

**Franz Lehár: Aspects of his life
with a critical survey of his operettas
and the work of his Jewish librettists.**

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Lehár and the stage - Experiments and revisions

1906 - 1914

There was no immediate attempt on Lehár's part to match the quality or style of *Die lustige Witwe*. Instead of continuing to collaborate with older established librettists he decided to try a partnership with two young writers whose theatrical experience and affinities lay with much lighter forms of entertainment - cabaret and musical comedy.

Robert Bodanzky (1879 - 1923) was a poet and actor. He had played the minor part of Pritschisch in *Die lustige Witwe* - a role originally created by another librettist, Julius Brammer. He was the younger brother of Artur Bodanzky (1877 - 1939), a future musical director at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. He was married to Malvina Goldschmied, a cousin of Arnold Schoenberg. [1]

Franz Friedrich Grünbaum (1880 - 1940), more usually known as Fritz Grünbaum, had apparently no family connection with either theatre or music. He was born in Brno, where his father was an art dealer. On leaving school Fritz went to the University of Vienna to study law. [2] Prospects of a career in law were evidently abandoned fairly quickly for in

[1] Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London, 2000), pp. 28-29.

[2] Paul Emödi (ed), *Wer ist wer: Lexikon österreichischer Zeitgenossen* (Vienna, 1937).

1906 Grünbaum made his debut as a song-and-dance man at Die Hölle, a cabaret theatre in the basement of the Theater an der Wien. This little theatre, accommodating an audience of only one hundred, was opened on 6 October 1906 under the management of the brothers Leopold Natzler (1860 – 1926) and Siegmund Natzler (1865 – 1913). [3]

1906 was the year of the first Bodanzky/Grünbaum work for Lehár. *Peter und Paul reisen ins Schlaraffenland*, later known as *Peter und Paul im Schlaraffenland*, is unique in the Lehár corpus of stage works in that it was written for children. Constructed as a prologue followed by five tableaux this ‘Kinderoperette’ has much of the character of a Victorian pantomime with a moralizing story and a final transformation (‘Schlussapotheose’) when the fantasy world of ‘Schlaraffenland’ is turned into a domestic Christmas scene.

The prologue introduces Laborosa, the good fairy of hard work, extolling the virtues which she represents and criticising the spirit of laziness, Schlendrianus, who has such a hold on two apprentice shoemakers, the eponymous Peter and Paul. The dialogue is in rhyming couplets, and lyrics have a folksong quality sometimes naively overly dependent on onomatopoeic rhythmic fillers (“klopf klopf klopf”, “sum sum sum”, “hopla hopla hopsa sa”, etc.).

The musical construction is that of a simple ‘Nummeroper’, similar to the

[3] Siegmund Natzler created the role of Baron Zeta in *Die lustige Witwe*.

English ballad opera, in which short songs are presented with none of the subtle musical development or thematic inter-relationship that was so apparent in *Die lustige Witwe*. The expected dance forms are there, but with colourful titles - 'Bauernwalzer', 'Mohnblumenwalzer', 'Ferkel-Tanz', 'Lebkuchen-Polka' and 'Akrobaten-Galopp'. There is a rhythmic echo, probably quite coincidental, of music from *Die lustige Witwe* in the final song (no. 13, 'Ein Sternlein ist gekommen') where the metre of the opening line so closely matches the metre of lines from Camille's romanza that the rhythmic similarity in the music is almost inevitable.

Simple though the structures may be, there is no diminution in the quality of Lehár's melody writing. The work as a whole may not have had the quality or universal appeal of Humperdinck's *Hansel und Gretel*, but it had sufficient merit to remain popular as a Christmas entertainment for children in Austria and Germany.

Their next collaboration had a deliberate link with *Die lustige Witwe*. *Mitislav, der Moderne* is more burlesque than operetta. A playboy prince, Mitislav, rejecting the royal tradition of marrying a bride he has never seen, has decided that he may as well marry Tina, the mature wife of his chancellor, Count Jerzabinka. When Princess Amaranth, Mitislav's intended, arrives for a state visit, she is persuaded to pretend to be Tina, and an inevitable farce of mistaken identities ensues.

In the character of Mitislav the authors clearly intended to lampoon

Danilo, for this modern prince has as his entourage a bevy of cancan dancers, none other than the grisettes from *Die lustige Witwe*. The casting of Louis Treumann, the original Danilo, in the part of Mitislaw served to underline the theatrical in-joke. For his part Lehár avoided any musical references to *Die lustige Witwe*, writing original music in music-hall or novelty song style. This brash one-act comedy, dependent for its entertainment value on farce and (to some degree) the exposure of female flesh, was first staged on 5 January 1907 at Die Hölle.

With the continuing success of *Die lustige Witwe* there was no great urgency for Lehár to compose another full-length work. When he did so he (perhaps surprisingly) chose to collaborate again with the librettist of *Die Juxheirat*. Bauer's latest work, *Der Mann mit den drei Frauen*, concerned the amorous exploits of a travel courier, Hans Zipser, who has three wives - Lori, a 24-year old blonde in Vienna, Coralie, a 26-year old teacher of deportment in Paris, and the redhead Olivia, a 34-year old hotel owner in London.

Constructed in three acts, each one introducing a new wife, this was a long and cumbersome work with a huge cast of no fewer than 23 named characters. Dialogue was tedious, lyrics banal, and the plot - according to one critic - "rather simple, perhaps even a little thin" ("ziemlich einfach, vielleicht sogar ein wenig dürrtig"). [4]

[4] *Neue freie Presse*, 22 January 1908, p. 11.

Lehár produced a workmanlike score with no overture. The critic of the *Neue freie Presse* felt that Lehár was still seeking an original voice. The lack of anything with the popular appeal of *Die lustige Witwe* was a drawback - "you will look in vain for a 'Vilja' song" ("ein 'Vilja-lied' wird man vergebens suchen"). A relative failure in comparison with Lehár's other works, *Der Mann mit den drei Frauen* was nevertheless tried elsewhere, with a Hungarian version for Budapest, a French version as *Les trois amoureuses*, and an English version which was staged in New York in 1913.

As *Die lustige Witwe* was brought back to the Theater an der Wien by public demand Lehár began work on three operettas. The first was from a libretto by Victor Léon who, working solo, had been adapting a French novel published in 1857, *Le roi des montagnes* by Edmond About (1828 – 1885). The novel tells the story of a German botanist, Hermann Schultz, and his adventures in Greece. Schultz and other guests lodging at the home of Christodulos have been warned not to wander into the countryside for fear of being captured and held to ransom by Hadji Stavros and his brigands. On hearing that the brigands have been captured Schultz joins an expedition with two Englishwomen, Mrs Simons and her daughter Mary-Ann. The news of the brigands' capture had been false, and the three are kidnapped. Much of the novel thereafter deals with their attempts to escape. An eventual rescue for Schultz is effected by a fellow

lodger, John Harris, who has won the love of a Greek girl, Photini, who conveniently proves to be Stavros' daughter.

From this Léon created *Das Fürstenkind*, a libretto with a prologue and two acts. The prologue introduces Photini and Bill (not John) Harris, and begins musically with an off-stage piano trio performed by Photini on piano, Harris on violin and a French botanist, Clerinay, on cello. An over-expansive declaration of Photini's love for Harris takes up much of the initial part of the prologue before the arrival of the 'Prince of Parnes', none other than Hadji Stavros. (The name Hadji, or Hadschi in German spelling, indicates a Muslim who has been to Mecca).

The first act of the operetta shows Stavros in his true colours as a brigand, but at the same time he is romantically drawn towards his kidnap victim, Mary-Ann. News that armed police are nearby leads Mary-Ann to believe that rescue is not far away, but her hopes are dashed as it transpires that the police have all been suborned by Stavros (a plot detail from the novel). Rescue is effected in the second act. That this is not an entirely happy outcome for Mary-Ann and Stavros is expressed in their duet, 'Jung und alt'.

Lehár attempted to write an ambitious score which some critics found unconvincing. The *Neues Wiener Journal* complained of "heavy waves of sound" ("schwere Tonwellen") that flooded through the orchestra, and that when there was a melody it was invariably in a minor key ("Moll - nichts

als Moll!” [5] This was an exaggeration. There was indeed much heavy Romanticism in Lehár’s score, with an abundance of motivic writing, and diminished and augmented harmonies adding to the exotic colour, but there were melodies of lasting appeal such as Mary-Ann’s ‘Schweig, zagendes Herz’ in Act 1. The main fault lay in the length of the operetta. As one critic remarked, “Four hours of operetta melancholy - that really is a bit too much” (“Vier Stunden Operettenmelancholie - das ist doch ein bisschen zu viel”). [6]

For Lehár this was a work of value and importance, the first significant pointer towards a direction that he and his later librettists would take and develop even further. The love of Stavros (a 70-year old man in the novel) for the much younger Mary-Ann introduced a new idea - one of resignation and renunciation. At the end of the operetta, when Harris and Photini are looking forward to a future together, Mary-Ann has the last word when she sings “Ein Traum war’s, der entschwand ...” (“A dream it was that vanished ...”).

The Bodanzky/Grünbaum partnership was dissolved at this time after their three-act operetta for Ziehrer, *Der Liebeswalzer*, was produced at the Raimund-Theater. Grünbaum was to write nothing further for Lehár but would be one of the most prolific librettists of his generation, author of

[5] *Neues Wiener Journal*, 8 October 1909.

[6] *Neue freie Presse*, 8 October 1909, p. 12.

over forty revues and cabaret pieces, lyricist for many popular songs. [7] Bodanzky found a new co-author, Dr Willner. Their first collaboration was an operetta for Felix Albin, *Baron Trenck*, which was produced at the Kaiserjubilaeums-Stadttheater on 29 October 1909. [8]

Alfred Maria Willner (1859 – 1929) was a rarity, perhaps unique, among Lehár's librettists in that he was not a Jew. The choice of second name, Maria, (a usage not uncommon among Austrian and German males - as, for example, Erich Maria Remarque) clearly suggests a Roman Catholic background. A musicologist and composer with a doctorate in law, he had started writing libretti fifteen years earlier, his first being the opera *Das Heimchen am Herd* for Goldmark.

His career as librettist had included work for Johann Strauss. In 1896 in collaboration with Bernhard Buchbinder (1849 – 1922) he produced the libretto for Strauss' last operetta, *Die Göttin der Vernunft*. Beset by problems, not least the composer's health and some serious anxiety about an operetta set in France at the time of Robespierre's terror, the work was doomed from the outset and closed after thirty-six performances.

[7] In 1927 Grünbaum founded the Boulevard Theater. He was arrested by the Nazis in 1938 and died in Dachau on 14 January 1940. On his post-Lehár career see Peter Jelavich, *Berlin cabaret* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1993/1996); also Franz-Peter Kothes, *Die theatralische Revue in Berlin und Wien, 1900-1938: Typen, Inhalte, Funktionen* (Wilhelmshaven, 1977), pp. 109-111.

[8] Anton Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien: Verzeichnis ihrer Erst-aufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz and Cologne, 1955), p. 10.

When Strauss died his heirs agreed to retain only the rights to the music and allow the rights in the libretto to revert to its authors. The heirs commissioned new words from Ferdinand Stollberg for the music. The result was presented as a new work, *Reiche Mädchen*, at the Raimund-Theater in December 1909 with Girardi in a leading role.

The returned libretto was in need of drastic revision, being littered with inappropriate anachronisms (including, for example, a reference to cancan dancers at the time of the French Revolution). Willner and Bodanzky set about the task, updating the setting by turning Revolutionary Paris into a contemporary Bohemian Paris, discarding the original lyrics and reworking elements within the plot. At the same time the two writers worked on another libretto for Lehár, *Zigeunerliebe*.

Lehár had been contracted to provide a new operetta for the Theater an der Wien. His inclination was to offer *Zigeunerliebe*, a work which he felt gave him greater scope for the Romantic expression he had employed in *Das Fürstenkind* with the exotic orchestration of *Die lustige Witwe*.

Karczag wanted none of that heavy Romanticism, and so Lehár was obliged to work on the revised *Die Göttin der Vernunft*, now the story of an impoverished aristocrat, *Der Graf von Luxemburg*.

Lehár sketched out the new operetta from 29 May to 26 June 1909. [9]

[9] According to Ilka Horovitz-Barnay in Stefan Frey, 'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.' *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. and Leipzig, 1999), p. 130.

The work seems to have given Lehár little pleasure for when he delivered it to Karczag's secretary he dismissed it as a 'Schmarren' (a pancake pudding; by inference, trash), saying that "if it isn't a success you have only yourselves to blame." [10]

Der Graf von Luxemburg was a success. Particularly effective for one critic was the orchestration "in which were gathered all the refined devices for tempting and thrilling that are found in erotic operetta and even in verismo opera" ("alle raffinierten Lock- und Reizmittel der erotischen Operette und sogar der veristischen Oper werden aufgeboten.") [11]

Comparisons with *Die lustige Witwe* were inevitable, for here was a raffish leading man (played by Otto Storm) opposite a glamorous leading lady (Anni von Ligeti) in a Parisian setting.

Yet *Der Graf von Luxemburg* as seen in 1909 was a much slimmer version of the operetta presented in more recent years. The standard version now offered for professional performance is based on a Berlin production of 1937. This later version shifted the entrance of the leading character, the Count of Luxembourg, forward from the fourth number to the opening number. [12] In this revision there was greater use of interpolated dances

[10] Otto Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten* (Berlin, 1984), p. 127.

[11] *Neue freie Presse*, 13 November 1909, p. 12.

[12] Andrew Lamb, 'Lehár's 'Count of Luxembourg'', *Musical Times*, January 1983, p. 24.

with an additional polka française and two polka mazurkas, as well as extended playouts to some of the original pieces. In the 1909 version there was no song for Countess Kokosow, the 'dea ex machina' whose arrival provides the happy outcome for the leading couple. In 1937 there was not only a song for her but also an extra trio involving the leading couple and the buffo Prince Basil.

The main differences between the 1909 and 1937 versions seem to be the result of structural changes. In 1909 the Count's 'Trèfle incarnat' (Act 2, no. 12) was more extensive than in the 1937 version (Act 2, no. 14).

There were textual emendations too, apparently nothing more than minor improvements in the vocal score lyrics, and nothing so significant as to suggest Nazi ideological interference.

Musical analysis is compromised to some extent by the lack of an available full score of the 1909 version. The original manuscript was lost. To judge from the 1937 full score the orchestration has nothing especially remarkable to offer - double woodwind, two trumpets, three trombones, percussion, harp and strings with occasional celesta (Act 1, no. 7; Act 2, no. 12) and glockenspiel (Act 2, no. 12).

There was nothing weak in Lehár's melodic writing, and the waltz 'Bist du's, lachendes Glück' was undoubtedly regarded as a worthy successor to its counterpart in *Die lustige Witwe*. There was a formulaic quality to the orchestration of the waltz - with melody provided by first violins doubled

at the octave below by first cellos - but, as in *Die lustige Witwe*, the composer explored ways of using the waltz and other themes for motivic development. That he was not able to pursue this to the extent achieved in *Die lustige Witwe* is perhaps because of limitations in the libretto.

If *Der Graf von Luxemburg* is, in characterisation and setting, the dramatic successor to *Die lustige Witwe*, the musical successor - with its imaginative orchestration, motivic development and folk dance rhythms - has to be *Zigeunerliebe*.

The setting was a town in the borderland of Rumania and Hungary where Zorika, daughter of a local landowner, is to marry Jonel. She encounters a fiddler, the gipsy Jozsi, who feeds her mind with the attractive notion of a life of freedom. Local suspicion maintains that anyone drinking the waters of the nearby river Czerna that day will dream of the future. This she does, and Act 2 is a dream sequence in which she sees Jozsi as an unfaithful bully. In Act 3, awakened by Jonel, she is restored to her true love.

The full score of *Zigeunerliebe* demands more extensive forces than those employed in *Der Graf von Luxemburg*. The instrumentation requires extra tuba, bells, organ, cimbalom and on-stage gipsy band. There are additional sound effects for 'Sturmwind' ('stormy wind') and 'Donner' ('thunder') in Act 1, no. 1. (It should be noted that the publisher's score and prompt book bear two copyright dates, 1908 and 1938, indicating

some sort of later revision). [13]

Lehár employs an overture to introduce his main themes and motifs. Most dominant of all is what may be termed the ‘Zigeunerkind’ theme occupying the first four bars of the overture, a theme which returns when Jozsi sings “Ich bin ein Zigeunerkind, lieb’ und hass wie keiner ...”. This has, as one observer has suggested, more a quality of cliché than genuine motif. [14]

There is a question mark too over the genuineness of Lehár’s Hungarian or gipsy music. However familiar Lehár may have been with the genuine gipsy music of Hungary, what he composed in *Zigeunerliebe* was no reconstruction of an authentic gipsy style but an art music incorporating aspects of the gipsy sound, or at least aspects of what Viennese audiences were prepared to accept as gipsy sound.

This last point would have had the endorsement of Bartók, for in 1931 he wrote:

I should like to state that what people (including Hungarians) call ‘gipsy music’ is not gipsy music but Hungarian music; it is not old folk music but a fairly recent type of Hungarian popular art music composed, practically without exception, by Hungarians of the

[13] The addition of a song and czardas in Act 3, ‘Hör’ ich Cymbal-klänge’ has been noted in Kurt Gänzl and Andrew Lamb, *Gänzl’s book of the musical theatre* (London, 1988), p. 1001.

[14] Christian Glanz, ‘Aspekte des Exotischen in der Wiener Operette am Beispiel der Darstellung Südeuropas’, *Musicologica Austriaca*, vol. IX (Vienna, 1989), p. 88.

upper middle class. But while a Hungarian gentleman may compose music, it is traditionally unbecoming to his social status to perform it 'for money' - only gipsies are supposed to do that. [15]

One of the main characteristics of authentic gipsy music is its flexibility both in rhythmic variety and pulse. This is particularly true of vocal music for "singing in perfect time, like in marches, is too regimented for the Roma", it is too much like "priests singing together" or "Hungarian folk singers on television". [16]

What Lehár strove to capture was an instrumental sound evocative of gipsy music. This he achieved through extensive virtuosic passages for solo violin (Act 1, no. 1; Act 2, no. 12 'Lass dich bezaubern'; etc.) and an on-stage gipsy band (Act 1, no. 3). This was a time when Lehár the orchestrator was allowing his imagination to run riot in his quest for what Schönherr has defined as the composer's 'sound phantasies':

In his endeavours to realize his 'sound phantasies' ('Klangphantasien') Lehár's high points begin with *Das Fürstenkind* and *Der Graf von Luxemburg* and culminate in the operettas *Zigeunerliebe*, *Eva*, *Endlich allein* and *Wo die Lerche singt*. [17]

[15] Béla Bartók, 'Gipsy music or Hungarian music' (1931) in Benjamin Suchoff (ed), *Béla Bartók essays* (London, 1976), p. 206.

[16] Iren Kertesz Wilkinson, 'Gypsy kings', *The singer*, (London), December 1999 / January 2000, p. 19.

[17] Max Schönherr, 'Die Instrumentation bei Lehár', paper presented at the Kongress Franz Lehár at Bad Ischl, 14-16 July 1978 (Baden bei Wien, 1978), p. 10.

In both *Zigeunerliebe* and *Wo die Lerche singt* Lehár makes imaginative use of the cimbalom and the tarogato. The cimbalom, a variety of dulcimer, is still frequently heard in the café bands and taverns in and around Vienna. By tradition a folk instrument, it has been used in art music by Bartók, Kodály and Stravinsky. The tarogato is a double reed woodwind instrument, also of folk origin, though its modern counterpart is akin to the clarinet. [18] Where the authentic tarogato is not available a composer may suggest alternatives, and in *Zigeunerliebe* Lehar specifies the oboe, or clarinet doubled by bassoon, or even a horn as suitable substitutes.

Critics of *Zigeunerliebe* seemed to unite in condemning the operatic pretensions of Lehár's score. The *Neues Wiener Journal* remarked how

With a considerable display of orchestral resources Herr Lehár has made great advances which occasionally get lost in the realms of grand opera. *Zigeunerliebe* gives the impression of a work that had been close to the composer's heart. [19]

The *Neue freie Presse* observed that

Lehár's music intends to be, indeed has to be, Hungarian gipsy music. In those passionate sentimental scenes it seeks to clamber up the steps of the operatic. It is the noisiest operetta music that has been heard in a long time. [20]

[18] Béla Bartók, 'Hungarian art-instruments' (1924) in Suchoff, *Béla Bartók essays*, p. 287.

[19] *Neues Wiener Journal*, 9 January 1910.

[20] *Neue freie Presse*, 9 January 1910.

Perhaps Lehár may have wanted to experiment further with operatic composition at this time. It appears that he had plans for a one-act opera of some sort. Willner prepared a libretto with the title *Soldatenliebe*, but nothing further was heard of it. [21] If *Soldatenliebe* was a temporary serious diversion from operetta then *Die Spieluhr* must count as probably the most curious. This work was a cabaret entertainment comprising a series of ‘Schattenspiele’ (‘shadow plays’) prepared by Theo Zasche and Alfred Deutsch-German.

Theodor Zasche (1862 – 1922) was an artist, originally a specialist in fayence and enamelware, who achieved a certain popular notoriety as a caricaturist. Initially trained by his father Josef, a painter of porcelain, Zasche studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule (college of arts and crafts) in Vienna. As a cartoonist he was associated with satirical publications in Vienna (*Der Floh*, the *Wiener Luft*, and the *Wiener Witzblatt*) and similar publications in Berlin and Munich.

His illustrative skills were not confined to satirical humour, for he also provided music covers for Doblinger. Sheet music editions of songs from Lehár’s *Der Mann mit den drei Frauen* were illustrated by Zasche. [22] Towards the end of his life a number of books were published with

[21] Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 132.

[22] Norbert Linke, *Franz Lehár* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2001), p. 52. For biographical details on Zasche see website of the Österreich Lexikon at www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.z/z121338.htm .

copious illustrations by him. [23]

Zasche was not (as some Lehár biographers have stated) the librettist for *Die Spieluhr*. This was Alfred Deutsch-German (1870 – 1943?), whose real name was simply Alfred Deutsch. [24] Deutsch-German was not by any means a prolific writer of libretti, and the few he wrote were hardly mainstream theatre. [25] His other writings include collections of animal stories and character sketches of typical Viennese. [26]

Die Spieluhr was first presented at Die Hölle in October 1910 without Lehár's music. A specially invited audience first witnessed *Die Spieluhr* with Lehár's music on 7 January 1911. Described as a “shadow comedy in five scenes”, it was a love story from the age of elegance (“aus der Krinolinenzeit”) about an unfaithful bride, her abduction and sorrowful homecoming, and her final tale of remorse. The musical clock of the title is a present from her jilted bridegroom. [27]

[23] See, for example, Herbert Marouschek (ed), *Wien, wie es weint und lacht: ein bunter Reigen Wiener Geschichten* (Vienna, c.1920) illustrated by Zasche and Otto Frei; Theo Zasche, *Lachendes Wien* (Vienna, c.1925) has fifty caricatures from 1890 to 1922.

[24] Martin Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf: Studien zum Libretto des musikalischen Unterhaltungstheaters im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Vienna and Cologne, 1989), p. 317.

[25] Only six titles are listed in Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien*.

[26] Cf. Alfred Deutsch-German, *Wiener Porträts* (Vienna, 1903) and *Wiener Mädel* (Berlin, 1910).

[27] From a review in *Fremdenblatt* (Vienna), 8 January 1911, p. 14.

Lehar composed a number of short incidental pieces. The critic of the *Fremdenblatt* particularly admired a “little dance of Mozartean elegance”. In keeping with cabaret tradition the libretto included contemporary allusions, adopting rhyming couplets with some awful puns. Leo Fall’s latest operetta, *Die schöne Rissette*, was one topic:

Mit Fall gewinnt man oft im Lotto,
der macht aus jedem Schmarrn an ‘schönen Risotto’.

[With Fall you’ll often win the Lotto - he’ll make
of any pudding a ‘lovely risotto’.]

The catalogue of the Lehár Archive in Vienna has just one reference to *Die Spieluhr*. Listed as item no. 341, under the title *Die Spieluhr*, is a “folder containing libretto, telegram to Leo Stein, a few pages of unidentified handwritten music in Lehár’s hand, some congratulatory poems in Lehár’s honour, press cuttings.” [28]

Lehár’s next work was a return to the conventionally structured form of operetta but a clear departure from conventional subject matter. *Eva*, subtitled *Das Fabrikmädel*, was a libretto from the team of Bodanzky and Willner with some input from a third unidentified collaborator writing as Eugen Spero. The libretto was based on a play by Ernst von Wildenbruch (1845 – 1909), a onetime lawyer and diplomat whose Naturalistic writings shared a kinship with (if not the stature of) social dramas of Sudermann and Hauptmann.

[28] Alex Lehár, *A partial catalog of the contents of the Lehár Archiv* (Manchester, Ma., USA, 1994), p. 4.

Wildenbruch's *Die Haubenlerche*, a romantic drama dating from 1890, concerned the fate of Lene Schmalenbach whose enthusiastic singing and early rising had earned her the nickname of the 'crested lark'. Lene is seduced by Hermann, half-brother of a local paper mill owner. All is resolved when Hermann leaves after a stormy quarrel with the mill owner, and Lene finds happiness with one of the mill workers.

In the operetta the heroine is Eva, an orphan working in a glass factory in Brussels. She is seduced by Octave, the boss's son, into a lifestyle for which she is ill-prepared. An operetta with an unattractive setting, with a chorus of factory workers instead of the usual crop of aristocrats - all this was too much for some critics who complained about getting "the social question dished up in three-four time" ("Nun bekommen wir die soziale Frage im Dreivierteltakt vorgesetzt"). [29] Social politics, ethics and labour questions were matters too serious for operetta. [30]

Both Willner and Bodanzky were seriously interested in humanitarian issues. Willner's literary output included religious poems. Bodanzky's social conscience was most clearly evident in the anarchic satire and pacifist poetry written later, during the First World War, under the pen-name Danton. [31] *Eva* touched upon the uncomfortably provocative

[29] *Fremdenblatt*, 25 November 1911.

[30] *Neue freie Presse*, 25 November 1911, p. 13.

[31] Robert Bodanzky ('Danton'), *Wenn der Glorienschein verbleicht* (Vienna, 1919).

subject of prostitution. The leading character in the operetta was being drawn towards a destiny as a rich aristocrat's kept woman until at the last moment she is rescued by a reformed playboy. This was not subtle satire of Viennese life but a reflection of hypocritical standards:

For us in Vienna a mistress is an indication of middle-class prosperity. A privilege of the propertied classes, the finishing touch ("der letzte Schliff"), the finest mark of distinction, the most enviable thing. Anyone who wins the jackpot, has success in the theatre, has luck playing the stock exchange, or is advancing in political life, has got to have a mistress. [32]

By locating the action of *Eva* in Brussels and Paris the writers were merely glossing over the real location, Vienna. Female workers there - especially factory girls and domestic servants - were vulnerable in the workplace, and were often considered fair game for harassment and sexual exploitation. [33]

Contemporary events underlined the social significance of *Eva*, for in this operetta workers were shown rebelling against their management. In September 1911, just weeks before the operetta opened, there was a workers' revolt when

Viennese workers assembled before the Rathaus to protest anew the burden of high prices. Police were ordered to break up the concentration, without too much

[32] Alfred Deutsch-German, *Wiener Mädel*, (Band 17 in der Sammlung 'Grossstadt-Dokumente') (Berlin, 1910?), p. 66.

[33] Karin Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna, 1994), p. 196.

success. Infantry and cavalry were dispatched to the scene, with the result that several persons were killed, quite a few wounded, and many thrown into jail. [34]

Eva was still a provocative issue even two years after its opening when Karczag felt impelled to publish a denial that the operetta was deliberately written to promote social debate:

I am constantly reading again and again that in his operetta *Eva* Franz Lehár wanted to solve socialist problems. Well, for God's sake, where in this musical work is one single word about socialist problems to be found? Just because workers rebel - is that socialism? These workers want to protect their *Eva* from the young factory boss who is out to seduce her. It is simply a matter of human nature, and nothing at all to do with socialism. [35]

Nevertheless, this was a setting and subject matter far removed from the accepted norm - from the rustic idyll of *Der Rastelbinder*, from the glamour of *Die lustige Witwe*, from the idealized 'vie de Bohème' in *Der Graf von Luxemburg* - and some critics suggested that Lehár should find better libretti. The work had a respectable initial run of 256 performances, was chosen to open a new theatre in Tripoli, and enjoyed international success in America, Spain and Italy.

[34] William Jenks, *Vienna and the young Hitler* (New York, 1960), p. 188.

[35] Wilhelm Karczag, 'Operetten und musikalische Komödie', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 12 April 1914, quoted in Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 148.

Musically it was considered one of Lehár's more technically accomplished works, being, as one critic put it, "devoid of that plentiful addition of musical syrup" ("ohne den allzu reichlichen Zusatz von musikalischem Sirop") that so annoyed in earlier works. [36] Familiar elements were there - the march, the Offenbachian galop, the waltz. Most important was Eva's waltz, 'Wär' es nichts als ein Traum von Glück', which serves as a unifying link throughout the work, though lacking the motivic development evident in *Die lustige Witwe*.

After this large-scale work Lehár produced another miniature for *Die Hölle*. Although there is disagreement within the Lehár literature about the date of its production it is clear from the more reliable sources that *Rosenstock und Edelweiss* was first staged on 1 December 1912. [37] This one-act work was by Julius Bauer. His libretto, set in the mountain country near Bad Ischl, had only two characters - a dairymaid, Everl Edelweiss, and a visiting Jew from Vienna, Isidor Rosenstock. The two overcome cultural and linguistic differences (evident from the use of dialect throughout) to develop an understanding together.

It seems fairly clear that this work was intended as a tongue-in-cheek comedy about conventional operetta types: Everl was a wildly

[36] *Neue freie Presse*, 25 November 1911, p. 13.

[37] Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien*, p. 85; Max Schönherr, *Franz Lehár: Bibliographie zu Leben und Werk* (Vienna, 1970), p. 71.

embellished example of the kind of rural character found in Zeller and Strauss; Rosenstock was a more opinionated character than, for example, the Jew Pfefferkorn in *Der Rastelbinder*; and Bad Ischl, home to several operetta composers, was the perfect location.

As well as satire on operetta there was, in the fifth of the six musical numbers, a pointed comment on the rising influence of Jews in Viennese society when Rosenstock sings:

Wer kommt heut in jedem Theaterstück vor?
Ä Jud!
Wer wird Regimentsarzt und steigt nit empor?
Ä Jud!
Wer schreibt in de Zeitung, Kritik und Feuilleton?
Ä Jud!
Wer wird über Nacht oft in Ungarn Baron?
Ä Jud! [38]

[Who appears in every theatrical piece today? A Jew! / Who gets to be a regimental doctor and goes no further? A Jew! / Who writes in newspaper, review and supplement? A Jew! / Who is made a baron overnight in Hungary? A Jew!]

In a final refrain, present in prompt book but not in vocal score, Jewish contributors to Viennese culture are listed:

Strauss, Eysler, Leo Fall
Sowie der Hofmannsthal,
Der Schnitzler auch sind Juden fein
Der Bahr könnt einer sein.

[Strauss, Eysler, Leo Fall / as well as
Hofmannsthal / and Schnitzler too are all fine

[38] Franz Lehár, *Rosenstock und Edelweiss* vocal score (Leipzig, 1912), p. 18.

Jews / and (Hermann) Bahr could be one.]

With presumably a musical reprise of the refrain this finishes with a comment about the acceptance of Jews:

Das sieht de ganze Welt jetzt ein,
woraus sich klar ergibt,
ob 'ja' Sie sagen oder 'nein',
wir Jud'n wer'n wieder beliebt! [39]

[The world will now appreciate / why it's clearly
bound to be / that whether you say Yes or No / we
Jews will be beloved once again!]

In the final scene the two characters take on aspects of each other's cultural persona as they sing and dance together, he in Alpine fashion, she in Jewish manner, with much play on the words 'jodeln' (to yodel) and 'jüdeln' (to speak Yiddish).

Though small in its dramatic concept there was nothing small about Lehár's orchestral forces, for the work was scored with very much the standard orchestration adopted for Lehár's larger operettas. As musical composition, however, this could not be anything other than a structurally simple work.

Structural development could hardly be expected of Lehár's next full-length operetta for this was a revision of an earlier work. Two new librettists were drafted in to rewrite *Der Göttergatte*. Julius Brammer (1877 – 1944), a former actor, and Alfred Grünwald (1884 – 1951) were

[39] Julius Bauer, *Rosenstock und Edelweiss* prompt book (Leipzig and Vienna, 1913), p. 19.

on the threshold of a career that was to produce some of the finest operetta libretti of the twentieth century, particularly in their work with Emmerich Kálmán. [40]

Their revision of *Der Göttergatte* was not destined to bring them any laurels – and only disappointment and embarrassment for Lehár. Their libretto, *Die ideale Gattin*, had a Spanish setting, the resort of San Sebastian. The plot hinged round Elvira, wife of Visconde Pablo de Cavaletti, pretending to have a twin sister, Carola (who is of course Elvira herself). Elvira is by nature a sedate person; the alter ego, Carola, is wild and passionate. The object of the game is the regeneration of a lacklustre marriage.

Lehár made few concessions to the Spanish setting, including only a tango (Act 3, no. 17) and a ‘Spanische Barcarole’ (Act 3, no. 16) which was a reworking of the ‘Cupido’ waltz from *Der Göttergatte*. For the first act finale (Act 1, no. 7) he included castanets, and another suggestion of Spanish style came with a triple beat going across a compound duple. For the most part he remained faithful to the familiar waltz, mazurka and polonaise (which at least suggested bolero rhythm). [41]

[40] For a complete listing of their works, see Henry Grunwald, Georg Markus, Marcel Prawy and Hans Weigel, *Ein Walzer muss es sein: Alfred Grünwald und die Wiener Operette* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 165-176.

[41] Cf. James Parakilas, ‘How Spain got a soul’ in Jonathan Bellmann (ed), *The exotic in Western music* (Boston, 1998), p. 151.

A number of melodies were retrieved from *Der Göttergatte* for new word settings and extensive reworking. The final score was considerably larger than the earlier operetta. [42] From *Der Göttergatte* ‘Sieh mich doch nur an’ (Vorspiel, no. 2; p. 24) became in *Die ideale Gattin* ‘So hab’ ich’s gelernt’ (Act 1, no. 5b; p. 39); from the first finale ‘Vorwärts! Auf zur Erdenfahrt’ (Vorspiel, no. 4; p. 29) became ‘Süsse Lieblingsmelodie’ (Act 1, no. 4; p. 27); ‘Muss denn alles auf der Welt’ (Act 1, no. 2; p. 53) became ‘Nur mit dir, mit dir allein’ in the second act finale (Act 2, no. 15; p. 147); ‘Du hast mich doch betrogen’ (Act 1, no. 8; p. 55) became ‘Mein Kind, du wirst ironisch’ (Act 1, no. 1; p. 6); ‘Was ich längst erträumte’ (Act 1, no. 12; pp. 71-73) became ‘Tausend rote Rosen’ (Act 1, no. 3; pp. 18-23); the chorus from the first act finale ‘Ruft ihn das Vaterland’ (Act 1, no. 13; p. 86) became ‘Die Frau Gemahlin ist auf kurzer Zeit verreist’ (Act 2, no. 11; p. 105) and the gavotte for Juno in *Der Göttergatte*, ‘Jeder Mann glaubt’ (Act 2, no. 15; p. 105) became an ensemble number in *Die ideale Gattin*, ‘Also bitte, hören Sie ’ (Act 2, no. 12; p. 111). [43]

It was noted in one review that the audience’s enthusiasm was “a shade less loud and forceful” (“um eine Nuance minder laut und heftig”) than was usually the case at a Lehár first night. Then there was a delicately

[42] The vocal score of *Der Göttergatte* has 117 pages. The vocal score of *Die ideale Gattin* has 171 pages.

[43] Page references are for the vocal scores of *Der Göttergatte* (Vienna, 1904) and *Die ideale Gattin* (Leipzig, 1913).

observed remark about the librettists:

As genuine theatrical talents they are also comfortably familiar with dramatic literature and have capitalised on their reading of much and everything, including Ludwig Fulda's *Zwillingschwester* (Twin sister), that charming comedy of which one is repeatedly reminded by the plot of their operetta. [44]

This was nothing less than an accusation of plagiarism, and when Ludwig Fulda (1862 – 1939) attended the Berlin production of *Die ideale Gattin* the consequence was scandalous publicity. Lehár's embarrassment was compounded by his executive membership of the Vienna based 'Union dramatischer Autoren und Komponisten' which was dedicated to copyright protection.[45] Fulda sued for damages, but the librettists were able to defend themselves by showing that Fulda's plot and theirs were both derivative, based on ideas that were "the stuff of world literature". [46] The case was dismissed, but Lehár did not forgive his librettists and, except for one further revision of the operetta (as *Die Tangokönigin*), he had nothing more to do with them.

By January 1914, as *Die ideale Gattin* profited from its initial scandal by achieving its one hundredth performance, a new Lehár operetta was in rehearsal. The librettists once again were Willner and Bodanzky. The

[44] *Neue freie Presse*, 12 October 1913, pp. 15-16.

[45] Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 157.

[46] Grunwald, Markus etc., *Ein Walzer muss es sein*, p. 81.

plot of the new work, *Endlich allein*, had a conventional formula in presenting two romantic couples whose eventual satisfactory matches are the result of earlier mismatches and intrigues. In this instance the dim and penniless Graf Willy Splenningen has arrived with his father at a Swiss hotel where they are to meet Willy's intended bride, the rich and brash Dolly Doverland, an American. Other hotel guests include a penniless countess, Konstanza Dachau, and her daughter Tilly, a former sweetheart of Willy who had lodged with them in his student days. There is also the Baron Frank Hansen who is obviously interested in Dolly, so much so that when the American expresses interest in an Alpine trek he pretends to be a mountain guide and offers to escort her.

The second act is set on the plateau of a mountain where Frank and Dolly are discovered. They picnic, enjoy the view, and Frank risks life and limb by plucking an edelweiss for Dolly. She sleeps, and Frank watches over her. After spending the night on the mountain they return unseen to the hotel. As Willy and his father are about to mount a rescue expedition Dolly appears to assure them that she was kept safe and warm by her guide who behaved throughout like a gentleman. Frank's identity is finally revealed, and the operetta ends with two happy couples - Dolly and Frank, Tilly and Willy.

There was an uneven quality to this operetta. There were moments of utter banality in the lyrics, as when Tilly and Willy naively recall how their

names rhyme together (Act 1, no. 4). In the second act - for twenty minutes - there were only two characters on stage. For the three musical items in Act 2 - a duet, a solo for Dolly, a duo finale - Lehár's score took on a quasi-Wagnerian texture with rhapsodic development of figures and themes from Dolly's song in the first act, 'Schön ist die Welt' (Act 1, no. 5), the "leitmotif of the operetta". [47]

Critics remarked upon the predictable conventions in the characterisation and action. There was originality in the music, but the operatic nature of the second act in comparison with the light-hearted duos (for Tilly and Willy) created an artistic imbalance. Adding to this sense of imbalance was the limited use of a chorus. The two chorus numbers in the work were in the first act (an opening ensemble of wedding guests, and a solo for Tilly with men's chorus); and even these could be dispensed with by replacing the opening chorus with an optional overture and by cutting the chorus from Tilly's song. In spite of several effective waltz melodies and a brisk march song with refrain, 'Sport, und immer Sport' (Act 1, no. 6), this was an experiment that did not quite work.

Endlich allein is of further interest as another Lehár work to be involved in a plagiarism prosecution. This was when the Rumanian composer Romulus Popescu del Fiori tried unsuccessfully to claim that his *Ihr Namenstag* had been misappropriated. Popescu was represented by Dr

[47] *Neue freie Presse*, 31 January 1914, p. 14.

Samuely, whose role in the nefarious Guttman blackmail scandal has been described earlier.

But greater dramas were about to unfold later that year on 28 June when Serbian students in Sarajevo assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie von Hohenberg. For the war that followed Lehár's brother Anton and his brother-in-law, Stefan Pawlas, were called up for active service. Lehár himself was not summoned.

Despite the war there was still a demand for music theatre of all kinds, even for operetta. Composers such as Fall, Eysler, Jessel and Kálmán produced some of their most enduring works at this time. Bodanzky was to write nothing further for Lehár, even though the partnership with Willner still continued for a while. In 1915 they wrote *Wenn zwei sich lieben* for Eysler, but it was Bodanzky alone who wrote a further script for Eysler in 1916, *Hanni geht tanzen*. Thereafter he seems to have had no further association with theatre, devoting his literary activities to pacifist poems.

As the next chapter will show, Willner, Lehár's lodger at Theobaldgasse, was to continue writing until the next decade. (He died in 1929). For Lehár the experimental period was not quite over, but the input from new writers would allow him to push towards a new direction.

Lehár and the stage - Years of transition

1914 - 1922

In contrast with some of his fellow operetta composers Lehár produced little for the theatre during the war years. This may in part be explained by his involvement in morale-boosting concerts and entertainments for the troops. His non-involvement in the armed services provoked a degree of hostility from some contemporaries. [1]

Both Lehár and Eysler contributed to a patriotic drama, *Komm, deutscher Bruder!*, which was staged at the Raimund-Theater on 4 October 1914.

The author's name has not been recorded. Neither text nor music was published; both are presumed lost.

The most interesting work by Lehár that was directly inspired by wartime events was his tone poem, *Fieber*, in which a mortally wounded soldier hallucinates about his past life. It is an extended narrative aria, richly orchestrated, composed in a modern post-Wagnerian style which at times seems more in keeping with the second Viennese school of composition.

The text of this untypical Lehár work was by one of the younger writers

[1] See Alban Berg's letter, 31 December 1914, in Alban Berg, *Letters to his wife*, tr Bernard Grun (London, 1971), p. 177; and Anton Webern, letter to Zemlinsky, 25 February 1916 in Horst Weber (ed), *Alexander Zemlinsky – Briefwechsel mit Arnold Schoenberg, Anton Webern, Alban Berg und Franz Schreker* (Darmstadt, 1995), p. 286.

of the time, Erwin Weill (1885 - ?1942). [2] Although this work was a final part of Lehár's song cycle, *Aus eiserner Zeit*, its dramatic quality allows it to stand alone.

In 1915 Lehár began work on another operetta. His librettist was Fritz Löhner (1883 – 1942), journalist and writer of satirical poems. As a satirist he used the pen-name Beda, which appears as a hyphenated addition to his surname. [3] According to Lehár's notebook the operetta was originally to be *Mein Bruder Franz*, then it was *Der reine Tor*, and finally it was *Der Sterngucker*. [4]

The 'stargazer' of the title - a reclusive individual called Franz, living with his sister Kitty, half a dozen pet tortoises, a dog, and a manservant - was hardly the most exciting subject for operetta. Critical reviews were unfavourable, for the author's handling of potentially farcical situations was clumsy:

[2] Biographical details somewhat uncertain. According to information on the website of the Stadtbibliothek Vienna, at www.stadtbibliothek.wien Erwin Weill (born 1885) is listed among a new generation of writers to be promoted by the Neuer akademischer Verlag (Vienna and Leipzig) circa 1920. Poems and novels by Erwin Weill are listed with antiquarian book dealers' websites. An Erwin Weill (born 1885 in Vienna) is shown as a graduate in art history in 1909 in the records of the University of Zurich. Finally, an Erwin Weill aged 56 is listed as an occupant of the Riga ghetto on www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/riga/Rig003.html.

[3] Beda is derived from Bedřich, the Czech form of the name Friedrich in German, and so equates with Fritz.

[4] Norbert Linke, *Franz Lehár* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2001), p. 68.

It takes a long time and three involuntary simultaneous engagements before the stargazer becomes mature enough for marriage. And getting from there to the moment of true love is yet another step occupying the third act. [5]

Der Sterngucker managed just 79 performances. [6] Perhaps there are mitigating circumstances to explain the poor result. The work was staged not at the usual venues for a Lehár work, the Theater an der Wien or the Carl-Theater, but at the smaller Theater in der Josefstadt where the Jarno brothers held sway in both drama and operetta production. [7]

The music was the strongest feature of the work, but even this seems to have relied more on orchestration than inspiration. Reluctant to abandon the work, Lehár engaged Willner to revise it. Of the twenty musical numbers (including the three act finalettos) in the original score, ten were discarded. Out went an introductory salon piece, a child's song (with the character, Elsi, who sang it) and a solo for Franz ('Ich komm halt immer zu spät') from Act 1. From Act 2 went a noisy 'Tratschoktett', a duet ('Der Mensch soll nicht allein sein'), another solo for Franz ('Ein Sommertag am leuchtenden Meer') and the finaletto. From the third act only one song ('Josefin') for the manservant Nepomuk was retained. One

[5] *Neue freie Presse* (Vienna), 15 January 1916, p. 13.

[6] Anton Bauer, *Das Theater in der Josefstadt zu Wien* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 147-149, p. 246.

[7] On theatre capacities in Vienna see John Willett, *The theatre of the Weimar Republic* (New York and London, 1988), pp. 247-249.

other song in that third act, a duet ('Und der Herrgott lacht'), was revived much later in *Schön ist die Welt*. [8]

The second version of *Der Sterngucker* was staged at the Theater an der Wien on 27 September 1916. The best of the original version was kept virtually unchanged - the 'Libellentanz' for Kitty and her friends, the trio ('Muss denn jeder gleich ein Eh'mann sein'), and a duet for Franz and Lilly ('Sterngucker, Sterngucker, nimm dich in acht') - while the solo ('Lieber guter Theddy-Bär') and the ensemble ('Mein Herz ist wie der junge Mai') became duets.

Even with this drastic revision the work failed to please. One critic accused Lehár of descending into the realms of dance operetta in which "educated men hop around like circus clowns". It was a revision that had "gained nothing and lost much". [9]

Also dating from 1916 is another work with music by Lehár. *Walzer* was a comedy in three acts by Georg Ruttkay, and (according to Schneiderei) it was first performed in Vienna on 23 December 1916 at the Deutsches Volkstheater in a German version by Alexander Engel. [10] For this play

[8] See Franz Lehár, *Schön ist die Welt* vocal score (Vienna, 1930) pp. 67-68 or (Vienna, 1930/1957) pp. 64-65. The song 'Liebste, glaub' an mich', is dedicated to Tauber as the sixth 'Tauberlied'.

[9] *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), 28 September 1916, quoted in Otto Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten* (Berlin, 1984), p. 170.

[10] Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 337.

Lehár composed a waltz, later known as the *Jarmila-Walzer*. [11]

Georg Ruttkay (1890 - ?) was a journalist, born in Budapest, the son of Max Ruttkay, editor-in-chief of the *Pester Lloyd*. Educated at the universities of Budapest, Munich, Berlin and the Sorbonne in Paris, he received a doctorate in law and political science. During the First World War he was awarded the highest order of the Austrian Iron Cross. As a journalist he headed the Vienna desk of *Az-Est* and was elected president of the union of foreign correspondents. [12]

According to the source of the foregoing information *Walzer* was premiered at the Vígszínház (Comedy Theatre) in Budapest at some time in 1916; another work by Ruttkay, *Die Demi-Mondaine*, was premiered there in 1920. Nothing of his later life and career have come to light except for a brief reference in the memoirs of a fellow Hungarian. Living in America in 1944 the exiled writer Ferenc Molnár was remarking upon some letters from Budapest:

One of my oldest friends, Dr George Ruttkay, got a letter saying that the Hungarian Nazis had murdered his mother, whom he worshiped. He did not recover from the blow, and never will. [13]

[11] Stefan Frey, *Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.* *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. and Leipzig, 1999), p. 421.

[12] Paul Emödi (ed), *Wer ist Wer: Lexikon österreichischer Zeitgenossen* (Vienna, 1937), p. 298.

[13] Ferenc Molnár, *Companion in exile: Notes for an autobiography* (London, 1948), p. 324.

Ruttkay was held in high esteem by his fellow exiles in America. Kálmán described him as “a true and chivalrous friend ... whose company often seems to replace for me the homeland I lost.” [14]

As early as May 1914 Lehár had been contacted by the Hungarian librettist Ferenc Martos about some ideas for an operetta. [15] This was a little unusual, for Hungarian librettists, unlike their Viennese counterparts, habitually worked on a regular basis with the same composer for years, and Martos already had established partnerships with Jenő Huszta (1875 – 1960) and Victor Jacobi (1883 – 1921). [16] It is, however, recorded that Martos had occasional collaborations with other composers such as Aladar Renyi (for *Susi*), Emmerich Kálmán (for *Der kleine König* and *Zsuzsi Kisasszony*), and Albert Szirmai (for *Alexandra, A ballerina*, and *Eva grofno*). [17]

[14] Julius Bistrón, *Emmerich Kálmán* (Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1932), p. 208.

[15] Linke, *Franz Lehár*, pp. 66-70. Wrong details are recounted in Bernard Grun, *Gold and Silver: the life and times of Franz Lehár* (London, 1970), p. 172.

[16] See entries on Huszta and Jacobi by Andrew Lamb in Stanley Sadie (ed), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980); also Richard Traubner, *Operetta, a theatrical history* (London, 1984), pp. 330-331.

[17] Albert Szirmai (1880-1967) had a promising career as an operetta composer in Hungary. Exiled to New York, as Albert Sirmay he was an orchestral arranger for Cole Porter and Richard Rodgers. See Traubner, *Operetta, a theatrical history*, p. 332, and Gervase Hughes, *Composers of operetta* (London, 1962), p. 248.

Jacobi's departure for London in 1914 may have given Martos an excuse to liaise with Lehár. [18] The proposed work was *A pacsirta* ('The skylark'). If acceptable, it would be Lehár's first operetta in Hungarian. Martos's draft was an adaptation of a once popular folk drama, *Dorf und Stadt*, by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer (1800 – 1868). [19]

During the war Lehár's work on the project was sporadic, and it was 1917 when the score was finished. A libretto in German was prepared, and for a while it was not clear whether the work would be premiered in Vienna in the German version or in Budapest in the original version. Since the outbreak of war Martos had been in Switzerland and unable to take part in the preparations, claiming that the journey was too difficult and his commitments in Switzerland too demanding. Stage production for a Budapest premiere was undertaken by Gyula Czako. In January 1918 Lehár arrived in Budapest for the final two weeks of rehearsal. On 29 January there was a final company rehearsal with a few special guests attending, and on 30 January a public dress rehearsal was held before a

[18] Jacobi's *Leányvásár*, in its English version as *The marriage market*, had been well received in London. Jacobi went there to discuss terms for a production of *Sybil*. The outbreak of war forced Jacobi to leave London for New York. He continued composing there to libretti in English - *Apple blossoms* (1919), *The half moon* (1920), and *The love letter* (1921).

[19] Charlotte Karoline Pfeiffer was born in Stuttgart and trained as an actress in Munich. In 1825 she married Christian Birch, a Danish diplomat and historian. A theatre director in Zurich in 1837, she wrote plays and stories, and opera libretti for Flotow and Duke Ernst II of Coburg-Gotha.

packed house at the Király Színház (Theatre Royal). Lehár conducted these rehearsals and the first performances. [20]

A pacsirta received its first performance on Friday 1 February 1918. As the *Magyar színház* had reported on the previous day, the production heralded a breaking away from the tradition “that in an operetta one of the two primas is always a dramatic heroine and the other always a little singer-dancer soubrette.” There were two leading ladies, Emmi Kosáry as the country girl Margitka and Ilona Domötör as the city girl Vilma. These former artists of the Budapest Opera were required to dance, but it was Ilona Domötör, partnered by Ernő Király as Sandor, who had the more demanding choreography. To play the sophisticated Vilma she had to master a modern “original American creation imported to Budapest via Switzerland”, a dance dubbed the ‘Golden Foxtrot’ which reportedly would involve “big leaps, weird jumps, witty steps and some surprising variations.”

The German libretto was prepared by Willner with his new collaborator Heinrich Blumenreich (1877 – 1940), writing under the pen name of Heinz Reichert. Together they had already scripted the Schubert/Berté hybrid operetta, *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (known in English as *Lilac time*),

[20] Details in this and the following paragraph from an article on *A pacsirta* from the Hungarian theatrical newspaper *Magyar szinpad* (Budapest), 30 January 1918. My thanks to Bernard Adams for kindly supplying the translation.

and tried - but abandoned - an operetta for Puccini, later to be rewritten as an Italian opera, *La rondine*. [21]

The theatrical press in Budapest had been keen to dwell on the Hungarian nature of the operetta and the Hungarian nationality of its authors. [22]

The German version retained much of the Hungarian flavour even though reports claimed that there would be “a number of changes to conform with Austrian taste.” [23] The country girl, originally drafted as Margitka, had become Juliska when *A pacsirta* was eventually staged, and in the German version she was once again Margit. Other names, but for minor variants in orthography, were faithfully retained, even to the extent of preserving the Hungarian format of family name first for the characters Török Pál and Bodroghy Pista. [24]

The plot is a simple parable exploring the incompatibility between village life and city life. Naïve country girl Margit falls for an artist from the city, Sandor, who is painting her portrait. Sandor in turn is pursued by city girl

[21] On *La rondine* and its Viennese operetta origins see Michael Kaye, *The unknown Puccini* (New York, 1985/1987). A critical essay on the opera by Mosco Carner blames “two Viennese hacks” for a book in the style of a Lehár or Kálmán operetta full of “sentimental slush and false tears”. See Mosco Carner, *Of men and music* (London, 1944), p. 63.

[22] *Magyar szinpad*, 1 February 1918, p. 1.

[23] *Magyar szinpad*, 30 January 1918.

[24] Pista is derived from the name Istvan (the Hungarian form of the name Stephen) and equates therefore with Steve. My thanks to Edward Johnson for this information.

and professional singer, Vilma, while Margit is loved by a local farmhand, Pista. After the two men have fought over her, Margit decides to live in the city with Sandor, taking her grandfather Török Pál along as chaperone. She soon regrets her decision when she realizes that Sandor is seeing Vilma. She goes back to the country, and Sandor discovers that his skylark has flown.

With its elements of deception, incompatibility, resignation for the deceived, and heartbreak for the deceiver, this is a plot that points towards ideas developed in Lehár's later works. With its bird symbolism it begs comparison likewise with Puccini's *La Rondine*.

A bond of mutual admiration existed between Puccini and Lehár. Puccini had allegedly discovered Lehár's music when hearing salon musicians playing the 'Merry widow' waltz in a Vienna hotel. [25] An amicable correspondence ensued, yet the two composers did not meet in person until January 1920. [26]

Puccini's admiration for this latest Lehár work is revealed in a letter written from Torre del Lago:

Dear and renowned Maestro!
Many thanks for your friendly letter. I have taken pains to effect the release of your cousin but a

[25] According to an anecdote in *Fremdenblatt*, 19 October 1913, quoted in Frey 'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg', p. 190.

[26] Jurgen Leukel, 'Puccini und Lehár', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung / Revue musical Suisse*, no.2 (March/April 1982), p. 65.

thousand interfering factors have thwarted my endeavours.

I have your new precious operetta *Wo die Lerche singt* and can only say, 'Bravo, Maestro! How refreshingly new, ingenious, full of youthful fire!' Oh what memories I have of those days in Vienna in 1913 ... [27]

Press reviews of the Vienna production did not share Puccini's enthusiasm despite the lyrical quality of the lead singers and the brilliant character playing of Ernst Tautenhayn (1873 – 1947) as the grandfather. [28] The purloining of Birch-Pfeiffer's play was not overlooked but the most irritating judgement for Lehár was that the operetta was "too long by half an hour". [29]

As the public evidently enjoyed the operetta more than the critics Lehár did not rush ahead with a revision. The eventual revision took place in the 1930s and was published in 1937. Excisions formed the greater part of the revision process. Two duets were removed in their entirety - one for Vilma and Margit ('Nur Temp'rament'; Act 2, no. 12), the other for Pál and servant girl Borcsa ('Wer steht dort drin im Haberfeld'; Act 3, no. 15). There was judicious cropping elsewhere, from the opening chorus (Act 1, no. 1), from the first act finale (Act 1, no. 8), and from the third act

[27] 'Puccini und Wien', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 18 November 1919.

[28] Tautenhayn re-creates the role in a 1942 recording of *Wo die Lerche singt* conducted by Lehár. It was released on CD in 1995 by Bel-Age on BLA 103.354 AAD.

[29] *Neue freie Presse*, 28 March 1918.

finaletto (Act 3, no. 18).

The minor role of Baron Arpad, a friend of Sandor, was given the option of being non-singing, for some eight bars sung by Arpad in a duet with Vilma ('Ein Hauch'; Act 1, no. 2) could be sung by Vilma instead "wenn Arpad wenig Stimme besitzt" ("if Arpad has little voice"). [30] There was an optional cut too for a dance for Sandor and Margit in the second act finale; it is cut by Lehár in his 1942 recording. The 1937 score indicates that another number, the duet for Vilma and Pál ('Ja auf dem Land'; Act 1, no. 6), can only be performed if the soprano is a brilliant soubrette as well as a good dancer. [31] The 1937 version was structured as four 'Bilder' or scenes. The score had some additions too - a song for Margit ('Ich hab' dich geliebt'; Bild IV, no. 16) and extra entr'acte music.

A song for Török Pál in Act 1 ('Was geh'n mich an die Leute') had two settings in the 1918 score, each differing from the other in music, metre and text. The score describes these as a Budapest version and a Vienna version. For the 1937 score only the Vienna version was retained. The character of Török Pál was used for light-hearted and affectionate relief from the heavier emotional drama. Pál's 'Palikam' refrain from his 'Lied von Temesvar' (Act 2, no. 11), a jaunty march song with much of the

[30] Franz Lehár, *Wo die Lerche singt* vocal score (Vienna, 1937), p. 12, footnote.

[31] Lehár, *Wo die Lerche singt* vocal score (1937), p. 26.

sing-along style of the 'Nechledil' march, was reprised as an entr'acte in the 1937 version.

There had been a Tőrők Pál in the original Budapest version. According to a synopsis published in the theatrical press he was not a grandfather to Juliska but one of the leaders of the artists visiting "a typical village." The main details of the plot are otherwise unchanged, with Pista as the faithful fiancé and Sandor as the worldly artist who sees his love for Juliska as "a transient affair." Vilma mocks country dress in both versions: in this version her mockery is aimed at Juliska; in the Vienna version the butt of her mockery is old Tőrők Pál. The published synopsis is followed by a sample of lyrics from a song for Juliska, 'Akkor vagyok boldog ...'. [32] This is clearly her entrance song, being metrically comparable with the text of 'Durch die weiten Felder' (Act 1/Bild 1, no. 3). [33]

For such a Hungarian operetta it is surprising to note that the Hungarian flavour of the music is markedly less pronounced than in *Zigeunerliebe*. Margit's entrance song is a lyrical waltz with extravagant coloratura figuration; Vilma's celebration with Sandor is marked by a bacchanalian

[32] *Magyar szinpad*, 1 February 1918. The Hungarian song text (from translation by Edward Johnson) reads: It is a time to be happy / for no tears to fall. / The earth is firm / and the meadows full of flowers. / Listen to the lovesong of the thrush. / This life is a pleasure. / Summer has come.

[33] The German text is not a translation of the Hungarian original, for Margit's song reads: Through the wide fields, / through the dark woods / into the blue yonder / I love to wander! / Then happily I run home / carrying at my bodice / my little posy.

galop; Pál's philosophical 'Was geh'n mich an die Leute' is a gentle Ländler. The one distinctive moment of quasi-Hungarian folk music is in the A minor march and F major courtship song, 'Schau mich an und sag' mir dann, hast du mich noch gern?' (Act 1/Bild 1, no. 7), for Pista and chorus, a melody which is recalled in the last act when Pista is finally reunited with Margit. To cries of "Spiel, Zigeuner!" the courtship song in the first act makes way for an ensemble dance with the jagged rhythms of a 'Palotas' followed by a lively 'Friss'.

Lehár's next operetta, although set in or near Vienna, had a Polish flavour. *Die blaue Mazur* represented a return to the traditional operetta formula with a leading dramatic couple contrasted with a secondary light-weight comedy duo. The libretto was by former colleague Leo Stein and a new writer for Lehár, Béla Jacobovicz (1871 – 1943), whose pen-name was Béla Jenbach. [34]

Their plot concerned the orphaned Blanka von Lossin who is dismayed to discover at her wedding to Count Juljan Olinski that one of the wedding guests is his former mistress, the dancer Gretl Aigner. Another guest is Adolar, an associate from Juljan's profligate past. Following advice in a

[34] Jenbach had been an actor, principally associated with the Burgtheater in Vienna. As a librettist he worked with Stein on Kálmán's best known operetta, *Die Csardasfürstin*, in 1915; in 1920 they wrote *Das Hollandweibchen*. As a Jew married to an Aryan, Jenbach was forced into hiding when the Nazis seized power. He died in Vienna on 21 January 1943.

note left to her by her late mother Blanka seeks the protection of Baron Klemens von Reiger. It transpires that the baron has a nephew, Engelbert, who is none other than 'Adolar'. All is resolved when it proves that Juljan is a truly reformed character, while Gretl and Adolar/Engelbert make a second happy couple.

The 'blue mazur' (or 'blue mazurka') of the title is explained in the first act when Juljan explains to Adolar how he fell in love at a ball:

Juljan: ... at the first waltz I fell in love, during the quadrille I lost my head, and when it came to the blue mazurka the decision was made: She had to be mine!

Adolar: Blue mazurka? What is that?

Juljan: That is the last mazurka to be danced when daybreak comes. We Poles call it the 'blue'. [35]

A weak plot and artificially contrived situations resulted in a work which even Lehár's most sympathetic biographer could only describe as a second-rate success ("Erfolg zweiten Ranges") [36] With all its artistic faults it was nevertheless a highly commercial success with no fewer than 333 performances at the Theater an der Wien. [37]

[35] Béla Jenbach and Leo Stein, *Die blaue Mazur* prompt book (Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1920), p. 37.

[36] Maria von Peteani, *Franz Lehár: seine Musik, sein Leben* (Vienna and London, 1950), p. 141.

[37] Anton Bauer, *150 Jahre Theater an der Wien* (Zurich, Leipzig, and Vienna, 1952), p. 240.

Throughout this period Lehár was at pains to impress upon his critics that he was seeking new forms of operetta. Yet when interviewed about this latest work his best claim to originality was in dispensing with an interval:

Which do I consider my finest works? Well, naturally always the last, and at present particularly so. In the performance of *The Blue Mazur* I have tried a new experiment by having no interval between the first and second act, after which the third act produces a fine and fresh effect and finds the audience more receptive. I am working at a new operetta, *Frasquita*. Yes, it is quite true, I intend to compose an opera ... But my real ambition remains the operetta. I believe I have found new paths. I consider the operetta a splendid combination of acting, singing, and dancing. For the past twenty years I have been working to develop and refine it, to enlarge its scope and to efface the differences between it and opera. In my opinion, all modern achievements, especially in music, are to be used to their best advantage in the operetta. [38]

A contemporary review echoed Lehár's claim, commenting on his "energetic desire to give modern operetta a new form" ("energischen Willen, der modernen Operette eine neue Form zu geben"). [39] Yet running one act into another was more a matter of continuity than structure. Nor could it be argued that the Polish content was original when in 1913 Oscar Nedbal had produced, to a libretto by Stein, his highly successful *Polenblut*. Besides, when *Die blaue Mazur* was staged in Berlin all references to Poland and Polish dance were deleted on grounds

[38] 'The vogue of the operetta', *The Observer* (London), 18 July 1920, p. 8. What Lehár refers to as 'acts' are designated 'Bilder' ('scenes').

[39] *Neue freie Presse*, 29 May 1920.

of prevailing political correctness and replaced by references to Croatia and Croatian dance. [40]

In this score there are more echoes of the past than hints of the future. On the one hand there are fragmentary or motivic reminiscences, as well as substantial reprises in the finales, indicative of Lehár's current development. There are dissonant harmonies, as in a figure for celesta which opens the second scene finale (Bild 2, no. 9) when diminished and major triads descend over a tonic pedal in G. Yet such exotic moments are short-lived, and they seem curiously incongruous when elsewhere one encounters predictable waltzes and pastiches of gavotte (Bild 2, no. 7) or madrigal (Bild 2, no. 8). [41]

The soubrette, Gretl, is at one moment cast in the guise of a stock comedy character in the 'Tanzlied' (Bild 3, no. 12) when, oblivious to all around, she becomes the "süsse Mädel", an outwardly "simple child, yet betraying a certain sensual awareness" ("kindlich naiv, dabei doch eine gewisse Sinnlichkeit verratend'). [42] The device of a dream sequence for Blanka (Bild 2, no. 9, finale) recalls an idea from *Zigeunerliebe*, though in

[40] Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 184.

[41] Lehár's excursions into the styles of contemporaries such as Debussy or Richard Strauss as well as his habit of shifting dissonances over a tonic or dominant pedal point are succinctly discussed in Hughes, *Composers of operetta*, pp. 140-142.

[42] Franz Lehár, *Die blaue Mazur* vocal score (Vienna, 1920/1948), p. 86. Performance instruction given at rehearsal no. (5).

this instance the musical structure is unified by a recollection of Juljan's serenade, the song - sung in Polish - heard in the musical interlude between Bild 1 and Bild 2.

Lehár's interview with *The Observer* gave him an opportunity for some post-war diplomacy for he spoke of art as the "only way of conciliation between the differing nations." This was diplomatic promotion for his operettas with British audiences for only three (*Die lustige Witwe*, *Der Graf von Luxemburg* and *Zigeunerliebe*) had been performed in London. Seven years elapsed before *Die blaue Mazur* reached London. It was not well received. The most popular musical item was not even by Lehár - it was an interpolated song by Herman Darewski. [43]

Three further Lehár works were to emerge before the expected *Frasquita* was produced. Of the dramatic and musical content of *Die Tangokönigin* there is little to add to what has already been noted about *Der Göttergatte* and *Die ideale Gattin* for this was a third variant of a well worn idea. The names of characters were changed (the husband was now Count Leandro de Cavaletti, and the wife now Manolita) but the setting (San Sebastian) remained the same, as did the essential plot.

Much of the music was culled from earlier versions of the operetta, and in some cases the words too, as in the gavotte refrain, "So hab ich's gelernt

[43] William Macqueen-Pope and D. L. Murray, *Fortune's favourite: the life and times of Franz Lehár* (London, 1953), p. 180.

im Pensionat”, to a trio (Act 1, no. 4). [44] The ‘Nur in Spanien’ waltz from *Die ideale Gattin* (Act 1, no. 5a) was made to sound more Spanish by replicating the opening of the waltz in a duple-time minor version pulsating over a dominant pedal for ‘War’s der Frühling’ in *Die Tangokönigin* (Act 1, no. 2). There was a hint of a tango in the opening number (Act 1, no. 1) before it lapsed into a mazurka. The one tango song (‘Bei Valparaiso’) was derived from the opening of the third act finale from *Die ideale Gattin*.

Dance was an important ingredient in the operetta. A review mentioned, in addition to the tango, a ‘Tabarin-Step’ and a ‘Kinoduet’ foxtrot. [45] The libretto has a ‘Bummel-Steep’ (sic) as musical item no. 8 and the ‘Kinoduet’ as no. 15, but curiously the contents page of the vocal score has neither no. 8 nor no. 15. [46] With lines such as “An des Schicksals Pforten / Mit der Henny Porten” (referring to a popular film star) the ‘Kinoduet’ was intended primarily for topical interest. [47]

In view of their past history one may wonder why an allegedly forward-

[44] Details of the borrowing are indicated by marginal annotations in Glocken-Verlag’s *Franz Lehár, Thematischer Index / Thematic Index* with preface by Max Schönherr (London, 1985), pp. 93-96.

[45] *Neue freie Presse*, 11 September 1921, p. 17.

[46] Franz Lehár, *Die Tangokönigin* vocal score (Leipzig and Vienna, 1921), p. 2.

[47] Julius Brammer and Alfred Grünwald, *Die Tangokönigin* prompt book (Vienna, 1921), pp. 56-57.

looking composer chose to attempt a further revision. The review in the *Neue freie Presse* suggests the answer when describing the cheerful operetta music and the constant cries for encores. It was simply what the public wanted. Lehár was not totally satisfied with *Die Tangokönigin* and after attempting some further alterations he decided in 1937 to discard it altogether in favour of *Die ideale Gattin*. [48]

A greater success than *Die Tangokönigin* was premiered on 20 January 1922, the one-act operetta *Frühling* which was the last of Lehár's works for Die Hölle. This work proved so popular that it was revived for matinées at the Theater an der Wien in October 1925 and revised (with vocal and instrumental additions) as a three-act operetta for Berlin in 1928.

Among Lehár's biographers only Schneidereit has anything to say about its librettist, Dr Rudolf Eger (1885 – 1965), noting that he was director of productions at the Neues Theater am Zoo. [49] This theatre had opened as a venue for operettas in 1921 (and remained open until 1933). [50] Eger's output as a librettist would appear to be quite small; only one other work has come to light in this research, a collaboration with Ludwig Hirschfeld (1882 – 1945) for an operetta by Eysler, *Der berühmte Gabriel*, which was

[48] Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 190.

[49] Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 345.

[50] Willett, *The theatre of the Weimar Republic*, p. 226.

performed at Vienna's Bürgertheater in November 1916. [51] Being a Jew he was forced to flee when the Nazis came to power; it is likely that he escaped to Switzerland, for it is recorded that he held appointments as senior stage director at Munich and Zurich. [52]

The description of *Frühling* by Grun as a "delicate, old-world" operetta is absurdly off target. [53] This is a work of its time. The setting is a modern inner-city office, the workplace of two typists Hedwig and Toni. Into the office comes Lorenz, a young composer, who has an appointment to meet his librettist, Ewald, there. Ewald is lunching with Toni, leaving Hedwig to type the libretto.

Eger cleverly creates a play within a play, for as Hedwig continues typing there is a scene change. The office becomes an attic, and the tapping of the typewriter is replaced by the sound of a piano. This is supposedly Lorenz's garret which he shares, in a 'Cox and Box' situation, with an unseen young lady who lives there from eight in the evening till eight in the morning while he works as a pianist in a nightclub. This scene is all a fantasy, Hedwig's daydream, for this is the action of the libretto which she

[51] Robert Maria Prosl, *Edmund Eysler* (Vienna, 1947), p. 94.

[52] Martin Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf: Studien zum Libretto des musikalischen Unterhaltungstheaters im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Vienna and Cologne, 1989), p. 316.

[53] Bernard Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár* (London, 1970), p. 183.

has been typing - and naturally she sees herself as the mysterious roommate who falls in love with the shy composer.

The third scene returns to the reality of the office where Hedwig has now finished the typescript. The librettist returns to collect it and offers to escort Hedwig. She is not interested, she has fallen in love with the composer. The author cannot understand her. He simply remarks that “Composers always get a much better deal than librettists!” (“Dem Komponisten geht’s ja immer viel besser als den Librettisten!”) [54]

This subject matter was far removed from the accepted norm. The sharing of a bedsit was a reference to the post-war housing shortage. The two male characters were struggling professionals. The two female characters were ordinary office girls.

Structurally this was more than a play within a play - it was an operetta within a play, for all the vocal music, except for one brief final reprise, is performed in the second scene. As for the music, there is only a very short prelude in mazurka style to introduce the first scene. For the transformation to the second scene an entr’acte, beginning with descending chromatic chords and a tentative reminiscence of the prelude, leads to a bold restatement of the prelude. There follows a waltz theme, without any accompaniment at first, then harmonised with parallel fifths and sixths as imitative entries of the waltz theme are stated in a sort of wild fugato as

[54] Rudolf Eger, *Frühling* prompt book (Vienna and Berlin, 1922), p. 57.

the texture thickens, building up to a close in D major. Over a tremolo D a sequence of quavers and augmented chords leads to a new waltz theme as Lorenz is discovered at the piano.

At this point the operetta proper begins with an introductory vocal number ('Ach, das ist nett'), a rhythmically free accompanied recitative. A duet for the two men ('Nur ein Stückchen Batist') is written as a foxtrot with a strong leaning towards jazz harmonies, most clearly in the refrain (at the words "O, du klein bisschen Stoff") where the melody line settles on a supertonic harmonised by the subdominant minor, thereby producing a kind of melancholic ambiguity reminiscent of Kurt Weill. A duet for the women ('Ein Muff aus Zobel') uses the then very modern shimmy. Other musical items are more the typical Lehár march and waltz.

The original accompaniment for *Frühling* was a small chamber orchestra with single (upper) woodwind, a piano, and typewriter. When revised for Berlin as *Frühlingsmädel* in 1928 Lehár added extra woodwind, brass and a harp. There were three extra instrumental pieces selected from his *12 Compositions pour piano*, and three additional songs: 'Wenn eine schöne Frau befiehlt' (lyrics by Kurt Robitschek), 'Schwindeln, schon in den Windeln' and 'Komm, die Nacht gehört der Sünde' (lyrics by Peter Herz (1895 – 1987)). [55]

[55] A recording of *Frühling*, with the *Frühlingsmädel* interpolations, is on CD, ref. cpo 999 727-2. an accompanying booklet includes historical notes by Stefan Frey and an incomplete libretto with English translation.

The third work to precede *Frasquita*, albeit by only a matter of days, was *La danza delle libellule*. The libretto, a collaboration between Dr Willner and Carlo Lombardo, was prepared in an Italian version for production at the Teatro Lirico, Milan, and a German version to be staged in Vienna as *Libellentanz* in March 1923.

Carlo Lombardo (1869 – 1959), a multi-talented musician, was a librettist, composer, impresario and editor in a career apparently devoted in the main to operetta. In this he was assisted by his brother Costantino Lombardo (1882 – 1960), a composer and conductor. [56] Five operettas with libretti by Carlo Lombardo are still regularly performed by Italian light theatre companies. [57]

Although most Lehár biographies offer 27 September 1922 as the date of the first performance of *La danza delle libellule* the more reliable Max Schönherr, referring to an Italian source, has 3 May 1922. [58] Proof of

[56] Biographical details from Claudio Sartori, *Enciclopedia della musica*, vol. 3 (Milan, 1964).

[57] In addition to *La danza delle libellule* these are *La duchessa del bal Tabarin* (1917), music by ‘Leon Bard’ (i.e. Carlo Lombardo), and three with music by Virgilio Ranzato (1883 – 1937), *Il paese dei campanelli* (1923), *Cin Ci Là* (1925) and *La città rosa* (1927). See performance details on website www.alfateatro.com/allestimenti.htm .

[58] Max Schönherr, *Franz Lehár: Bibliographie zu Leben und Werk* (Vienna, 1970), p. 75. Schönherr’s source is *Silvio d’Amico, Enciclopedia dello spettacolo fondata di Silvio d’Amico*, vol.6 (Rome, 1959), pp. 1346-1349. The only other Lehár biography to support the May dating is Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 334.

the accuracy of Schönherr's dating is provided by the *Corriere della sera* which lists, under the heading of 'Spettacoli d'oggi', Lehár's *La danza delle libellule* as a novelty ('novità') to be performed at 20.45 at the Lirico. [59]

The operetta was a derivative work, in effect a third version of *Der Sterngucker*, with the naïve stargazer replaced by Carlo, the disguised Duke of Nancy, and the three amorous schoolgirls replaced by the more worldly-wise Elena, the widow Cliquot, and her two irrepressibly flirtatious (though married) friends, Tutu Gratin and Carlotta Pommery. The three women encounter the hapless duke when ice-skating in the park at Nancy. When their flirting has no effect they accuse him of being a poacher. After further complications all is resolved when Carlo reveals his true identity, the husbands of Tutu and Carlotta arrive, and widow Cliquot becomes Carlo's bride.

There was significant borrowing of music from the earlier operetta. [60] The 'Libellentanz' waltz from *Der Sterngucker* was carried straight over into the Milan version of the operetta but it was not included in the Vienna version. Instead there was a trio in duple time for the three women, 'Ob du willst oder nicht ...' (*Libellentanz*, Act 1, no. 2).

[59] 'Spettacoli d'oggi', *Corriera della sera* (Milan), 3 May 1922, p. 2.

[60] Borrowings are indicated in *Franz Lehár, Thematischer Index / Thematic Index*, p. 92.

Just over three years after its Milan premiere *La danza delle libellule* underwent a further transformation when it was restaged as *Gigolette*. Although *Gigolette* appears in standard listings of the operettas it is unauthorised by Lehár. [61] The music was adapted anonymously, while the combined talents of Lombardo and Puccini's friend, Giovacchino Forzano, provided the libretto. [62] It would appear that *Gigolette* is not the only dubious work with which Forzano was associated. [63]

[61] Schönherr, *Franz Lehár: Bibliographie zu Leben und Werk*, p. 78.

[62] Giovacchino Forzano (1883 – 1970), former baritone singer, prolific writer and librettist, wrote *Suor Angelica* and *Gianni Schicchi* for Puccini as well as libretti for Mascagni, Wolf-Ferrari and Leoncavallo. He began producing operas in 1904 and soon became a dramatist, specialising in Florentine dialect plays. Apart from his libretti he wrote over 25 stage works. He was an active in the development of a primitive touring theatre enterprise with the use of 'thespian cars', trucks that could be converted to serve as stages for taking small productions to outlying villages. In the 1930s he was very closely associated with the Italian fascist movement. He directed propaganda films such as *Camicia nera* (1933), collaborated with Mussolini on a grand dramatic trilogy - *Campo di maggio* (1930), *Villafranca* (1931) and *Cesare* (1939) - and assisted with the staging and direction of political pageants. On Forzano as a librettist see the Forzano entry in John Warrack and Ewan West, *The Oxford dictionary of opera* (Oxford, 1992); on his literary work, see Luigi Baldacci 'Forzano drammaturgo' and Carmelo Alberti 'Le "Cromolitografie" sceniche del mago Forzano, regista-drammaturgo' in (ed) Piero and Nando Ostali, *Il piccolo Marat: storia e rivoluzione nel melodramma verista – Atti del terzo convegno di studi su Pietro Mascagni* (Milan, 1990), pp. 81-112; on Forzano and Mussolini see Jeffrey T. Schnapp, *19BL and the theater of masses for masses* (Stanford, California, 1996).

[63] C. E. J. Griffiths, *The theatrical works of Giovacchino Forzano – drama for Mussolini's Italy* (Lewiston, Queenstown and Lampeter, 2000), pp. 7 and 191, mentions *Mademoiselle Porte-Bonheur* (1911), music allegedly by Lehár. The libretto (published by Sonzogno) is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome; the music is so far untraceable.

La danza delle libellule (later known to London audiences as *The three Graces*, with a script by Ben Travers) was certainly no further step in a progressive direction for operetta but more a step in the direction of farce. It seems that in the 1920s Lehár experienced moments of stagnation in his creative ambition when ideas for new operettas were mooted only to be rejected. At one time he discussed with Ferenc Molnár the possibility of setting the novel *A Pál Utkai Fiúk* ('The Paul Street Boys'); the project was even announced in the press but nothing came of it. [64] In her autobiographical memoir, first published in 1924, the soprano Maria Jeritza recalled how Lehár had asked her to recommend a book. She suggested a story by Zoe Akins, but Lehár replied to say that

I cannot use the Zoe Akins book you sent me, for all the story is so clever, because it is not long enough for an operetta ... In one respect, however, I am past all reform. Whenever I write a new operetta, it must contain a Jeritza role, whether or no you sing the part! I always think of you and your great art while composing, and then my score always turns out to be a little more serious than it should, if it is to be comic opera. This does no harm, however, for I wrote *Frasquita* under the circumstances mentioned and it already has been given more than a hundred times. So I cannot complain. [65]

[64] Frey, 'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.', p. 283; also Franz Lehár, 'In Ischl komponiere ich einen Molnár', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 19 October 1929.

[65] Maria Jeritza, *Sunlight and song: a singer's life* (New York, reprint 1970), p. 70. Her early career included Lehár operettas at the Ischler Stadttheater in 1910. Her real name was Marie Jedlička (1887-1982). See also Robert Werba, *Marie Jeritza* (Vienna, 1981).

Lehár's operetta *Frasquita* was based on a novel which at one time had been projected for operatic treatment by Puccini. A libretto had been written, contracts had been signed, but Puccini had second thoughts and with great difficulty he managed to extricate himself from the proposed new opera, *Conchita*. [66]

The novel rejected by Puccini but accepted by Lehár was Pierre Louÿs' *La femme et le pantin*. First serialised in *Le Journal* in 1898, the story gained popularity internationally through stage versions. It was later adapted for cinema - most notably perhaps as Sternberg's *The devil is a woman* and Buñuel's *Cet obscur objet du désir*.

Pierre Louÿs (1870 – 1925) enjoyed a certain notoriety with writings that tended to explore the erotic and the sensual. The subject of his *La femme et le pantin* was an obsessive relationship in which a mature man, Don Mateo, is driven to distraction by a teenage beauty, Conchita. Settings and situations - a squabble with a gipsy woman, an encounter in a Seville cigarette factory - recall *Carmen*. There is even a direct reference to Merimée's tale when Mateo provides the girl and her mother with a house close to the calle del Candilejo, "où votre Carmen reçut don José" ("where your Carmen received Don José"). [67]

[66] Vincent Seligman, *Puccini among friends* (London, 1938), pp. 87-90; also (ed) Giuseppe Adami, *Letters of Giacomo Puccini* (London, 1931), pp. 167 and 228-229.

[67] Pierre Louÿs, *La femme et le pantin*, with preface and notes by Michel Delon (Paris, 1990), p. 124.

The spirit of this doomed relationship was captured to some extent by the libretto which Willner and Reichert prepared for Lehár, though the narrative content was somewhat altered. A gentleman by the name of Aristide Girot has brought his daughter, Dolly, to a Spanish town to meet his nephew, Armand, whom she is expected to marry. When Armand's friend, Hippolyt, appears, Dolly thinks that he is the nephew and greets him warmly. The young man is attracted by Dolly, but the mistaken identity is resolved when Armand is introduced. After a squabble between some gipsy women Armand hastily accuses one of the women, Frasquita, of theft. Although she is shown to be innocent Frasquita angrily resolves to seek revenge by seducing Armand - which she does effectively while Dolly finds comfort with Hippolyt. [68]

Lehár's score - with on the one hand its blend of zapateados, boleros and Spanish dance cross rhythms, and on the other the usual polkas, waltzes, and foxtrots - was no more Spanish than *Die Tangokönigin*. Yet there were moments of motivic thinking when, as Decsey observed, the opening of Frasquita's 'Fragst mich, was Liebe ist?' (Act 1, no. 5) was transformed into an expression of rage as Frasquita repeated Armand's "Ich hasse Sie!" (Act 2, no. 15; rehearsal figure 30). [69]

[68] For a full summary of the plot see Mark Lubbock, *The complete book of light opera* (London, 1962), pp. 266-269.

[69] Franz Lehár, *Frasquita* vocal score (rev.ed., Leipzig, 1933), p. 125; Ernst Decsey, *Franz Lehár* (Vienna, 1924), p. 107.

One critic dismissed the music as “Spain in Lehár style” (“Lehársches Spanien”), but the same critic had rather more serious problems with the libretto and its content. The criminality of the lead female character, the half-naked dancers at a club where *Frasquita* is the star attraction, the language and the violence - this was not the stuff of operetta. The reviewer concluded that the librettists had become “serious thinking writers” (“ernste denkende Schriftsteller”) for there was “absolutely nothing to laugh at” (“da gibts gar nichts zu lachen”). [70]

The one redeeming feature was Armand’s song, ‘Schatz, ich bitt’ dich’ (Act 2, no. 13), which was to become universally popular as the *Frasquita* Serenade. “How strange,” remarked José Collins, a leading artist in the British tour of *Frasquita*, “that the worst play so often contains the best song!” [71] The British tour was to be followed by a London season in 1925 at the Prince’s Theatre. The *Frasquita* company came into the Prince’s directly after one of the most successful D’Oyly Carte seasons ever. *Frasquita* flopped after four weeks.

There were more encouraging prospects for *Frasquita* a few years later when P.-B. Gheusi, newly reappointed as director of the Opéra-Comique, Paris, decided to try to attract larger audiences by engaging ‘star singers’ (‘chanteurs-vedettes’) such as Jan Kiepura and Conchita Supervia. The

[70] *Neue freie Presse*, 13 May 1922, p. 8.

[71] José Collins, *The maid of the mountains: her story* (London, 1932), p. 246.

most popular operas - Bizet's *Carmen*, Massenet's *Manon*, Puccini's *Tosca* and *La Bohème* - were to form the repertoire. There was also to be a special vehicle for the talents of Conchita Supervia, a revised version in French of *Frasquita*. [72]

An expensive production was mounted, with almost thirty names in a cast list headed by Conchita Supervia and Louis Arnoult. It was first presented to the public on 5 May 1933. The structure of the revision was retained for republication in German.

Score revision entailed deletions and additions. Forty bars from the end of the original overture were cropped, and a foxtrot duet for Armand and Hippolyt (Act 1, no. 2; 1922 score) was deleted. The order of items was revised so that a gipsy chorus and *Frasquita*'s entrance song came at the beginning. A new song for Armand, 'Sag' mir, sag' mir' (Act 1, no. 3; 1933 score), followed the departure of the gipsies. A new introduction ('O glaub' mir, mein Freund') and an extended payout was provided for *Frasquita* and Armand's third act waltz duet ('Wo du weilst, was du immer tust', Act 3, no. 17). The popular Serenade, carrying a footnote dedication to Hubert Marischka in the revised score, was reprised as an orchestral entr'acte before the final act.

In adapting the libretto Max Eddy and Jean Marietti had attempted to create something more elaborate than the original text, or so one French

[72] Jean Gourret, *Histoire de l'Opéra-Comique* (Paris, 1978), p. 197.

operetta historian has claimed. [73] Yet it was naturally argued that there were better French operettas, even assuming that operetta was really quite the thing for the ‘salle Favart’. With such a splendid cast Gheusi’s large-scale production should not have failed in artistic terms, but *Frasquita* was destined to go down in French theatre history as a ‘fruitless experiment’ (‘tentative infructueuse’). [74]

These past years of experiment and transition had generated a number of areas for future development. Obsession, heartbreak and resignation may not have been acceptable subjects in nineteenth-century operettas, but they suited Lehár’s expression. His ambition was simply to make operetta more like opera.

The next chapter will show how the obsession that figured so strongly in *Frasquita* re-emerged in *Giuditta* twelve years later. Perhaps a phrase from Louÿs’ book may have lingered when Lehár revised his next work, *Die gelbe Jacke*, for the novel ends with a letter in which Mateo writes “Je ne puis vivre où tu n’es pas”. [75] This translates into German almost literally as “Wo du nicht bist, kann ich nicht sein”, which is the second line of the song ‘Dein ist mein ganzes Herz’ from *Das Land des Lächelns*.

[73] Florian Bruyas, *Histoire de l’opérette en France* (Lyon, 1974), p. 526.

[74] Gourret, *Histoire de l’Opéra-Comique*, p. 200.

[75] Louÿs, *La femme et le pantin*, p. 144.

Lehár and the stage - The final phase

1923 - 1943

In his later operettas Lehár was increasingly attracted by bitter-sweet plots in the libretti. This eventual new direction had been tentatively pre-ordained by those earlier operettas in which the theme of resignation and irresolution had been evident. There may still have been a demand for operettas with artificially contrived happy endings, but such plots did not reflect the reality of post-war Vienna. The aristocrats who had been the heroes or the clowns of pre-war operettas were now an anachronism as the aristocracy had been abolished with the collapse of the monarchy. Libretti filled with these playboy aristocrats were now less attractive in a country where unemployment and poverty were widespread.

Lehár's next work, *Die gelbe Jacke*, was a relic from that pre-war era.

The plot was an East-meets-West tale about a Chinese diplomat in love with a Viennese socialite. The idea for the plot came from Victor Léon's daughter, inspired (according to Grun) by a Chinese diplomat who was a regular visitor to the Léons in pre-war years, or (in Schneidereit's account) by a Chinese diplomat who married a girl from Charlottenburg. [1]

[1] See Bernard Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár* (London, 1970), p. 186, and Otto Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten* (Berlin, 1984), p. 195.

Léon's daughter, Lizzy, intended the work as a vehicle for her husband, the tenor Hubert Marischka. The tenor voice was a familiar sound in Lehár operettas. Those leading players in the early works, Girardi and Treumann, were tenors, but their roles were character parts verging on the buffo, whereas in later works the shift towards a more operatic sounding ensemble demanded the more robust yet lyrical quality which was to be most famously expressed by Richard Tauber.

Before Tauber there was Hubert Marischka (1882 – 1959). His debut as a professional singer came in 1904 with Millöcker's *Der arme Jonathan*. In 1910 he had a supporting role in *Zigeunerliebe* at the Carl-Theater, but from 1913 he was the principal tenor at the Theater an der Wien in *Die ideale Gattin*, *Endlich allein*, *Wo die Lerche singt*, *Die blaue Mazur*, and *Frasquita*.

Léon humoured his daughter by leaving her to plan a storyline. Ideas had evolved slowly during the course of the war years, and then in November 1918 Lizzy Marischka suddenly died. The project was immediately shelved, but out of respect for his daughter Léon eventually resurrected and completed the script, dedicating it to her memory.

Lehár produced a score of high quality, rich with melodies that would be preserved intact for a revision seven years later. Parallel fifths, a device found in earlier Lehár works, were used appropriately to suggest the exotic Chinese character. One cannot be certain if Lehár borrowed any authentic

Chinese melodies, but Léon certainly used Chinese verses. The tenor solo, 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' (Act 1, no. 4) began with lines derived from a poem by Ma-Huang-Tschung (1861 - ?); another song (Act 2, no. 9) was loosely based on La-Ksu-Feng (1852 - ?). [2]

The work was a failure. Intermarriage between races was not only an uncomfortable subject, it was for many Austrians an unacceptable one.

The plot described how a young Viennese lady, Lea, faces the prospect of being one of several wives of a Chinese diplomat, having first rejected the worthy if dim suitor, Claudius von Wimpach. Lea experiences conflicting emotions in the second act set in Peking where her homesickness for Vienna provides a cue for a waltz song, 'Wien, du mein Wien' (Act 2, no. 11). The third act sees her back in Vienna, but her Chinese lover has conveniently got a posting there so that he can follow her. They are happily reunited, as are Claudius and the diplomat's sister, Mi-a-o, who has been baptised so that they too can be married.

The plot stretched credulity and risked derision. The name given to the Chinese diplomat, Sou-Chong-Chwang, was absurdly reminiscent of a variety of Chinese tea, Lapsang Souchong. While Mi-a-o's baptism may be believed (for this was a practice undertaken by Jews aspiring for better professional development opportunities in Austria) it seemed unlikely that

[2] Victor Léon, *Die gelbe Jacke* lyrics book (Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1923), author's footnotes on pp. 7 and 17.

a representative of a male chauvinist cultural tradition could have rejected his culture for a European woman. Hackneyed ideas, such as the ‘Kino-Duett’ (Act 3, no. 16), did nothing to improve it.

Judging from comments in the *Neue freie Presse*, Lehár could do hardly any wrong with the music. With this work of sterling and admirable quality (“das gediegene und bewundernswerte Werk”) Lehár had “one might say, written his *Monsieur Butterfly*” (“sozusagen seinen *Monsieur Butterfly* geschrieben”). There was just the one reservation, “Let’s hope that he will soon write an operetta again” (“Hoffentlich schreibt er bald wieder eine Operette”). [3]

When Lehár’s principal publisher and the director at the Theater an der Wien, Wilhelm Karczag, died on 11 October 1923, a sequence of events was triggered which would have far-reaching consequences. Karczag’s publishing company and the management of the Theater an der Wien fell into the control of Hubert Marischka, for in 1921 the widower Marischka had married Lilian, Karczag’s daughter. For Lehár this provided an opportunity (or the necessity) to forge links with other publishers. In the long term Lehár was the beneficiary of the situation for Marischka’s spendthrift management, together with his inability to find new talented composers, plunged both theatre and publishing house (later called Papageno-Verlag) into debt. After ten years, and amid rumours of

[3] *Neue freie Presse*, 10 February 1923, p. 9.

financial impropriety, Marischka was forced to relinquish all of Lehár's copyrights at no cost to the composer who thereupon established his own Glocken-Verlag publishing house. [4]

While Marischka embarked upon his ill-fated career in management and publishing Lehár accepted a script from Béla Jenbach which he had adapted from a farce, *Der Schrei nach dem Kinde*, by Julius Horst and Alexander Engel. Jenbach's libretto, *Cloclo*, concerned a lady of mature years, Melousine, who has been desperately wanting a child all her married life and accepts as an adoptive daughter a young woman whom she believes to be her husband's illegitimate child. The young woman is nothing of the kind but "the latest star at the Folies Bergères" ("der neueste Stern der Folies Bergères") known as Cloclo. [5] Melousine's husband, Severin, is just one of the girl's many admirers, but as he is the oldest Cloclo always calls him "Papa".

As Cloclo has been in trouble with the police she is happy to live with Melousine and Severin until she becomes bored and starts to miss her sweetheart, Maxime. When the police trace her she is taken into custody

[4] On Marischka's musical career see Karl J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens, *Grosses Sängerlexikon*, vol. 2 (Berne and Stuttgart, 1987), p. 1857; on his financial problems see Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, pp. 251-252; on his theatre management see Anton Bauer, *150 Jahre Theater an der Wien* (Zurich, Leipzig, Vienna, 1952), pp. 245-254. The Marischkas maintained their ownership of the Theater an der Wien until 1960 when it was bought by the municipality of Vienna.

[5] Béla Jenbach, *Cloclo* prompt book (Berlin, Munich, Vienna, 1924), p. 9.

and placed in a cell which has been luxuriously appointed by her admirers. Scandal is somehow averted for the respectable and reconciled Severin and Melousine, while Cloclo and Maxime are happily reunited.

Lehár began work on *Cloclo* in August 1923. The piano score took only nine days to complete, from 5 to 14 February 1924. [6] On 8 March *Cloclo* received its first performance at the Wiener Bürgertheater, and between piano score completion and premiere Lehár married his partner, Sophie, on 20 February 1924.

Within the scheme of Lehár operettas at this time *Cloclo* was an odd work. With its farcical content and French setting it seemed like a throwback to the Offenbach style which Lehár had rejected long ago. It may have been intended as an attempt to thrust the old format into a new image by using contemporary dance, for dance descriptors - foxtrot, tango, one-step, java and so on - replaced the standard Italian tempo indications for some numbers. There was a contemporary quality to the instrumentation with the use of extra percussion and two saxophones.

The three principal characters were played by Ernst Tautenhayn as Severin, Gisela Werbezirk (1875 – 1956) as Melousine, and Louise Kartousch (1886 – 1964) as Cloclo. From the most casual survey of the score it seems clear that this operetta was designed to promote the talents of the soubrette, Louise Kartousch, for she appears in no fewer than

[6] Norbert Linke, *Franz Lehár* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2001), p. 79.

sixteen of the twenty numbers. It would be tempting to speculate that the work may have been written as a personal favour to the soubrette - yet it may have been just a stopgap before that final sequence of works in which Tauber was to appear.

While critics tended to welcome the lighter mood in *Cloclo* there were reservations. The *Neue freie Presse* detected some insincerity in Lehár's composition, reminding readers of the adage that to "compose music that is light throughout is, as one knows, not such a light matter" ("Ganz leichte Musik zu schreiben, ist bekanntlich keine so leichte Sache"). [7] Only in one first act waltz was Lehár completely at ease, according to this reviewer. It seems that Lehár had some misgivings too, for after a staging at the Berliner Theater, Berlin, on 8 November 1924 he made some revisions, adding for example the Peter Herz song, 'Komm, die Nacht gehört der Sünde'. In this new format the work was produced at the Johann Strauss-Theater, Vienna, on 5 September 1925, with a respelling of the title as *Clo-Clo*.

It was at this point that Lehár embarked upon a series of works which, while structurally no different from earlier operettas, were dramatically at variance with them. The conventional format for Viennese operetta required three acts - the first to present a situation, the second to present a conflict or problem, the third to resolve the problem or conflict to the

[7] *Neue freie Presse*, 9 March 1924, p. 15.

general satisfaction of all. In the simplest terms the dramatic purpose of the third act was to be reversed, such that any conflict in the second act is heightened in the third. Resolution becomes a matter of compromise and resignation.

Such emotions had been met before in *Das Fürstenkind*, for example, but now they were to be presented in a more intense and raw manner. Shortly after the premiere of *Die gelbe Jacke* in 1923 Lehár had been sent an anonymous script for what was to become the first of this new wave of serious operettas. The author, a book dealer and publisher, Paul Knöpler (1879 – 1967), writing as Paul Knepler, was a dilettante composer who had written words and music for an operetta, *Josephine Gallmeyer*, which was produced at Vienna's Bürgertheater in 1921. [8]

Knepler had prepared the draft of a work which was originally entitled *Der Hexenmeister*. He may well have intended to write the music himself but was persuaded otherwise. Lehár was immediately captivated by a plot in which the leading character was a person with whom he could readily identify - a violinist and composer with a love for music and a love for women. On 30 April 1923 he spent four hours sketching the first act of

[8] Birth and death years from Martin Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf: Studien zum Libretto des musikalischen Unterhaltungstheaters im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Vienna and Cologne, 1989), p. 331. Other libretti by Knepler include *Wenn der Hollunder blüht*, music by Knepler (1924), *Die Glocken von Paris* (1927) for Richard Fall, *Zwei Herzen im Dreivierteltakt* (1948) for Robert Stolz, and two Millöcker adaptations, *Gasparone* (1933) and *Die Dubarry* (1951).

the score, noting that this was his “birthday present from God” (“mein Geburtstagsgeschenk von lieben Gott”). [9]

What set this libretto apart from all previous libretti for Lehár was that the central figure (as in the case of Knepler’s *Josephine Gallmeyer*) was a historical person. [10] In this instance it was the composer and violinist Paganini. Such a subject could not fail to inspire the violinist in Lehár who amassed a wealth of Paganini literature in preparation. [11] There was, if one accepts the argument proposed by Knosp, another reason for the attractiveness of the script, and that is that the conventional operetta was being rejected by the general public who wanted something different from the inevitable “three-act farce”. [12]

To give greater substance to the first of this genre of singers’ operettas Lehár enlisted the services of two acknowledged experts in their respective fields. First of all, it was his intent to engage Richard Tauber for the principal tenor role. Tauber’s input, probably as much by

[9] From a Lehár sketchbook in the collection at the Schikaneder-Schlössl quoted in Linke, *Franz Lehár*, p. 83.

[10] Josephine Gallmeyer (1838-1884) was a popular entertainer in the Viennese ‘Volkstheater’ tradition. Gifted as a singer, actress and dancer she also wrote stories and theatrical works. See Kutsch and Riemens, *Grosses Sängerlexikon*, p. 1031.

[11] Maria von Peteani, *Franz Lehár: seine Musik, sein Leben* (Vienna and London, 1950), p. 158.

[12] Gaston Knosp, *Franz Lehár: une vie d’artiste* (Brussels and Paris, 1935), pp. 52-53.

inspiration as by active participation, was the sound envisaged by Lehar and, perhaps to some extent, the decorative ‘bel canto’ shaping of vocal phrases and cadences achievable by an artist of such technical prowess. The second person drafted in by Lehár was Béla Jenbach whose task it was to improve the lyrics.

Knepler’s scenario was an apocryphal account of Paganini’s musical and amorous experiences at the court of the Princess Elisa Baciocchi at Lucca. The completed operetta, *Paganini*, opened on 30 October 1925 at the Johann Strauss-Theater, Vienna, but without Tauber who was already contractually committed to perform in Stockholm. Stepping into the title role of Paganini was Carl Clewing (1884 – 1954), a ‘Heldentenor’ with the Berlin Staatsoper who had sung Walther and Parsifal in the previous season at Bayreuth. In this, his last major role before retiring from the stage to take a lectureship in musicology at Berlin, Clewing was judged to be “an excellent interpreter of Lehár’s lyricism” (“ein ausgezeichnete Interpret von Lehárs Lyrik”). [13]

Yet even with Carl Clewing and Emmy Kosáry in the two leading roles the operetta was such a catastrophic failure in Vienna that Heinrich Saltenburg, the director of the Deutsches Künstler-Theater in Berlin, wanted to cancel the Berlin premiere. Tauber, contracted for fifty performances in Berlin, was not prepared to accept cancellation. Nor was

[13] *Neue freie Presse*, 31 October 1925, p. 10.

Lehár. Saltenburg was forced to concede. The performances went ahead and the operetta was rescued from oblivion, not so much through its own intrinsic merits but largely because of Tauber's presence and the song that he made his own, 'Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst', the first 'Tauber song' or 'Tauber-Lied'.

In the long term *Paganini* has not held its intended place as the much vaunted first flowering of a final phase of Lehár masterpieces. As a dramatic work it is inherently weak, with a shallow plot and, in *Paganini*, a shallow egocentric main character. The love interest in the plot, the infatuation of the Princess Anna Elisa, is insubstantially explained, while the princess's husband, Felice, is nothing more than the stereotypical adulterous 'seigneur' as he tries to take advantage of Bella, prima donna of the court opera.

Characterisation fell into a pattern reminiscent of earlier models in which the leading 'serious' couple is contrasted with the 'buffo' song-and-dance duo. With Anna Elisa and Paganini as the serious couple, the lighter role fell to Bella and her partner Pimpinelli. In the latter stages of preparation the role of Felice was relegated to a more subsidiary position as his duet with Bella, fully scored in Lehár's manuscript, was deleted. [14]

Despite the faults the work has considerable musical interest. The use of

[14] The duet, beginning 'O Madonna, o Madonna' with a waltz refrain 'Geh, sei lieb zu mir', is No. 2 in the manuscript and headed 'Melodramm und Duett'. It is not printed in vocal scores of the operetta.

exotic or non-standard instruments is a characteristic of the orchestration in these later operettas. Such devices had been used for effect before, but now they were more an integral part of Lehár's palette of sound colours. For the Italian ambiance in *Paganini* Lehár added mandolins, for the Russian sound in *Der Zarewitsch* he used balalaikas and tenor saxophone, to capture the spirituality of a German church in *Friederike* he included a harmonium. There was oriental percussion in *Das Land des Lächelns* and an onstage accordion in *Schön ist die Welt*. This was also a period when Lehár was revising earlier scores, including *Die lustige Witwe*, which presumably included orchestration changes. [15]

While there is some motivic writing in *Paganini* there is little evidence of motivic development. A recurring theme is introduced in the opening bars of the prelude (Act 1, no. 1) which seems to be associated with Paganini's emotional turmoil as it comes back when he sings of what he thinks and feels (Act 1, no. 4). In that song beginning 'Was ich denke ...' is a theme, derived from a two-bar phrase that opens with boldly accented quavers, which is associated with the consecration of Paganini's violin to women, for directly after this Paganini sings "Den Frau'n will ich die Geige weih'n."

[15] A manuscript score of *Die lustige Witwe* in the Bad Ischl municipal archive, which does not appear to be in Lehár's hand, does not include the 'tamburica' ensemble in the 'Vilja-Lied'. The omission from such a manuscript score is of course not necessarily significant.

Substantial restatements of songs are used for motivic purposes. The duet for Bella and Pimpinelli, 'Mit den Frau'n auf du und du' (Act 1, no. 6), returns in the Act 1 finale, making a comment on human relationships. The second act finale (Act 2, no. 14) reprises part of Bella's song 'Wenn keine Liebe' (Act 2, no. 8), the Lucca royal anthem from the opening of the first act finale, the violin consecration theme, and Anna Elisa's 'Liebe du Himmel auf Erden' (Act 2, no. 13).

It is worth noting that Lehár makes rather more use of the chorus in *Paganini* than had been the case in its immediate predecessors, though the moments when Lehár strays from the unison betray crudely simplistic chordal writing. For the two leading roles of Anna Elisa and Paganini the vocal writing is not always appropriate to the character. An example is Anna Elisa's 'So ein Mann ist eine Sünde wert' (Act 1, no. 5), hardly ladylike in line or lyric; for his 1942 recording Lehár transferred this song to Act 3 where it was sung by Bella.

Lehár seems far more at ease with instruments than with voices, and this is demonstrated clearly by the violin solos in *Paganini*. While some of these are little more than moments of technical bravura and fragments of cadenzas, there are more extensive passages which display the style of those rhapsodic pieces composed during his years of military service at Losoncz.

For the next Lehár operetta Béla Jenbach teamed up with Heinz Reichert

to produce another work inspired, at least in part, by episodes from the lives of historical personages, in this instance, two Russian princes. The first was the rebellious Alexei Petrovitch (1690 – 1718), eldest son of Czar Peter I, the Great, who, being opposed to his father's reforms, escaped to Vienna and Naples. His Finnish mistress, disguised as a page, fled with him. The Czar's spies traced the couple to Italy and bribed the woman to persuade Alexei to return to Russia. Once there the prince was accused of treason and arrested. He died under torture.

The second Russian prince was Nicholas Alexandrovitch, the future Czar Nicholas II, who had been romantically involved during the 1890s with Mathilda-Maria Kschessinskaya (1872 – 1971), prima ballerina assoluta of the Imperial Russian Ballet, during the 1890s before his betrothal to Alix of Hessen-Darmstadt. Jenbach and Reichert wanted to use this episode in their scenario, but the assassination of Nicholas and his family was very recent history, and Lehár had misgivings. [16]

The story of the first of these princes had been the inspiration for the play, *Carewicz*, by Gabryela Zapolska (1857 – 1921). Zapolska was the stage name and pen name of Polish author and actress Maria Gabriela Stefania Korwin-Piotrowska. A follower of Zola and the Naturalist movement in literature she caused outrage with plays dealing with modern morality and including controversial subjects such as prostitution, sexually transmitted

[16] Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 224.

diseases, the abuse of women and other social issues. Much of her work was translated into German.

Her *Carewicz* was staged in a German version by Bernhard Scharlitt. The play had been known to the Lehárs since 1917 when Sophie saw it, but it was 1925 when Lehár himself saw it. [17] Its operatic possibilities were evident from the start, but Lehár apparently found the idea of a woman 'en travestie' distasteful. Only when the libretto had been submitted first to Mascagni and then to Künneke did Lehár reconsider, but before he could accept it the Zapolska drama had to be "taken out of politics, humanized and cleared of all superfluous historical matter." Furthermore, Lehár "(on the model of Puccini) exercised a decisive influence on the dramatic structure." [18]

To explain the loose connection with Scharlitt's translation the libretto of *Der Zarewitsch* carried the description "frei nach Zapolska-Scharlitt".

The main character in the operetta is a woman-hating prince, Aljoscha. A melancholy and lonely individual, he will not have any woman near him, yet he will be expected to get married and produce heirs to continue the dynasty. A plot, designed to prepare the prince for a relationship with a woman, is hatched by the Prime Minister. A ballet dancer, Sonja, is taken

[17] Stan Czech, *Franz Lehár: sein Weg und sein Werk* (Vienna, 1948), p. 168.

[18] Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, p. 219.

to the prince's apartments disguised as a young Cossack cadet. The prince soon discovers her identity, but the two come to an understanding that develops into friendship and love. When a wife is found for the prince the authorities persuade Sonja to break off the relationship by falsely admitting that she has had many lovers - but she cannot maintain the deception. The two elope to Naples, but as news reaches them of the Czar's death Aljoscha decides to return home, take up the throne and marry the chosen bride, leaving a distraught Sonja.

Der Zarewitsch was first performed on 16 February 1927 not in Vienna but in Berlin with Tauber in the title role. [19] In May of the following year Hans Heinz Bollmann had the lead in the Vienna premiere. For a Viennese reviewer the libretto was "on the whole a very tasteful book with unusually pretty and fine texts" ("Im ganzen ein sehr geschmackvolles Buch mit ungewöhnlich hübschen und feinen Texten"). [20] A Berlin critic remarked how "Lehár's old tendency for operatic window-dressing ... leads him towards libretti with pretensions for seriousness" ("Lehár's alte Neigung zu opernhafter Aufmachung ... führt ihn zu Textbüchern, die Ernsthaftigkeit affektieren."). The whole work was based, he claimed, on

[19] Many sources have 21 February. The correct date is in Stefan Frey, *'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.' Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. and Leipzig, 1999) and Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, who cites corroborative reviews.

[20] *Neue freie Presse*, 19 May 1928, p. 9.

“a false and clumsy psychology” (“einer falschen und ungeschickten Psychologie”). [21] Yet Grun has stated that Lehár intended to ensure that the unhappy ending should be “psychologically founded”. [22]

The music was its strongest feature. Particularly fine, and quite uniquely so in the Lehár canon, was the choral writing with rich four-part harmonising for male chorus, notably in the ‘Introduktion’ (Act 1, no. 1) in which the opening theme of the ‘Wolgalied’ is first heard, and in the ‘Introduktion, Lied und Tanz’ (Act 2, no. 7) in which women’s voices double the tenors.

The vocal writing is dominated, as one might expect, by solos and duets for Sonja and Aljoscha. By way of contrast there is another vocal duo formed by Aljoscha’s manservant Iwan and his wife Mascha who have a waltz duet in the middle of Act 1 and quick duple-time song-and-dance numbers in the later acts. The Iwan/Mascha duets add nothing to the story, nor is there any Russian character to their music.

The minor mode is very much in evidence for the melancholy moods of Aljoscha. The “Wolgalied’ (Act 1, no. 5) opens in G minor but it moves with a characteristic Lehár shift into the major for the refrain “Hast du dort oben vergessen auf mich?” The root cause of his misogyny, the fear of

[21] *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung*, 17 February 1927, in Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, pp. 228 and 230.

[22] Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, p. 219.

“the great secret surrounding all women” (“das grosse Geheimnis, das alle Frau’n umgibt”), is expressed in an E minor passage in the first act finale, with the voice doubled at the octave by a solo violin. [23]

Aljoscha and Sonja are matched both emotionally and musically. The ‘Wolgalied’ ends with Aljoscha’s prayer that an angel might come down to him. Sonja expresses the hope that someone will come to desire her in her ternary structured ‘Einer wird kommen’ (Act 1, no. 4), a song which is in effect a female equivalent of the ‘Tauber-Lied’.

In *Der Zarewitsch* there is very little discernible motivic development for Lehár prefers simply to reprise sections of melodies. A fourteen-bar fragment of Sonja’s ‘Einer wird kommen’ is heard instrumentally in her scene and duet (Act 2, no. 12) and in the intermezzo introducing the third act. [24] In his ‘Napolitana’ (Act 2, no. 9) Aljoscha, in a spirit of *carpe diem*, sings, “O komm, es hat der Frühling ach nur einen Mai”. This is reprised by Sonja in their duet ‘Kosende Wellen’ (Act 3, no. 14) as the question “Warum hat jeder Frühling ach nur einen Mai?” (“Why does every spring have only one May?”). The question remains unanswered as she asks it again in the final bars of the operetta.

The next operetta was scripted by a librettist new to Lehár working with

[23] Franz Lehár, *Der Zarewitsch* vocal score (Vienna, 1927/1937), Finale 1 (Act 1, no. 6) at rehearsal reference (3), p. 23.

[24] Lehár, *Der Zarewitsch* vocal score; ‘allegretto moderato’, p. 65 and p. 90.

one of Lehár's least successful librettists. Ludwig Herzl (1872 – 1939), who used the pen name Ludwig Herzer, was a gynaecologist by profession. His sporadic contributions to musical theatre had included scripts for Eysler. [25] In partnership with Herzer was Fritz Löhner, now writing as Fritz Löhner-Beda (1883 – 1942). A poet and satirist, he was one of the most prolific of operetta librettists, with over thirty titles to his credit. [26]

The two librettists came with a daring idea for yet another plot centred on a personage from history, the foremost national poet and dramatist of Germany, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Their libretto was to retell the tale of Goethe's relationship with Friederike Brion, daughter of a rural pastor at Sesenheim.

It was very much in the mould of the two previous libretti, with a man leaving a heartbroken woman to fulfil his destiny. Yet if this could not be accepted seriously as operetta there was a high risk not only of ridicule for authors, composer and singers but also of gross offence to the literary

[25] These were *Der Aushilfsgatte* (1917) and *Der dunkle Schatz* (1918). His libretti are noted in Anton Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien: Verzeichnis ihrer Erstaufführungen in der Zeit von 1629 bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz and Cologne, 1955).

[26] Fritz Löhner-Beda wrote libretti for Ascher, Eysler, Richard Fall and Oskar Jascha. His best and most lasting work is to be found in his four scripts for Lehár's final phase and in Paul Abraham's operettas – *Viktoria und ihr Husar*, *Die Blume von Hawaii*, *Ball im Savoy*, and *Märchen im Grand-Hotel*. See Bauer, *Opern und Operetten in Wien*.

establishment. Tauber, who had neither the looks nor the build of a young and lean poet, was extremely reluctant but he was eventually persuaded.

In their determination to produce a work of quality the librettists turned to the poetry of Goethe himself for the lyrics. Among the poems chosen was Goethe's *Heidenröslein* ('Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn'). [27]

The eventual 'Tauber-Lied' was also derived from Goethe. In his *Mailed*, beginning 'Wie herrlich leuchtet mir die Natur', the sixth of the nine stanzas reads:

O Mädchen, Mädchen,
Wie lieb ich dich!
Wie blickt dein Auge!
Wie liebst du mich! [28]

[O maiden, maiden, / how I love you! / How your
eye glances! / How you love me!]

This became:

O Mädchen, mein Mädchen,
wie lieb' ich dich!
Wie leuchtet dein Auge,
wie liebst du mich!

[O maiden, my maiden, / how I love you! /
How your eye gleams, / how you love me!]

Another Goethe poem, *Nähe des Geliebten*, was adapted to form the lyrics for the central part of the first act duet with Goethe ('Blicke ich auf deine

[27] For the full text of the poem see Leonard Forster (ed), *The Penguin book of German verse* (Harmondsworth, 1957/1963), pp. 195-196.

[28] For the full text of *Mailed* see Forster (ed), *The Penguin book of German verse*, pp 193-195.

Hände') when Friederike sings:

Ich denke dein, wenn mir der Sonne Schimmer
vom Himmel strahlt;
Ich denke dein, wenn sich des Mondes Flimmer
Im Teiche malt. [29]

[I think of you when towards me the shimmer of
the sun / gleams from the sky; / I think of you
when the glimmer of the moon / portrays itself in
the pool.]

Except for two word changes (on the second and fourth lines) this is a faithful quote from Goethe's original. Although lyrics and original poem part company at this point the spirit of the original is retained. [30]

According to Lehár's annotations on the manuscript score he composed in pencil all the solos for Goethe and the poignant 'Warum hast du mich wachgeküsst' for Friederike in two months from 20 July to 20 September 1928. [31] As Grun has observed, of the twenty-eight numbers in the operetta "sixteen go to one or other or both of the two leads." [32]

In the context of this observation Grun was eager to stress that with two well educated authors in Herzer and Löhner-Beda the prime motivation

[29] Franz Lehár, *Friederike* vocal score (New York, 1955), pp. 26-27.

[30] The Goethe original has 'Meere' ['sea'] where the lyrics have 'Himmel', and 'in Quellen' ['in springs'] instead of 'im Teiche'. The full text of *Nähe des Geliebten* is in Forster (ed), *The Penguin book of German verse*, pp. 222-223.

[31] Linke, *Franz Lehár*, p. 93.

[32] Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, p.224.

was absolute respect for the characters portrayed therein. This operetta was to be labelled a 'Singspiel', for the story belonged to a time when Goethe was experimenting with the 'Singspiel' genre. Respect for the subject matter was raised in a radio interview in 1940 when Lehár was asked if there was a "favourite child of his muse". He replied:

One child has grown particularly close to my heart. Of all the nations that my children belong to (and there was one that even became Chinese) it is the most German among them. I am referring to *Friederike*. Written with honesty, with German feeling, with deepest reverence for Goethe, written from my heart ... [33]

This was, however, 1940, when German spirit mattered (and Jewish librettists could not be mentioned), the year when Lehár was being hailed by the Nazis as the master of German operetta. His choice of "favourite children" was perforce limited. Respect for Goethe there may have been, but this was hardly extended towards Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, one of Goethe's friends, for it is difficult to imagine in this young man singing a song to a little lamb ('Du bist so sanft'; Act 1, no. 7) the future gritty dramatist of *Die Soldaten* and *Der Hofmeister*.

Whatever limited credence may attach to Lehár's 1940 interview there is no doubt that in the 'Singspiel' *Friederike* he was working on a higher plane than in either *Paganini* or *Der Zarewitsch*. Motivic and thematic thought is evident from the outset. The first six notes of the Vorspiel form

[33] Quoted in Lichtfuss, *Operette im Ausverkauf*, p. 295.

the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif which, after twelve bars of introduction, turns into an eight-bar statement of the melody. A central section of the Vorspiel draws upon a duet, 'All mein Fühlen, all mein Sehnen' (Act 2, no. 12), before proceeding directly into the harmonium solo (Act 1, no. 1). Structurally this solo forms the final part of the Vorspiel for it is linked to the beginning by a descant for violins derived from the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif.

In the first act finale the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif almost develops into a song when Goethe expresses his desire to kiss Friederike. [34] The motif recurs at various moments in the work. One moment is the end of the 'Stammbuchszene' (Act 2, no. 11) when, after signing autographs for admiring village girls, Goethe notices Friederike and asks what he should write in her album. This is followed by the duet, 'All mein Fühlen, all mein Sehnen' (Act 2, no. 12), the refrain for which has an instrumental accompaniment with countermelody derived from the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif. The long-hinted song finally comes next when Goethe is alone (Act 2, no. 13).

There are other statements when only the instrumental accompaniment has the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif. It is heard from trumpets in Friederike's 'Warum hast du mich wachgeküsst', and in the second act finale from the lower accompaniment to Goethe's "Liebe, seliger Traum"

[34] Lehár, *Friederike* vocal score, rehearsal section (11), pp. 44-45.

(Act 2, no. 15; section (4)) and later (at section (6)) when, in a moment charged with emotion, Goethe sees Friederike behave indifferently towards him. The motif is heard for the last time in the third act (Act 3, no. 19) from the woodwind over the 'All mein Fühlen' theme, and in the *finaletto* with muted violin.

Although the 'Mädchen, mein Mädchen' motif serves as a unifying force through the whole work it is not the only significant theme. The first act duet, 'Blicke ich auf deine Hände', is used to generate the introduction to the Goethe setting, 'Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn' (Act 1, no. 7) and a part of the first act finale, when Friederike admits to herself that she loves Goethe (Act 1, no. 8; section (8)). It is heard again later in that finale (section (16)) when Goethe kisses her.

The first act finale contains other thematic reminiscences. Goethe's waltz song, 'O wie schön' (Act 1, no. 5), is heard with different words as he dances with Friederike (Act 1, no. 8; section (3)). Goethe sings part of his *Heidenröslein* poem to her (Act 1, no. 8; sections (13) and (14)). Her realisation that she is the broken wild rose of the poem forms a vocal and instrumental reprise in the last section of the second act finale. A two-bar fragment is sung by Goethe in Act 3. [35]

Although the comparatively minor characters of Lenz and Salomea fulfil

[35] In the scene with Karl August, at the words "Hier auf dieser Bank". See Lehár, *Friederike* vocal score, p. 100.

the function of lighter characters by contrasting with the serious Goethe and Friederike, there is none of the tawdry song-and-dance business met elsewhere. Lehár's use of dance in *Friederike* is quite different from his usage elsewhere for he eschews the contemporary and favours the period. Even so, his old-fashioned dances - gavotte, minuet, Ländler, 'Pfalzer-tanz' and 'Rheinlander' - are modernised a little in terms of orchestral texture.

When *Friederike* opened at the newly refurbished Metropol-Theater, Berlin, on 4 October 1928 it met with public approval and some hostility. Hostility came from Nazis and so-called 'culture-conscious Germans' not so much towards the operetta but towards the Jewish theatre owners, Fritz and Alfred Rotter. [36] There were more legitimate concerns from critics at the Vienna premiere about the irreverent choice of Goethe as a subject for music theatre. [37] Both in Berlin and Vienna the public support for *Friederike* was considerable. A potential long run of Berlin performances was curtailed only because of other commitments of principal soprano Käthe Dorsch (1890 – 1957) and, more seriously, by concerns for Tauber who succumbed to a crippling attack of arthritis which was complicated by angina. [38]

[36] Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 234.

[37] Ludwig Hirschfeld, for example, writing in the *Neue freie Presse*, 16 February 1929, p. 7.

[38] Linke, *Franz Lehár*, p. 95.

Tauber's health scare happened in January 1929. *Friederike* was then playing at the Theater des Westens because the Metropol had accepted a new production of *Die lustige Witwe* for the Christmas season. For this production Lehár's arguably finest work was rewritten as a revue in which the Balkan widow became Hannah Glawarios, a wealthy American from Honduras, played by Fritzi Massary. [39] The production had the active support of Lehár who interpolated his own adaptations of contemporary hit songs and re-orchestrated his operetta score in jazz style with parts for banjo and saxophone. In true Rotter brothers' style this was an opulent staging which, in a time of world economic recession, perhaps provides some justification for some punning complaints about 'Verrotterung' ('corruption') of the theatre.

Lehár is reported to have said that Tauber proposed the next work, a revision of *Die gelbe Jacke*, after looking through earlier scores. [40] The role of Sou-Chong had a particular advantage in that Tauber's condition could be obscured by static staging. It was acknowledged "that Lehár was past the 'happy end' period in his creative output" ("dass Lehár in seinem Schaffen über die Happy end-Periode hinaus sei"). [41] And so this

[39] Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 240.

[40] From the *Wiener allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 May 1930, quoted in Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 240.

[41] Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel* no. 820, October 1929, p. 47.

proved with *Die gelbe Jacke* redrafted as *Das Land des Lächelns*.

In this, Lehár's artistically most successful revision, a number of songs were retained from the original but uncredited to Victor Léon. Sou-Chong's 'Immer nur lächeln' and 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' were musically intact with only minimal textual improvements, and his 'Liebes Schwesterlein' had words changed to suit the context. Lea (now Lisa) had the specifically Viennese references removed from 'Ich möcht' wieder einmal den Prater seh'n' for the revision as 'Ich möcht' wieder einmal die Heimat seh'n'.

Some music was carried over with fundamental changes to the text. In *Die gelbe Jacke* Mi-a-o planned to win Claudius by telling him the tale of Li-Tsching-Lu and her poor lover King-Fu who is transformed by the god of love into a kite for the girl to play with. This was in a narrative song, 'Li-Tsching-Lu dich liebt King-Fu' (*Die gelbe Jacke*, Act 2, no. 10). The new words for the music of this song formed a simplified statement of multi-faith doctrine and the unifying power of love in *Das Land des Lächelns*, ending with the refrain:

Meine Liebe, deine Liebe,
die sind beide gleich,
Jeder Mensch hat nur ein Herz
und nur ein Himmelreich ... etc. [42]

[42] 'Meine Liebe, deine Liebe' (Act 2, no. 10) in Franz Lehár, *Das Land des Lächelns* vocal score (Vienna, 1929/1957), pp. 55-56.

[My love, your love, / these are both alike, / for every human being has but one heart / and one heavenly kingdom ... etc.]

The leading players in *Die gelbe Jacke* were finally reunited in the third act finale which began with fragments recalled from earlier themes - the 'Apfelblüten' song, the Chinese wedding music, and a phrase in parallel fifths for woodwind and celesta which seems to serve as a love motif.

This love motif appears in *Das Land des Lächelns*; an example may be found in the second act finale (Act 2, no. 13; section (2)) when Lisa sings, "Warum? Warum? Weil ich dich liebte." [42]

To return to the third act finale of *Die gelbe Jacke*, Sou-Chong arrived at Lea's villa which she had decorated in Chinese style. His amazement was expressed in a recitative which moves from B flat, with accompanying phrases from the 'Apfelblüten' theme, through a chord sequence to G major for an orchestral reminiscence of 'Immer nur lächeln' which shifts sequentially to D flat major. [43]

At this point (section (6) of the Act 3 finale) a new theme emerged. [44]

The new theme may be seen as an extended derivative of the love motif, for both use parallel fifths, and the perfect fourth interval spanning the

[42] Lehár, *Das Land des Lächelns* vocal score, p. 69.

[43] The same sequence is found in bars 17 to 24 of the overture to *Das Land des Lächelns*. See Lehár, *Das Land des Lächelns* vocal score, p. 3.

[44] Franz Lehár, *Die gelbe Jacke* vocal score (Leipzig and Vienna, 1923), p. 119.

first three notes of the love motif governs some of the shaping of the new theme (for example, the final three notes of the two opening bars). At this point Sou-Chong sang:

Je mehr ich d'rüber denke
und mich hinein versenke
in rätselvolles Selbstbefragen,
ich kann mir keine Antwort sagen ...
Mein Mund bleibt stumm.
Du stehst vor mir,
so wie einst ich Dich sah:
erstrahlend in Schönheit Glanz,
wie der leuchtende Tag,
warst meiner Seele nah',
meines Herzens Schlag.

[The more I think about it / and become deeply
absorbed / in ever-perplexing selfquestioning / I
cannot tell myself the answer ... / my mouth
remains silent. / You stand before me / just as I
once saw you: / glowing in beauty's radiance /
like the dawning day / you were close to my soul,
/ the beat of my heart.]

The last four lines of the above text were set in two imitative four-bar phrases, the first over a tonic pedal, the second over the dominant, which in turn generated the opening of a further phrase forming the opening of a new theme serving as a refrain to the foregoing, in which Sou-Chong sang:

Duft lag in Deinem Wort wie Blütenhauch
vom Rosenstrauch ...
Hast Du mich einst geliebt? Kann's möglich sein?
Du warst doch mein?
All' Deiner Küsse Glut
die heiss erschauern mir machte das Blut,
nichts, war sie? Nichts? Und ein armer Tor
steht traurig da, der all' sein Glück verlor!

[Fragrance lay in your words like the whiff of blossoms / from a rose bush... / Did you once love me? Can it be possible? / Were you really mine? / All the warmth of your kisses / which made my blood pulsate with heat, / was it nothing? Nothing? And a wretched fool / stands sadly here, having lost all his good fortune!]

[45]

Here the music had a strength, structure and a lyrical line that was not reflected in words that seemed clumsy and contrived in comparison. This justified Lehár and his librettists in keeping the music and turning the binary verse/refrain structure into a ternary refrain/verse/refrain format with new words.

Lehár's librettists for *Friederike*, Herzer and Löhner-Beda, were his writers for *Das Land des Lächelns*. The awkward lyrics by Victor Léon were replaced by an elegantly constructed poem with cleverly worked out internal rhymes, all the hallmarks of a master craftsman, Löhner-Beda.

The music for "Je mehr ich d'rüber denke" now had a central verse ("Wohin ich immer gehe ..."), and with just a few musical adjustments, primarily for the sake of balance (in bars 5 and 8 to 12 of the original). In place of Léon's "Duft lag in Deinem Wort" were the opening words of what was to be the finest of all the 'Tauber-Lieder', 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz'.

In Lehár's manuscript score of *Das Land des Lächelns* there is evidence of

[45] Lehár, *Die gelbe Jacke* vocal score, p. 120.

much rethinking and reworking. Items taken from *Die gelbe Jacke* show additions or deletions in plain or red pencil, and there are sections pasted over. There are details extant in the manuscript which were discarded in the vocal score. An example of this is the four-part ladies' chorus which was intended to accompany Sou-Chong in the final statement of his 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' (Act 1, no. 5). [46] Musical usage of the chorus is limited to Lisa's entrée (Act 1, no. 1) and the 'Presentation of the Yellow Jacket' in the second act (supplementary version). A song for Lisa and the slave girls opens the third act (Act 3, no. 14) but this is rarely performed.

From Sou-Chong's first act songs, 'Immer nur lächeln' (Act 1, no. 3) and 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' (Act 1, no. 5), much of the motivic writing is derived. 'Immer nur lächeln' begins with a 'conflict motif', two bars with tremolo clarinets and strings, which recurs at moments of heightened tension as, for example, the beginning of the first act finale just after a warning for Lisa that Europe and China are "wie Feuer und Wasser" ("like fire and water"). In that finale the racial differences are underlined by this motif at sections (8) and (9). The motif is evident in the Chinese wedding music and in the second act finale (Act 2, no. 13; section (2)) when Lisa screams "Ich hasse dich!" ("I hate you!"). It is there at Sou-Chong's

[46] If present it would start on p. 31 of *Das Land des Lächelns* vocal score.

moment of self-pity before section (8), and in the third act finale it ends the operetta. The refrain from 'Immer nur lächeln' recurs in the first act finale when Sou-Chong sings of his happiness at returning to China, "Bin froh, dass ich geh!" (Act 1, no. 6; section (6)), though at section (7) his true feelings are confirmed musically by the love motif.

Though first used to describe the Chinese wooing tradition 'Von Apfelblüten einen Kranz' is also associated with barely controlled passion as in the first act finale, at section (9), when a sequence of phrases framed by the conflict motif culminates in an expression of mutual love. Phrases from 'Von Apfelblüten' generate the introduction to the waltz song, 'Wer hat die Liebe uns ins Herz gesenkt' (Act 2, no. 8). A negative impression is enforced through the flattening of the sixth degree of the rising figure in the opening of the second act finale (Act 2, no. 13).

Two less significant themes deserve some mention. A reminiscence of Lisa's homesickness is provided through a brief reprise of 'Ich möchte wieder einmal die Heimat seh'n' (Act 2, no. 12) at the opening of the third act finale (Act 3, no 16). A mood of resignation is suggested by a theme first heard in the second act finale (Act 2, no. 13; section (6)) when Sou-Chong asks:

Kann es möglich sein, dass mein Sonnenschein
nun auf ewig mir soll genommen sein?

[Can it be possible that my sunshine / is now to be
taken away from me forever?]

The same music is heard in the third act finale when Sou-Chong puts on a

brave face to comfort his sister ('Liebes Schwesterlein') before coming to the inevitable conclusion that he too must always keep smiling ('Immer nur lächeln').

Orchestral colour is provided by an instrumental ensemble of symphonic proportions, the main feature being the percussion section requiring three players for the assortment of drums, cymbals, gong, tamtam, glockenspiel and triangle in the pit, while a further group of players was required for on-stage music. The on-stage group also included extra woodwind (two piccolos) and brass (four Aida trumpets).

Generally the musical language is conservative, with much use of progressions of consecutive fifths to suggest the exoticism of the subject matter. More ambitious writing is evident in the 'Verleihung der gelben Jacke' ('Presentation of the Yellow Jacket') which may be likened to dramatic moments in Puccini's *Turandot*. In this scene the chorus sing contrapuntally (in what may be Chinese in transcription) over an energetic ostinato provided by the drums. [47]

While the drums are supported by lower strings in fifths (on G and D) there are running phrases founded on the pentatonic from G played by on-stage piccolos which in turn are followed by interjections from woodwind and brass using both forms of the whole-tone scale. Adding to the

[47] This scene is printed as a supplement to Act 2 in Lehár, *Das Land des Lächelns* vocal score, pp. 92-102.

confusion of sound, at section (2), the on-stage trumpets burst in with a fanfare in B flat major while the low drone continues on G. Seen from the perspective of Lehár's output to date this example of bimodality is a daring piece of orchestration, although as this was the decade that also produced Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* any daring shown by Lehár was perhaps insignificant compared with developments elsewhere.

This, of all Lehár's revisions, was the one that excelled - and not simply on account of the finest 'Tauber-Lied', nor even because of its orchestral colour, but because it somehow contrived not to seem like a revision at all but like a fresh work, sound in its dramatic structure, mature in its musical content. When American producers wanted to 'improve' it by adding their own ideas, Lehár furiously wrote to the Shubert agency on 28 September 1936:

Now to the main point, to *Land des Lächelns*. This operetta is the best work I have written hitherto and exceeds in theatrical effectiveness *Die lustige Witwe*. This work is the crowning of my life's work. It is my proper and incontestable right that this operetta must be performed throughout the whole world exactly as I composed it. [48]

Where Lehár and his librettists succeeded so admirably with *Das Land des Lächelns* this same team failed miserably with *Schön ist die Welt*, a revision of *Endlich allein*. A title meaning 'Beautiful is the world' was like a badly timed sick joke, coming as it did in the wake of the Wall

[48] The letter is reproduced in facsimile as plate 61 in Bernard Grun, *Kulturgeschichte der Operette* (Munich, 1961), between pp. 344 and 345.

Street crash and severe economic decline throughout Europe.

Germany had paid heavily for post-war reparations until the Dawes Plan lessened the burden by allowing the country to receive loans from American banks and other forms of foreign aid. [49] Commerce and industry thrived, as did entertainment of all types and for all tastes, the emphasis being on the degenerate, so that the right-wing press saw Berlin as “a melting pot of everything that is evil - prostitution, drinking houses, cinemas, Marxism, Jews, strippers, Negroes, dancing and all the vile offshoots of modern art.” [50]

Germany and Austria were particularly hard hit when the slump came. The theatrical and music professions suffered more than most, resulting in the closure of Vienna’s Carl-Theater while others were kept going as cinemas. Some individuals committed suicide - among them the *Polenblut* composer, Oskar Nedbal.

The last thing the Rotter brothers could have wanted was a financially risky production, but that is what *Schön ist die Welt* proved to be. The ultimate responsibility lay with Lehár in wanting to retain too much of

[49] Peter Gay, *Weimar culture: the outsider as insider* (Harmondsworth, 1974/1992), p. 164.

[50] From *Der Völkische Beobachter* (1928) quoted in *The Guardian*, 8 November 1991, p. 27; further quoted in Dorothy Rowe, *Representing Berlin: Sexuality and the city in Imperial and Weimar Germany* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 138. On entertainment in Berlin cf. Willett, *The theatre of the Weimar Republic*, passim, and Anton Gill, *A dance between flames: Berlin between the wars* (London, 1993/1995), pp. 84-117.

Endlich allein. In its dramatic content the revision broke away from the mould of its three predecessors by having a happy ending. The structural problem in *Endlich allein*, the second act with only two characters on stage, was not tackled at all; the second act was in fact lengthened by the inclusion of a 'Tauber-Lied' contrived through the marriage of new lyrics, 'Liebste, glaub' an mich', to the music for 'Und der Herrgott lacht' from *Der Sterngucker*.

This revision was supposedly an updated version of the earlier work. It may have had a contemporary setting but with the leading characters in *Schön ist die Welt* as a Crown Prince Georg and a Princess Elisabeth in place of the baron and the American lady from *Endlich allein* this had a pre-war image. By way of contrast there is a secondary love interest, a Count Sascha Karlowitz who is married to an Argentinian dancer, Mercedes. They have kept quiet about the marriage because the king, Georg's father and a widower, does not like to have married people among his retainers.

The waltz from *Endlich allein* which provided the title for the revision was not the only borrowing from the earlier work. The march trio, 'Sport, und immer Sport', became a duet for Georg and Elisabeth (Act 1, no. 6) with the refrain 'Frei, und jung dabei'. [51] Waltz songs were Lehár's choice

[51] Other borrowings are indicated in Glocken-Verlag's *Franz Lehár: Thematischer Index / Thematic Index* (London, 1985), p. 11.

for the character of Elisabeth, with ‘Sag’, armes Herzchen, sag’ (Act 1, no. 2), ‘Schön wie ein Traum’ (Act 1, no. 8; section (5)) in which she is joined by Georg for a duo (rather in the style of Anne Ziegler and Webster Booth), and ‘Ich bin verliebt’ (Act 3, no. 14) in which the singer has a vocalised coloratura over the instrumental reprise.

As the two leading characters arrive on a mountain peak at the start of the problematic second act neither is aware at this stage of how their destinies are to merge. Georg knows that a marriage has been arranged for him. As far as he is concerned, he is enjoying a moment of freedom with a woman he had met by accident when fixing a puncture for her, little realizing that she is the princess he is to marry.

The second act has only three musical numbers, the second of which is the ‘Tauber-Lied’. The first musical item is a rhapsodic prelude in which a figure played by bassoons in bar 3 is used motivically (presumably to symbolise the forces of nature represented by the mountain). A theme introduced at section (13), first heard in the operetta’s Vorspiel (at bar 15), suggests a motivic association with solitude as Georg sings, “Wie das nur kam? Allein, allein”. The rhapsodic opening is carried into a reprise of ‘Schön ist die Welt’ followed by a polka duet, ‘Es steht vom Leben so oft geschrieben’, in which the two enquire about each other’s past romantic experiences.

The third musical number in the second act is the finale. This comes

directly after Georg has heard a radio broadcast expressing anxiety about the fate of the missing princess. A rhapsodic opening weaves together the motifs associated with nature and solitude, and a reprise in diminution of the ‘Schön ist die Welt’ theme forms an accompaniment to a recitative for Elisabeth at section (11) before Georg embarks upon a waltz solo, ‘Hell wie die Sonne’, which is derived from the solitude motif. A climactic moment when Georg and Elisabeth embrace passionately is enhanced by the simultaneous combination of the ‘Hell wie die Sonne’ theme with ‘Schön ist die Welt’ at section (19). The nature motif leads to more rhapsodic writing with an elaborate harp glissando followed by a partial reprise in duet for the ‘Tauber-Lied’.

The presence among the characters of the dancer Mercedes allowed Lehár to indulge his liking for exotic dance styles with the slow foxtrot, ‘In der kleinen Bar’ (Act 3, no. 13), and the tango, ‘Rio de Janeiro’ (Act 1, no. 7). Early editions of the score of *Schön ist die Welt* also include a rumba for Sascha and Mercedes, ‘Heimlich wie in der Nacht’ (Act 3, no. 15), which was included in the Vienna premiere of 1931 and in Lehár’s own recording of 1942. [52]

The Rotter brothers did their best to promote the work, describing its composer in programme inserts as “the Wagner of operetta” (“der

[52] A CD of this recording was produced by Bel-Age in 1995, reference BLA 103.353 AAD.

Wagner der Operette”). [53] A year after its Berlin opening *Schön ist die Welt* was presented in Vienna with Mizzi Gunther, creator of Hanna Glawari in *Die lustige Witwe*, in a supporting role. In the meantime arguments over the Berlin production had culminated in a breakdown in relations between Lehár and the Rotter brothers and a declaration from the composer that he would write no more for the Metropol. Both parties were damaged by the situation. The Rotters maintained a contractual hold on Tauber, thereby preventing him from appearing in the Vienna premiere. With no immediate prospect of another Lehár work they staged second-rate operettas to keep the business afloat. As a result of the worsening financial crisis and increasing persecution from the Nazis their fortunes dwindled. In 1933 they fled to Liechtenstein, leaving huge debts behind them. On 5 April that year they were captured by Gestapo agents. In an attempt to escape Alfred and his wife were killed; Fritz managed to escape and reach Paris. [54]

In September 1932 Lehár was in Berlin to conduct *Der Fürst der Berge*. This was not (as some Lehár biographies suggest) a revision but a revival of his earlier *Das Fürstenkind*. It was staged in a new production by Felix Salten at the Theater am Nollendorfplatz with bass-baritone Michael Bohnen (1887 – 1965) as Stavros.

[53] Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 250.

[54] Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, pp. 245-246.

During the year 1932 Lehár had thought of writing a new work for soprano Maria Jeritza, and in August that year “my two old friends Paul Knepler and Dr Löhner brought me a first act ready to read. Setting and action gripped me so much that in the following night I had fairly well jotted down, even if in the most carelessly sketchy outline, the most important motifs ..” [55] The new work was first given the title *Giulietta*. There was eager discussion initially about the possibility of a premiere at the colossal Grosses Schauspielhaus in Berlin under the direction of Max Reinhardt.

Events dictated that the first performance should not be in Berlin but in Vienna at the Staatsoper. According to recent artistic policies brought about by Clemens Krauss (1893 – 1954), music director at the Staatsoper, the opera seasons there had included some of the finest examples of Viennese operetta - with *Eine Nacht in Venedig* in 1929, *Der Opernball* in 1931, *Boccaccio* in 1932, and now in 1934 the latest work by Lehár, specially written for the Staatsoper, not *Giulietta* but *Giuditta*.

It was, as Lehár let it be known in an interview, his most mature work, neither opera nor operetta but a theatrical work with serious scenes and moments of light comedy. [56] Both score and libretto describe *Giuditta*

[55] ‘Lehár über seine Giuditta’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 17 January 1934, p. 9.

[56] Franz Lehár, ‘Lehár über sein reifstes Werk, Giuditta’, *Neues Wiener Extrablatt*, 19 January 1934, quoted in Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 269.

as a musical comedy in five scenes ('musikalische Komödie in fünf Bildern'). Yet it was weighted more towards drama than comedy, drawing upon *Frasquita*, with further ideas from *Carmen*, *Manon* and *La Rondine*. It was the tale of a cheating wife who runs away with a soldier who has deserted his regiment to follow her, only to lose her because he lacks the courage to claim her when he sees her with another; he finally comes to realize too late what might have been.

Dramatically powerful, with the passion and sexual obsession of a leading couple contrasted with the pure and genuine love of a secondary duo, and colourful with its exotic settings in Italy and Africa, this was well suited to a composer who relished variety in his orchestral palette. Lehár's only initial error of judgement was in accepting someone's suggestion that he should dedicate his score to Mussolini. The Duce, reportedly insulted by a libretto suggesting that an Italian should desert his regiment for a woman, flatly rejected Lehár's proposal. [57]

For practical purposes the five scenes were presented in three acts, with intervals after the first and third scenes (according to programme details reproduced in the vocal score). Solos and duets for the principal couple of Giuditta and her boyfriend, Octavio, dominate the musical content; the contrasting couple of Pierrino, a fruit seller, and Anita, a fisher girl, are given lively songs of a generally higher quality than the usual song-and-

[57] Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár*, p. 248.

dance fare of Lehár's earlier works.

Mixed and male voice chorus are effectively used in varied settings, as are dancers in a nightclub scene. A substantial cast of small-part players with both speaking and singing roles add to the scenario. Perhaps the most interesting of these small roles is that of 'Professor' Martini, a nightclub regular, who appears in the fourth scene. He is described as "an elderly man, dressed like a bohemian, odd fellow, half philosopher, half ballad-singer." [58] His function seems to be that of a Greek chorus, adding nothing to the story but simply commenting on life and love in a vaudeville song (announced as his own composition) with the refrain "Ja, die Liebe ist so wie ein Schaukelbrett" ("Yes, love is just like a seesaw").

Giuditta opens with a Vorspiel which establishes two of the principal motifs. A motif which recurs at moments of passion and suffering is stated in bold chords in the first five bars; the rhythm of this opening statement is continued more gently through subsequent bars to become – at section (1) – a theme associated with Giuditta's 'Liebestraum', her dream of love. The Vorspiel proper ends after this theme with a change of pace, key and rhythm introducing the chorus of street singers.

Octavio is introduced (Bild 1, no. 4) with the confident 'Freunde, das Leben ist lebenswert' statement in A major leading to a Neapolitan waltz

[58] Franz Lehár, *Giuditta* vocal score (New York, 1961), p. 125.

song, 'O Signora, o Signorina', in which he is joined by Antonio, his companion, and the men's chorus. As the song ends with the hope that "the most beautiful of women may perhaps today be yours" it is appropriate that the next musical number (Bild 1, no. 5) introduces the *femme fatale* Giuditta. Her initial vocalising transfixes Octavio as she sings of her dream of love. His reaction is expressed in a recitative which has an accompaniment generated from a motif, introduced by the oboe at section (3), which will become the 'Schönste der Frau'n' ('fairest of women') theme. Octavio's flattery inspires Giuditta to express her hopes in the rhythmically seductive 'In einem Meer von Liebe' at (7), a song which will return with more intense vigour.

At this stage each lead character sings of individual hopes and desires without realising that the other might be the fulfilment. The 'Schönste der Frau'n' motif recurs in a further recitative at figure (10), generating from it the solo at (11). A reprise of her 'Liebestraum' at (12) suggests Giuditta's hesitation but Octavio persists in a further recitative over the 'Schönste der Frau'n' motif which is reprised as a final solo when he feels that he has convinced her.

Manuele, Giuditta's husband, now encounters Octavio in a melodramatic scene in which the accompanying music recalls Manuele's earlier complaint, 'Alle Tag nichts als Müh' und Plag'' (Bild 1, no. 3), about his struggles against poverty. As Octavio mentions the pleasure of a farewell

kiss from a beautiful woman the accompanying ‘Schönste der Frau’n’ figuration clearly shows where his thoughts lie. The motif introduces the finale (Bild 1, no. 6) where a new theme for Giuditta at figure (1), ‘Weit übers Meer’, indicates her resolve to go away “to the land of dreams” in chromatically meandering phrases. As she runs to the harbour Manuele’s motif provides an accompanied recitative in which the husband regrets jealously arguing with Giuditta for chatting with an officer. As he goes to buy her a present an approaching chorus of soldiers and sailors marches on in the direction of the harbour. When Manuele returns with his present, a coral necklace, an innkeeper breaks the news that Giuditta has gone away. The music fades with a reminiscence of the ‘Liebestraum’ motif.

Bild 2 is set in a garrison town in Africa where Octavio has a villa. Anita and Pierrino are there, and observing the other couple’s happiness they express their joy in a waltz duet, ‘Zwei, die sich lieben, vergessen die Welt’ (Bild 2, no. 7). Octavio’s continued obsession with Giuditta is heard in an off-stage reprise of ‘Schönste der Frau’n’ with (supposedly his own) piano accompaniment. In a duet with Giuditta, ‘Schön wie die blaue Sommernacht’ (Bild 2, no. 8), the sexual chemistry between them is portrayed through vibrant tango rhythms. The opening phrase of this duet is repeated, with no apparent motivic purpose, to introduce the finaletto in which Anita and Pierrino reprise their waltz duet, an intimate farewell before Pierrino returns to Italy.

News that Octavio has to join his regiment is revealed in the melodrama with which Bild 3 begins. An off-stage chorus is heard, chanting about the fickleness of woman. A sequence of lines chanted along a D minor scale has an ominous ring:

Wirst du aber scheiden müssen,
bleibst du fern von ihr,
dann muss sie einen andern klüssen,
kann ja nichts dafür! [59]

[But if you have to go away / and you stay far
away from her / then she will have to kiss another,
/ she really cannot help it!]

Octavio's initial reaction - desertion - is prompted by the knowledge that Giuditta might not remain faithful; she has hot blood in her veins for her father was Spanish and her mother was a Moroccan dancer. [60] In 'Du bist meine Sonne' (Bild 3, no. 11), the 'Tauber-Lied', he sings of his love, but an unhappy outcome is suggested as the finale (Bild 3, no. 12) begins with the passion motif from the Vorspiel. The chromatic opening phrase from 'Weit übers Meer' accompanies an angry recitative in which Giuditta tries to persuade Octavio to stay. Against the passion motif, extended as in the Vorspiel, Octavio tries to persuade her of his love but in a reprise of 'Liebestraum' – at figure (4) – she remains unconvinced. His

[59] Lehár, *Giuditta* vocal score, (Bild 3, no. 10) at figures (3) and (5), pp. 87 and 88.

[60] Lehár, *Giuditta* vocal score, p. 86. This detail of Giuditta's ethnicity was omitted from Lehár's 1942 recording; the recording was reissued in CD format by Bel-Age under reference BLA 103.352 AAD.

explanation, over the 'Schönste der Frau'n' motif, is tauntingly followed by the chanting soldiers at (5).

Octavio's passionate statement in recitative that she is his alone provokes a retort from Giuditta, over the 'Weit übers Meer' theme, that she is not to be treated as a caged bird. The passion motif at (6) shows Octavio at his wit's end. Over a modulating passage of two-bar sequences with pulsating bass rhythms Giuditta challenges him to stay. The 'Tauber-Lied', reprised as a duet, is a moment of impassioned triumph.

Distant trumpets and a march remind Octavio of his duty, but only when his friend Antonio refuses to shake the hand of a deserter does Octavio put duty before love. Stunned, Giuditta declares (over a loud restatement of the 'Weit übers Meer' motif) that she will dance for everyone, slowly singing and dancing - at (12) – to a new song, 'In die Stirne fällt die Locke'. This dramatically important finale ends with her reprise of the 'Weit übers Meer' theme with words expressing her pain ("Wer kennt mein Weh") and the curse upon her and those who love her.

The setting for Bild 4 is an establishment called the Alcazar where Giuditta is the main attraction, singing to the Spanish dance, 'In einem Meer von Liebe' (Bild 4, no. 13), but in a more brash manner than when she seduced Octavio with it (Bild 1, no. 5). In a central episode of this ternary statement of the number Giuditta's mind seems to wander as she quotes the soldiers' chant ("Wirst du aber scheiden müssen ..."). In the

crowded nightspot is Pierrino who has made his fortune and come to take Anita back home. Their happy reunion is expressed in a lively dance duo, 'Komm, komm, wir wollen fort von hier!' (Bild 4, no. 15). [61]

One of the nightclub guests is Lord Barrymore who is specially favoured by Giuditta as she performs a new song, introduced by strong bolero rhythms, 'Meine Lippen, sie küssen so heiss' (Bild 4, no. 16). Barrymore invites her to a *chambre séparée*. They leave, and Octavio, who has deserted his regiment, arrives in search of Giuditta. The ensuing finale (Bild 4, no. 17) demonstrates his infatuation and his hopes ("Doch jetzt wirst du ja kommen ...") as the orchestra reprises the 'Tauber-Lied'. His confidence is expressed "triumphantly" ("sieghaft") at (3) as voice and orchestra restate the 'Tauber-Lied' with the words 'Schön, so wie die Sonne...'. As Giuditta's laughter is heard a melodramatic link, derived from the 'Schönste der Frau'n' and 'Tauber-Lied' motifs, leads to an instrumental 'Liebestraum' reprise for the dancers. Giuditta's return heralds a reprise of the waltz refrain ('Meine Lippen ...') and she departs with Barrymore to the music of a bolero at (8). Octavio is in a state of shock as the bolero fades into a march rhythm and a reminiscence of the soldiers' chant. As he declares that his life and happiness are destroyed

[61] In the first season of performances Anita and Pierrino sang a gentle, romantic duet, 'Schaut der Mond' (which can be heard in the 1959 Decca recording conducted by Rudolf Moralt). By 1935 it had already been replaced by 'Komm, komm, ...' (which is performed in Lehár's 1942 recording).

the passion motif brings the finale to a close.

Four years elapse between the action of Bild 4 and Bild 5 which finds Octavio making a poor living as a pianist in a smart hotel. His continuing obsession with Giuditta is demonstrated by his opening song, a reprise of 'Schönste der Frau'n' (Bild 5, no. 18). He is to play, hidden in an alcove, for a private dinner party for a duke and his guest, the now famous dancer Giuditta. As she arrives he is playing the tango 'Schön, wie die blaue Sommernacht' (from Bild 2). It is clear to Giuditta that the pianist must know something of her past. The principal motifs are played out in a dramatic scene (Bild 5, no. 19) in which she is shocked to learn that Octavio came to the Alcazar for her. Partially reprising the 'Tauber-Lied' at (6) she asks if he has forgotten what they meant to each other ("O sag' .. hast du vergessen"). Over an accompaniment derived from 'Schönste der Frau'n' he declares that his heart is dead before reprising the 'Tauber-Lied' in the past tense ('Du warst meine Sonne') at (8). The song is repeated on the piano in the finaletto (Bild 5, no. 20) when Giuditta asks the duke to take her home. Over a gentle orchestral reprise of 'Weit übers Meer' the piano goes on playing a partial reprise of 'In einem Meer von Liebe'. A waiter asks Octavio why he is playing when the guests are gone. As Octavio closes the piano he sings one final reprise of 'Schönste der Frau'n' as he wonders whatever happened to their love song.

Giuditta was a work of which Lehár was especially proud and confident, for he published a full score in 1933. The hallmarks of his better scores are all in evidence in the integration of motifs, the characteristic use of violin solos at poignant moments in the drama, and the imaginative usage of exotic effects in the scoring. He wrote for an orchestra of symphonic proportions with additional keyboard percussion, castanets, mandolins, banjo - even the off-stage sound effect of a ship's siren.

Its first night was a major event of the season. All forty-two performances at the Staatsoper were sold out. It remained in the repertoire there until 1938.

It was not universally liked. Decsey condemned the score as “more mosaic than construction” (“mehr Mosaik als Bau”), concluding that “it is operetta theatre, it is Theater an der Wien, it is not Staatsoper.” [62] The lack of variety in developing or reshaping motifs, as well as the perhaps excessive repetition of hit-song after hit-song, certainly could justify the ‘mosaic’ comment. Yet it was supposed to be operetta theatre, included in the repertoire of the Staatsoper as a representative of the genre according to Krauss’s artistic policies. Lehár had not written it as opera but as serious operetta, and measured against his other serious operettas it could hardly be dismissed as bad Lehár.

[62] Ernst Decsey, ‘Der Esel Aristophanes’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 27 January 1934, quoted in Schneiderei, *Franz Lehár: eine Biographie in Zitaten*, p. 273.

During the 1930s Lehár was drawn towards media other than theatre for his compositional work. He was very much interested in the cinema, and very keen to exploit it for film versions of his operettas. Between 1931 and 1937 he also composed incidental music for films including *Die grosse Attraktion*, *Es war einmal ein Walzer*, *Grossfürstin Alexandra*, and *Une nuit à Vienne*. Radio was another medium to be similarly exploited. For French radio he wrote incidental music, comprising six songs, for Pierre Benoit's *Les compagnons d'Ulisse* in 1937.

Lehár had not yet finished with opera or the theatre. His biographers have tended to conclude any survey of his stage works with *Giuditta*, but in so doing they are overlooking his final work, *Garabonciás*. If this work is mentioned at all it is usually described as a revision of *Zigeunerliebe*. Yet while it is certainly derived from *Zigeunerliebe* it is rather more than a revision. It is surprising enough that it was written in 1942. It is even more surprising that it should have been derived from *Zigeunerliebe* when gypsies were among the ethnically undesirable peoples according to Nazi policies. [63] For Lehár to write such a work at such a time would have seemed reckless, to say the least.

The title *Garabonciás* indicates that this was a work with its roots in Hungarian folklore. The word *garabonca* in Hungarian means 'black arts'

[63] Cf. Guenther Lewy, *The Nazi persecution of the Gypsies* (Oxford, 2000).

or ‘black magic’; derived from this is *garabonciás* and dialect variants of the word, meaning ‘a practitioner of black magic’; this is extended to *garabonciás diák* to refer to a character from folklore, a mediaeval wandering scholar with supernatural gifts, a blend of Faust and Don Juan, skilled in martial arts as well as seduction. The *garabonciás diák* became in time a figurehead symbolising freedom for Hungary. [64] The title was a political statement against Nazi control of Hungary.

In an introduction to the libretto Lehár described the genesis of his new work. Ladislaus Markus, director of the Budapest Opera, had asked for a revision of one of Lehár’s operettas set in Hungary. *Zigeunerliebe* was Lehár’s choice. The composer explained that since *Giuditta* he had not worked on any new stage works because suitable libretti had not been forthcoming. In any case, he had had little time because of his other commitments. He was delighted by the present commission for in Ernő Innocent-Vincze he had “looked for a *librettist* and found a *poet*.” He went on:

In the course of the work I came to a decision to transform and broaden the earlier score as much as possible in order to do justice to all the possibilities afforded to me by the book. And so one new part after another came into being, and in the end two thirds of the work was newly added material in which the earlier melodies are heard only in more motivic form. Only at

[64] These definitions are taken from the typescript of notes which accompany a German translation of the libretto of *Garabonciás*, seen at the offices of Josef Weinberger, London.

a few places is the earlier music carried over without change but even then it is re-orchestrated. [65]

In an interview Lehár gave further details:

The management of the Budapest Opera House commissioned the dramatic poet Ernst Innocent-Vincze to make my *Zigeunerliebe* suitable as an opera. Innocent began the work but suddenly put the old libretto on one side - and wrote a totally new book. It begins with the events leading directly to the outbreak of the struggle for freedom in 1848. The Garabonciás Diák flees from his college to establish the first volunteer corps.

Then around this historical kernel was wound a beautiful storyline with much lyricism and romance.

When the libretto was delivered to me I was so inspired by the task that I immediately started upon the musical revision. The *Zigeunerliebe* was thoroughly reworked symphonically, new songs and duets were inserted. The most beautiful arias (in the opinion too of those who appreciate art) are the entrance song of the Diák and the two arias for Draghy. [66]

In the extracts above Lehár demonstrates an insistence on the originality of the work. The essential structure of *Zigeunerliebe* (with, for example, the Act 2 dream sequence) was kept. Yet there was a deeper Hungarian quality achieved not only by the historical setting in the revolutionary year of 1848 but also through the Hungarian language which, as Lehár stated in his introduction, provided a new basis for musical expression through the

[65] Franz Lehár, 'Hogyan született a *Garabonciás*', published with the libretto of *Garabonciás* (Budapest, 1943).

[66] 'Der Traum eines Künstlerlebens ist Wirklichkeit geworden', *Österreichische Volkszeitung*, 22 February 1943. The word translated as 'volunteer corps' was 'Freikorps', a word which would have had one meaning for Nazi supporters and quite another for those opposed to Nazism.

rhythm and metre of the language. While his score for *Garabonciás* is indeed rich in melody for voice and instrument, the Hungarian element leans more towards Liszt than Bartók, towards artifice rather than authenticity, with much use of minor modality, snappy acciaccaturas and slithering gruppetti.

The importance of the work is in its political rebellion. The *Diák* is not just a miraculous figment of an impressionable girl's dream but also "the embodiment of the eternal urge for freedom". [67] *Garabonciás* ends with a chorus which is a paean to Hungary, a rallying cry to freedom fighters. In translation this final chorus reads:

The Almighty has imposed hard trials
upon the forsaken Hungarians!
The harsh struggle of the forsaken Hungarians!
Grant Thy blessing, holy justice.
See how they are fluttering,
those radiant three-coloured flags.
To them is tied our eternal prayer to Thee!
Sacred is Hungarian freedom! [68]

The history of *Garabonciás* might have been expected to end with its premiere at the Király Operaház, Budapest, on 20 February 1943. Surprisingly there were no repercussions for Lehár from the Nazis who tactfully ignored the work and allowed it to fall into relative obscurity. Yet after the war was over there were thoughts about a revision. The

[67] Lehár, 'Hogyan született a *Garabonciás*'.

[68] From a German literal translation of the Hungarian.

author, Ernő Innocent-Vincze (1903 – 1978), wanted the whole work to be redrafted, transforming the three-act opera as a two-act opera with three scenes.

The project was mentioned in one of the letters in the Peteani collection.

Writing to his sister Emmy from Zurich on 7 December 1947 the composer reported:

At last I found the *Garabonciás*. Second act [illegible] and clear. Your [illegible] is very good. Regrettably a superfluous matter. You must make Innocent understand that I have sacrificed my health for this work. I took on too much. Six weeks in a hotel room working every night is a bit much. I did not think it all through. Then four performances and that's that, all over. I don't want anything more to do with it. In this form the work is certainly not possible for the present time, and a revision is not within my power. Do strive to ensure that Re kai brings you everything still in his possession. You can bring them to me at an opportune moment. The whole affair was a miscalculation. They should really have offered *Paganini*, *Zarewitsch* or *Schön ist die Welt* or nothing at all.

Despite Lehár's reservations Innocent-Vincze was keen to press on with revision plans for *Garabonciás*. The final fate of Lehár's last opera was revealed in a letter dated 1 January 1955 from Professor Miklos Re kai in Budapest to the executor of Lehár's musical works, Dr Otto Blau. In the letter Re kai states:

The work was, as you correctly write, premiered here at the Opera on 20 February 1943 under the title *Garabonciás* as a three-act opera. The musical material

was drawn from the operetta *Zigeunerliebe* and new numbers, recitatives, choruses, stage music and so on, were composed for it so that the work should run a full evening. Absolutely no spoken dialogue was included - it was a through-composed work. Meister Lehár was not satisfied with the conversion of the operetta into an opera. He wanted to use the music which he composed in Budapest in a completely new work for which Innocent was to write the libretto. This work was premiered at the Foevarosz Operetta Theatre in 1948. I possess the Meister's written commission for this. *Zigeunerliebe* would continue to exist as an operetta but the new music under the title *Garabonciás* would be better given as *Wandering student*, the exact translation of *Vándordiák*, so that it should not be identical with the opera *Garabonciás*. [69]

Rekai was keen to stress - even underlining the point - that not one note of *Zigeunerliebe* was to be heard in the new work, *Vándordiák*. It was, he claimed, "so to speak a posthumous work". Without any corroborative evidence to indicate that *Vándordiák* had the unconditional and complete authority of Lehár (and certainly his letter of 7 December 1947 casts doubt on any such claim) this posthumous revision of *Garabonciás* must be regarded as something of a fake.

On the other hand there are certain instrumental pieces and separately published arias from *Garabonciás* which can be seen as authentic Lehár. Among these one might mention the dance music (believed to be Lehár's last composition) and the setting of a ballad by one of the great Romantic poets of Hungary, Mihály Vörösmarty (1800 – 1855), which was included

[69] from a typescript copy of the letter, written in German, from Miklos Rekai to Otto Blau, kept in the offices of Josef Weinberger, London.

in Innocent-Vincze's text.

Rekai ostensibly discovered some other music by Lehár for another work which perhaps may not have been as honest a fake as *Vándordiák*. To a French libretto by Raymond Vincy some allegedly new music by Lehár was collected and adapted by Miklos Rekai and Paul Bonneau for a spectacular operetta in two acts and eighteen scenes. This was *Rose de Noël*, first performed in Paris in December 1958. [70]

Vándordiák and *Rose de Noël* have their equivalents - at least, one supposes, in well-intentioned purpose if not in musical quality - in the Korngold adaptations of Strauss. Yet, whatever their qualities, they are spurious works, and as such must remain beyond the bounds of a study devoted to authentic Lehár.

[70] *Rose de Noël* was published, only in a French version, by the London office of Glocken-Verlag, now Josef Weinberger, in 1959. A CD was issued in 2000 by MPO from an earlier recording by Jeni Production, under reference 220062 / M10.

Lehár, Tauber and the 'Tauber-Lied'

A characteristic musical feature of the later Lehár operettas was the 'Tauber-Lied', the 'Tauber song'. Yet the most curious fact about this series of emotionally charged songs for tenor solo is that the song was conceived before any professional association between Lehár and Tauber had been established. For while the first 'Tauber-Lied' proper had been 'Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst' from *Paganini*, the first genuine move in the direction of the 'Tauber-Lied' had undoubtedly been Armand's serenade from *Frasquita*. In 1921, the year before *Frasquita*, Lehár first saw Tauber appearing as Jozsi in *Zigeunerliebe* during the Salzburg Festival season; one can only wonder whether this first impression might have inspired an idea.

If Tauber was not predestined for a musical career he was probably predisposed towards it by circumstances of lineage. His father was Richard Anton Tauber (1861 – 1942). [1] The tenth child of a Jewish

[1] Birth and death dates for Richard Anton Tauber are given erroneously as 1852-1941 in Bernard Grun, *Gold and Silver, the life and times of Franz Lehár* (London, 1970), p. 198. A birth date of 21 April 1861 is in James Dennis, 'Richard Tauber', *The record collector* (Ipswich), vol. XVIII, nos. 11 and 12, December 1969, p. 247. This is accepted by Cor Pot, *Richard Tauber, zanger zonder grenzen* (The Hague, 1988), p. 9. A final letter from Richard Anton to his son, dated 24 May 1942, is in Charles Castle (with Diana Napier Tauber), *This was Richard Tauber* (London and New York, 1971), pp. 159-160.

wine merchant in Vienna, Richard Anton Tauber was an actor, taking leading roles in light and classical dramas with touring theatre companies. Richard Tauber's mother was Elisabeth Seiffert (1847 – 1938), née Denemy, widow of a theatre director, Karl Seiffert. She was a soubrette at the Landestheater in Linz, the daughter of Gottfried Denemy, director of a touring repertory company, and his wife Karoline. [2]

The relationship between Elisabeth Seiffert and Richard Anton Tauber may have existed for some time before the occasion of the actor's overnight stay in Linz with the 43-year old widow. Be that as it may, the consequence was a pregnancy of which Richard Anton at first knew nothing, being on tour in America with a play called *The Clemenceau case*. [3] The child was born on 16 May 1891 and baptised on 23 May at St. Josephs-Pfarrkirche with the father's first name, Richard, and the mother's maiden name, Denemy. [4]

Illegitimacy proved to be no handicap for the boy. For his first seven

[2] Not to be confused with Karoline Denemy-Ney, wife of actor Christian Denemy, dramatic soprano in the premiere of Lortzing's *Die Opernprobe* at Frankfurt in 1851; her sister, Jenny Ney (1824-1886) sang Leonore in the Covent Garden premiere of *Il trovatore*; both were daughters of Mme. Ney-Segatti. On these three singers see Karl Kutsch and Leo Riemens, *Grosses Sängerlexikon* (Berne and Stuttgart, 1987). If there is a family link between these and Elisabeth Denemy it is not indicated in the Tauber literature; the possibility of any link is a matter for exploration beyond the present study.

[3] Dennis, 'Richard Tauber', *The record collector*, p. 247.

[4] Castle, *This was Richard Tauber*, p. 26.

years he was looked after by his mother, after which his father took charge. During the years spent with his father he moved from city to city, and it was in Wiesbaden that he first heard the singing of 'Heldentenor' Heinrich Hensel (1874 – 1935) and decided that he too wanted to become a singer.

He was entered at the conservatoire of Frankfurt am Main where, to his father's pleasure and surprise, he thrived in his studies of composition, conducting and piano. In the meantime his father married a widow with two sons of her own, Robert and Otto (who, with a cousin Max, became Richard Tauber's management team some years later). When young Richard, attracted by a ballet dancer appearing in a Wiesbaden production of Gluck's *Armide*, embarked upon an affair and allowed his studies to suffer, he was sent to Freiburg to live with a Professor Sarrazin and his family. This led to a fortuitous introduction to the voice teacher, Professor Carl Beines.

Beines produced remarkable results from young Richard who made his debut in a Lieder recital at Freiburg on 17 May 1912. Although opera contracts beckoned he took his father's advice and continued his vocal studies for a further year. In 1913 Richard Anton Tauber was Intendant at the Neues Stadt-Theater, Chemnitz, and it was there, on Sunday 2 March of that year, that his son made his operatic debut as Tamino in *Die Zauberflöte*.

It should be noted that at this time the young singer was still known as Richard Denemy. When adopted by his father his official name became Richard Denemy-Tauber, but for singing engagements he dropped the name Denemy and also on occasion added another first name, Carl, to avoid confusion with his father. [5]

Despite certain vocal as well as physical idiosyncrasies - an occasional lisp, also a tendency to squint with his right eye (for which the monocle he wore later was no mere affectation) - it was Tauber's thorough musicianship that endeared him to opera company managers. He was able to learn a role at short notice (as little as 48 hours) when asked to deputise for an indisposed singer. When the Vienna Staatsoper presented an operatic rarity, Max Oberleitner's *Der eiserne Heiland*, at Budapest and principal tenor Alfred Piccaver (1883 – 1958) was taken ill, Tauber accepted the challenge of a work unknown to him:

He took it on; the first aria has to be sung off-stage to a piano accompaniment and the pianist was missing!
Bang on cue Tauber sat at the piano and both played and sang. [6]

This level of musicianship and professionalism was a hallmark of

[5] This, with the fact of his illegitimacy, may explain some of the errors recorded about the singer: a wrong birth year of 1892 is given in an early biography, Heinz Ludwigg (ed), *Richard Tauber* (Berlin, 1928), p. 14. A wrong birth name ('Ernst Seiffert') is given by the usually reliable Österreich Lexikon website, www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.

[6] Dennis, 'Richard Tauber', *The record collector*, p. 250.

Tauber's entire career. Another incident was recalled by Max Jaffa.

When preparing a film soundtrack of Lehár's *Das Land des Lächelns*

Tauber wanted to re-record one of his arias a semitone higher:

This wasn't as simple as it sounds. First of all he had to watch the film to remind himself of his facial movements. At the same time he needed to listen to the original soundtrack so that he would get the music to fit. On top of that he was listening to the orchestra and recording a new sound-track a semitone higher than the music that was coming through on his headphones. ... It was a feat of immense concentration and musicianship... Tauber of course was ... a great singer and musician ... He proved the point by doing his recording in a single take... I remember complimenting him on this extraordinary achievement. He just smiled gently and said: 'You know, it wasn't so hard - I have sung Schoenberg, and after that, nothing's so difficult!'

[7]

Yet there was more to Tauber than brilliant musicianship. His diction, especially when singing in German, was exceptionally clear, and he displayed "certain practices of bel canto, in his conception of line and particularly the way he so often graces it with improvised gruppetti and mordents." [8]

By the time he was thirty Tauber was a well established principal and guest artist at major opera houses in Austria and Germany, beginning with Dresden where he had been contracted from 1 August 1913, and including

[7] Max Jaffa, *A life on the fiddle* (London, 1991), pp. 147-148.

[8] Michael Scott, *The record of singing – Volume two: 1914 to 1925* (London, 1979), p. 100.

Vienna Staatsoper, Vienna Volksoper, and Berlin Staatsoper. He had mastered over sixty roles in a repertoire ranging from the now standard works of Verdi, Mozart, Gounod and Bizet to the then modern (such as Schreker's *Der ferne Klang* and Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*) and the relatively obscure (Kienzl's *Der Evangelimann*). [9]

Tauber's least reliable biographer, his second wife Diana Napier Tauber, claimed that Tauber and Lehár first met sometime after Tauber had seen a performance of *Frasquita*. [10] Yet according to an account by Tauber himself the acquaintanceship began inauspiciously in the summer of 1921:

During the time of the Festival I was to sing the tenor role in *Zigeunerliebe* at the Stadttheater in Salzburg. The theatre director ... asked me to intercede with a request that Franz Lehár might conduct his operetta. Hardly convinced that 'the power of my beautiful eyes' would succeed in winning over the Maestro I went to Ischl. That first meeting with Lehár took place in the Kurtheater where I introduced myself as the tenor from the Dresden Staatsoper. Nevertheless, in spite of all my seductive arts his reply to my suggestion was "Hardly possible!" [11]

Tauber's disappointment was compounded by the delivery of a requested autographed photograph bearing a dedication to *Rudolf Tauber*.

[9] Dennis, 'Richard Tauber', *The record collector*, pp. 250-252.

[10] Diana Napier Tauber, *Richard Tauber* (London, 1949), p. 92; Diana Napier Tauber, *My heart and I* (London, 1959), p. 68.

[11] Otto Schneidereit, *Richard Tauber: ein Leben – eine Stimme* (Berlin, 2000), p. 39.

The 1921 Salzburg season of *Zigeunerliebe* was not Tauber's first involvement with the operetta, for he had sung Jozsi at the Berlin Volksbühne in 1920. According to Diana Napier Tauber's version of events Tauber had enthusiastically decided that he had to perform Lehár after a performance of *Frasquita* in 1922. The real story was quite different.

During the summer of 1922 Karczag had met Tauber with his cousin Max at the Prater. Since opening in May *Frasquita* had not been doing good business, and something was needed to inject more interest in the operetta. In spite of whatever family friction might ensue, considering that his son-in-law, Hubert Marischka, was in the principal tenor role, the answer for Karczag was Tauber.

A year's contract at the Staatsoper would have earned Tauber twelve thousand *kronen*. Karczag was offering five hundred *kronen* for each performance - a week's work in operetta bringing in the equivalent of three month's work at the opera house. Tauber was hesitant, but Max persuaded him. From 17 to 25 July Tauber sang Armand in *Frasquita*, not only rescuing the operetta but turning the Serenade ('Schatz, ich bitt' dich') into a hit song. [12]

For reasons of supposed artistic integrity Tauber was reluctant to perform

[12] Schneidereit, *Richard Tauber*, p. 41. There is evidence indicating that Tauber was recalled for further appearances in *Frasquita*. A report about industrial action by the orchestra at the Theater an der Wien mentions Tauber as the tenor; cf. *Neue freie Presse*, 5 October 1922.

in operetta. Later he tried to justify himself, claiming “I do not sing operetta, I sing Lehár!” (“Ich singe nicht Operette, ich singe Lehár!”), but this was certainly not the case in 1923. In the first part of that year he was in opera, contracted to the Berlin Staatsoper but undertaking occasional performances at Berne, Zurich and Chemnitz (where he was photographed with his then fiancée, Liselott Jeromin, daughter of an industrialist there). Later that year he was at the Theater an der Wien, in the première of Bruno Granichstaedten’s *Die Bacchusnacht*, in a new production of *Eine Nacht in Venedig*, and in Oscar Straus’ *Der letzte Walzer* and the premiere of *Die Perlen der Cleopatra* with Fritzi Massary (1882 – 1969) and Max Pallenberg (1877 – 1934).

Despite a characteristic sonority in his voice that equipped him for the more robust roles in the operatic repertoire it was as a lyrical singer, particularly in Mozart, that Tauber truly excelled. With his musical imagination and superb control over a broad dynamic range he could, and did, turn a dramatically subordinate role such as Don Ottavio in *Don Giovanni* into a star part. [13]

Tauber’s few operetta performances in 1924 included the Berlin premiere of Benatzky’s *Ein Märchen aus Florenz*. When conducting Kálmán’s

[13] It was “perhaps his best part” according to the *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 March 1924, quoted in Schneiderreit, *Richard Tauber*, p. 45. See also review from *Die Zeit*, in Dennis, ‘Richard Tauber’, *The record collector*, p. 254.

Ein Herbstmanöver at the Theater an der Wien he discovered soprano Carlotta Vanconti (as she was known by her stage name). After she had divorced her husband she and Tauber were married following a brief engagement. The marriage foundered after just two years. [14]

By the time of his marriage Tauber had already appeared in *Paganini* and the first 'Tauber-Lied' proper had been heard. There is an account by Tauber himself of a summer's evening in 1924 when he was invited to Lehár's study to sing through a new song, the song that became 'Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst'. [15]

Paganini may not have been a great success but it was through Richard Tauber and the 'Tauber-Lied' that Lehár felt convinced that he was not a spent force in music theatre. [16] In Tauber he had an artist who could

[14] An interesting mythology surrounds Madame Vanconti. She was allegedly married to an Italian Count Conti, hence her stage name; see Schneidereit, *Richard Tauber*, p. 49. This assertion has been challenged by Michael Jürgs, *Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst: Die Richard Tauber Biographie* (Munich, 2000), p. 73. According to Jürgs the ex-husband was Ferdinand Xeconty, a tradesman from the South Tyrol; as for Carlotta Vanconti, her real name was Martha Karoline Wunder, born in Hamburg. A variant of this name, Lotte Wanda, appeared in sources researched by Norbert Linke; see his *Franz Lehár* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2001), note 381, p. 139. A somewhat impersonal essay, 'Mein Mann', by Carlotta Vanconti is in Ludwig (ed), *Richard Tauber*, pp. 58-60.

[15] Richard Tauber, 'Wie sind die Schläger Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst und Willst Du entstanden', *Die Rampe*, 1928: retold in Diana Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, pp. 97-98; Schneidereit, *Richard Tauber*, pp. 59-60; Ingrid and Herbert Haffner, *Immer nur lächeln ... : Das Franz Lehár Buch* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 124-125; Linke, *Franz Lehár*, p. 81.

[16] Linke, *Franz Lehár*, p. 85.

sing effortlessly several encores of a popular song, each one different, varying the dynamics or decorating the final cadence. When invited to contribute comments for an early Tauber biography Lehár simply wrote:

My friend Tauber:
As a musician -
 of a stature far beyond mere craftsmanship,
 well grounded and of extensive ability.
As a divinely blessed singer –
 the voice I hear when composing.
As a person –
 A dear and splendid fellow, true as gold
 and as trustworthy as steel. [17]

The 'Tauber-Lied' in *Der Zarewitsch* was 'Willst du? Willst du?', but this was virtually eclipsed by the Volga song ('Es steht ein Soldat am Wolgastrand'). During production preparations for *Der Zarewitsch* Lehár had been unconvinced of the merits of the proposed 'Tauber-Lied' and wanted to write another song. Tauber persuaded him otherwise, demonstrating that it could be a success which, at least for the first performances, indeed it was.

With *Friederike* the 'Tauber-Lied' had become a recognized genre, so much so that the song 'O Mädchen, mein Mädchen' inspired a parody by a Berlin cabaret artist, Friedrich Hollaender, which began, 'O Tauber, mein Tauber, wie liebst du dich'. [18] Tauber, now enjoying celebrity status

[17] Ludwig (ed), *Richard Tauber*, p. 42.

[18] Stefan Frey, 'Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.' *Franz Lehár und die Unterhaltungsmusik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. and Leipzig, 1999), p. 254.

and the earnings that went with it, wrote a witty response. [19]

The fortuitous synthesis of two lyrical themes from *Die gelbe Jacke* resulted in the ‘Tauber-Lied’ par excellence, ‘Dein ist mein ganzes Herz’, in *Das Land des Lächelns*. The song’s undoubted quality was recognized by Lehár from the outset for in his dedication to Tauber’s vocal score he wrote, “Mein lieber Richard! Hier hast du dein Tauber-Lied!! Bad Ischl, 17/8,1929. Dein Franz.” (“My dear Richard! Here you have *your Tauber song!!* Bad Ischl, 17/8,1929. Your Franz”). [20]

Although the next work, *Schön ist die Welt*, was the fifth in the series of Tauber operettas a dedication from Lehár in the vocal score describes the song ‘Liebste, glaub an mich’ as the sixth ‘Tauber-Lied’. This would seem to suggest that Armand’s serenade from *Frasquita* was being counted as the first. Certainly Diana Napier Tauber regarded the *Frasquita* song as the first ‘Tauber-Lied’. [21] (In his 1933 revised score of *Frasquita* Lehár dedicated the Serenade to its first singer, Hubert Marischka).

The friction that resulted from the expensive failure of *Schön ist die Welt* left Lehár without his strongest principal tenor while Tauber was tied by contract to the Metropol. Lehár’s revival of *Das Fürstenkind* as *Der*

[19] Schneidereit, *Richard Tauber*, pp. 78-79.

[20] Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, p. 232.

[21] Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, p. 128.

Fürst der Berge may have brought the composer back to the ‘unhappy-end’ operetta but the work had no ‘Tauber-Lied’. Tauber’s next ‘Tauber-Lied’ was therefore not by Lehár but by Korngold. This was in *Das Lied der Liebe*, concocted by Korngold from works by Johann Strauss; the ‘Tauber-Lied’ was ‘Du bist mein Traum’.

The Korngold work occupied Tauber from Christmas 1931 to Easter 1932. Thereafter he alternated opera seasons at the Vienna Staatsoper with lighter works at the Metropol, somehow finding time too for a film career (with *Melodie der Liebe*), a London season of *The land of smiles* at the Streatham Hill and Dominion theatres, a limited European tour of *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (which was staged at London’s Aldwych Theatre as *Lilac time*), and concert engagements, including one at the Royal Albert Hall on 3 December 1933.

On 7 December he was back at the Vienna Staatsoper to appear in *Don Giovanni*, *Der Evangelimann*, *Madama Butterfly*, and *La Bohème*. During this season he was to prepare for his role as Octavio in *Giuditta*, which featured Lehár’s last ‘Tauber-Lied’, ‘Du bist meine Sonne’.

In all of these later Lehár operettas there are fine solos for tenor voice, such as the *Heidenröslein* setting in *Friederike* or ‘Immer nur lächeln’ from *Das Land des Lächelns*. Excellent though they are, these cannot be classed as ‘Tauber-Lieder’.

A ‘Tauber-Lied’ is a love song. Although it was not written specially for

Tauber the serenade for Armand in *Frasquita* has, in its style and function, all the necessary characteristics. It is an expression of love for a girl with whom Armand is totally infatuated, for whom he is prepared to do anything. He sings, “Alles, was dir Freude macht, geb’ ich gerne dir, ach, komm zu mir” (“Everything that will give you joy I’ll gladly give you, oh, come to me”). It is a deeply personal song, demonstrating on the one hand the love of Armand, but on the other it can be a song that stands alone, taken out of the context of the operetta, for the object of the singer’s affection is simply addressed as “Schatz” (“Darling”).

Perhaps the weakest of the ‘Tauber-Lieder’, in that it is more a statement about self-love and erotic desire than an expression of genuine love for someone else, has to be the song from *Paganini*, ‘Gern hab’ ich die Frau’n geküsst’. This has become so well known to the English-speaking world in the skilful translation by A. P. Herbert (‘Girls were made to love and kiss’) that the rather cynical quality of the German verses has tended to be overlooked. In the context of the operetta Paganini has pledged and lost when gambling his precious Stradivarius violin. The character who won the violin from him offers to return it if Paganini will explain the secrets of his success with women.

Paganini’s song is about his amoral treatment of women. His real love is revealed in a later reprise of the song when, speaking through the music, he expresses his love not for a woman but for “the one true love that I

wish to remain faithful to, you, my dear violin” (“die einzige wahre Liebe, der ich treu bleiben will, du meine liebe Geige”). [22]

After *Paganini* the ‘Tauber-Lied’ reverted to type as the personal love song both within the context of the operetta and as a song that could stand on its own merits outside the context of the operetta. In this latter capacity the male singer could sing the song to anyone he cared to imagine while each female listener could enjoy the song as if the words were personally intended for her. The personal potency of the song was achieved in the operetta by the simple expedient of the singer, alone on stage, singing directly towards the audience.

The ‘Tauber-Lied’ therefore established what Frey has described as an “erotic dialogue” in which the singer expresses feelings for his beloved, always using the familiar ‘du’ form of address: ‘Willst du? Willst du?’ (‘Will you? Will you?’), ‘O Mädchen, mein Mädchen, wie lieb’ ich dich’ (‘O maiden, my maiden, how I love you’), ‘Dein ist mein ganzes Herz’ (‘Yours is the whole of my heart’), ‘Liebste, glaub’ an mich’ (‘Dearest, believe in me’), ‘Du bist meine Sonne’ (‘You are my sun’). [23]

The dramatic structure of most ‘Tauber-Lieder’ operettas required a bold love statement in the second act followed by a conflict in the third act and

[22] Franz Lehár, *Paganini* vocal score (Vienna, 1925/1936), Act 3, no. 17 ‘Reminiszenz’, p. 100.

[23] Frey, ‘*Was sagt ihr zu diesem Erfolg.*’, p. 241.

the consequent loss of the beloved (the one exception to this format being *Schön ist die Welt*). It was the 'Tauber-Lied', always placed in the second act, that provided that statement. A reprise in the third act could heighten the sense of loss by a change of the lyrics to the past tense as in *Das Land des Lächelns* ('Dein war mein ganzes Herz') and *Giuditta* ('Denn du nur allein warst meine Sonne').

In its musical structure the 'Tauber-Lied' adheres to the ternary principle. As a general rule a brief orchestral introduction leads into the first vocal section which is firmly established in the home key. For the *Giuditta* song there is a variant in which the introduction is also an accompanied recitative.

A central section contrasts with the opening either by varying the pace (as in *Paganini*) or the time signature (as in *Das Land des Lächelns* or *Schön ist die Welt*). The central section offers an opportunity for the tonality to drift sequentially through related keys, though never too far from the home key. A brief moment in the tonic minor in *Paganini* either inspires - or may have been inspired by - a line in the lyrics, "Ich kenn' die Liebe in Dur und Moll" ("I know love in its major and minor keys"). [24] There

[24] A point for consideration is whether words or music came first. With revisions such as *Schön ist die Welt* or *Das Land des Lächelns* there was clearly a necessity for fitting new words to existing score. In Tauber's account of first singing through the *Paganini* song there is mention of the title but not the lyrics. In modern musicals the lyrics usually come last, for the concept and the music come first (according to Sir Tim Rice, briefly encountered in an interval of *Evita* at Leeds on 15 June 2002).

is a tendency for regular 16-bar or 32-bar sections but these may be conjoined so that the final bars of one section overlay the beginning of the next.

With the reprise of the opening theme there is no fixed pattern. For the earliest examples of these songs (in *Frasquita* and *Paganini*) the reprise restated only half of the opening. There was a full restatement in *Das Land des Lächelns* and *Giuditta*. In *Friederike* the reprise was extended by a sequentially treated additional phrase (at the words “Du bist mein Leben, mein sonniger Schein”), while in *Schön ist die Welt* the reprise was a doubling of the opening.

What Tauber may have contributed to the compositional process in these songs is difficult to assess. Beyond doubt is his style of embellishing the final cadence; this has been illustrated in ‘ossia’ figurations or footnotes in the vocal scores, and it is there for the hearing in his recordings, but this style is not unique to Tauber. Diana Napier Tauber’s assessment of his involvement would appear to stretch credulity to the limits for she maintains that

When later on the partnership between Franz and Richard became closer, the creation of the ‘Tauber Song’ was often the result of months of cooperation between the two. Every bar was gone over again and again, every ‘nuance’ of the melody was ‘made to measure’ for the man and his voice, every word was tried a thousand times until the final version was agreed upon. [25]

[25] Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, p. 93.

In her account of the composition of 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz' she describes how Tauber was

on a visit to Ischl to discuss with Lehár the problem of the missing feature song yet it seemed that nothing suitable could be found among the composer's latest manuscripts. Then, one day he was idly glancing through some dusty old notebooks ... when he suddenly came across a tune which immediately aroused his interest. [26]

This was her story in 1949. Ten years later she recalled how, after a festival performance of *Giuditta* in 1935, Lehár had told her about Tauber's visit to Ischl one night when "Richard was looking through some of my compositions and pounced on the song you now know as 'You are my heart's delight'. It was buried and forgotten in a cupboard." [27]

There is not a word about the extent to which the music existed already in *Die gelbe Jacke*, nor any suggestion of what contribution the librettists may have made towards the finished product.

It was May 1935 when she had first met Tauber. This was after the premiere of the film *Mimi*, derived from *La Bohème*, in which she played Sidonie. [28] In October that year, after the first London screening of Tauber's film *Blossom time*, their engagement was suddenly announced.

[26] Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, p. 117.

[27] Tauber, *My heart and I* (London, 1959), p. 67.

[28] Tauber, *Richard Tauber*, p. 166; Tauber, *My heart and I*, pp. 26-27. On *Mimi*, see Ken Wlaschin, *Opera on screen* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 63, and Richard Fawkes, *Opera on film* (London, 2000), p. 94.

Because of complications arising from the validity of his divorce from Carlotta Vanconti it was June 1936 before Tauber could marry Diana Napier. [29] The inaccuracies and inconsistencies in her biographies of Tauber can be explained as faulty recollection or misunderstanding of Tauber's retelling of incidents in which she could not have had any personal involvement.

Tauber, through his marriage to Diana Napier, now had two bases - one in Vienna's 13th district at Wenzgasse 12, the other in England at Villa Capri, Borehamwood. [30] The invasion of Austria forced him to leave his homeland. He spent the war years performing in concerts, broadcasts and revivals of *The land of smiles*. He also composed his own operetta, *Old Chelsea*, which included the last of all 'Tauber-Lieder', 'My heart and I'.

Tauber's legacy in operetta has been the many recordings he made of Lehár's music. [31] Of special value are those made with Lehár conducting. On 5 June 1946 a special concert was broadcast by Swiss Radio, a concert of Lehár's music conducted by the composer. The event was made particularly special because Tauber had arrived in

[29] Dennis, 'Richard Tauber' *The record collector*, p. 259.

[30] Paul Emödi (ed), *Wer ist wer: Lexikon österreichischer Zeitgenossen* (Vienna, 1937), p. 346.

[31] His recordings are comprehensively listed in in James Dennis, 'Richard Tauber discography', *The record collector*, (Ipswich), vol.XVIII, nos. 8-10, October 1969.

Zurich and was to take part. He sang 'Immer nur lächeln' from *Das Land des Lächelns*, 'Du bist meine Sonne' from *Giuditta*, and the Bill Harris aria 'Schweig, zagendes Herz' from *Das Fürstenkind*. Inevitably there had to be 'Dein ist mein ganzes Herz' from *Das Land des Lächelns*. In recognition of the song's international fame Tauber sang sections of this best known 'Tauber-Lied' in four languages. [32]

For Lehár and Tauber this was to be their last concert together. Less than a year later Tauber had developed a persistent cough. Tauber suspected something serious but he was not told that he had lung cancer. In spite of his increasingly weak condition he amazed friends and colleagues by one last performance in *Don Giovanni* with the Vienna Staatsoper company at Covent Garden on 27 September 1947. [33] A week later he was in Guy's Hospital to have a lung removed. He did not recover. He died on 8 January 1948.

[32] A CD of this concert was produced by Koch in 1994 with catalogue reference 3-1098-2.

[33] A CD enclosed with the hardback edition of the Michael Jürgs biography includes two extracts from Tauber's final *Don Giovanni*.

Jewish perspectives on Lehár operetta

The chapters forming the chronological survey of Lehár's operettas have included biographical details of the librettists, most of whom were Jewish. To what extent, if any, the Jewish faith, lifestyle and traditions may have played a part in their theatrical writing will be considered in this final chapter.

Judaism, in common with other major religions, has adherents of various persuasions, from the orthodox or fundamentalist to the liberal. There were, among Lehár's Jewish librettists, some who quite evidently took their Jewishness and their Judaism very seriously, while the writings of others have a barely discernible Jewish aspect. Other circumstances will certainly have played a part in shaping their writing - such as personal experiences and family history (which for most of these librettists are still to be researched) and professional work outside the theatre.

Some of Lehár's operetta librettists were journalists by profession, for example, Bauer, Léon, and Löhner, to which one might add the opera librettists Kalbeck and Innocent-Vincze. Deutsch-German was a writer and essayist; Knepler was a publisher. Bodanzky, Brammer and Grünbaum had on-stage experience as singers and actors. Others were professionally trained in law, one was a gynaecologist.

Shakespeare's Shylock in Act 3 of *The merchant of Venice* had argued that Jews are no different from others when he asked, "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Yet Jews, as librettist Victor Léon has stated, had, unlike other people, been forced to laugh through their tears for nearly two thousand years. [1] There is clearly a case for arguing that Jewish 'Weltanschauung' has in some measure been conditioned by the non-Jew's perception of the Jew and the reactions engendered by such perceptions.

Long before its rediscovery by Nazi propagandists there was anti-semitism in Austria - and of course not only in Austria. Reasons and excuses for such an attitude are complex and varied. Its popularity, as observed by one writer in Vienna

undoubtedly is due to the fact that one section of the Jews have been (through their own fault) too rich, and another section (through no fault of their own) too poor. [2]

Anti-semitism in its broadest sense was an expression of hostility or contempt from non-Jews towards Jews who were successful (and regarded as competition in mercantile and professional arenas) and towards those who were poor (and regarded as parasites upon the economy). In the stratified society of Austria, particularly in the Monarchist era, it was

[1] Robert Stolz, *Die ganze Welt ist himmelblau*, notes and memoirs compiled by Aram Bakshian (Bergisch Gladbach, 1986), p. 307.

[2] Willi Frischauer, *Twilight in Vienna*, tr E. O. Lorimer (London, 1938), p. 276.

convenient for each section of the community to have another section to look down upon, and there was no easier prey than the ethnic or religious minorities.

The situation was complicated still further, for the Jewish community had its own strata: at one level were the aspiring middle-class professionals, at another the 'Ostjuden', Jewish immigrants from Galicia, who maintained traditional dress and customs; even among the first group there were those who denied their Jewishness and others who revelled in their cultural, religious and racial identity. In addition to the anti-semitism from non-Jew to Jew there was, as Fritz Löhner indicated by the title of one of his collections of verses - *Israeliten und andere Antisemiten* (1909), another anti-semitism by liberal Jew to traditional Jew.

Narrative through folk-tales as a means of demonstrating or explaining a traditional 'Weltanschauung' is common to both the Judaic and the Germanic/Nordic cultures. Myth and fairy-tale, with a host of super-human or supernatural creatures and Nordic gods and goddesses, is a characteristic of the North European tradition. As Jewish tradition accepts only one God the Jewish narrative uses the technique of allegory or parable in which real people, not mythical creatures, appear in recognisable human predicaments.

The parable creates a parallel to a real-life situation, and the application of humour reinforces the purpose of the parable. Operetta thrived in a hostile

political climate - particularly in those countries where state censorship was a force to be reckoned with - through humour which allowed the spectator to think the unthinkable. The process is achieved, as Elliott Oring has explained it, when “the joke technique comes to the aid of the inhibited thought by circumventing the inhibition.” The result of this diversionary tactic is that a forbidden thought is made conscious, by which time “it is too late for the censorship to react.” [3]

The anti-semitic faction in Austrian society, both non-Jewish and Jewish, scorned the ‘Schnorrer’ (‘scrounger’) in the poorer ghettos, but even a pauper could be raised to heroic proportions:

Among us Jews poverty has many faces and many aspects. A poor man is an unlucky man, he is a pauper, a beggar, a *schnorrer*, a starveling, a tramp, or a plain failure. A different tone is used in speaking of each one, but all these names express human wretchedness. However, there is still another name - *kasril*, or *kasrilik*. ... A *kasrilik* is not just an ordinary pauper ... he is a man who has not allowed poverty to degrade him. He laughs at it. He is poor, but cheerful. [4]

René and his bohemian friends in *Der Graf von Luxemburg* display something of the ‘kasril’. They are not treated as objects of derision. Ridiculed in *Der Graf von Luxemburg* is the ‘Schadchen’.

[3] Elliott Oring, *The jokes of Sigmund Freud: a study in humour and Jewish identity* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 6.

[4] Sholom Aleichem, *The old country* (‘The town of the little people’) (London, 1946), p. 1.

A traditional butt of humour in a Jewish community, the 'Schadchen' was the marriage broker. The orthodox Jewish marriage was seen as more than a partnership of two people. It was a deliberate expression of commitment to a faith and the continuation of a tradition within the Jewish community. [5] Perhaps the best known operatic scenario, in which a broker's plans go awry but true love wins in the end, is Smetana's *The bartered bride*. The broker role in *Der Graf von Luxemburg* is shared by a Russian official, a notary, and the intended benefactor of the ruse, Basil Basilowitsch. Marriage brokering on behalf of the state played a catalytic role in *Die lustige Witwe*, it was there in the background for *Schön ist die Welt* and *Der Zarewitsch*.

The portrayal of women in operetta might have seemed a little shocking to the non-Jewish, largely Roman Catholic, audiences in Austria. Yet as Julia Neuberger has stated, "Judaism has a much more permissive attitude to sexuality than Christianity and understands that it is a joy rather than a sin." [6] Even though the Jewish way of life tolerated male chauvinism to a certain degree a Jewish woman still had rights of her own, which included an entitlement to sexual pleasure (which, if not provided, was grounds for divorce). The brazenness of the four rapacious women seeking marriage with Willibald Brandl in *Wiener Frauen*, or the three

[5] Julia Neuberger, *On being Jewish* (London, 1996), pp. 85-86.

[6] Neuberger, *On being Jewish*, p. 100.

flirtatious schoolgirls in *Der Sterngucker* (or the women in *Libellentanz*), would have provided nothing more than mild amusement to the modern liberated Jewish woman of Vienna. The matriarchal dominance of Hanna Glawari in *Die lustige Witwe* is another example of this acceptance of female emancipation.

The non-Jewish women of Vienna enjoyed none of this liberal lifestyle - or at least they were not expected to. Yet, as in Victorian Britain, sexuality remained in thought when not allowed full expression. The problems bred by hypocrisy, prejudice and a stratified social system were present in abundance in early twentieth-century Vienna.

It was different for a man. His priority in society was to achieve status and, having achieved this, he would then be a candidate for marriage to a young lady of suitable breeding. Until he married he was at liberty to use other outlets for his sexual needs - the 'süsse Mädels' ('sweet girls'), an amateur prostitute who might be a shop girl or waitress, or he might have an affair with 'eine anständige Frau' ('a respectable married woman') with an older husband, like Valencienne in *Die lustige Witwe*. [7]

An important touchstone for comparison is the work of Jewish dramatist Arthur Schnitzler (1862 – 1931). He was a shrewd observer of how inner

[7] On the 'süsse Mädels', see earlier discussion, at p. 277, with reference to Gretl in *Die blaue Mazur*. For further general discussion cf. Stefan Zweig, *The world of yesterday* (London, 1943), pp. 70-78; also Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (London, 1973), pp.47-48.

desires could be masked by outward respectability. His play, *Reigen*, scandalised Vienna by depicting in ten scenes a number of characters who in normal circumstances would be separated by class but who become links in a chain of sexual encounters (a prostitute, a soldier, a chambermaid, a gigolo, a married woman, her husband, a 'sweet girl', a poet, an actress, and a count) all typical of Viennese society, typical too of Viennese operetta. [8]

An interesting and possibly relevant matter is raised by considering the age of Valencienne, the 'respectable wife' in *Die lustige Witwe*. Her husband invariably addresses her as 'Kind' ('child'), indicative not only of the age gap between her and her husband, but suggestive of a matter of fascination for certain Viennese intellectuals, the 'Kindweib' ('child woman'). [9] The 'child woman' became for some an object of obsessive infatuation bordering dangerously close to paedophilia, typically a female in her teens with the unsophisticated attitude of the child and the promiscuity of the prostitute.

[8] For an essay on *Reigen* by Egon Schwarz see Sander L. Gilman and Jack Zipes (ed), *Yale companion to Jewish writing and thought in German culture 1096-1996* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 412-419. Schnitzler's work is discussed in the context of its place in German literature by Ritchie Robertson in Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (ed), *The Cambridge history of German literature* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 336-338.

[9] See Edward Timms (ed), *Freud and the child woman: the memoirs of Fritz Wittels* (Yale, 1995).

One of these infatuated individuals was satirist Karl Kraus (1874 – 1936). A staunch advocate of nineteenth-century operetta, his favourite composer being Offenbach, Kraus lived an ascetic life until he began a relationship with the sexually liberated Annie Kalmar (1877 – 1901), an actress whose real name was Anna Elisabeth Kaldwasser. Her death from tuberculosis apparently unbalanced him. Attending a performance of Offenbach's *Les contes d'Hoffmann* he was reminded of her by the artist playing Antonia, the frail singer. [10] Later he discovered Irma Karczewska (1890 – 1933), an actress with a strong resemblance to Annie. She was seventeen when they first met, and they had an affair lasting many years. Kraus' child woman, Irma, inspired the essay 'Das Kindweib' by psychoanalyst Fritz Wittels which was published in *Die Fackel* in 1907. [11]

The Lehár operetta was anathema to Kraus who had a particular contempt for *Die lustige Witwe*. Kraus's ideal woman, it has been suggested, was a blend of the frail Antonia, the doll-like Olympia, and the whore Giulietta from *Les contes d'Hoffmann*. [12] This would have placed him at odds with Lehár's emancipated widow. The admiration which Kraus felt for Offenbach and other nineteenth-century operetta composers was certainly

[10] Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus apocalyptic satirist: Culture and catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (Yale, 1986), p. 74.

[11] Timms (ed), *Freud and the child woman*, p. 60.

[12] Timms, *Karl Kraus apocalyptic satirist*, p. 74.

genuine. This could suggest that it was the satirist in Kraus who disliked modern operetta, but it cannot be overlooked from his writings that there was some jealousy of Lehár's commercial success.

Consideration of Kraus in relation to Lehár research is relevant from two standpoints: Kraus' dogged observation of Lehár's career is useful in compiling details of Lehár's life; his critical comments on operettas also provide a jaundiced, though occasionally refreshingly humorous, look at Viennese theatre life. In an important essay Kraus set out his aesthetic of operetta, stressing the importance of humour, an element which he found lacking in Lehár. [13]

When Kraus spotted a newspaper misprint he was quick to launch a typical anti-Lehár attack:

A hitherto unknown tragedy by Shakespeare was recently announced in the advertisement section of a St. Gallen newspaper. It stated that there was to be a performance in St. Gallen's municipal theatre of *King Lehar*, a tragedy in five acts by W. Shakespeare.

This is no laughing matter. It is terrible. The printer did not intend to make a joke. The word that he should not have set, the association that got into his work, is the measure of the times. By their misprints you shall know them. What was to be read here really is a Shakespearian tragedy.

[14]

[13] Karl Kraus, 'Ernst ist das Leben, heiter war die Operette', *Die Fackel*, 31 December 1910, pp. 13-16.

[14] Karl Kraus, 'Ich glaube an den Druckfehlerteufel', *Die Fackel*, 27 April 1912, p. 7.

Other unfortunate coincidences triggered similar retorts. A poignant image of hungry and sick war veterans was contrasted with Lehár's world portrayed on adverts for his film, *Bist du's, lachendes Glück?* [15] Kraus reproduced pictures of Lehár endorsing products for commercial gain - from razor blades to eau de cologne. [16]

In Kraus' opinion the modern operetta lacked the intellectual stimulus of its forebears. It was of service "only as a preface to the caterwauling joys of nightlife." [17] At the end of his career Kraus summarised the ideals he had striven for in a song which he himself wrote and performed in his one-man-show entertainments:

In Lehárs Welt war ich bemüht,
So gut es gieng, uns durchzufretten,
Was des Geistes ist, zu retten,
Und zu bewahren Offenbachs Lied.
Denn zu verlieren schien mir Sünde,
Was uns den Rest von Gluck erhält.
Doch wollte anders es die Welt -
So dass sein Reichtum doch
zerstob wie Spreu im Winde
wie Spreu im Winde. [18]

[In Lehár's world I was at pains / just to scrape by as
well as we could, / to save what's of the spirit / and

[15] *Die Fackel*, 25 January 1919, p. 43.

[16] *Die Fackel*, February 1929, p. 40; May 1930, p. 41.

[17] *Die Fackel*, 19 January 1909, p. 12.

[18] Karl Kraus, 'Der Magier'. The complete lyrics and music are in Georg Knepler, *Karl Kraus liest Offenbach: Erinnerungen, Kommentäre, Dokumentationen* (Berlin, 1984), p. 178.

preserve Offenbach's song. / For it seemed to me a sin
to lose / what conserves for us the remnants of
happiness. / But the world wanted things different / so
that its wealth / vanished like chaff in the wind / like
chaff in the wind.]

Kraus was a typical representative of a much discussed characteristic among Jewish intellectuals in Vienna, Jewish 'Selbsthass' ('self-hatred'). This was an attempt to achieve integration by denial of Jewish character, and even by rejecting Jewish religion. [19] (This parallels the situation in *Die gelbe Jacke* when Sou-Chong-Chwang's sister is baptised so that she can marry Claudius). This was a futile gesture for this placed the self-hating Jew in a cultural no-man's-land, an uninvolved stranger ("fremd und teilnahmslos"). [20] The best any Jew could expect was assimilation - which was nothing more than tolerance to a degree.

Paradoxically there have been writers of pro-semitic persuasion who have prided themselves on the skills that Jews have brought to operetta and

[19] Cf. Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews* (Baltimore and London, 1986), pp. 233-243 (for specific discussion of Kraus); Ritchie Robertson, "Jewish self-hatred?" The cases of Schnitzler and Canetti' in Robert S. Wistrich (ed), *Austrians and Jews in the twentieth century: from Franz Josef to Waldheim* (New York, 1992), pp. 82-96; Allan Janik, 'Viennese culture and the Jewish self-hatred hypothesis: a critique' in Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak and Gerhard Botz (eds), *Jews, antisemitism and culture in Vienna* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 75-88.

[20] Richard Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik* [1850] (Leipzig, c. 1930?), p. 8; see also English translation by W. Ashton Ellis in Richard Wagner, *Judaism in music and other essays* (Lincoln, Nebraska, and London, 1995), p. 87.

theatre. One writes of a demonstrable truth that

an intellectual keenness bred through hundreds of years, combined with a critical power of observation, has frequently produced among the Jews a distinct taste for humour and satire. This tendency probably explains why so many Jewish librettists and composers have chosen the field of the operetta and the musical comedy. [21]

With famous names in support, from Offenbach in France to Bernstein in America, it is an impressive (if academically suspect) argument, endorsed to some extent by Peter Gradenwitz. [22] A similar idea is expressed in Rosenstock's song about well-known Jewish contributors to Viennese culture in *Rosenstock und Edelweiss*. The exaggerated portrayal of the Jew in this piece contrasts sharply with the deliberately underplayed characterisation in *Der Rastelbinder*. The earlier work was a gentle romantic comedy, while the one-act cabaret piece was a satire on cross-cultural aspirations.

In contrast to Kraus and the self-hating Jew was Lehár's librettist, Fritz Löhner, a Zionist whose condemnation of the trend towards assimilation was keenly expressed in satirical verses with the titles *Getaufte und Baldgetaufte* ('Baptised and newly baptised') in 1908 and *Israeliten und andere Antisemiten* ('Israelites and other anti-semites') in 1909.

[21] Artur Holde, *Jews in music* (London, 1960), p. 247.

[22] Peter Gradenwitz, 'Jews in Austrian music' in Josef Fraenkel (ed), *The Jews of Austria: essays on their life, history and destruction* (London, 1967), pp. 17-24 (with specific reference to operetta composers on p. 21).

The Jewish community, not the broader Viennese community, was his prime interest. His was a Jewishness of missionary zeal, and he actively supported Kadimah (a Zionist Jewish students' association at the University of Vienna) and the Hakoah sports club. [23]

As the satirical poet he was published as Beda, and as Lehár's librettist he was Fritz Löhner when he wrote *Der Sterngucker* in 1916. In that same year he published another collection of humorous verses, *Bomben und Granaten*, in aid of wartime welfare. In 1920 another collection of poems, *Ecce ego*, displayed a more personal character through love lyrics inspired, one assumes, by his wife Helene.

Of his four further libretti for Lehár only two, *Friederike* and *Giuditta*, were original works. In *Friederike* he explored the theme of an artist's destiny, of a life focused on one goal. The poet is isolated from the expected normal life in respectable and responsible society because his independent spirit is incompatible with it. The idea of incompatibility is also explored in *Giuditta*. In the end both Goethe in *Friederike* and Octavio in *Giuditta* are faced with a realisation that they cannot recapture the past.

The titles of both these libretti indicate that the most important characters

[23] See N. H. Tur-Sinai, 'Viennese Jewry' in Fraenkel (ed), *The Jews of Austria*, pp. 311-318 (with specific reference to Löhner on p. 317). On the Hakoah club, cf. Erich Juhn, 'The Jewish sports movement in Austria' in Fraenkel (ed), as above, pp. 161-165.

are the women. By her nature Giuditta is a seeker after freedom. Her marriage is likened to a cage in which she is trapped, however much her adoring husband may love her. In her way she is as tragic a figure as her lover, Octavio, for she is condemned to an itinerant life. Originally to be called Giulietta she became Giuditta (Judith) not, as one might suppose, after the heroine of the Apocrypha, but more likely because she represents in female form a Jew, a wandering Jew. [24]

With *Das Land des Lächelns* Löhner turned the pre-war optimism of *Die gelbe Jacke* into a fatalistic scenario in which values of cultural traditions conflict with personal desires. Léon had touched upon this conflict in his libretto; Löhner addressed the matter directly. An episode in the second scene of Act 2 demonstrates the mood of the revision. At this point Sou-Chong's sister Mi has entered to wish him happiness with his wedding to Lisa (now Lotosblume) and the forthcoming presentation of the symbolic Yellow Jacket. Her uncle Tschang is shocked to see that she is dressed in European style for a tennis match:

Tschang (*who has drawn himself up stiffly in amazement*): Mi!

Mi (*turns towards him in terror, bowing in greeting in the Chinese manner*): Honourable uncle, please forgive your unworthy niece for not greeting you first.

[24] Judith is the feminine form of the Hebrew word for 'Jew' according to M. S. and J. Lane Miller, *Black's Bible dictionary* (London, 1954), p. 361.

Tschang (*in zealous anger*) : Unworthy! ...
How dare you appear before men's eyes in a
masquerade of that sort? Whenever was a
Chinese girl so shameless as to display her naked
legs?!

Mi (*intimidated*) : But it is not possible for one to
play tennis in long skirts!

Tschang : In that case one simply does not play
tennis! [25]

In scenes such as this where Western influence, embodied by the new
bride Lisa/Lotosblume, is seen as a corrupting influence on the Chinese
court the way is prepared for further conflicts and the ultimate rift between
the leading characters. There can be no compromise, no integration
between one whose duty is towards the strict doctrines of the Chinese
people and one who represents the liberal West. The substitution of
'Jewish' for 'Chinese' makes the moral clear.

Wagner had claimed that a Jew was incapable of expressing passion, and
that in the absence of passion there could not be the "true and noble calm"
("wahre, edle Ruhe") that is "passion mollified through resignation"
("durch Resignation beschwichtigte Leidenschaft"). [26] Some of
Lehár's librettists - not only Löhner with *Friederike, Giuditta* and *Das
Land des Lächelns*, but also Reichert with *Wo die Lerche singt*, and

[25] Translated from Ludwig Herzer and Fritz Löhner, *Das Land des
Lächelns* prompt book (Vienna, 1929/1957), p. 41.

[26] Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik*, p. 13; Wagner tr Ellis, *Judaism
in music*, p. 93.

Léon with *Das Fürstenkind* - seemed determined to show that there could be no grounds for applying Wagner's judgement on Jewish music to the work of Jewish librettists.

If there ever was a tolerably good time to be a Jew in Germany and Austria that time extended from the middle of the nineteenth century to the first couple of decades of the twentieth. Mendelssohn had prepared the way, by achieving a degree of acceptability unheard of in previous generations. This was also the period when operetta was born and thrived. It was inevitable therefore that Jewish writers, actors and musicians should find a place for themselves in operetta, not because they were Jewish, but simply through talent and industry.

The good times lasted until the Nazi era. It is sobering to consider how many of Lehár's Jewish librettists failed to survive the Second World War: Ludwig Herzer died in 1939; Alexander Engel, Victor Léon, Heinz Reichert, and Fritz Grünbaum died in 1940; Julius Bauer died in 1941; Fritz Löhner-Beda died in 1942; Béla Jenbach and Julius Horst died in 1943, as (probably) did Alfred Deutsch-German; Julius Brammer died in 1944. Grünbaum died in Dachau, Löhner-Beda in Auschwitz.

The Jewishness of Lehár's librettists, where or if evident in their writing, was as variable as each individual was different from the next. The satire in the lyrics of cabaret writers such as Bodanzky and Grünbaum is no more and no less Jewish than the 'joie de vivre' in the situation comedies

of Léon and Stein, while the resignation and sorrow in the characters depicted by Knepler, Reichert or Löhner is the mute acceptance of a destiny which, as understood by the ‘suffering servant’ in the Book of Isaiah, is in the hands of a greater power than mankind. [27]

Lehár’s bitterest critic, Kraus, could never accept that these librettists were still creating operettas. Kraus wanted to preserve the Offenbach form of operetta (“zu bewahren Offenbachs Lied”, to quote his lyrics for ‘Der Magier’) in a kind of artistic limbo while allowing progressive liberalism to erode his Jewish identity. In diametric contrast was Löhner, who followed the progressive direction in which Lehár was taking the operetta form while remaining true to his Zionist beliefs.

Löhner paid the ultimate price for his Jewish identity. The tragic circumstances of his final years have cast a shadow over Lehár biography. When he was arrested by the Nazis in 1938 Löhner was taken to Buchenwald where he wrote a camp anthem, the ‘Buchenwald-Lied’, in collaboration with a song composer newly transferred from Dachau, Hermann Leopoldi (1888 – 1959). The song was entered for a competition, and won, though its authors received nothing for it. Löhner’s song was an affirmation of life and hope. Two lines went:

Wir wollen Ja zum Leben sagen,
Denn einmal kommt der Tag, da sind wir frei!

[27] For a Jewish perspective on the concept of the ‘suffering servant’ see Neuberger, *On being Jewish*, p. 142.

[We want to say Yes to life / for some time the day
will come when we are free!] [28]

Löhner accepted that his Jewishness and his Judaism could not change, whereas the survival of operetta or any artistic genre was absolutely dependent upon change. The artificiality of the nineteenth-century operetta plot was a thing of the past. Lehár's career was a transition from nineteenth-century operetta - from the realism of the characters in *Die lustige Witwe* towards new styles, some of which worked, some of which did not. It was thanks to the later librettists - Jenbach, Knepler, Reichert and Löhner - that the final phase was achieved.

Music theatre has moved on from Lehár. The Viennese operetta tradition engendered the later twentieth-century American musical tradition. The kind of racial and cultural conflict in *Das Land des Lächelns* found a different mode of expression in *South Pacific* and *The King and I*; there was sadness as well as optimism in *Carousel*. In all of these there are credible people in situations dealing seriously with human relationships. They are works of serious musical theatre owing their origins to the serious operettas that went before them.

[28] On this episode see Gertrude Schneider, *Exile and destruction: the fate of Austrian Jews 1938-1945* (Westport, 1995), p. 18; for the music of the 'Buchenwald-Lied' see Wolfgang Schneider, *Kunst hinter Stacheldraht* (Weimar, 1973), p. 105; on Leopoldi see Hans Weiss and Ronald Leopoldi, *Hermann Leopoldi und Helly Möslein: 'In einem kleinen Café in Hernals' (eine Bildbiographie)* (Vienna, 1993).

Postscript : Words and Music

It would be inappropriate to consider these final few pages as an absolute and conclusive summary. It would be equally wrong to infer that the foregoing pages serve as a last word on the subject. On the contrary, this thesis should be a point of departure for future research.

There is a need for a thorough biography of Franz Lehár that is free of the almost inexcusable errors that litter the existing literature, the most glaringly apparent being the dating of first productions (which, one hopes, is finally and correctly presented in Appendix 1). The international status of his masterpiece, *Die lustige Witwe*, alone justifies this need. Something of the nature of the Arthur Jacobs biography of Sullivan would go some way towards addressing this need, but better still would be an annotated compilation of documentary material of the quality of, for example, Franz Mailer's work on Johann Strauss. [1]

This may be achievable in time as more resources are made available. It was mentioned in an early chapter of this thesis how some correspondence between Lehár and Tauber had been sold for a mere pittance. Fortunately such bargains are unlikely to be had quite so readily as serious interest in

[1] Cf. Franz Mailer (ed), *Johann Strauss (Sohn): Leben und Werk in Briefen und Dokumenten*, published by Schneider (Tutzing) in 9 volumes from 1983 to 2002.

operetta and its composers is on the increase. Documentary material of the kind needed for serious biography is finding its way more often to city archives, libraries and universities. The Peteani correspondence that was discovered in the course of the present research is just one example. There is more to be found through field work in other resource centres. The Vienna City Library, which already possessed much documentary material from the Victor Léon bequest, received a further gift in September 2001 of autographed letters to and from Alfred Maria Willner. [2]

It is doubtful whether England has produced anyone during the past few decades with so astute an understanding of operetta as Gervase Hughes. After dismissing the pretensions of Lehár's motivic writing and the purple patches of the later operettas he concluded that

If the beloved *Merry Widow* is to take a companion along the road to immortality it may be neither the uninspired *Zigeunerliebe*, nor the highly charged *Land of Smiles* nor yet, I fear, the sprightly and capricious *Eva*. The *Widow's* most probable escort looks likely to be that other old war-horse, *The Count of Luxembourg*.

[3]

This proved to be an uncannily accurate prophesy of Lehár's place in British music-making, for the *Widow's* companion in recent decades has been only *Der Graf von Luxemburg* with its limited revivals at the hands

[2] This was discovered through a recent internet search; see website www.stadtbibliothek.wien.at/bibliothek/erwerb/2001/willner-de.htm .

[3] Gervase Hughes, *Composers of operetta* (London, 1962), p. 142

of the New Sadler's Wells Opera and the revamped D'Oyly Carte, both companies no longer operational.

Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* has won its rightful place in the repertoire because of its merits - a cleverly constructed script and carefully crafted music. It is perhaps the most consistent work by a composer who too often has been annoyingly inconsistent. Yet there are other works which at least deserve more consideration. Of the shorter works the best would appear to be *Frühling* with its imaginatively devised scenario and a music score that is of its time. Of the middle period works perhaps *Wo die Lerche singt* may have a place, being linked through its authors with Puccini's *La rondine*. The later works are more problematic, as they would be expensive to produce. A revival of *Das Land des Lächelns* by Sadler's Wells Opera at the Coliseum, with Charles Craig and Elizabeth Fretwell in leading roles, was a financial disaster just over forty years ago. Despite praise for the music a London first run of *Friederike*, with Joseph Hislop as Goethe, ended abruptly after 110 performances. [4]

Scrupulous analysis of Lehár's scores is another area for future research, though no doubt very time-consuming in consideration of the various revisions which his scores underwent. Yet this could lead to a valuable

[4] Information on *Das Land des Lächelns* from Pamela Cotton, who appeared in the Sadler's Wells Opera production. On *Friederike*, see Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *Joseph Hislop: gran tenore* (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1992), pp. 170-172.

edition of copiously annotated full scores. It is to be hoped, however, that any such project, once started, might not be as slow to produce the finished product as Broude Bros., the New York publishers, who first mooted the idea of an authoritative edition of Gilbert and Sullivan opera scores in 1978, published in chronological order, but whose *H.M.S. Pinafore* appeared only last year.

There has been only passing reference in this thesis to Lehár's non-stage works. His orchestral works are melodically rich and skilfully scored, and his works for solo violin have some merit, albeit in a popular virtuosic style. Less well known are his songs, but it is interesting to note that these are receiving attention. [5]

Lehár's works of course were not written for scholarly scrutiny, they were written to be performed. The need for quality translations for English-speaking audiences to appreciate these operettas was mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis. Yet these translations have to be faithful not only to the word but also to the spirit and the style of the original - and this is where so many productions in English have failed. The staging too has to be of a style in keeping with the Viennese tradition, a fact which Lehár himself was keen to emphasise in his *Bekanntnis* and in his correspondence with producers.

[5] Noted in the library catalogue of the University of Vienna was a diploma dissertation on Lehár's song composition; see Edda Andrea Dafert, 'Das Liedschaffen Franz Lehárs' (Vienna University, Dipl.-Arb., 2002).

Because in operetta the words matter as much as the music it requires a particularly versatile singer, one who not only has a thrilling and well supported sound but also crystal-clear enunciation. This, plus a well proportioned youthful physique and the ability to deliver dialogue convincingly, makes the ideal operetta prima donna or primo uomo. Recent research from Australia has attempted to show that good vocal lines are not necessarily compatible with clear diction. [6] Yet such singers do exist. Tauber may not have been the most handsome leading man, but his strength lay in an effortless vocal technique and clear diction. When Australian Opera produced a video recording of *The merry widow* in 1996 with Joan Sutherland in the title role they could not have produced anything more inappropriate to the operetta style, with a leading lady miscast in terms of age and vocal clarity. [7]

If the words matter as much as the music, the librettists must be given the respect and recognition that they too deserve. This thesis has attempted to restore some balance in this regard by looking at the writings of these varied individuals and considering their achievements. Some wrote from their experience as artists on stage, others were craftsmen in poetry, some were shrewdly satirical, others were less sophisticated.

[6] This was the conclusion reached by Professor Joe Wolfe of the School of Physics, University of New South Wales, as reported in *The Times*, 8 January 2004, p. 9.

[7] On Polygram ref. 079 270-3.

Lehár's career in operetta began with his drawing upon the experience of the librettist Victor Léon and their greatest achievement, with Leo Stein, was *Die lustige Witwe*. Lehár's career as a Viennese operetta composer ended with the serious operettas scripted by the didactically minded Fritz Löhner. The direction that Lehár eventually took was shaped by the work of other librettists, by their failures as much as their successes.

Music and music theatre exist in all styles to suit all tastes and intellects. Operetta has its own place and purpose within the world of music, and its creators deserve to have their work judged on its own merits and within its own terms of reference.

Austria has enjoyed a long historical association with the best and most enduring examples of Western European music. Austria has now been forced to live off its cultural past. The great tradition of light music theatre - to which Lehár, his librettists, and their contemporaries contributed so significantly - is no more, so effective were the Nazi policies which exiled or killed its finest practitioners.

The one successful German-language musical, *Elisabeth* (1992), currently enjoying a revival at the Theater an der Wien, is based on the life of Emperor Franz Josef's wife. It was written by a Czech-born lyricist, Michael Kunze (1943 -), and a Hungarian-born composer, Sylvester Levay (1945 -), a team that looked further into Austria's past for a later musical, *Mozart!* (1999).

Music theatre in Vienna is more likely nowadays to be a German-language version of an American or British import from Bock, Bernstein, or Lloyd Webber. Even the traditional home of operetta, the Vienna Volksoper, has in its 2004 season only seven of the most popular operettas (Lehár being represented by *Die lustige Witwe*) with four American musicals, including *My fair lady*. The lyricist of this musical, Alan Jay Lerner, could never accept Lehár's reasons for staying in Austria during the Nazi era, writing in his survey of music theatre that

The world forgets easily, but when I recall the long evenings I spent with Kurt Weill hearing of the tragedy that befell German writers of Jewish origin, and the hair's-breadth escapes from Hitler's Nazis - let alone the constant reminder of the Holocaust - to this day when I am transported by the music of Franz Lehár, my glass of champagne is rimmed with aloes. [8]

Doubtless there will be those who share this view, and there will be many who are in sympathy with it. Beyond doubt is the cultural vacuum that was left in Austrian music and theatre as a result of Nazi genocide. There is surely a lesson to be learned there.

[8] Alan Jay Lerner, *The musical theatre: a celebration* (London, 1986), p. 41.

Appendix 1

Lehár's stage works and corrected dates of first performances

<i>Der Kürassier</i>	(incomplete work, not performed; written 1891-1892)	
<i>Rodrigo</i>	(not performed; written 1893)	
<i>Kukuška</i>	Leipzig, Vereinigte Stadttheater	27 November 1896
revised as <i>Tatjana</i>	Brno, Stadttheater	21 February 1905
<i>Die Spionin</i>	(incomplete work, not performed; written (?) 1898)	
<i>Georg Stromer</i>	(incomplete work, not performed; written 1900)	
<i>Fräulein Leutnant</i>	incidental music to play, 1900	
<i>Die Kubanerin</i>	(incomplete work, not performed; written 1900)	
also listed as <i>Arabella, die Kubanerin</i>		
<i>Das Club-Baby</i>	(incomplete work, not performed; written 1901)	
<i>Wiener Frauen</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	21 November 1902
revised as <i>Der Schlüssel zum Paradies</i>	Leipzig, Neues Operetten-Theater	20 October 1906
<i>Der Rastelbinder</i>	Vienna, Carl-Theater	20 December 1902
<i>Der Göttergatte</i>	Vienna, Carl-Theater	20 January 1904
<i>Die Juxheirat</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	22 December 1904
<i>Die lustige Witwe</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	30 December 1905
<i>Peter und Paul reisen ins Schlaraffenland</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	1 December 1906
<i>Mitislaw, der Moderne</i>	Vienna, Die Hölle	5 January 1907
<i>Der Mann mit den drei Frauen</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	21 January 1908

<i>Das Fürstenkind</i> (retitled <i>Der Fürst der Berge</i> in 1932)	Vienna, Johann Strauss-Theater	7 October 1909
<i>Der Graf von Luxemburg</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	12 November 1909
<i>Zigeunerliebe</i>	Vienna, Carl-Theater	8 January 1910
<i>Soldatenliebe</i>	(aborted work, not performed; circa 1910)	
<i>Die Spieluhr</i>	Vienna, Die Hölle	7 January 1911
	(but first performed without Lehár's music 21 October 1911)	
<i>Eva</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	24 November 1911
<i>Rosenstock und Edelweiss</i>	Vienna, Die Hölle	1 December 1912
<i>Die ideale Gattin</i> (derived from <i>Der Göttergatte</i>)	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	11 October 1913
revised as <i>Die Tangokönigin</i>	Vienna, Apollo-Theater	9 September 1921
<i>Endlich allein</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	30 January 1914
revised as <i>Schön ist die Welt</i>	Berlin, Metropol-Theater	3 December 1930
<i>Komm, deutscher Bruder!</i>	Vienna, Raimund-Theater	4 October 1914
	(incidental music, with Edmund Eysler)	
<i>Der Sterngucker</i>	Vienna, Theater in der Josefstadt	14 January 1916
<i>Walzer</i>	Vienna, Deutsches Volkstheater	23 December 1916
	(incidental music to comedy)	
<i>A Pacsirta</i>	Budapest, Király Színház	1 February 1918
in German as <i>Wo die Lerche singt</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	27 March 1918
<i>Die blaue Mazur</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	28 May 1920
<i>Frühling</i>	Vienna, Die Hölle	20 January 1922
in extended version as <i>Frühlingsmädel</i>	Berlin, Neues Theater am Zoo	29 May 1928

<i>La danza delle libellule</i> (derived from <i>Der Sterngucker</i>)	Milan, Teatro Lirico	3 May 1922
in German as <i>Libellentanz</i>	Vienna, Stadttheater	31 March 1923
<i>Frasquita</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	12 May 1922
<i>Die gelbe Jacke</i>	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	9 February 1923
<i>14 Tage Arrest</i>	(one song-and-dance number included in farce; 1923)	
<i>Cloclo</i>	Vienna, Bürgertheater	8 March 1924
revised as <i>Clo-Clo</i>	Vienna, Johann Strauss-Theater	4 September 1925
<i>Paganini</i>	Vienna, Johann Strauss-Theater	30 October 1925
<i>Der Zarewitsch</i>	Berlin, Deutsches Künstlertheater	16 February 1927
<i>Friederike</i>	Berlin, Metropol-Theater	4 October 1928
<i>Das Land des Lächelns</i> (derived from <i>Die gelbe Jacke</i>)	Berlin, Metropol-Theater	10 October 1929
<i>Der Walzer von heute nacht</i>	Berlin, Kleines Theater	17 January 1930
(incidental waltz music for comedy)		
<i>Giuditta</i>	Vienna, Staatsoper	20 January 1934
<i>Garabonciás</i> (derived from <i>Zigeunerliebe</i>)	Budapest, Király Színház	20 February 1943

[Wherever possible, and unless otherwise indicated in the text, details of performance dates have been obtained by reference to contemporary press reviews.]

Spurious works

Mademoiselle Porte-Bonheur (1911) and *Gigolette* (1926), both with libretti by Forzano.

Vandordiák (1948), derived from *Garabonciás*, Lehár's score adapted by Miklos Reкаи.

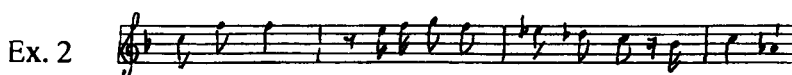
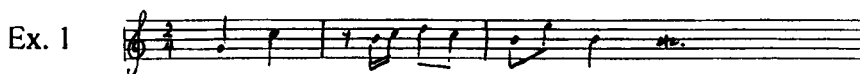
Rose de Noël, music by Lehár adapted by Reкаи and Bonneau.

Appendix 2

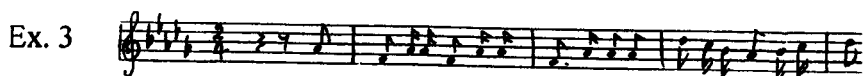
Motifs and thematic reminiscences in *Die lustige Witwe*

In the chapter on *Die lustige Witwe* - pp. 202 to 230 - a number of motivically used themes were discussed, some of which are illustrated more fully in this Appendix. Pages references throughout are to the Doblinger edition of the vocal score (Vienna and Munich, 1906).

The focus of the present discussion is the Act 1 finale. The men's 'Damenwahl' (bar 17ff, p. 32), quoted from their earlier march (Act 1, no. 1; bar 41), is illustrated as Ex. 1 below. The F minor variant, in which Hannah dampens their enthusiasm (bar 33ff, p. 33), is shown as Ex. 2:



The actions of this finale are motivated by a desire for dance, and what that dance may lead to. Cascada's disappointment (bar 68ff, p. 34) in D flat major is echoed in the brighter D major when Valencienne recalls the varied dance steps she has enjoyed with Camille (bar 291ff, p. 46), Ex. 3 and Ex. 4 respectively:

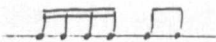


Ex. 4 

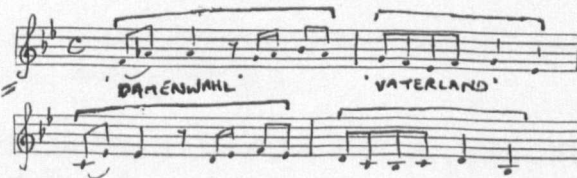
This is treated sequentially in a recitative (bar 318ff, p. 48), Ex. 5, but there is a curious rhythmic echo in the accompaniment to the grisettes in Act 3, no. 14 (bars 18-19, p. 124), Ex. 6:

Ex. 5 

Ex. 6 

The 'Vaterland' motif, rhythmically derived from  is present throughout Danilo's introductory song (Act 1, no. 4) but is also in the Cakewalk, Act 3, no. 13, p. 122, see Ex. 7. In the Act 1 finale it is very subtly combined with the 'Damenwahl' at bars 376-379, p. 52, Ex. 8:

Ex. 7 

Ex. 8 

Appendix 3

Lehár and the cinema - a brief survey

Cinema opened many possibilities for a forward-thinking composer.

Lehár once had an idea (later abandoned) to have the second act mountain scene in *Endlich allein* shown as a cinema film between the stage first and third acts. [1] Sound film offered more scope, but only as long as “the mechanical reproduction can allow me to distinguish every instrument clearly.” [2] Lehár’s association with cinema embraced background music for silent films - such as *Bist du’s, lachendes Glück?* (1918) in which Lehár and Karczag appeared as themselves - as well as soundtrack music (instrumental and vocal) for original sound films and films based, however loosely, on his operettas.

Outlined below (following the chronological order of the first staged productions) is a list of operettas adapted for the silver screen during Lehár’s lifetime:

<i>Der Rastelbinder</i>	(1927) Austrian, with Louis Treumann; 86 mins.
<i>Die lustige Witwe</i>	(1907) Swedish, <i>Den glade enke</i> ; 14 mins.
	(1908) U.S.A., <i>The merry widow</i> ; 15 mins.

[1] Franz Lehár, ‘Meine Erfahrungen mit dem Film’, *Die Kinowoche* (Vienna), no.2, January 1920, p. 1.

[2] Fritz Löhner-Beda, ‘Lehár nimmt Stellung’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 30 April 1930, p. 5.

- (1908) French, *La valse de la Veuve Joyeuse*, produced by Pathé-Frères; 6 mins.
- (1908) U.S.A., *The merry widow waltz craze*, produced by Edison Company, 10 mins.
- (1911) German, produced by Gaumont.
- (1912) U.S.A., *The merry widow*; 15 mins.
- (1913) French, *La veuve joyeuse*, produced by Éclair Filmes; 15 mins.
- (1925) U.S.A., *The merry widow*, directed by von Stroheim for M.G.M.; 113 mins.
- (1934) U.S.A., *The merry widow*, and French, *La veuve joyeuse*, directed by Lubitsch for M.G.M., with Jeanette MacDonald; 99 mins (U.S.A.), 105 mins (Fr).
- Das Fürstenkind* (1927) Austrian, *Der Fürst der schwarzen Berge*; 90 mins.
- Der Graf von Luxemburg* (1910) screened with gramophone accompaniment.
- (1926) U.S.A., *The count of Luxemburg*; 70 mins.
- Zigeunerliebe* (1930) U.S.A., *The rogue song*, directed by Lionel Barrymore, with Lawrence Tibbett, Laurel and Hardy, extra music by Herbert Stothart; colour, 107 mins.
- Eva* (1918) Hungarian; 60 mins.
- (1936) German, in sound with screenplay by Ernst Marischka; 94 mins.
- Die ideale Gattin* (1914) Austrian, directed by Hans Heinz Ewers; 50 mins.

- Wo die Lerche singt* (1918) Austrian, directed by Hubert Marischka, with Marischka, Louise Kartousch, and Ernst Tautenhayn; 80 mins.
- (1936) Hungarian, with Hungarian or German soundtrack, directed by Carl Lamac, with Marta Eggerth; 95 mins.
- Frasquita* (1934) Austrian, directed by Carl Lamac, with Jarmila Novotna, Vienna Boys' Choir, chorus of the Vienna Staatsoper, conducted by Lehár; 82 mins.
- Cloclo* (1935) Austrian, *Die ganze Welt dreht sich um Liebe*, directed by Willy Tourjansky, with Marta Eggerth and Leo Slezak; 87 mins.
- Paganini* (1927) German, *Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst*; 70 mins.
- (1934) German, *Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst*; 85 mins.
- Der Zarewitsch* (1928) German, directed by Julius and Louise Fleck; 80 mins.
- (1933) German, directed by Viktor Janson, for Primaton-Film; 85 mins.
- (1933) French, *Son altesse impériale*, with George Rigaud; 85 mins.
- Friederike* (1932) German, conducted by Eduard Künneke, with Hans-Heinz Bollmann; 90 mins.
- Das Land des Lächelns* (1930) German, Richard Tauber Gross-Tonfilm, with Tauber, Margit Suchy, Mary Losoff, conducted by Paul Dessau; 89 mins.

The majority of these films have little more than curiosity interest because of liberties taken with the scripts. The worst culprits in this respect were the American producers. Barrymore's *The rogue song*, for example, also took liberties with the music (and the inclusion of a Lord Barrymore in the libertine clientèle of the night club in *Giuditta* may have been a retaliatory gesture on Lehár's behalf).

Even Tauber's *Das Land des Lächelns* offers only cropped scenes from the operetta, but at least it indicates something of the quality of those early performances. At least Richard Rodgers, when invited to adapt the score and compose additional numbers for Lubitsch's film of *Die lustige Witwe*, had the grace to decline, wryly concluding that "Franz Lehár had written a pretty fine score without me." [3]

[3] Richard Rodgers, *Musical stages, an autobiography* (New York, 1975), p. 164. For additional information on films mentioned above, cf. Richard Fawkes, *Opera on film* (London, 2000), Ken Wlaschin, *Opera on screen* (Los Angeles, 1997), and issues of the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* (Berlin), specifically no. 1039 *Der Zarewitsch* (1928), no. 2035 *Der Zarewitsch* (1933), no. 2162 *Gern hab' ich die Frau'n geküsst* (1934), no. 2197 *Frasquita* (1934), no. 2339 *Eva* (1936), no. 2365 *Die ganze Welt dreht sich um Liebe* and no. 2553 *Wo die Lerche singt* (1936).

Appendix 4

Lehár archives and other places of interest

(1) Lehár Archiv, Goldschlagstrasse 87, Vienna

This archive has documents and material from Lehár's publishing house at Theobaldgasse. In 1994 a quarter of these items, the most obviously important ones, were catalogued by Alex Lehar and Richard Toeman (an executive of Josef Weinberger Ltd.). Here are piano and vocal scores in various languages, some full scores, instrumental pieces and songs, and collections of newspaper reviews and articles, also notebooks and scrap-books. Original manuscripts there include *Die Spionin* and the symphonic poem, *Il Guado*. Libretti include *Die Spieluhr* and *A Pacsirta*.

Contact details for Alex Lehar are given as P.O. Box 1482, Manchester, Ma., 01944, U.S.A. (508 526 7530).

(2) Lehár Villa, Bad Ischl

This is an archive of personal effects, including the composer's grand piano, with paintings and furnishings kept as they were during his lifetime. There are cabinets displaying marked-up scores. The villa is usually opened to the public from Easter to September.

Contact details are Lehár Villa, Lehár-Kai, A – 4820 Bad Ischl; tel: 00 43 6132 26992 or 00 43 6132 23341/14.

(3) *Stadtamt, Bad Ischl*

In the municipal offices are the Burgomaster of Bad Ischl and his personal assistant, Maria Sams, who is responsible for the Lehár archive there. Her catalogue lists the following original Lehár full scores: *Der Rastelbinder, Der Göttergatte, Die lustige Witwe, Peter und Paul im Schlaraffenland, Der Mann mit den drei Frauen, Das Fürstenkind, Zigeunerliebe, Eva, Die ideale Gattin, Wo die Lerche singt, Die blaue Mazur, Frasquita, Die gelbe Jacke, Der Zarewitsch, Friederike, Das Land des Lächelns, Schön ist die Welt, Giuditta and Tatjana*. Here are some of Lehár's personal papers with correspondence and memoranda to and from various publishers, fan-mail and postcards, contracts, a list of intended recipients for a telegram announcing a radio broadcast of *Paganini*, and a photograph of Hitler. Contact details are Maria Sams, Stadtamt Bad Ischl, Pfarrgasse 11, A – 4820 Bad Ischl; tel: 00 43 6132 23341/14.

(4) *Kurpark and Friedhof, Bad Ischl*

Bad Ischl's central park has a monument to Lehár designed by Heinrich Zenz. It was unveiled in 1958, ten years after Lehár's death. For the occasion Paul Knepler delivered his *Festrede* (eulogy), as mentioned in the Bibliography. In the cemetery is Lehar's tomb. The present Lehár-Film-Theater by the Kreuzplatz was once an operetta theatre attended by Franz Josef. The Café Zauner, Wiererstrasse, was a haunt of operetta composers.

(5) Lehár-Schikaneder-Schlössl and other sites in Vienna

Lehár's Vienna home from 1931 to 1944 is open by prior appointment with the curator from mid-March to the end of October. Admission is free. This was Schikaneder's home from 1802 to 1812. Here are photographs, pictures and autograph documents connected with Lehár's life. The museum is used for concerts during the summer with support from the 'Lehárgesellschaft' (Lehár Society).

Contact details are Frau Hermine Kreuzer (Curator), Lehár-Schikaneder-Schlössl, Hackhofergasse 18, Nussdorf, Vienna; tel: 00 43 1 318 5416.

The 'Lehárgesellschaft' promotes the Franz Lehár Orchestra concerts at Bad Ischl and is presently involved in the compilation of a full and accurate catalogue of Lehár's works. For the Society contact Maria J. Una Ruciero, Brunnerbergstrasse 3021, 2380 Perchtoldsdorf; also on e-mail at alleslehar@aon.at .

(6) Austrian State Archive

Here is the bequest of Anton Freiherr von Lehár under file ref. B600.

Contact archivist Dr Peter Brouček, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Nottendorfergasse 2, A-1030 Vienna.

(7) Vienna City Library

Collections of private papers of librettists, their correspondence, etc., are kept here, notably the Willner and Léon collections.

Contact details are Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Rathaus, A-1082 Vienna; tel: 0043 1 4000 84920.

(8) Bundesarchiv, Berlin

This, the former Berlin Document Center, is the repository for documents on the Nazi period, including the Lehár/Hinkel papers.

Contact address is Bundesarchiv, Finckensteinallee 63, 12175 Berlin.

(9) Stadtarchiv, Linz

The bequest of Lehár's biographer, Maria von Peteani, is kept here, comprising her correspondence with Lehár and documents relating to her publishing and artistic endeavours.

Contact Roland Leitgeweger, Archiv der Stadt Linz, Neues Rathaus, Hauptstrasse 1-5, A-4041 Linz; tel: 00 43 70 7070 2962, or e-mail info@archiv.mag.linz.at .

(10) Josef Weinberger Ltd., London

The London representatives of Glocken-Verlag keep libretti, vocal scores and a few full scores.

Contact Josef Weinberger Ltd., 12-14 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JJ; tel: 0207 580 2827.

Bibliography

Prime sources: Libretti and scores of Lehar operettas

The following abbreviations have been used to identify the publishers of libretti and scores:

CC	Chappell & Co.
CH	C. Hofbauer
DC	D'Oyly Carte
DMV	Drei Masken-Verlag
EB	Emil Berté & Cie.
GV	Glocken-Verlag
HM	Harmonia Művészeti Szövetkezetnél
JW	Josef Weinberger
K&W	Wilhelm Karczag and Carl Wallner
LD	Ludwig Doblinger (Bernard Herzmansky)
ME	Max Eschig
SK	Dr Sikorski
SZ	Edizioni Suvini Zerboni
TW	Verlag und Vertrieb des k. k. priv. Theaters an der Wien
WK	Wilhelm Karczag
WK/M	Karczag (under Marischka management)

Libretti

Libretti bearing the description 'prompt book' (in German as 'Regiebuch' or 'Soufflierbuch') generally bear copyright warnings from the publisher to the effect that the book has been "printed as manuscript".

Bauer, Julius *Die Juxheirat* prompt book (JW, Leipzig, n.d.)

Der Mann mit den drei Frauen prompt book
(LD, Vienna and Leipzig, 1908)

Rosenstock und Edelweiss prompt book
(JW, Vienna and Leipzig, 1913)

Bodanzky, Robert and
Fritz Grünbaum *Mitislaw, der Moderne* prompt book (TW, Vienna, n.d.)

Peter und Paul im Schlaraffenland,
publisher's typescript (GV, n.d.)

Bodanzky, Robert and
A. M. Willner *Endlich allein* prompt book
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1914)

Eva prompt book (LD, Vienna, Leipzig, Berlin, 1911)

Der Graf von Luxemburg, rev. ed. (GV, Vienna, 1937)

Zigeunerliebe prompt book (GV, Vienna, 1908/1938)

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Alfred Grünwald *Die ideale Gattin* prompt book (LD, Leipzig, 1913)

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Eger, Rudolf *Frühling* prompt book
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Fritz Löhner *Friederike* prompt book (GV, Vienna, 1928/1936)
- Friederike* lyrics book (GV, Vienna, 1928/1936)
- Das Land des Lächelns* prompt book
(GV, Vienna, 1929/1957)
- Schön ist die Welt* prompt book
(WK/M, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1930)
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Paul Knepler *Paganini* prompt book (GV, Vienna, 1925/1936)
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Dennis Olsen (GV, London, 1989)
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Heinz Reichert *Der Zarewitsch* prompt book
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Fritz Löhner *Giuditta* prompt book
(GV, Vienna and Leipzig, 1933/1935)
- Léon, Victor *Das Fürstenkind* lyrics book
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prompt book as publisher's typescript
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- Die gelbe Jacke* lyrics book
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- Léon, Victor (contd.) *Die gelbe Jacke* prompt book
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- Der Rastelbinder* rev. ed.
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- Léon, Victor and
Leo Stein *Der Göttergatte* prompt book (LD, Vienna, n.d.)
- Die lustige Witwe* prompt book
(LD, Vienna and Munich, 1906)
- The merry widow*, tr Nigel Douglas
(GV, London, 1983/1985)
- The merry widow*, tr Christopher Hassall
(GV, London, 1958)
- La veuve joyeuse*, French libretto tr Gaston de
Caillavet and Robert de Flers in *L'Avant-
Scene Operette*, no.45: Lehar, *La veuve
joyeuse* (Paris, 1982)
- Löhner, Fritz *Der Sterngucker* lyrics book, 1st ed.
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1916)
- Lombardo, Carlo and
A. M. Willner *Libellentanz* prompt book (GV, Vienna, 1923)
- Reichert, Heinz and
A. M. Willner *Frasquita* prompt book, rev. ed.
(JW, Leipzig and Vienna, 1933)
- Frasquita* French libretto tr Max Eddy and
Jean Marietti (ME, Paris, 1933)
- Wo die Lerche singt* prompt book
(GV, Vienna, 1917/1937)
- Tann-Bergler, Ottokar and
Emil Norini *Wiener Frauen (Der Klavierlehrer)*
publisher's typescript (GV, Vienna, n.d.)

Music scores by Franz Lehár

(Manuscript scores of stage works)

Das Land des Lächelns, composer's autograph

Die lustige Witwe, composer's autograph

These were made available, by courtesy of Maria Sams, at the offices of the Stadtgemeinde, Bad Ischl.

Paganini, composer's autograph (with dedication to Dr Konstantin Horna)

This was made available at the London office of Josef Weinberger at the time of the Teldec recording with Jerry Hadley in the title role.

(Published scores of stage works)

Die blaue Mazur vocal score
(GV, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1920)

Cloclo piano score (DMV, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, 1924)

Endlich allein vocal score
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1914)

Eva vocal score (LD, Vienna, 1921)

Frasquita piano score (JW, Zurich Leipzig, Vienna, 1922)

Frasquita vocal score (JW, Leipzig and SK, Berlin, 1933)

Friederike vocal score (GV, New York, 1955)

Frühling vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1922/1940)

Das Fürstenkind vocal score (LD, Leipzig, 1908)

Die gelbe Jacke vocal score (WK, Leipzig and Vienna, 1923)

Giuditta full score (WK/M, Vienna, Leipzig, New York, 1933)

Giuditta vocal score (GV, New York, 1961)

Der Göttergatte vocal score (LD, Vienna, 1904)

Der Graf von Luxemburg full score
(GV, Vienna, 1937; London, 1993)

The Count of Luxembourg full score,
rev. orchestration by John Owen Edwards (DC, London, 1997)

Der Graf von Luxemburg vocal score (K&W, Vienna, 1909)

Der Graf von Luxemburg vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1909/1937)

Die ideale Gattin vocal score (LD, Leipzig, 1913)

Die Juxheirat vocal score (JW, Leipzig, n.d.)

Kukuška vocal score (CH, Leipzig, 1896)

Das Land des Lächelns full score
(GV, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main and London, 1929/1957/1989)

Das Land des Lächelns vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1929/1957)

The land of smiles vocal score, tr Harry Graham
(GV, Vienna, 1929/1937; CC, London, 1949)

Libellentanz vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1923/1951)

Die lustige Witwe full score, facsimile of copyist's score
(GV, London, n.d.)

Die lustige Witwe vocal score (LD, Vienna and Munich, 1906)

Die lustige Witwe overture full score "der Stadt Wien gewidmet"
(GV, Vienna and New York, 1940)

Die lustige Witwe alternative overture by Robert Stolz, piano-
conductor score (GV, London, 1959)

The merry widow vocal score (CC, London, 1907)

La veuve joyeuse vocal score (ME, Paris, 1909)

- Der Mann mit den drei Frauen* vocal score
(LD, Vienna and Leipzig, 1907)
- Mitislaw, der Moderne* vocal score (GV, Vienna, n.d.)
- Paganini* full score, part copyist's score, part facsimile of the
composer's autograph (GV, London, 1925/1936)
- Paganini* vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1925/1936)
- Paganini* vocal score in English tr David Kram and Dennis Olsen
(GV, London, 1925/1936/1994)
- Peter und Paul im Schlaraffenland* vocal score
(WK/GV, Vienna, 1907)
- Der Rastelbinder* vocal score (JW, Leipzig, n.d.)
- Rodrigo*, Preludium from the opera (violin solo part,
publisher's photocopy of manuscript score)
- Rosenstock und Edelweiss* vocal score (JW, Leipzig, 1912)
- Schön ist die Welt* vocal score
(WK/M, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1930)
- Schön ist die Welt* vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1930/1957)
- Der Sterngucker* vocal score 2nd ed.
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1916)
- Der Sterngucker* piano score
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1916)
- Die Tangokönigin* vocal score (LD, Leipzig and Vienna, 1921)
- Tatjana* vocal score (EB, Vienna, n.d.)
- Wiener Frauen* vocal score
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna and New York, 1913)
- Wo die Lerche singt* piano score
(WK, Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1918)

Wo die Lerche singt vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1917/1937)

Der Zarewitsch full score, including part facsimile of composer's autograph, English lyrics tr Adam Carstairs (GV, London, 1927/1937/1955)

Der Zarewitsch vocal score ('Neue Fassung') (GV, Vienna, 1927/1937)

Zigeunerliebe full score (GV, Vienna, 1910; London, 1908/1938)

Zigeunerliebe vocal score (GV, Vienna, 1937)

also: *Vándordíák (Garabonciás)* full score, facsimile of autograph bearing stamp of Glocken-Verlag, Crawford Street, London (GV, ? , n.d.)

For synopses of operetta plots in English refer to Mark Lubbock, *The complete book of light opera* (London, 1962), below, for the broadest selection.

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The merry widow (tr Hassall) (Joan Sutherland, Ronald Stevens)
Australian Opera / Polygram 079 270-3 (1996)

Der Graf von Luxemburg (Eberhard Wächter, Lilian Sukis)
Unitel/Taurus 886 (1995)

La danza delle libellule (Sandro Massimini, Simona Bertini)
Dischi Ricordi ZO 10001 (1992)

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Tauber Film (1930) / Bel Canto Inc., Edison NJ.

Das Land des Lächelns (Sangho Choi, Ingrid Habermann)
Seefestspiele Morbisch 2001 / Videoland VLM 007

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Unitel/Taurus 882 (1995)

Selective discography

(a) *Lehár conducting Lehár*

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| CDC 7 54838 2 | Composers in person - Lehár |
| cpo 999 781-2 | Lehár conducts Lehár,
the Saarbrücken concert 1939 |
| GEMM CD 9310 | Lehár conducts Tauber |
| Koch 3-1098 2 | Tauber/Lehár Abschiedskonzert 1946 |
| Naxos 8.110857 | Lehár conducts Lehár waltzes and overtures |
| Preiser 90150 | Franz Lehár dirigiert ... |
| BLA 103.351 | <i>Paganini</i> |
| BLA 103.352 | <i>Giuditta</i> |
| BLA 103.353 | <i>Schön ist die Welt</i> |
| BLA 103.354 | <i>Wo die Lerche singt</i> |

(b) *Some Lehár rarities*

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| cpo 999 727-2 | <i>Frühling</i> |
| cpo 999 762-2 | <i>Tatjana</i> |
| GEMS 0083 | Broadway through the gramophone
[includes medley in English from <i>Der Mann
mit den drei Frauen</i>] |
| GEMM CD 9110 | Lehár operetta [selections sung in English by
Tauber, Hislop, etc.] |
| CDX 5102 | Hungarian Fantasy Op. 45 [Aaron Rosand] |
| cpo 999 432-2 | Lieder, vol. 1 [including Karst-Lieder] |

- cpo 999 349-2 Lieder, vol. 2 [including ‘Komm die Nacht gehört der Sünde’, etc.]
- ORF-CD 311 *Die lustige Witwe* [highlights, from an Austrian Radio recording of 1948, conducted by Max Schönherr, with Johannes Heesters as Danilo]
- HCD 16849 Marches [Twenty Lehár marches, three by Lehár’s father]
- cpo 999 715-2 Piano sonatas and Fantasie
- DICD 920310 Songs by Lehár and Weill [including ‘Fieber’ and ‘Trutzlied’]
- cpo 999 761-2 Suites, dances and intermezzi [including the Preludium religioso from *Rodrigo*, and incidental dance music from *Das Fürstenkind* and *Wo die Lerche singt*, etc.]
- cpo 999 423-2 Symphonic works [including *Tatjana* preludes and Russian dances, ‘Il Guado’ for piano and orchestra, Concertino for violin and orchestra, etc.]