Versions

Comparisons of four *Demetrius* translations with the original will now be undertaken in order to verify whether or not Hiller's reproaches are well-founded, if his expectations are fulfilled, and if there are significant changes from the original. Weiskern's dramatic version of *Demetrius* will be evaluated according to two main categories: 1) similarities of German translation to the original; 2) changes in German translation with respect to the original. The changes may be considered as falling into two sub-categories. These are: a, changes in formal dramatic elements and their functions if any and/or possible reasons for such changes; b) changes in ideas expressed, their functions and/or possible reasons for such changes. The first type of change is intended in a very broad sense and embraces form, content, language and dramatic elements in order to avoid the overlapping of ideas. The other three

translations will be assessed in a more general way.

Textual Comparison of Weiskern's *Demetrius* (Vienna, 1749) in German with the Original *Demetrio* Version in Italian Set to Music by Caldara (Vienna, 1731)

The first German *Demetrius* translation by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern was published in Vienna (1748) and according to the title page was performed "*in dem kaiserlich-königl. privilegierten Stadt-Theater nächst dem Kärntnerthor im Jahr 1748.*"⁵ While the year and place of performance are mentioned on the title page of this first *Demetrius* version, one cannot assume that this published translation was the actual text used for performance. Because only Metastasio's name appears on each title page of Weiskern's four *Demetrius* versions with no mention of Weiskern anywhere in the drama,⁶ one can conclude that Metastasio was given full credit. As shown in Chapter Two, a total of four *Demetrius* versions by Weiskern appeared in Vienna. With the exception of the title page, each version published after the 1748 one (1749, 1756, 1761) is identical to the first in terms of content.⁷

Similarities of Weiskern's *Demetrius* Translation to the Original

Weiskern's *Demetrius* translation is similar to Metastasio's original *Demetrio* in that both are divided into three acts of fifteen scenes each and both list a total of six characters who participate actively in the drama. Like the original, the setting of

⁵ Title page of *Demetrius*, ein Schauspiel von drey Aufzügen, aus dem Italienischen des Herrn Abb. Peter Metastasio gezogen, trans. F. W. Weiskern (Wien: van Ghelen, 1748).

⁶ The translator's name is indicated in the reference works consulted for this study. Walsh 439-440, Meyer 3: 1334, Hadamowsky/ Meyer/ Trojan 26

⁷ Passages will be quoted from the 1749 version, for this was the first accessible text. Since the 1748 version and both the 1756 and 1761 versions were not immediately available, and because a close examination of these versions (1748, 1756, 1761) revealed that they were identical to the 1749 version, it was much more convenient to use the 1749 version for quoting

Weiskern's rendition is in Seleucia. Furthermore, the *argomento* (summary) appended to the very beginning of Metastasio's drama is also present in Weiskern's translation.

Changes in Weiskern's *Demetrius* Translation with Respect to the Original

The differences between original and translation, however, are numerous. The changes in formal dramatic elements will now be considered.

Changes in Formal Dramatic Elements: Their Functions and/or Possible Reasons for Such Changes

Title Page

The genre designation of the original version is "*dramma per musica*," which implies that it was set to music, but Weiskern's translation is called "*Ein Schauspiel*," and so it was performed as a dramatic work. Although in the literary and theatrical practice of the eighteenth century there existed no strict distinction among the genres, Weiskern's designation remains justified, since he modified Metastasio's libretto into a dramatic work by removing all musical ornaments unnecessary to the dramatic text, such as the chorus and the arias. The title page of Metastasio's *Demetrio* set to music by Caldara specifies that this drama was written on the occasion of the name day of the Emperor Charles VI at the request of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria: "*Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nella cesarea corte per il nome gloriosissimo ... di Carlo VI. Imperadore de' Romani ... per comando ... di Elisabetta Cristina Imperadrice regnante l'anno M.DCC.XXXI.*" Weiskern, on the other hand, does not include this homage to the Emperor on the title page of his translation because Emperor Charles VI died in 1740 and therefore such a dedication would have been meaningless, for Weiskern's *Demetrius* translation was published in 1748.

Licenza

The *Licenza*, a kind of epilogue, appended to Metastasio's *Demetrio*, which is a panegyric to the Emperor, Empress or some person of the court, is logically omitted in Weiskern's translation as a result of his modification effected to the title page. The *Licenza* is of no importance for either the eighteenth-century or the modern reader, for it is merely a praise to the sovereign and bears no connection to the plot. Only an eighteenth-century Viennese performance of this drama intended primarily for the court would require the *Licenza*.

Division of Scenes

The division of scenes in the original is the same as Weiskern's except for act three, scenes seven and eight. Act three, scene seven is quite succinct in the original with only one exchange of dialogue between Olinto and Fenicio in the presence of Mitrane. Scene eight, on the other hand, is much longer and has four characters on stage speaking with one another. Weiskern seems to have interchanged the length of these two scenes, although the speeches follow the same order. In Weiskern's translation, act three, scene seven, where Olinto, Fenicio, Alceste and Mitrane converse on stage, is much lengthier. Scene eight is much shorter when compared to the original, with Olinto and Fenicio conversing and Mitrane merely present. At this point of the plot, that is at the beginning of scene seven, Cleonice finally decides to elect the king. In the Italian version, Olinto informs his father that the queen has finally elected the king and that Alceste is not the chosen one. The end of scene seven leaves the reader in suspense because Olinto does not unveil the elected king. The reader must await the beginning of the next scene to discover who has been chosen. Weiskern changes this and opts to reveal the identity of the elected king in scene seven. This is the only instance in which Weiskern modifies the scene division, and the

result of this change is a decrease in the dramatic suspense. The most plausible explanation could be that Weiskern considered act three, scene seven, too condensed and that it needed to be expanded because the scenes of a dramatic work should be longer in order to compensate for the absence of the music, and the sense of a realistic and logical unfolding of events heightened.

Role Change

Two role changes are present in Weiskern's *Demetrius* translation. Since the first change does not modify the character's motivation or the plot and is probably a mistake on Weiskern's part who confused one character for another, it is not worth exploring here. It occurs in act one, scene eight when Fenicio reacts with the exclamation: "*Oh strani eventi!*" (I. 8. l. 406) upon hearing Alceste's account of the battle which ensued after Alexander died and his own misfortunes. In Weiskern's version, however, Cleonice expresses this exclamatory remark in an aside: "*(Erstaunliches Geschick!)*" (I. 8. p. 107). It is questionable whether or not this alteration was intentional by Weiskern. The more significant modification occurs at the very end of act three, scene seven with the closing lines revealing the moral of the drama. Metastasio assigns this role to Fenicio who rejoices in seeing Cleonice and Alceste ascending to the throne united. Weiskern, however, lets Mitrane speak the last lines and therefore respects the characterization of this figure. In both the original and in Weiskern's translation Mitrane's tendency to moralize is emphasized, especially in act two, scene three. As a result, Weiskern logically assigns the following lines to Mitrane: "*Ihr zeigt aller Welt eure Tugend an, / Daß sich auch mit der Ehr die Liebe paaren kann*" (III. 15. p.168). It stands to reason that this modification is intentional, for it attempts to improve the original by means of consistency in the distribution of roles.

Omission of Speeches

There are several instances in which portions of speeches from the original are omitted in Weiskern's translation.⁸ A representative example of an omission is found in the opening speech of Cleonice who is complaining of her subjects' disrespect for her, their importunate and indiscreet lack of restraint, their haste in seeing her choose a husband, a king. She asks Olinto if the people are so disrespectful towards her because they appointed her queen in order to make a slave of her or because they are ashamed of being ruled by a woman. She then makes an historical allusion by listing other female monarchs who have ruled before her. These very last lines of her speech are omitted in Weiskern's translation:

Pur l'esempio primiero
Cleonice non è. Senza rossore
a Talestri, a Tomiri
servi lo Scita, ed in diverso lido
Babilonia a Semira, Africa a Dido.
(I. 1. 1.12-16)

Although many explanations could account for this omission, two seem most probable. The first obvious reason for leaving out these lines is that the translator found them uninteresting, and by omitting them the action of the drama would not be affected. Metastasio inserted this passage to emphasize Cleonice's position as female monarch. Therefore, Weiskern very likely omitted this passage also because Cleonice's speech, evidently directed to the Empress Queen Maria Theresia could prove to be irrelevant for the reader, since its importance is primarily local and only of special interest to the Empress if this drama were performed for the Viennese court in the eighteenth century.

Another major omission which reduces the suspense of the action takes place in

⁸ Due to the limited extent of this study, only one or two examples at most will illustrate the more significant changes

act three, scene three. In this scene Cleonice tells Alceste how much she loves him and that she is ready to sacrifice her duties as queen for him. Because Alceste will not allow her to give up her throne for him, the queen responds to Alceste's obstinance by questioning its coherence and arousing his jealousy as proof of his faithfulness. Cleonice's statement, "*Alceste, / vedrai come io t'imito*" (III. 3. l. 164-165) which means that she will show Alceste how she intends to follow his example, is unheeded by Weiskern; it is the only thought absent from Cleonice's speech (III. 3. p. 156). Cleonice's remark, however, is quite significant. It adds tension to the plot, for the reader becomes curious to know how the queen plans to imitate Alceste by choosing another spouse in his presence.

Expansion of Speeches

Not only are portions of speech from the Italian omitted in Weiskern's translation, but very often segments of speech are added as well. This expansion is present in the speeches and in some monologues. In the speeches, Weiskern expands by adding one or two extra passages in order to lengthen the scene or to increase the dramatic intensity of the action. In the monologues, such as the one delivered by Cleonice in act two, scene two, the function of the expansion is usually to emphasize the character's predicament, thus increasing the dramatic intensity. Act two, scene thirteen presents an example of additions in speech. In this scene two opposing viewpoints confront each other: on the one hand, Fenicio, desolate over the failure of his noble plans for Alceste, on the other, Barsene, satisfied because her secret "idol" is now available to her affection. Barsene congratulates the queen for having triumphed over her affections, but Fenicio reproaches her for being so cruel towards the man she loves. Weiskern inserts these additional speeches which are directed to the queen so as to further intensify the opposing viewpoints of Barsene and Fenicio:

Fenicius:

Die Nachwelt wird von dir wie von Tyrannen schreiben.

Barsene:

Dein Name wird bey ihr groß und unsterblich bleiben.

(II. 13. p. 147)

The purpose for inserting these speeches is to prolong the scene and at the same time increase its dramatic effectiveness.

Insertion of Arias at the End of Speeches/Monologues

Although the arias in the original are omitted by Weiskern in order to respect the genre designation, there are certain cases in which the content of the arias is added to the final portion of a speech from the last character in a scene or included towards the end of a character's monologue. The latter is exemplified in Olinto's monologue in act one, scene eleven. In the original version Olinto first explains that Alceste's way of speaking could lead one to believe that he belonged to the descendants of Pelops and Alcides, but that in spite of his rustic birth, Alceste remains his great rival. Following the monologue is an aria composed of two strophes: the first is composed of four lines and the second of two. Here Olinto reveals how unimportant nobility of birth is, if inconstant Fate has made a rustic shepherd his competitor for the throne. Olinto then informs the blind goddess Fortuna that her gifts are meaningless to him when they are bestowed unjustly. Weiskern changes the order of the aria, in other words he places the content from the second strophe first and the one from the first strophe last, makes a few modifications and attaches it to Olinto's monologue:

Was nützt der Adel mich? Geh! Schicksaal! deine Gaben,
Die auch ein Blinder findt, verlang ich nicht zu haben,
Was hilft der Wiege Glanz, wenn Liebste Reich und Thron,
Dem hohen Stand zum Trotz, erhält ein Hirten-Sohn?

(I. 11. p. 113)

Weiskern's insertion of "Die auch ein Blinder findt" is not in the Italian and the ideas expressed are in a reversed sequence. The German rendition of the aria is faithful to

the meaning of the original, but not the form. The punctuation is altered and the content is reversed most likely to respect the sound and cadence of the original and also because the modified order flows more smoothly. The fact that Weiskern sometimes includes the content of the aria in either a speech or a monologue shows a certain degree of respect for Metastasio's text and his attempt to retain part of the poetic value of the original.

Verse Form

Metastasio's verse form is quite different from that of Weiskern's. For the recitatives, Metastasio adopts "*versi sciolti*," unrhymed verse with varying line lengths and symmetrical breaks, but not uniform metre. The recitatives are concise, brief, hardly full of common or watery prose and the expressions possess a certain energy. Thus the rhythm of the speeches moves in smooth, rapid succession. Furthermore, the melodious sound of Metastasio's language has its own worth. Hidden rhymes, assonances, the preference for certain vowels or consonant groups are usual devices present in Metastasio's poetry. Although Metastasio does not use rhymes for the recitatives, he often rhymes the last two lines of a closing speech at the end of a scene in order to show the completion of a thought which is then followed by a pause. The two-strophe arias are composed of short lines with alternating rhyme patterns. Unlike Metastasio, Weiskern uses alexandrines with the rhyme scheme aa/bb/cc for both the dialogues and the monologues. The speeches are wordy, slow, dragging, and as previously mentioned, many segments of speech are added or some portions of speech are omitted. In comparison to Metastasio's speech rhythm, Weiskern's is much slower. Throughout the drama Weiskern repeatedly employs cliché rhymes, such as "*Trieb(e)/Lieb(e)*, *Burde/Würde*, *Herz(en)/Schmerz(en)*, *Thron/Cron*," and so on. Because Weiskern places too much emphasis on the rhyme, he often sacrifices clarity, grammatical correctness and proper expressions. Since this exaggerated concern for

the rhyme is a pattern in the course of the translation, many examples can sustain this observation.

Rhyme at the Expense of Clarity and Meaning

In act two, scene seven Olinto reports to the queen that Alceste has left Seleucia under Olinto's command. The queen is taken aback at the news and warns Olinto that if Alceste is not found, he will pay the penalty for his rashness. Metastasio has Cleonice express her speech in a simple, direct way:

Se la ricerca è vana, (ad Olinto)
trema per te. Mi pagherai la pena
del temerario ardir.
(II. 7. l. 234-236)

Weiskern has Cleonice phrase this thought in a much stonger and in a quite awkward fashion.

Olinto! wehe dir,
Wenn man ihn nicht mehr findt, so wird mit schweren Wettern
Mein höchst-gerechter Zorn dein freches Haupt zerschmettern.
(II. 7. p. 135)

Contrary to Metastasio, Weiskern adopts a metaphorical expression which is taken to such an extreme that it distorts the original. In this case, Weiskern needs to rhyme the word "*Wettern*" and since "*zerschmettern*" fits perfectly, he uses it to conclude Cleonice's thought. The result, however, is clumsy and exaggerated.

Certain speeches in Weiskern's translation strongly indicate that Weiskern is mainly preoccupied in finding a word which could rhyme with the preceding one, thus ignoring more important matters, such as meaning and syntax. Alceste's speech in act two, scene twelve further illustrates this fault. In this scene, Cleonice wants to know whether Alceste really loves her or if he is just attracted to the illustriousness of her birth and royal fortune. Alceste, offended by these insinuations, explains what exactly

he loves in her:

Così bassi pensieri
 credi in Alceste? O con i dubbi tuoi
 rimproverar mi vuoi
 le paterne capanne? Io fra le selve,
 ove nacqui, ove crebbi,
 o lascai questi sensi, o mai non gli ebbi,
 In Cleonice adoro
 quella beltà, che non soggiace al giro
 di fortuna e d'etade: amo il suo core;
 amo l'anima bella,
 che, adorna di se stessa
 e delle sue virtù, rende allo scettro
 ed al serto real co' pregi sui
 luce maggior, che non ottien da lui.

(II. 12. l. 364-377)

He begins the speech by asking Cleonice if she believes Alceste to be guilty of baseness or if she intends to reproach him for his rural upbringing. He then admits leaving behind or having never had thoughts of being born and brought up in the woods. He tells Cleonice that he adores a form of beauty in her which is not liable to changes of fortune and time. He loves her heart, her beautiful soul, which, adorned by itself and its virtues, illuminates the sceptre and crown with its merits. In Weiskern's translation, Alceste's speech is unclear, however, if the reader is not previously acquainted with the original. Contrary to the form of Alceste's speech as expressed in the original, Weiskern has Alceste list first what it is he loves in Cleonice, and only in the last line does he let Alceste specify that such are the qualities which he adores in her. Alceste's speech begins with an inaccurate rendering of the original:

Nein, Königin! So schwach ist dein Alcestes nicht.
 Nicht iener eitle Schein, der nur das Aug entzücket,
 Die Zeit und Jahren trotz, den Abfall nie erlangt,
 Der Gottheit ähnlich ist, mehr als der Purpur prangt,
 Die Tugend nur allein, die dich so herrlich zieret,
 Daß selbst der stolze Thron dabey die Pracht verlieret,
 Weil ihn den wahren Glanz nur die Regentin giebt,
 Daß ist es, Königin! Was dein Alcestes liebt.

(II. 12. p. 140)

The first six lines of the original are completely omitted by Weiskern who merely lets

Alceste state that he is not as "*schwach*" as Cleonice thinks. This first line is certainly an unsuccessful attempt to translate the question: "*Così bassi pensieri / credi in Alceste?*" which asks Cleonice whether she believes Alceste to have such vile thoughts. Weiskern also expands the original by placing more emphasis on that which attracts him to Cleonice. Some images from the Italian are omitted and new ones are added. Conjunctions which are not in the Italian are present in Weiskern's translation. The antiquated, pseudopetrical *et*-forms are also repeatedly used not only in this particular passage just quoted, but throughout the drama as well. It is obvious that Weiskern modifies the original in order to accommodate it to his intended rhymes.

Metaphors

Metaphorical expressions are either changed, added, omitted or rendered incorrectly by Weiskern. The example from act two, scene seven illustrating the queen's resentment for Olinto's rash behaviour, discussed above, is representative of a metaphor which is added in Weiskern's translation. Another instance in which a metaphor from the original is improperly translated occurs in act two, scene two, when Cleonice explains to Barsene that she cannot marry a man whom she doesn't love and that Alceste would suffer immensely if he should find her in the arms of another spouse. Cleonice specifies that she would read on Alceste's face his suffering, his agitation, his jealousy, his anguish, all of his hidden thoughts and all the feelings of his heart, if Alceste should find her unfaithful. In the Italian version, Cleonice expresses this idea as follows:

Le sue giuste querele,
Le smanie sue, le gelosie, gli affanni,
ogni pensier sepolto
tutto il suo cor gli leggerei nel volto.
(I. 2. l. 142-145)

Weiskern, on the other hand, has Cleonice render these thoughts in a very different

manner:

Die Eifersucht, die Quaal, das kläglich Thun, die Schmerzen,
Die Stirne, zeigten mir das Bild von seinem Herzen.
(I. 2. p. 93)

Many reasons could account for this inaccurate translation. Weiskern probably did not understand the Italian expression and therefore could not translate the lines correctly; or the original was quite clear to him, but he could not find the appropriate expression in German; or, finally, because he wanted to use the cliché rhyme "*Schmerzen/Herzen*," he needed to modify the meaning of the original so that it would fit this rhyme. This last explanation is likely the most valid, since Weiskern omits "*ogni pensier sepolto*" (all of his hidden thoughts) in order to respect the metre and to replace it by "*Schmerzen*."

Imagery

With respect to the imagery, there are a few examples of images absent from the original which are inserted by Weiskern. This amplification of the imagery agrees with Weiskern's more flowery style. Weiskern adds more images to the speeches and the monologues in order to lengthen them, since Metastasio's recitatives, being subject to the demands of the music, are more concise.

Wordier Speeches

Because Weiskern tends to amplify the original speeches, he often creates wordier, long-winded passages. This next example serves to illustrate further the change in the expansion of speeches. In act two, scene twelve, Cleonice tries to explain to Alceste her duties and responsibilities as queen and admits that she cannot allow a shepherd to rule the kingdom, for this would agitate all the aspirants to the crown. In order to avoid this disorder, she must ask Alceste to leave her. In the

Italian version, Cleonice expresses this intention succinctly:

Chiedo molto di più. Convien lasciarmi.

(II. 12. l. 387)

In Weiskern's translation, Cleonice's request is more elaborate:

Dahin zielt nicht mein Zweck; Was ich von dir begehrt
Trifft nicht die tapfre Faust; Nein, ich verlange mehr,
Ich will du sollst hinforth mein Antlitz gänzlich meiden,
Aus diesen Gränzen gehen, zu fremden Völkern scheiden.

(II. 12. p. 141)

Here Weiskern requires four lines to render Cleonice's thought which is formulated in just one line by Metastasio. With the use of images, such as "*tapfre Faust*," "*Antlitz*," "*fremden Völkern*," Weiskern extends the original statement, but produces a more verbose speech. One possible reason for this expansion is perhaps the absence of the music. Brevity is permitted in the Italian version, since it is intended for opera and therefore requires shorter speeches, but in a *Schauspiel* amplification is necessary. Another possible explanation could be the fact that Weiskern was required to suit the interests of his audience and reader at the time. Since the eighteenth-century theatre-goers were attracted to dramas in which the amorous motif prevailed, the translator tended to lengthen and elaborate exchanges of dialogues between two loved ones or speeches or monologues containing the romantic element, and therefore respected the taste of his audience. In spite of the meagre reading abilities of the overall population of eighteenth-century Germany, the publication history of this drama illustrates both its demand and popularity and leads one to conclude that it catered mainly to the educated reader.

More Exaggerated Speeches

Not only are some speeches wordier, they are often more exaggerated than the original. Cleonice's harsh order that Alceste must not see her any longer tortures

Alceste to the point that he wants to die. In act two, scene six Fenicio describes the physical state of Alceste after having been forbidden to see the queen:

Per Alceste. Io l'incontrai.
pallido, semivivo, e per l'affanno
quasi fuori di sé. La dura legge
di più non rivederti
è un colpo tal, che gli trafigge il core,
che la ragion gli toglie,
che lo porta a morir. Freme, sospira,
prega, minaccia; e fra le smanie e 'l pianto
sol di te si ricorda,
il tuo nome ripete ad ogni passo:
farebbe il suo dolor pietade ad un sasso.

(II. 6. 1. 182-193)

In Weiskern's translation Fenicio's description of Alceste's physical condition is intensified:

Für den Alcest; Was hat er dir gethan?
Ich traf ihn ganz erblaßt, und kaum lebend noch an;
Es läßt der matte Fuß ihn nicht mehr aufrecht stehen,
Das grausame Gebot: dich ferner nicht zu sehen,
Ist ein geschärfter Blitz, der ihm die Sinnen nimmt,
Und Brust und Herz durchdringt; bleibt der Befehl bestimmt,
Wird der gekränkte Geist sich von dem Körper trennen.
Er seufzet, bittet, droht; Man kann ihn kaum mehr kennen,
Weil von den Wangen schon die holde Röthe weicht;
Die Augen sind erstarrt, die Lippen schon erbleicht,
Der halberstorbene Mund läßt durch gebrochenes Lallen
Mit Seufzen sonst kein Wort, als: Cleonice! schallen.
Kein Felsen ist so fest, den nicht sein Thränen-Guß,
Und Jammer-voller Stand zuletzt erweichen muß.

(II. 6. p. 132)

Weiskern exaggerates Alceste's misery by describing the state of his lips, cheeks and mouth which is absent in the original. This aggravated depiction of Alceste's condition causes the reader to take even more pity on Alceste. Weiskern most likely expands this description for similar reasons as the example just previously considered, that is, to lengthen the speech in compensation for the lack of music, but also to accentuate the sorrow of the reader or eventually the spectator. This expansion also reflects on contemporary tastes among German theatre-goers.

Another example of exaggerated speech occurs in act two, scene three, when Mitrane tells Olinto that every pleasure desired is greater than the one obtained, and that ruling is demanding and often laborious. In the Italian version Mitrane expresses these thoughts in the following manner:

L'uso d'un bene
ne scema il senso. Ogni piacer sperato
è maggior che ottenuto. Or non comprendi
di qual peso è il diadema, e quanto studio
costi l'arte del regno.

(II. 3. 1. 81-84)

Weiskern exaggerates the original by having Mitrane state that disgust often overcomes pleasure:

Ein schon besessenes Gut vermindert unsre Lust,
Die Lust ist nicht so groß, wenn sie uns ist bewußt,
Und den Genuß pflegt oft der Eckel zu besiegen;
Dir ist noch unbekannt, wie vieles Unvergnügen
So Cron als Zepter giebt; wie hart der Purpur drückt;
Wie schwer sich Hand und Haupt zur Kunst der Herrschung
schickt.
(II. 3. p. 125)

This speech is not only exaggerated, it also contains images and ideas which are not present in the original. Metastasio's Mitrane does not say that the crown and sceptre often make one unhappy, but that much hard work is involved. Mitrane's speech is much more negative and it completely misinterprets the original.

Character Depiction

The character depiction of figures such as Barsene, as well as Olinto and his relationship with his father Fenicio, is slightly changed by Weiskern. Barsene is portrayed as a stronger character in Weiskern's translation. Her suggestions to Cleonice in act one that she should avoid Alceste's presence as much as possible, and in act two her desire to help Cleonice continue to triumph over her affections, are even more emphasized in the German translation. Thus Barsene's hidden intentions to keep

Alceste for herself are stressed to a greater extent than the original. Another character who is portrayed in a more negative light in Weiskern's translation is the boastful and quarrelsome figure of Olinto. In act two, scene eight Fenicio asks his son why he should always give his father reason to shame him: *"Wird sich der Vater stets des Sohnes müssen schämen"* (II. 8. p. 136). Weiskern inserts this remark into Fenicio's speech so as to place greater emphasis on Olinto's despicable behaviour. Furthermore, in order to stress the distant relationship between Fenicio and his son Olinto, Mitrane's speech in act one, scene five which states that he (Mitrane) now understands the reason for Fenicio's concern for Alceste (*"Or la ragion comprendo / del tuo zelo per lui"*, I. 5. l. 226-227) is elaborated and rendered thus: *"Anietzt begreif ich die Ursach iener Sorgen, / Die du mehr auf dies Kind, als deinen Sohn gewandt"* (I. 5. p. 98-99). This insertion places emphasis on Fenicio's solicitude more for Alceste than his actual son and accentuates further the negative portrayal of Olinto.

Stage Directions

Weiskern disregards the important dramatic device of stage directions for recitation. Two types of stage directions can be distinguished: stage directions for recitation and stage directions for facilitating the comprehension of the text. The first type is intended for essential movements of the actors: getting up, sitting down, stopping, turning back, retreating; or certain gestures necessary for the development of the action: looking behind the scenes, detaining someone who is about to leave, contemplating before leaving, taking someone's hand. Other stage directions for recitation clarify the protagonist's frame of mind and are used to express fear, force, disdain, irony and impatience. Particular emphasis is given to certain gestures which scan the dramatic movements of the scene: kneeling down, breaking out in tears, throwing or drawing a sword. The second category of stage directions facilitates the understanding of the text by specifying the asides, words which are pronounced softly

or in secret, unobserved, interrupted, or simulated reactions. Metastasio is particularly interested in the stage directions, in the gestures which visibly translate the protagonists' agitation. His main concern is to explain the movements and gestures which are implicit in the text. Because the stage dynamic of Metastasio's text alternates between movements in which the characters recite standing and the ones in which they are sitting down, it is important to include such stage directions in the translation as well. Both Bosch's dissertation and Nagler's essay on Metastasio as stage director of his own works include Metastasio's directions for two scenes of *Demetrio* in which, according to Metastasio, the grouping of the characters should be explained. The two important scenes for which Metastasio takes pains to clarify are the port scene (act one, scene seven), when Cleonice meets with Alceste, and the scene of the chairs between Cleonice and Alceste (act two, scene twelve).⁹ Because incidental music was used for the 1731 representation of *Demetrio*, Metastasio saw the necessity of commenting on the seating accommodations of the port scene. For the scene of the chairs, Metastasio specifies at which lines Cleonice and Alceste are supposed to sit down or stand up and when Cleonice should begin to cry.

In his dissertation Bosch points out the dramatic importance of associating precisely the stage directions to single lines or words. He remarks:

Hier legt er [Metastasio] also besonderen Wert auf eine ganz genaue Beachtung seiner Anweisungen, um die nötige Spannung durch eine entsprechende Art des Ausdruckes und der Bewegungen zu unterstreichen und womöglich noch zu steigern, aber andererseits durch ein Zuviel an Ausdruck, so gut das auch gemeint sein mag, nicht die Stimmung und Dramatik zu zerreißen.¹⁰

⁹ For a close look at Metastasio's stage directions for *Demetrio*, see his letter to Marianna Bulgarelli dated January 12, 1732

Although Weiskern makes a few changes and additions to Metastasio's stage directions for recitation, he generally omits a very large portion of them (a total of fifty omissions, excluding the exits). Even some stage directions which Metastasio takes care to clarify are completely left out by Weiskern. For example, in act two, scene twelve both Cleonice and Alceste are supposed to sit after the lines *"Io gelo e tremo. / Io mi consolo e spero"*; Cleonice should sit at *"Deh non partir ancor"* (a stage direction which is not even specified in Caldara's libretto); both should sit at *"Non condannarmi ancor. M'ascolta e siedì"*; Cleonice should cry at *"Va: cediamo al destin"* (also not present in Caldara's libretto); Cleonice is not able to talk any longer, but cries intermittently at *"Anima mia"* (also not included by Caldara); Alceste should stand up and kneel down at *"Perdono, anima bella, oh Dio perdono"*; both finally stand up at *"Sorgi, parti, s'è vero / ch'ami la mia virtù"* (excluded by Caldara as well).¹¹ In his essay, Nagler interestingly notes that only the Parisian edition of Metastasio's works (1780-82), printed in eleven volumes in Paris by the Veuve Hérissant, rightfully respects Metastasio's directions for his works.¹² Furthermore, because of the change in scene division which occurs in act three, scenes seven and eight, the stage directions indicated at the top of act three, scene eight in the Italian version are included at the

¹⁰ Horst Bosch, "Die Aufführungen des Abate Pietro Metastasio am Wiener Kaiserhof nach Zeugnissen aus seinen Briefen," diss., Universität Wien, 1968, 19-20.

¹¹ Metastasio's stage directions for act two, scene twelve are specified in his letter to Marianna Bulgarelli written January 12, 1732.

¹² See Alois Nagler, "Metastasio - der Hofdichter als Regisseur," *Maske und Kothurn* 7 (1961): 279. In his study Nagler states.

Die Bühnenanweisungen, wie sie sich in der vom Dichter überwachten Pariser Ausgabe (1780 - 82) seiner Texte finden, sind demnach ein ziemlich getreuer Spiegel der von Metastasio eingehaltenen Aufführungspraxis. Die Anweisungen sind äußerst knapp und fordern körperliche Bewegungen oder emotionelle Schattierungen. Der Librettist hat festgelegt, wann sich eine Person zu setzen hat, wann sie aufstehen soll, wann sie wiederkniet oder den Thron besteigt, wann sich zwei Personen umarmen sollen, wann der Degen zu ziehen ist, usw. An den Komponisten und Sänger wenden sich Ausdrucksbezeichnungen wie 'con disprezzo', 'con ironia sdegnosa', 'risoluto', 'con affanno d'allegrezza', 'uscendo impetuoso'.

beginning of act three, scene seven in Weiskern's translation. Unlike the original, Weiskern does not specify the exits for the entire drama. This omission creates confusion, since the reader is always uncertain when each character leaves a particular scene. The surprising number of stage directions for recitation omitted by Weiskern could indicate that either Weiskern was not in close contact with the stage director of the *Demetrius* performance or that most of the stage directions mentioned in the actor's script did not appear in the published versions. This serves as clear warning to modern readers of eighteenth-century dramatic texts: what was published and what we can still read, by no means reveals the entire picture of actual contemporary performance.

The other type of stage direction, whose purpose is to facilitate the reader's or audience's comprehension of the text, takes the form of an aside. Although the aside is insignificant in reading, it is essential in performance, since it reveals the private thoughts of the characters to the audience, thus building dramatic tension. A statistical analysis of the number of asides found in the original in comparison to the ones present in Weiskern's translation shows that Metastasio inserted a total of forty asides, twenty-one in the first act, thirteen in the second and six in the last, and Weiskern included a sum of forty-four, twenty-two in act one, eighteen in act two and four in act three. Eight asides from the original are omitted by Weiskern, nine new ones are added and twelve asides are different from the original. The fact that Weiskern's translation contains more asides than the original indicates his intention to lengthen the dramatic suspense of the action and also to heighten the work's dramatic dimensions in the absence of the music. For example, since at the end of act two all the events should reach their climax, Weiskern prolongs the process by adding speeches and by inserting four extra asides.

Changes in Ideas Expressed: Their Functions and/or Possible Reasons for such Changes

A final category to be considered here consists of the changes in the ideas expressed. Very often the main idea from some speeches of Weiskern's translation is substantially different from the idea originally expressed by Metastasio. Olinto's speech in act two, scene three provides an example of such a change. In this scene Olinto informs Mitrane that he anticipates the satisfaction of possessing the sceptre, and that the pleasure of ruling will certainly bring him happiness. Mitrane, whose speeches are a contraction of stoic moral, warns Olinto that reigning can be burdensome, and if he is discontent as a private citizen, he will also be unhappy as a sovereign. Olinto maintains that ruling in itself trains one how to rule. Mitrane agrees with Olinto, but also acknowledges that one always learns through one's mistakes and the slightest error is enhanced when committed by a king. Olinto cannot understand Mitrane's doctrine, since he has been taught only to handle the sword and spear and does not know how to examine human passions. Olinto believes that to understand them completely calls for maturity and one's presence at the temples and the porches of Athens. In the Italian version, Olinto expresses this thought as follows:

Tanta dottrina
non intendo, Mitrane. Il brando e l'asta
solo appresi a trattar. Gli affetti umani
investigar non è per me. Bisogna
per massime sì grandi
età più ferma, e frequentar conviene
d'Egitto i tempj, o i portici d'Atene.
(II. 3. 1. 87-94)

Weiskern distorts the main focus of Olinto's speech by giving it another interpretation. He renders Olinto's speech with the following words:

Schweig! Dieser Unterricht will meinen Zorn erregen;
 Die Weißheit, die mich ziert, ist wie mein Arm den Degen
 Und Schild regiert; Wie sonst der Menschen Eigenschaft,
 Wie sein verborgner Trieb und inn're Neigungs-Kraft
 Beschaffen, rührt mich nicht; wer dieses will erfahren,
 Muß seine Lebenszeit der Wissenschaften spahren,
 Und viele Jahre lang nach Memphis und Athen
 In die berühmte Schule der Sittenlehrer gehn.

(II. 3. p. 126)

These two speeches certainly express two different ideas. First Metastasio does not have Olinto say that Mitrane's teaching provokes his anger: "*Dieser Unterricht will meinen Zorn erregen*," but that Mitrane's teaching is beyond his understanding. Unlike the original, Weiskern continues the speech by comparing Olinto's wisdom to the way in which he manipulates the sword and spear. In the Italian version, Olinto then states that he is incapable of examining human affections: "*Gli affetti umani / investigar non è per me*." This idea is translated very wordily in German: "*Wie sonst der Menschen Eigenschaft, / Wie sein verborgner Trieb und inn're Neigungs-Kraft / Beschaffen, rührt mich nicht*." Olinto's final statement regarding the fact that one needs to be mature in order to fully understand "*gli affetti umani*," is incorrectly translated by Weiskern, for he has Olinto say that whoever wishes to learn more about "*der Menschen Eigenschaft*," "*sein verborgner Trieb und inn're Neigungs-Kraft*" should spend one's lifetime studying the sciences. Therefore, Weiskern interprets the original in his own way, adds new thoughts to it and also expands the ideas found there. The fact that Weiskern expresses these ideas in the original quite differently in his translation could lead one to assume that either he did not fully understand the Italian language or he gave priority to the rhyme even at the expense of inaccurately rendering the meaning of the original version.

Barsene's monologue in act one, scene fifteen illustrates another instance in which Weiskern interprets the original differently. In her monologue, Barsene expresses her skepticism with respect to winning Alceste's love. She decides not to despair, and will let patience and time conquer him: "*Ma pur chi sa; la tolleranza, il tempo / forse lo*

vincerà" (I. 15. l. 654-655). In Weiskern's version, Barsene does not submit to patience and time, but she intends to find a way to slowly win Alceste's heart: *"Ich werd ein Mittel finden, / Ihn durch Gedult und Zeit zu überwinden"* (I. 15. p. 120). This change in meaning increases the suspense, for it lets the reader wonder how she plans to attain her goal. This example also indicates that Weiskern adapts the original in order to add more action and tension to the drama.

The differences found in Weiskern's translation indicate that this translator modified the original to suit his needs and to respond to the expectations of the reader and/or audience at the time. Weiskern's verse form renders his text quite readable; nevertheless many speeches are inaccurately and awkwardly expressed to the point that they are often not well-understood, if one is not already familiar with the original. The translator disregards the meaning, the expression, the language and the syntax on account of the rhyme in the poetry. Weiskern expands the speeches, elaborates the images, increases the number of asides and thus prolongs the scenes in order to accommodate the drama to a different genre designation. As illustrated in the comparison, certain insertions serve to intensify the dramatic suspense of the action, but the change in scene division in act three diminishes it. Weiskern attempts to respect the poetic qualities of Metastasio's *Demetrio* by attaching the content of some arias to the end of the speeches and monologues of the characters. Hiller's reproaches are indeed applicable to Weiskern's translation, since his main fault lies in his excessive concern for the rhyme even at the expense of the meaning, the expression, and the syntax. Furthermore, Weiskern uses conjunctions even when they are not present in the original and his poetry does not imitate Metastasio's pattern.

**General Comparison of the Original Caldara Setting of *Demetrio* and Weiskern's
Dramatic *Demetrius* Rendition with Three Other *Demetrius* Translations
(Salzburg, 1756; Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1769; Wittenberg, 1791)**

A more general comparison of the original and Weiskern's version with the three remaining translations will now be undertaken. These are: Johann Andreas Schachtner's *Demetrius* published in Salzburg 1756?¹³ ; Johann Anton Koch's *Demetrius* published in the first volume of his collected work in Frankfurt and Leipzig 1769; and Johann Friedrich Bramigk's *Demetrius* which appeared in Wittenberg 1791.

Although each translation is called a "*Schauspiel*," only Bramigk, like Weiskern, respects the genre designation by removing the arias and the chorus. Schachtner and Koch include the chorus and the arias in rhymed verse, and Koch even retains the *Licenza*.

Bramigk and Koch render the original in prose, but Schachtner decides to adopt rhymed verse and tries to approximate the pattern of the original by diversifying the verse structure from three, to four, to six stressed syllables, and consequently makes similar mistakes as Weiskern on account of the rhyme. Because the speeches in Koch's version are, for the most part, translated literally and occur in the same order, his translation is closer to the original in terms of content, but it neglects melodic expression and fails to render certain expressions accurately. Bramigk attempts to render something of the mood of the original, though he deals freely with the meaning.

Both Bramigk and Schachtner's renditions reproduce passages from Weiskern's translation. Bramigk either paraphrases certain speeches or expands them by adding the necessary words which serve to communicate the ideas in prose. Bramigk makes the same types of additions and omissions as Weiskern. The role changes, the entrance

¹³ See footnote 1 of this chapter

sequence and the modifications in scene division in act three, scenes seven and eight of Bramigk's version are identical to the ones found in Weiskern's version. Schachtner, on the other hand, does not alter the scene division, but, like Weiskern, effects one less significant role change in act one, scene eight. The entrance sequence differs slightly from the original and Weiskern. Furthermore, portions of some speeches from Weiskern's translation are borrowed, paraphrased or sometimes even condensed by Schachtner. The expansions and omissions in Weiskern's version, however, are absent in Schachtner's translation.

As regards the dramatic elements, Schachtner overlooks both the stage directions for recitation and the stage directions for facilitating the comprehension of the text. A good number of significant asides in act one (eight) and two (three) of Metastasio's drama are transformed into ordinary speeches in Schachtner's rendition. This glaring omission decreases the dramatic effectiveness, since the true motives and thoughts which are usually spoken in an undertone and directed only to the audience are also revealed to other characters on stage in Schachtner's rendition. Contrary to Metastasio, Bramigk inserts new stage directions for recitation which indicate essential movements of the characters and others which specify their style of delivery. The latter are common throughout Bramigk's translation and are normally inserted before a character's speech. A few examples of these are: *"erschrocken," "spöttisch," "hitzig," "heftig," "ängstlich," "mit Schmerz," mit Affect," "gebeterisch," "mit männlichem Stolz"* and so on. Therefore, Bramigk indicates exactly how he wants anything to be said and done. Since these stage directions are primarily intended for the actors, these additions reveal that this text was used for performance. Furthermore, Bramigk includes most of the asides from the original and introduces two additional ones. Koch retains all of Metastasio's stage directions for recitation and leaves out one aside in the last act which can be considered either a printing error or a distraction of the translator.

Suitability of *Demetrius* Translations for Performance

Among the three translations discussed above, Bramigk's is the most suitable for performance because of the great importance placed on stage directions. Bramigk undertakes a free translation of *Demetrius* by imparting it with his individual style. On the title page of Bramigk's version the subtitle specifies: "*Nach der Poesie des Metastasio aufs neue bearbeitet von J.E.B.*" This indicates that his rendition is more of an adaptation than a translation. An eighteenth-century criticism levelled by the *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung* attacks Bramigk's rendition by pointing out grammatical errors, inverted word order and dull inappropriate expressions. It states:

Diese Bearbeitung ist sehr ängstlich und steif. So einfach und schön Metastasios Plan und Charaktere sind, so mittelmäßig ist diese - fast sklaverische Übersetzung. In dem Dialoge herrscht bey den wärmsten, empfindungsvollesten Stellen eine beleidigende Kälte; der Ausdruck ist durchaus matt, oft fehlerhaft, und oft scheint er entlehnt aus den Zeiten der Banise, der häufigen Inversionen nicht zu gedenken. Folgende Stellen mögen zu Beweisen unserer Behauptung dienen: 'Umsonst würde es jeder fremden Hand seyn, andre Empfindungen meiner Brust einzupflanzen. Meiner Sinnen (Sinne); Wer höhern (höhere) Wissenschaften lernen will. - Ich wollte dich etwas von ihn (ihm) fragen. - Zürne dich satt, etc.'¹⁴

Despite the inaccurate and at times incorrect rendering of the original, Bramigk's version still remains very suitable for performance. This translator conforms to the genre designation, since he tends to expand many speeches in order to compensate for the absence of the music and thus produces the longest rendition of the original.

¹⁴ Rev. of Wittenberg, Kuhne *Demetrius, ein Schauspiel in drey Aufzügen, nach der Poesie des Metastasio aufs neue bearbeitet von J E B 1791, Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung*, 136 1795: co. 327-.

Because Koch's translation is part of a collected work, it should mainly be regarded as a reading text. Schachtner's translation is also inappropriate for the stage because the arias and the chorus are included and therefore it could not be performed as a *Schauspiel*. His nonobservance of stage directions serves to indicate that it is unlikely that this text was used for performance.

CONCLUSION

The German dramatic rendition of Metastasio's *Demetrius* proved to be very popular among spectators and readers in German-speaking territory and further it exemplified the possibility of easily transforming Metastasio's librettos into dramatic works. The critical secondary literature highlights the enormous popularity of Metastasio's works as operas. It fails to investigate, however, the added dimension of the poet's grandeur, namely the dramatic element in Metastasio's work. A close scrutiny of Viennese performance records of *Demetrius* as drama revealed that five productions were staged there, each of which consisted of several performances and various restagings. Not only was this drama popular in the Viennese court milieu, it also aroused the interest of other German stages, such as those in Cologne and Wittenberg and thus attracted a more universal audience. Performances of other metastasian dramas as *Schauspiele* or *Tragödien* lead one to conclude that Metastasio's texts had their own independent literary validity before serving the music. Because the musical settings and translations of his works tended to distort the simplicity, elegance, grace and strength of his poetry, Metastasio himself maintained that the spectators would enjoy his dramas much more if they were performed without the music: "*I miei drammi in tutta l'Italia, per quotidiana esperienza, sono di gran lunga più sicuri del pubblico favore recitati da' comici che cantati da' musici.*"¹

Among the ten publications of the German dramatic rendition of *Demetrius*, six appeared in Vienna and the remaining ones in Leipzig, Wittenberg and Jena. These results indicate that German translations were indeed required by Germans and Austrians during the eighteenth century, since not one dramatic version of *Demetrius* in its original language was printed. Therefore, Hans Kramer's claims that the Italian

¹ See letter to Francesco Giovanni Chastellux, dated July 15, 1765.

language was no obstacle to the Viennese court milieu must be rectified, for the various translations of *Demetrius* attest to the need for German translations in Vienna and other German-speaking centres. The eighteenth-century publications of other metastasian works as dramas in Vienna and across Germany further illustrate the popular demand for translations and the fact that they satisfied the taste of Metastasio's contemporaries. Furthermore, the publication of seven editions of Metastasio's collected works in German by 1800 also shows the need for issuing translated texts at the time. In addition, the statistical analysis of eighteenth-century publications of Metastasio's individual and collected works in German-speaking centres provided in the thesis corrects Meyer's assumption that the works of most French and Italian authors including Metastasio published in their original language in Germany exceed by far their corresponding translations. The fact that several German publications of Metastasio's collected works appeared in German-speaking territory shows the interest of German translators at the time to transmit to their own nation the particular character and flavour of foreign originals.

The problem of fidelity to the original is explored through the example of *Demetrius*. The various renditions of this work reveal that a general accuracy is aimed at, rather than complete fidelity of rendering. Although Weiskern and Schachtner's versions are pleasant to read, their inclination to rhymed verse produces frequent divergences in content consisting of omissions, alterations and in certain instances an imprecise rendering of the meaning of the original. Bramigk's rendition in prose is perhaps most suitable for performance, but it also deviates in both form and poetic content from the original. Koch's translation is closest to the original, though the prose rendition has the tendency to drag on and some expressions are incorrectly rendered. Nevertheless, Koch tries to be reasonably faithful to the content of the original, for he reproduces the ideas and the meaning of most speeches and avoids omissions, additions and alterations.

Regarding the source/s which each translator used, the following conclusions can be drawn: Schachtner most probably based his *Demetrius* translation on both Metastasio's original set to music by Caldara and Weiskern's version; Koch used only Metastasio's original; and Bramigk's source was indisputably Weiskern's rendition. An examination of *Demetrio* librettos, such as the ones published in Wolfenbüttel (1734), Dresden (1740), and Vienna (1744, 1748) reveals that Weiskern very likely based his *Demetrius* translation on the original Caldara version, since all the librettos listed above, with the exception of the one published in Dresden (1740), which is very similar to Caldara's, aside from a few modifications in the arias, are altered or abbreviated. Seeing that the opera could be exceedingly long and was sometimes found tedious if the complete text was set to music, the impresario or the composer usually decided to cut some sections of recitative. Because passages were deleted, the scenes were automatically shortened. Weiskern, on the other hand, extends the original by elaborating on certain speeches or monologues. If he deletes a few passages, he counterbalances these omissions with additions of others. Therefore, the *Demetrio* libretto published in Dresden (1740) and set to music by Hasse could very well be Weiskern's source, but since the libretto set by Caldara is the first Viennese version, Weiskern most likely based his drama on this first libretto, for his *Demetrius* translation was published in the same city.

The thesis has sought to demonstrate Metastasio's fame not only as librettist but also as dramatist in eighteenth-century German-speaking territory. The performances and publications of *Demetrius* and other major pieces as dramatic works is an indication of their dramatic merit even when unadorned by music. Furthermore, the comparisons of the dramatic renditions of *Demetrius* with the original evidenced the possibility of easily adapting Metastasio's librettos to become *Schauspiele*.

This study can be considered an extension of Hiller's groundwork and a step

toward more detailed, exhaustive studies on Metastasio's importance and popularity as both librettist and dramatist in German-speaking centres during the eighteenth century.

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