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The Keilholz sisters in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Don Juan* in Mannheim (6 & 9 Jun 1790)

Dexter Edge

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[59]

VII.
Uebersicht
der merkwürdigsten Vorfälle bei der Man=
heimer Bühne. Vom Jahre 1790.

[...]


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[71] [...]

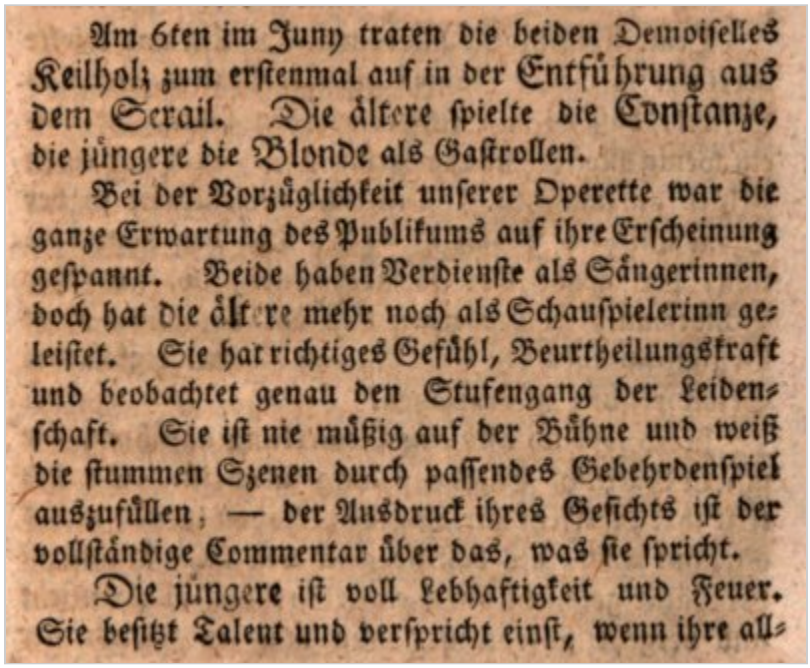
Am 6ten im Juny traten die beiden Demoiselles **Keilholz** zum erstenmal auf in der **Entführung aus dem Serail**. **Die ältere** spielte die **Constanze**, die **jüngere** die **Blonde** als Gastrollen.

Bei der Vorzüglichkeit unserer Operette war die ganze Erwartung des Publikums auf ihre Erscheinung gespannt. Beide haben Verdienste als Sängerinnen, doch hat **die ältere** mehr noch als Schauspielerinn ge= leistet. Sie hat richtiges Gefühl, Beurtheilungskraft

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vollständige Commentar über das, was sie spricht.

Die jüngere ist voll Lebhaftigkeit und Feuer.
Sie besitzt Talent und verspricht einst, wenn ihre all=



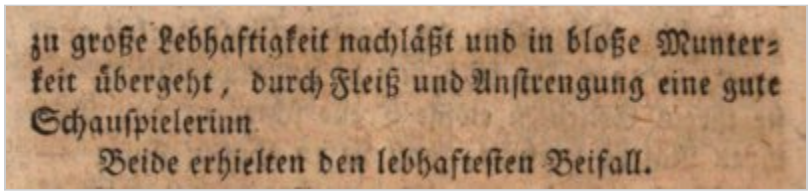
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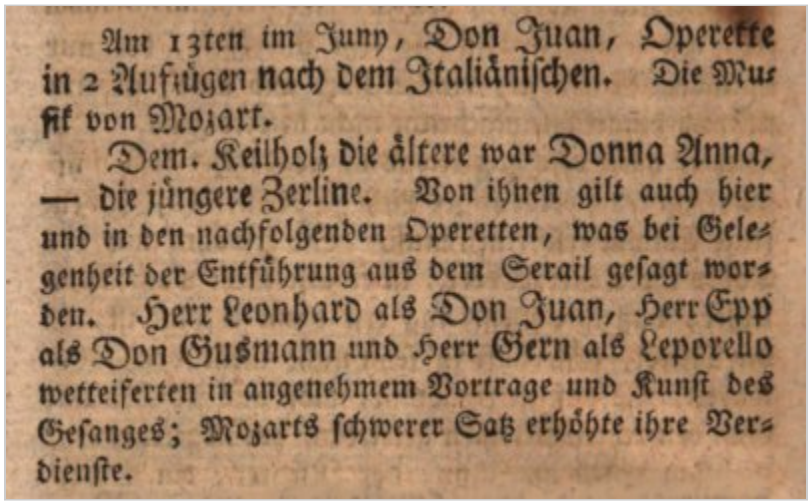
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[74] [...]

Am 13ten im Juny, **Don Juan**, **Operette**
in 2 Aufzügen nach dem Italiänischen. Die Mu=
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Dem. Keilholz die ältere war **Donna Anna**,
— **die jüngere Zerline**. Von ihnen gilt auch hier
und in den nachfolgenden Operetten, was bei Gele=

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[translation:]

VII.
Overview
of the most notable events on the Mannheim
stage. In the year 1790.

[...]

On 6 June the two Demoiselles **Keilholz** appeared for the first time in **Die Entführung aus dem Serail**. **The elder** played **Constanze**, the **younger Blonde**, as guest roles.

Because of the excellence of our operetta, the public awaited their appearance with the greatest eagerness. Both have merit as singers, but **the elder** has achieved more besides as an actress. She has proper feeling, the power of judgement, and observes precisely the gradations of passion. She is never idle on the stage and knows how to fill silent scenes with appropriate gestures;—her facial expression is a complete commentary on what she speaks.

The younger is full of liveliness and fire. She possesses talent, and she promises eventually—when her all too great liveliness abates and transforms into simple cheerfulness—to become, through diligence

and effort, a good actress.

Both received the liveliest applause.

[...]

13 June, **Don Juan, operetta in 2 acts, after the Italian**. The music is by **Mozart**.

Mlle. Keilholz the elder was **Donna Anna**, — **the younger, Zerlina**. For them it remains true here and in subsequent operettas what was said on the occasion of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. **Herr Leonhard** as **Don Juan**, Herr **Epp** as **Don Gusmann**, and Herr **Gern** as **Leporello** competed in pleasant execution and the art of singing; Mozart's difficult setting enhanced their merit.

Commentary

Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. Christiane Keilholz and the Keilholz family
3. The Keilholz sisters in Bonn and Mannheim
4. After Mannheim
5. Conclusion

Notes
Bibliography

Introduction (⇧)

On Sun, 6] Jun 1790, the sisters Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz made their debuts with the Nationaltheater in Mannheim, appearing as Konstanze and Blonde in Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. It was the first of several guest appearances by the sisters over the space of less than three weeks—Christiane in seven different roles and Dorothea in six—that served as their tryouts for the Mannheim company. On 13 Jun they appeared in a second Mozart opera, as Donna Anna and Zerlina in *Don Juan*, a German adaptation of *Don Giovanni*. The sisters were officially engaged by the Nationaltheater in Mannheim at the beginning of July. Three months later, they sang the roles of Susanna and Cherubino in the Mannheim premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (*Le nozze di Figaro*; see our entry for 24 Oct 1790). Mozart himself may have directed the music

at that premiere, and we now know that he took part in the final two rehearsals, on 22 and 23 Oct (see our entry for 22 Oct 1790).

The sisters had most recently been with the Nationaltheater in Bonn, but were seeking new employment. Christiane Keilholz's debut as Konstanze in Mannheim seems to have been a particular success. In the review transcribed above, the correspondent to *Annalen des Theaters* finds her to be a compelling singing actress, particularly notable for her expressive movement and facial expression. A letter dated 16 Jun 1790 from an unknown correspondent in Mannheim to Baron Clemens August von Schall in Bonn describes the enthusiasm of the Mannheim audience at her debut:

> Die Keilholz ist zu Mannheim, beim ersten *debutiren*, dreymal herausgeklatscht worden; wir haben sie allso vermuthlich gehabt, und werden sie sobald nicht wiederhaben, indem ihre Feindinn so hoch in Gunst, Macht und Kraft gestiegen, daß ihr keine Mücke mehr ungestraft in den Weg fliegen darf.
> [quoted in Thayer 1917, i:225n1; see also i:275]
>
> Keilholz, at her first debut in Mannheim, had three curtain calls; thus we probably have got her, and in that case you will not have her back, because her enemy has advanced so far in favor, power, and strength, that no gnat will be able to fly in her path unpunished any longer.

Christiane's "Feindinn" (enemy) in Bonn was the soprano Magdalena Willmann.

Christiane Keilholz is little known to Mozart scholars today. Yet at the height of her career, she was among the leading sopranos of her generation on the German-language stage, and she was held in high regard as an actress in spoken theater, particularly in serious roles. Her career was marked, however, by frequent moves between companies, and for that reason, sources on her career are fragmented and scattered, contributing to her neglect. While her importance as a Mozart singer has yet to be fully gauged, there is good reason to think that she played a larger role in the early reception of Mozart's operas than has been realized. The roles of Konstanze and Donna Anna—and later Queen of the Night—became staples of her repertoire, which she performed often. On 1 Jan 1802 in Kassel, she, her husband (the director of Kassel's theater), and her sister performed in the earliest known production of Mozart's *Idomeneo* in German. The history of Christiane's career is also of intrinsic interest, as it provides insight into the development of her unusually large repertoire of major roles in both opera and spoken theater, and it provides a window into the unsettled life of a woman who became a star—and thus a professional and financial anchor of her parents and siblings—while still in her mid teens.

Christiane Keilholz and the Keilholz family (⇧)

The Keilholz sisters were born into the theater. Both parents were actors: Philipp Christian Keilholz (1733–1800) was born in Pirna in Saxony, and Dorothea Elisabeth Keilholz (née

Brückmann) was born in Dresden (her dates are uncertain). Their son Adolf Philipp Christian Keilholz (b. 1761) is said to have made his stage debut in 1766, the same year as his father (*ThK* 1782, 208–9). Daughter Christiane Magdalene Elisabeth (1764–1820), who went on to have the most prominent career of anyone in her family, first appeared on stage in 1769, at the age of 4 or 5. The youngest child Dorothea Elisabeth († 1804) is likewise said to have made her stage debut in childhood.

The early history of the Keilholz family is poorly documented. Christiane is said to have been born on 16 Jul 1764 (Schweitzer 1975, 29), although the source for this date is unclear. Around 1769 (perhaps in October), the family joined the newly reconstituted theatrical company of Johann Christian Wäser (*Theater-Journal für Deutschland*, 1780, 14. Stück, 75–76; on Wäser, see also Pies 1973, 377–78); perhaps it was with Wäser's company that young Christiane made her stage debut. From Oct 1772 until (apparently) some time in 1773, the family was in Hamburg (Meyer 1819, i, 228). In 1777 they were with the company of Johann Friedrich Stöfler (Stöffler) in Lübeck (*LTZ*, 2:xx, 15 May 1779, 306), but they left Stöfler at the end of that season. Later that year, father Philipp, son Adolf, and daughter Christiane were engaged by the theater in Hamburg, making their debuts on 18 Nov 1777 in J. H. F. Müller's *Präsentirt das Gewehr!*. Johann Friedrich Schütze, in his 1794 history of theater in Hamburg, recalled the impression made by young Christiane:

> Es wurden vorerst die Kinder Keilholz, ein Mädchen, ein Knabe und ihr Herr Vater, ein Emeritus, engagirt, welche am 18. Novbr. [1777] im zweiaktigen L., Präsentirt das Gewehr! sich zuerst dem Publikum in Vater= u. Kinderrollen präsentirten. Das Mädchen, Christiane Magdal. Elisabeth, zu Pirna 1764 geb., 13 Jahr alt, eine wahrhaft schöne theatralische Figur, spielte die Therese dreist, ungezwungen. Sie hatte eine melodische Stimme, und ward in der Folge durch eines Hönicke lehrreiche Anweisungen zu einer mit Recht bewunderten Lieblingssängerin des Hamb. Publikums gebildet. Der Knabe spielte den Karl, ohne Talent für die Bühne. Gesungen hat auch er in der Folge mit Beifall. [Schütze 1794, 462]

[translation:]

> First the Keilholz children, a girl, a boy, and their father, an emeritus—were engaged, and they made their debut before the public on 18 Nov [1777] in roles for father and children in the two-act comedy *Präsentirt das Gewehr!* The girl, Christiane Magdalene Elisabeth, born 1764 in Pirna, 13 years old, a truly lovely theatrical figure, played Therese cheekily and with nonchalance. She had a melodious voice, and as a consequence of Hönicke's educational instruction, became justifiably admired as one of the favorite female singers of the Hamburg public. The boy played Karl without talent for the stage. Subsequently he too received applause as a singer.

At that time the Hamburg theater was under the direction of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder and his mother, Sophie Charlotte Ackermann. Schütze refers to Christiane's father as "emeritus" because of his earlier engagement in Hamburg. Johann Friedrich Hönicke (1755–1809), identified here as Christiane's teacher, would soon became the theater's music director. (A decade and a half later Hönicke performed the solo piano part in Mozart's concert aria "Ch'io mi scordi di te ... Non

temer, amato bene," K. 505, at the remarkable Mozart memorial concert in Hamburg on 19 Feb 1792.)

During her engagement in Hamburg (the first of several), Christiane began to attract favorable notice, both as a singer and an actress. A report on the Hamburg theater in Apr and May 1779 singles her out several times. Regarding her performance on 22 Apr, in Ernst Wilhelm Wolf's *Die Dorfdeputirten*, the correspondent writes:

> *[...]* Den Schluß machten die Dorfdeputirten, ein Stück, das zu sehr bekannt ist, um viel davon zu sagen. *[...]*
>
> *[...]* Grete, Röse und Lieschen, waren Madame Schröder, Madame Stegmann und Demoiselle Keilholz, und ganz die lieben Weiberchen voll schalkhafter Simplicität und Koketterie. De= moiselle Keilholz wird eine sehr gute Sängerinn, ihrem Ge= sange fehlt nur noch Musik, sonst singt sie angenehmer, lau= ter und mit mehr Akzion als Madame Zimdar, die diesen Abend die Louise von Sternthal ohne alles Gefühl spielte. — [*Theater-Journal für Deutschland* (1780), 16. Stück, 40–41]

[translation:]

> *[...]* The close was *Die Dorfdeputirten*, a piece that is too well known to require much comment. *[...]*
>
> *[...]* Grete, Röse, and Lieschen were Madame Schröder, Madame Stegmann, and Mademoiselle Keilholz, utterly darling little women, full of mischievous simplicity and coquetry. Mademoiselle Keilholz is becoming a very good singer; her singing still lacks musicality, but otherwise she sings more pleasantly, with greater projection and more action than Madame Zimdar, who this evening played Louise von Sternthal without any feeling. —

"Madame Zimdar" was Catharina Justina Zimdar (née Benda), daughter of composer Georg Benda, and at that time first soprano of the Hamburg company. If Christiane was indeed born on 16 Jul 1764, she would still have been only 14.

Eight days later Christiane sang the role of Röschen in *Das gute Mädchen*, a German adaptation of Piccinni's *La buona figliuola*. The correspondent was again impressed: "Besonders gefiel mir diesen Abend das kleine liebe Röschen — Keilholz, die ganz himmlisch sang" (This evening I especially liked the darling little Röschen — Keilholz, whose singing was utterly heavenly;

Theater-Journal für Deutschland [1780], 16. Stück, 51–52). On 6 May 1779, she demonstrated her talent as a singing actress in the role of Gustel in Joseph Schuster's singspiel *Der Alchymist*:

> — Den Beschluß
> dieses Abends machte Meißners Alchymist mit Schusters
> vortreflicher Musik. *[...]*
>
> *[...]* Frau Tarnow, Madame Henke.
> Recht gut. Louise, ihre Tochter, Madame Zimdar. Gu=
> stel, ihr Sohn, Demoiselle Keilholz. Spielte in Manns=
> kleidern sehr gut und sang die Arie: Wie durch meine
> kleinste Nerven, &c. herrlich, im wahren Ton eines Be=
> soffenen. *[...]*
> [*Theater-Journal für Deutschland* (1780), 16. Stück, 60–61]

[translation:]

> — The close
> of the evening was Meissner's *Alchymis*t with Schuster's
> splendid music *[...]*
>
> *[...]* Frau Tarnow, Madame Hanke.
> Quite good. Louise, her daughter, Madame Zimdar. Gustel,
> her son, Mademoiselle Keilholz. She played it very well in
> men's clothes, and sang the aria "Wie durch meine kleinste
> Nerven &c." magnificently, in the true tone of someone
> besotted. *[...]*

Christiane's potential as an actress on the spoken stage seems already to have been recognized as well: she appeared as Macduff in a performance of *Macbeth* on 26Jul 1779 (*LTZ*, 1779, no. 46, 728).

The enterprise of Schröder and his mother ended around this time, and the Keilholz family left Hamburg at the end of Sep 1779 to join the theater in Münster. On 24 Sep Christiane made a farewell appearance in Hamburg as Gustel in *Der Alchymist*. Her popularity is evident from a report to the *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*:

> Hamburg. Den 24. Sept. nahm Mamsell Keil=
> holz als Gustel im Alchymisten vom hiesigen Theater
> Abschied. Dies Mädchen war hier außerordentlich
> beliebt, und das Publikum sah ihren Abgang ungern.
> Unstreitig hatte sie von allen unsern Sängerinnen die
> beste Stimme, und sich während ihres hiesigen Au=
> fenthalts im Spiele außerordentlich gebildet. Scha=
> de, wenn das künftige Gebäude dem Grunde nicht
> entsprechen sollte, der hier dazu gelegt worden! Sie
> ist mit Vater, Mutter und Bruder nach Münster ge=

> gangen, wo man auch diese vermuthlich wird gebrau=
> chen wollen. Es ist auch noch eine jüngere Schwe=
> ster da, die viel Anlage verräth, weiter aber kann
> man von selbiger zur Zeit nichts sagen.
> [*LTZ*, 2:xlvi, 13 Nov 1779, 736]

[translation:]

> Hamburg. On 24 September Mademoiselle
> Keilholz took leave of the theater here as Gustel
> in *Der Alchymist*. This girl was extraordinarily popular
> here, and the public was unhappy to see her go. She
> indisputably had the best voice among all of our female
> singers, and she has grown extraordinarily as an actress
> during her engagement. It will be a pity if the future
> building does not correspond to the foundation that was
> laid here! She has gone to Münster with her father,
> mother, and brother, where they will presumably be
> of use. There is also a younger sister who shows
> much aptitude, but at present nothing more can be
> said of her.

Christiane was just 15. The last sentence appears to be the earliest known reference to her sister Dorothea. Her birthdate is unknown; she is said to have been born in Zerbst (*ThK* 1782, 209), and was evidently several years younger than Christiane.

The family may have gone to Münster in search of better opportunities for the family as a whole and for Christiane in particular. The transition is documented in the *Theater-Kalender* for 1780 (based on information from the previous year), in which members of the Keilholz family appear on rosters for both Hamburg and Münster. In the roster for Hamburg, Christiane is said to take "zweyte Singrollen" (secondary singing roles), behind Madame Zimdar (*ThK* 1780, 229). Keilholz father and son are said to take "Nebenrollen" (minor roles); the mother is not listed at all, and apparently did not have an engagement in Hamburg. In Münster, on the other hand, Christiane's specialty is listed as "Liebhaberinnen im Sing= und Schauspiel" (romantic leads in singspiels and plays), implying that she took leading roles in both. Her mother is described as taking "Mütterrollen im Sing= und Schauspiel" (mother roles in singspiels and plays), and father and brother are also on the roster, although their specialties are not listed (*ThK* 1780, 248–49). Young Christiane's capabilities were growing rapidly, and the family may have seen Münster as an opportunity for her to learn and perform leading roles of the sort that she had not yet been able to attempt in Hamburg.

However, the Keilholz family did not remain in Münster for long. In an agreement dated 30 Oct 1779, the Hamburg theater was reconstituted as a joint-stock company, and the new directorate called the Keilholz family back to Hamburg in the spring of 1780 (Schütze 1794, 487–89). Christiane made her first appearance there on 17 Apr, as Roxelane in *Soliman der Zweyte*, a

translation of Favart's *Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman II*. A review in the *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung* is positive, albeit with some caveats:

> Chronik des Hamburgischen Theaters.
> März. [1780]
>
> Den 29. eröfnete die itzige Enterprise ihre Bühne *[...]*
>
> April. *[...]*
>
> Den 17. So=
> limann der Zweite, L. mit Gesängen. Zum Debüt der Mamsell **Keilholz**. Die beiden ersten Akte spielt sie recht artig, nur wär' ihr eine geläufigere Sprache wohl zu wünschen. Im letzten Aufzug scheint sie zu jung zu seyn, um all die Empfindungen würklich ha= ben zu können, wodurch Roxelane den Solimann da= hin bringt, dem Divan, dem Mufti, dem Volk und dem Gesetze zuwider, sie zur würklichen Kaiserin zu erklären. Wo der Schauspieler nicht wahrhaft em= pfindet, wie schwach und wie wenig überredend ist da der Ausdruck. Die Stimme der Mamsell **Keilholz** ist stärker und dabei eben so angenehm wie die der Mamsell **Kreß**. Im Vortrage aber sollte sie diese zum Muster nehmen, oder die Eltern sollten sich auch das Glück ihres Kindes so sehr angelegen seyn lassen, und ihr einen tüchtigen Singmeister halten, denn es wär warlich Schade, wenn die Fähigkeiten dieses lie= ben Mädchen nicht ganz entwickelt würden. *[...]*
> [*LTZ*, 3:xxvii, 1 Jul 1780, 425–28]

[translation:]

> Chronicle of the Hamburg Theater
> March [1780]
>
> On the 29th the current enterprise opened its season [...]
>
> April *[...]*
>
> On the 17th,
> *Soliman der Zweite*, comedy with songs. For the debut of Mademoiselle **Keilholz**. In the first two acts she performed quite agreeably, although more fluidity of speech is probably to be desired. She seems too young really to have all the emotions with which she induces Soliman—the Council, the mufti, the people, and the

> laws notwithstanding—to declare her the real empress. Where the actor does not truly feel, how weak and unconvincing is the expression. The voice of Mademoiselle **Keilholz** is stronger than and just as pleasant as that of Mademoiselle **Kreß**. But she should take the latter as her example in delivery, or her parents should allow themselves to be so invested in their child's fortune that they acquire a capable singing master for her; for it would truly be a shame if the abilities of this dear girl were not fully developed. *[...]*

The reviewer is comparing her with Louise Kreß (later Müller, 1763–1829). The same correspondent found Christiane to be miscast in *Weisheit schätzt für Liebe nicht* on 2 May, which was apparently a failure, but she was well received on 24 May as Juliette (opposite Carl David Stegmann as Dalberg), in *Die abgeredete Zauberei*, an adaptation of Grétry's *La Fausse Magie* (*LTZ*, 3:liii, 30 Dec 1780, 836).

On 9 Mar 1781 Christiane took part in a memorial in Hamburg for the recently deceased Lessing; she, along with Louise Kreß and Felicitas Agnesia Benda (née Ritz), sang a chorus especially composed for the occasion by Hönicke (*LTZ*, 4:xiii, 31 Mar 1781, 193). A report from Hamburg in May of that year seems to imply that Christiane was now studying with Madame Benda, who had joined the company around the end of 1780:

> Hamburg, vom 8 May.
>
> Gestern ward die Operette, das Rendezvous, aus dem Französischen, Musik von Gretry, die schon einige mahl vorgestellet worden, nochmahl, und zwar mit dem größten Beyfalle, auf unsre Bühne gebracht. Man muß zwar allen in derselben vorkommenden Personen die Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren *[sic]* lassen, daß sie ihre Rollen sehr gut ausgeführt haben; besonders aber verdienten und erhielten Madame Benda, und Mademoiselle Keilholz den Beyfall des Publicum. Madame Benda sang entzückend schön, so daß der eyfersüchtige Neid selbst, wenn er nicht vorsetzlich taub seyn will, gestehen muß, daß es in Deutschland wenige Sängerinnen giebt, die mit ihr verglichen zu werden verdienen. Auch Ma= demoiselle Keilholz übertraf diesmahl alle Erwartung; ihre Talente entwickeln sich immer mehr, und unter der Anleitung einer Benda kann es nicht fehlen, daß sie in kurzem vortreflich werden muß.
> [*Reichs Post=Reuter*, no. 74, Wed, 9 May 1781, (4)]
>
> Hamburg, from 8 May.
>
> Yesterday the operetta *Das Rendezvous*, from the French, music by Grétry, which has already been

> performed several times, was again brought to our stage, and indeed with much acclaim. Indeed, one must in all justice allow that all of the persons who appeared in it played their roles very well; however, Madame Benda and Mademoiselle Keilholz in particular earned and received the public's acclaim. Madame Benda sang with enchanting beauty, such that jealous Envy himself, were he not to remain intentionally deaf, must admit that there are few singers in Germany who merit comparison with her. Mademoiselle Keilholz, too, exceeded all expectations this time; her talents are developing more and more, and under the instruction of a Benda, she cannot fail soon to become excellent.

Das Rendezvous (perhaps an adaptation of Grétry's *L'Amant jaloux*) had first been performed in Hamburg on 9 Feb 1781; the performance on 7 May 1781 was the sixth, and the first since 1 Mar.

By this time, the joint-stock company had run up a deficit of 20,000 marks and the Hamburg theater was reorganized yet again under Hans Andreas Dreyer, one of the stockholders (Schütze 1794, 499–501). At Easter 1781, Schröder and his wife left Hamburg to accept an engagement in Vienna, depriving the company of two of its best actors. Christiane soon had competition in the Hamburg company: on 30 Apr, Minna Brandes (Charlotte Wilhelmina Franziska Brandes, 1765–1788) made her Hamburg debut as a singer, in the role of Parthenia in Wieland and Schweitzer's *Alceste* (with Christiane singing the title role):

> Hamburg den 7. Mai 1781.
> *[...]* **Wielands Alceste** hat nicht die gehofte Aufnah= me gehabt. Madam **Benda** als Parthenia gab sich sehr viele Mühe, auch Mamsell **Keilholz** und Hr. **Lampe**; aber was die baueten, das riß **Demmer** als Herkules wieder nieder. Zum Debüt der **Minna Brandes**, wel= che eine der Mamsell **Keilholz** ähnliche Stimme, aber mehr Fertigkeit hat, wurde diese Oper zum dritten und letztenmal gegeben. *[...]* [*LTZ*, 4:xxiv, 16 Jul 1781, 376–77]

> Hamburg 7 May 1781.
> *[...]* **Wieland's *Alceste*** did not have the hoped-for success. Madame **Benda** took great pains, as did Mademoiselle **Keilholz** and Herr **Lampe**; but what they built, **Demmer** as Herkules tore down again. This opera was given for the third and last time for the debut of **Minna Brandes**, whose voice is similar to Mademoiselle **Keilholz's**, but has more facility. *[...]*

Brandes was still only 15, and thus younger than Christiane, who would turn 17 in July. But according to the correspondent to the *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*, Brandes did not make as great an impression as expected as a singer:

> *[...]* Mam=
> sell **Brandes** macht hier mit ihrem Singen nicht so viel
> Aufsehen als ich geglaubt habe. Es kommt wohl da=
> her, weil Mamsell **Keilholz** und Madam **Benda** schon
> vor ihr hier waren. Erstere ist sehr beliebt, singt
> auch gut, und leztere steigt täglich mehr und mehr, ih=
> re Stimme hat itzt einen grössern Umfang in der Tiefe
> und Höhe bekommen.
> [*LTZ*, 4:xxx, 28 Jul 1781, 478–79]

> *[...]* Mademoiselle
> **Brandes** did not cause as great a sensation here with her
> singing as I would have thought. It is probably because
> Mademoiselle **Keilholz** and Madame **Benda** were
> already here. The first is very popular, and sings well,
> and the latter grows daily more and more: her
> voice has now achieved a greater range in the
> low and high registers.

Minna Brandes and Christiane Keilholz appeared together that season in at least one other opera, *Das Urtheil des Midas* (a German version of Grétry's *Le Jugement de Midas*), with Minna as Doris and Christiane as Chloe; the opera proved to be quite popular in Hamburg and was given eight times in all between its premiere on 27 Aug 1781 and the end of the year. This first encounter between Minna Brandes and Christiane Keilholz lasted only a few months: the Brandes family left the Hamburg company in Mar 1782 at the end of the season to join the theater in Riga. Madame Benda departed as well.

With Benda and Minna Brandes gone, Christiane Keilholz (still just 17) became the lead soprano in the Hamburg singspiel. The roster for the Hamburg company in the *Theater-Kalender* for 1783 (based on information from the previous year) is the first to include all five members of the Keilholz family; it is also the first to list Hönicke as music director:

> Hamburg.
> *[...]*
> Musikdirektor,
> Herr Hönike. *[...]*
> Mad.
> Keilholz, alte Weiber, Mütter. Mams. Keilholz
> die ältere, erste Liebhaberinnen im Singspiel.
> Mams. Keilholz die jüngere, angehende Mädchen,
> Knaben, singt. *[...]*
> H. Keilholz,

Vater, Alte. H. Keilholz Sohn, zweyte Tenor=
stimme. *[...]*
Abgegangen:
Hr. und Mad. Benda. Hr. Mad. Mams. Bran=
des. [...]
[*ThK* 1783, 267–69]

Now that both sisters were in the company, Christiane was referred to as Mademoiselle Keilholz "die ältere" and Dorothea as "die jüngere." The same volume of the *Theater-Kalender* includes an anonymous panegyric to Christiane, in 25 quatrains of gushing trochaic pentameter over four pages. The opening gives the flavor:

An
Mademoiselle Keilholz, die ältere.

Wenn im Drange trüber Fantaseien *[sic]*
Mein gepreßtes, volles Herz sich engt;
Und Natur zu neuen Schreckgestalten
Rings um mich die schwarzen Farben mengt;

Wenn erhöhter Nachgefühle Bängstes
Sich mit Ahndung banger Zukunft paart;
Und Vergessenheit die Zauberschale
Geizig nur für meine Freuden spaart;

O dann wagt kein dämmernd Bild der Won=
ne – – –
Blinden würds den ausgeweinten Blick! – – –
Sich hervor; zergeht, wie Mondenschimmer
In geschwollnen Wolken fließt zurück. *[&c. &c.]*
[*ThK* 1783, 23]

On 27 May 1782 Christiane, still just 17, appeared in the title role of *Die schöne Arsene* (a German version of Monsigny's *La Belle Arsène*); the correspondent to the *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung* describes her fervid reception:

Den 27. die schöne Arsene. Mamsell **Keilholz**
hatte die Rolle der Arsene nach dem Abgang der Ma=
dam **Benda**, die gegenwärtig nebst ihrem Manne bei
dem Kammerchor des Herzogs von Mecklenburg=Schwe=
rin, unter sehr ansehnlichen Bedingungen, angestellt ist,
übernommen, und ihre artige Figur, der Umgang und
die Stärke ihrer Kehle, die wirklich nahe an die ihrer
Vorgängerin gränzt, und eine Rede vor der Aufführ=
rung selbst, in der sie das Publikum um Nachsicht bat,
verschafte ihr den lautesten, schreiendsten Beifall. *[...]*
[*LTZ*, 5:xxxii, 10 Aug 1782, 505]

> The 27th. *Die schöne Arsene*. Mademoiselle **Keilholz** had taken over the role of Arsene upon the departure of Madame **Benda**, who is currently engaged along with her husband in the Kammerchor of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin under very respectable conditions. Her *[Christiane's]* agreeable figure, the range and strength of her voice, which nearly approaches that of her predecessor, and her discourse prior to the performance itself, in which she asked the public for its indulgence, brought her the loudest and most clamorous applause. *[...]*

One suspects that Christiane was especially popular with the young men in the Hamburg audience.



Johann Christian Gottfried Fritsch, engraving of Christiane Keilholz
(Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg)

In the first half of the 1780s the Hamburg theater suffered from continual instability under a succession of managements, and Dreyer's enterprise—which employed the entire Keilholz family—collapsed after the season 1782/83. There were no performances at all in the Hamburg theater between 26 Mar and 1 Sep 1783, when it reopened under the direction of Abel Seyler. The only Keilholz on the roster of Seyler's company was son Adolf, who (in spite of his wooden acting) stayed on as first tenor (*ThK* 1784, 237).

But the Keilholz sisters, although apparently not formal members of the company, made a handful of appearances during the first few months of Seyler's new enterprise. On 24 Sep 1783, Christiane reprised the title role in *Die schöne Arsene*; on 27 Oct she played Zemire in *Zemire und Azor* (Grétry); on 24 Nov she appeared as Luise in *Der Deserteur* (Monsigny); and on 17 Dec, she took the role of Violante in the Hamburg premiere of *Das Mädchen von Fraskati* (Paiseillo's *La frascatana*). Dorothea appeared in just one role during this span: as Dortchen in *Die drey Pächter* (Desaïdes).

Following the performance on 17 Dec 1783, neither sister performed on the Hamburg stage for nearly a year; as we shall see, the family may have had a patron, and the sisters may have had the opportunity to study and develop their skills without the grind of frequent performances. Brother Adolf, on the other hand, continued to perform on the Hamburg stage during the first half of 1784 (mostly but not exclusively in operas); but following his appearance on 21 Jul as Lucas in Georg Benda's *Die Dorfjahrmarkt*, he too left the company. We do not know whether the Keilholz siblings continued to live in Hamburg through the summer 1784, but if they did, they would have had the opportunity to witness the guest appearances of Aloysia and Joseph Lange, on tour from Vienna (see our entry for 29 Sep 1784).

Seyler abruptly quit his management of the Hamburg theater in May 1784, and his contract was taken over by actors Franz Anton Zuccarini and Christian Wilhelm Klos (Schütze 1794, 533). Initially, the Hamburg company under Zuccarini and Klos was in dire straits and the directors were reduced to such expedients as having two Italian singers from a visiting company sing (in Italian) the roles of Violante and Fabrizio in a performance (in German) of *Das Mädchen von Fraskati* on 16 Jun 1784. However, Zuccarini and Klos were gradually able to engage new actors and singers for the company, including tenors Johann Philipp Norman and a "Herr Arnold"—almost certainly Ferdinand Arnold, who had been a member of the National Singspiel in Vienna in 1778, sang the role of Belmonte in the premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in Warsaw on 8 May 1783, and joined the resurrected singspiel company in Vienna in Sep 1785.

In Nov 1784, the Keilholz sisters (but not Adolf) were again engaged by the Hamburg company. Dorothea made her debut on 1 Nov as Florine in André's *Das Automat, oder: Die redende Maschine*, and Christiane made her debut in the title role of *Die schöne Arsene* on 17 Nov. Zuccarini and Klos also brought the Brandes family back to Hamburg. They arrived later than expected, in late Nov 1784, by which time most roles had already been assigned. Thus at first, Minna Brandes did not appear in theatrical productions, instead giving a series of concerts (she was also a pianist and composer)—although Schütze (1794, 540) says these were not well attended. Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz performed together in several operas: as Donna Flavia and Vittorina in *Die Eifersucht auf der Probe* (after Anfossi, first given on 25 Nov), as Violante and Lisette in *Das Mädchen von Fraskati* (initially on 3 Dec), and as Sophie and Dorchen in *Walde*r (after Marmontel's *Silvain*, first given on 30 Dec). On 3 Jan 1785 (repeated on 21 Feb), Christiane appeared as Rosine in *Der Barbier von Sevilla*, a German adaptation of Beaumarchais's play, with music by Friedrich Ludwig Benda. On 1 Feb the Keilholz sisters performed the roles of Hannchen and Lisette in *Wer's Glück hat, führt die Braut heim, oder: Im*

Trüben ist gut fischen, a German adaptation of Sarti's *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* (see also *Ephemeriden* i:13, 16 Mar 1785, 199–200).



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung

wird heute,

Donnerstags, den 10ten Februar, 1785,

zum erstenmale aufgeführt:

Wer's Glück hat, führt die Braut heim!

oder:

Im Trüben ist gut fischen.

Ein Singspiel in drey Aufzügen, nach dem Italiänischen.

Die Musik ist vom Herrn Sarti.

Personen:

Der Baron. — — Herr Normann.
Die Baronesse. — — Madame Hanke.
Der Verwalter. — — Herr Arnold.
Hannchen, Kammermädchen. — — Madem. Keilholz, die ältere.
Heinrich, Bedienter. — — Herr Eule.
Lisette, Kammermädchen. — — Madem. Keilholz, die jüngere.
Christoph, Gärtner des Barons. — — Herr Klos.
Bedienter.
Bauren.

Der Schauplatz ist auf dem Edelgute des Barons.

Die Arien sind beym Eingange für 6 Schillinge zu bekommen.

Der Preis in den Logen des ersten Ranges ist 2 Mark; im zweyten Range 1 Mark 8 Schillinge; im Parterre 1 Mark, und auf der Gallerie 8 Schillinge. Für Kinder wird die Hälfte bezahlt.

Billets sind bey Herrn Klos, in Bergheften-Hof auf dem Gänsemarkt, Vormittags von 10 bis 12, Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr, und nachher beym Eingange zu haben.

Der Anfang ist precise um halb 6 Uhr.

Poster for *Im Trüben is gut fischen*, Hamburg, 10 Feb 1785
(Universität Hamburg)

After the Easter break in 1785, the Hamburg theater opened under the new management team of Brandes and Klos. Now that her father was a director, Minna Brandes began to appear in many roles, in both operas and spoken plays. Already in the opening performance of the new enterprise on 30 Mar 1785, Minna took the role of Julie in her father's play *Constanzie von Detmold*; she made her operatic debut the following day as Kalliste in *Robert und Kalliste* (after Guglielmi's *La sposa fedele*). Over the coming months, Minna Brandes maintained a very full schedule of performances as a singer and actress; among many other roles, she appeared on 18 May 1785 as the Countess (Die Gräfin) in the Hamburg premiere of *Der lustige Tag, oder: Figaro's Hochzeit*, a German translation of Beaumarchais's play, with music by Karl Hanke. The play was a hit in Hamburg and was performed 15 times in all over the course of that season. The Keilholz sisters were not initially members of the new company under Brandes and Klos, and nothing is known of their activities or whereabouts during the first months of the company's season.

At some point during the season Ferdinand Arnold had a dispute of some sort with the directors, and the dispute ended up in court (Schütze 1794, 548–49). The judgement required the theater to pay Arnold three months' salary, but for him to begin acting with the company again; however, he decamped from Hamburg on 20 Jul, the day before he was scheduled to make his return, in Ignaz Umlauf's *Die pücefarbnen Schuhe* (*Die schöne Schusterin*). His departure left the company without a first tenor (in Sep 1785, Arnold joined the singspiel company of the court theater in

Vienna). In Hamburg Arnold was replaced by Adolf Keilholz, who made his debut on 1 Aug 1785 as Lukas in Georg Benda's *Der Jahrmarkt*, with Minna Brandes as Bärbchen. Adolf and Minna appeared together in many leading operatic roles over the following months. Adolf also occasionally took secondary roles in plays; Minna often took major ones, including, notably, Ophelia in a performance of *Hamlet* on 20 Sep, with prominent actor, writer, and director August Wilhelm Iffland in the title role.

The Keilholz sisters first appeared again on the Hamburg stage on 21 Sep 1785, with Christiane as Hannchen and Dorothea as Lisette in Sarti's *Im Trüben ist gut fischen*, with Adolf in the role of Der Verwalter. This opera was repeated on 6 Oct, 17 Nov, and 2 Dec; initially, however, it was the only work in which Christiane appeared (Dorothea also played Hannchen in *Der Deserteur*, with Adolf as Alexis and Minna Brandes as Luise).

The status of the Keilholz sisters in the company of Brandes and Klos is uncertain. In the *Theater-Kalender*, they appear on the company's roster for that season:

> Hamburg.
> Direkteurs: H. H. Brandes und Klos. Mu=
> sikdirekteurs: H. H. Hanke und Hönike. *[...]*
>
> Mlle. Brandes, erste Sän=
> gerin in der Oper und erste zärtliche Liebhaberin=
> nen im Lust= und Trauerspiel. *[...]*
>
> Mlle. Keilholz, die ältere, erste Sängerin
> in der Oper (alternirt mit Mlle. Brandes) Mlle.
> Keilholz, die jüngere, zweyte Sängerin in der
> Oper, naive Mädchen. *[...]*
>
> H. Keilholz,
> erster Tenorist in der Oper. *[...]*
> [*ThK* 1786, 175]

Here it is said that Christiane Keilholz and Minna Brandes "alternated" leading operatic roles. But in fact, during the first two months following her debut in Sarti's opera, Christiane appeared only in that role and (perhaps) one other (Hermia in Ruprecht's *Was erhält die Männer treu*, on 11 Nov). Minna, on the other hand, appeared in many roles, in both operas and plays, and maintained a very full performing schedule. An anonymous correspondent to *Ephemeriden des Theaters* suggests that the Keilholz sisters were not formally engaged by the company:

> Den
> 16ten Septemb. liessen sich in Zemire und Azor die
> beiden Demois. Keilholz auf unsrer Bühne wiederse=
> hen. Sie sollen nicht engagirt seyn, sondern nur aus

> Vergnügen spielen.
> [*Emphemeriden*, ii:50, 10 Dec 1785, 381]
>
> On
> 16 September, the two Demoiselles Keilholz were
> again seen on our stage, in *Zemire und Azor*. They
> are said not to be engaged, but rather to perform
> at their own pleasure.

But this may have been hearsay: the correspondent has the sisters making their debut in the wrong opera on the wrong day: *Zemire und Azor* was indeed given on 16 Sep, but with Minna Brandes as Zemire and a Demoiselle Dohm as Lisbe (the role that Dorothea Keilholz presumably would have taken). Christiane and Dorothea actually made their debuts five days later in Sarti's *Im Trüben ist gut fischen*.

In the third volume of his autobiography, published in 1800, Brandes implies that he acquired all three Keilholz siblings for the new Hamburg company in 1785 in order to boost the flagging singspiel. His account glosses over the chronological and casting details of their return, but it provides one of our few glimpses into the personal lives of the Keilholz family (albeit from a witness who was anything but disinterested):

> Noch ein harter Stoß stand mir vor, dem ich, bei
> aller Vorsicht, nicht auszuweichen vermochte.
> Die Stelle des entwichenen Sängers **Arnold** war,
> nach einiger Zeit, durch einen ziemlich guten Teno=
> risten, Namens **Keilholz** *) wieder besetzt wor=
> den; auch gelang es mir, dessen beide Schwestern,
> welche sich während der vorigen Direktion der Bühne
> entzogen hatten, und von denen die ältere sich durch
> ihre schöne Stimme und einen guten Vortrag jetzt
> noch mehr als ehedem empfahl, gegen billige Bedin=
> gungen wieder zu unserm Theater zu ziehen; wo=
> durch also die bisher ziemlich gesunkene **Operette**
> nicht allein Vollständigkeit, sondern sogar Glanz
> erhielt. Auch das **Schauspiel** fing an, sich nach
> und nach immer mehr zu ründen; das **Publikum**
> äußerte Zufriedenheit, und ich glaubte nun endlich
> einmal den Lohn für meine vielen Arbeiten in Ruhe
> ärndten zu können; aber leider wurde auch diese
> Hoffnung sehr bald wieder vereitelt!
>
> *) Er hatte ehedem schon bei mehrern Theatern ge=
> standen, wurde auf Verwendung eines angese=
> henen Kaufmanns, der seine Familie in Pro=
> tektion genommen hatte, Lieutenant in hol=
> ländischen Diensten, trug einige Zeit die

> Uniform, doch ohne zum Regiment abzugehen,
> und ging nun wieder, auf Anrathen des nämlichen
> Gönners, als Sänger zur Operette über.
> [Brandes 1800, 147–48]

[translation:]

> Yet another hard blow awaited me, which I was, even with every precaution, unable to avoid. The position of the absconded singer **Arnold** was, after some time, filled by a quite good tenor named **Keilholz** *). I also succeeded in acquiring for our theater under favorable conditions his two sisters, who had withdrawn from the stage under the previous directorate, and the elder of whom recommended herself to me now even more than before through her beautiful voice and good delivery; whereby the **operetta**—which had, up to now, declined considerably—not only became complete but even achieved brilliance. The spoken theater also began little by little to round itself out; the **public** expressed satisfaction, and I believed that finally for once I would be able peacefully to reap the reward for all my hard work; but unfortunately this hope was also quite soon dashed.
>
> *) He *[Keilholz]* had previously already been with several theaters, and had been made a lieutenant in Dutch service through the intercession of a prominent merchant who had taken the family under his protection. He wore the uniform for some time but without joining the regiment, and on the advice of said patron, returned to the operetta as a singer.

In the footnote, Brandes tells us that the Keilholz family was at that time under the protection of a prominent merchant (whose identity remains unknown), and that at the merchant's recommendation, Adolf had been appointed lieutenant in a Dutch regiment, which (Brandes claims) he never actually joined, returning instead to singing full time. It may be that the support of the merchant, if it was in part financial, allowed the Keilholz sisters to appear selectively on stage, rather than maintaining the full schedule that formal engagement by the Hamburg company would have required.

Brandes hints at trouble with the Keilholz family, and trouble there soon was. On 23 Nov 1785, Christiane Keilholz and Minna Brandes appeared together in Hamburg in *Das Narrenspital*, a German version of Salieri's *La scuola de' gelosi*; the performance was a benefit for Christiane and Dorothea.



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung
wird heute,
Mittwochs, den 23sten November, 1785,
zum Benefiz für die Demoiselles Keilholz,
zum erstenmale aufgeführt:

Das Narrenhospital,

oder:

Die Schule der Eifersucht.

Eine komische Oper aus dem Italienischen, in zwey Aufzügen.

Die Composition ist vom K. K. Kapellmeister Antonio Salieri.

Personen:

Herr von Thalhof. — — Herr Satto.
Frau von Thalhof, dessen Gemahlin. — Demoiselle Brandes.
Graf von Miltach. — — Herr Keilholz.
Gräfin von Miltach, dessen Gemahlin. — Demois. Keilholz, die ältere.
Suschen, Kammermädchen. — — Demois. Keilholz, die jüngere.
Lieutenant von Blank. — — Herr Normann.
Christoph, des Grafen von Miltachs Bedienter. — Herr Klos.
Ein Narrenwärter.
Narren.
Närrinnen.
Bediente.

Die Arien sind beym Eingange für 6 Schillinge zu bekommen.

Der Preiß in den Logen des ersten Ranges ist 2 Mark; im zweyten Range 1 Mark 8 Schillinge; im Parterre 1 Mark, und auf der Gallerie 8 Schillinge. Für Kinder wird die Hälfte bezahlt.

Billets sind bey Herrn Klos, in Bergheim-Hof auf dem Glashmarkt, Vormittags von 10 bis 12, Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr, und nachher beym Eingange zu haben.

Der Anfang ist präcise um halb 6 Uhr.

Poster for *Das Narrenspital*, Hamburg, 23 Nov 1785
(Universität Hamburg)

When the reprise on 28 Nov took in more money than her benefit performance five days earlier, Christiane reportedly withdrew from a promised third performance, claiming illness:

> *[...]* Den 23. *[Nov 1785]* das **Nar=renhospital**, O. in 2 A. gefiel ausserordentlich, beson=ders weil die Demois. **Brandes** und **Keilholz** im Gesan=ge wetteiferten. Hr. **Salieri** würde sich zwar gewundert haben, seinen Namen auf dem Zettel zu sehen, und doch so viel fremde Musik, sogar das Rondeau von **André**: Sind wir gleich im Anfang blöde &c. die Polonaise von **Schuster** und Arien mit obligaten Violinen und Fagots zu hören, an die er nicht gedacht, und die beide Sänge=rinnen, um zu brilliren, einander zum Troz hineingewor=fen hatten, indessen brachte es der Kasse Geld. Den 28. wurde diese Oper wiederholt. Weil heute die Einnah=me grösser war als das erstemal, wo sie zum Benefiz der Mlle. **Keilholz** gegeben worden, und diese auch bemerkte, daß die Faktion der Mlle. **Brandes** grösser als die ihrige sey, so machte sie sich krank, als das Singspiel zum drit=tenmal gegeben werden sollte. Mlle. **Keilholz** hätte für ihr Benefiz noch dreimal singen müssen, demungeachtet gaben die Dirketeurs ihre Kaprice nach. *[...]*
> [*Ephemeriden*, iii:10, 11 Mar 1786, 154–55]

> *[...]* On the 23rd *[Nov 1785]*,
> *Das Narrenspital*, Opera in 2 acts, pleased extraordinarily,
> particularly because Mademoiselles **Brandes** and **Keilholz**
> competed in singing. Herr **Salieri** would indeed have been
> surprised to see his name on the poster when he heard so
> much unfamiliar music that he had not thought of, including
> the rondeau by **André**, "Sind wir gleich im Anfang blöde &c.",
> **Schuster's** polonaise, and arias with obbligato violins and
> bassoons, which had been inserted so that the two singers
> could try to outshine each other; besides, it brought money
> into the till. On the 28th, this opera was reprised. Because
> the receipts that day were higher than the first time, which
> had been given for the benefit of Mademoiselle **Keilholz**,
> and she also noticed that the faction for Mademoiselle **Brandes**
> was larger than hers, she claimed to be sick when the
> singspiel was to be given a third time. Mademoiselle **Keilholz**
> was supposed to have sung three times for the benefit, but
> the directors nevertheless indulged her caprices.

(On the rondeau "Sind wir gleich im Anfang blöde," see the *Notes* below.)

The incident was also reported at length in *Journal aller Journale* later in 1786. The correspondent remarks that the opera repertory in Hamburg had been stagnant for a time, with only two new operas having been given in the prior six months. But (the correspondent continues) the management could perhaps be forgiven for this, as it was in part the consequence of the contretemps with Mademoiselle Keilholz:

> *[...]* Man könnte in-
> dessen zu ihrer Entschuldigung vielleicht den
> Zwist zwischen der Mamsell Keilholz und der
> Direktion anführen, und diesem Vorfall einen
> Theil des Fehlers zueignen. Ob bei dieser Miss-
> helligkeit Mamsell Keilholtz allein der schuldi-
> ge Theil ist, oder ob der Direktion auch etwas
> zur Last gelegt werden kann, davon bin ich
> nicht hinreichend unterrichtet; das Publikum
> hat sich indessen zu Gunsten der Direktion er-
> klärt, und ich, zu Folge der Regel, *vox populi*,
> *vox dei*, bin nicht abgeneigt, ihm beizupflichten;
> dem sei wie ihm wolle, es ist gewiss, das Pu-
> blikum hat unter diesen *tracasserien* gelitten. Das
> *Narrenspital*, eine komische Oper von Saglieri,
> ward zum Benefiz der Mamsell Keilholtz ein-
> studiert, und nachdem man es zweimal mit vie-
> lem Beifall gegeben hatte, beliebten diese, nicht
> ferner aufzutreten, und das Narrenspital, *worin*
> *das Publikum sie gerne zu sehen schien*, ward also un-

vollständig.

Eine Folge davon war, dass eine lange Zeit hindurch keine Singspiele, wenigstens keins der neueren, gegeben wurde, bis Madame Hanke die Rolle der Mamsell Brandes und letztere die der Mamsell Keilholtz übernahm *[...]*

Wenn ein Theil des Publikums glaubte, Saglieri's Oper, die Schule der Eifersucht, zu hören; so hat er sich sehr geirrt; die Sängerinnen hatten das Stück so castrirt, dass nichts als ein Skelet oder vielmehr die Finale nachblieben. Jede der beiden ersten Sängerinnen hatten ihre zwei vorzüglichen Arien weggeworfen, und andre, ihren Launen anpassendere, dafür eingeschoben; sogar die kleine Mamsell Keilholtz war mit der Composition des guten Saglieri unzufrieden gewesen; auch sie hatte ihre Arie ausrangirt und eine andre ihrem reifen Geschmack gemässere dafür gewählt. *[...]*
[*Journal aller Journale*, vol. 2 (1786), 180–82]

[translation:]

[...] However, one can perhaps in their defense point to the conflict between Mademoiselle Keilholz and the directors, and attribute part of the failure to this circumstance. Whether Mademoiselle Keilholz alone was the guilty party in this quarrel, or whether some blame can also be laid on the directors, I am insufficiently informed; the public, however, has spoken in favor of the directors, and I, following the rule *vox populi, vox dei*, am not disinclined to agree with them, be things as they may; for it is certain that the public has suffered from this annoyance. *Das Narrenspital*, a comic opera by Salieri, was rehearsed for the benefit of Mademoiselle Keilholz, and after it had been given twice to much applause, she did not deign to appear further, and Das Narrenspital—*in which the public seemed to enjoy seeing her*—was thus left hanging.

A consequence was that throughout a long period, no singspiels, at least no new ones, were given, until Madame Hanke took over the role of Mademoiselle Brandes and the latter

> the role of Mademoiselle Keilholz *[...]*
>
> If a part of the public believed that it was hearing Salieri's opera *Die Schule der Eifersucht*, it was badly mistaken; the singers had so castrated the piece, that nothing but a skeleton—or rather the Finale—remained. Both of the two leading singers had thrown out their two principal arias and inserted others better suited to their whims; even little Mademoiselle Keilholz *[Dorothea]* was unsatisfied with the composition of the good Salieri, and had discarded her aria, and chosen another that better suited her mature taste. *[...]*

Brandes, in his autobiography, does not mention *Das Narrenspital* or Christiane's competition with his daughter Minna, but he does describe Christiane's temperamental behavior, claiming that she was led into it by her parents:

> Demoiselle **Keilholz die ältere**, welche sich einige Zeit sehr freundschaftlich gegen mich betragen, und für das Beste der Bühne mit möglichster An= strengung gearbeitet hatte, fing an, wider alles Er= warten, willkürlich zu handeln; sie sang nicht, wenn es ihre Pflicht forderte, sondern wenn sie sich dazu geneigt fühlte, und da ich deshalb ernstlich mit ihr sprach, entzog sie sich gänzlich der Bühne, so auch ihre Schwester. Dieß geschah indeß nicht aus eignem Antrieb — denn beide Personen hatten kein böses Herz — sondern auf Verlangen **ihrer Ael= tern**, welche aus Eigensinn und übertriebenem Ei= gennutz meiner Wohlfahrt nicht achteten, und die ihnen ehedem von mir erwiesenen Wohltaten, da sie sich jetzt in einigem Wohlstande befanden, nicht allein vergessen zu haben schienen, sondern solche noch sogar mit Undank lohnten.
> [Brandes 1800, 148]

[translation:]

> Mademoiselle **Keilholz the elder**, who for some time had behaved in a very friendly manner with me and had done her utmost for the good of the company, began, against every expectation, to act capriciously; she did not sing when duty demanded it, but rather when she felt like it, and because I spoke with her seriously about this, she withdrew entirely from the

> stage, as did her sister. However, this did not happen through their own initiative — for neither of them had evil hearts — but rather at the demand of **their parents**, who out of obstinacy and self-interest did not heed my welfare, and who seemed not only to have forgotten the good deeds that I had previously done them that put them in their current prosperous situation, but even rewarded these with ingratitude.

The theater's posters tell a somewhat more complicated story. On 29 Nov, the day after the second performance of *Das Narrenspital*, Minna Brandes appeared in the title of role of Plümicke's *Lanassa*. But a performance of the play *Die Schauspielerschule*, announced for 1 Dec, had to be canceled at the last minute and a different work performed because *Minna* was ill. Meanwhile, Christiane Keilholz appeared in *Im Trüben ist gut fischen* on 2 Dec, and on 8 Dec she performed the title role of *Die schöne Arsene* (which most recently had been Minna's role). This was, however, Christiane's final performance with the Brandes–Klos company, and it turned out to be her last in Hamburg until 1800. Minna Brandes reappeared in the theater on 12 Dec in *Die Schauspielerschule*, and resumed a full (even brutal) performing schedule after that. *Das Narrenspital* was finally given for a third time on 16 Jan 1786, now with Madame Hanke as Gräfin von Thalhof (Christiane's role on 23 and 28 Nov) and Mademoiselle Dohm as Suschen (Dorothea's former role). Minna Brandes again appeared as Gräfin von Milbach, and Adolf Keilholz, who at least initially remained with the company, appeared as her husband, Graf von Milbach. Whatever the full story behind the contretemps between Christiane Keilholz and the theater's directors, it would not be the only "prima donna" incident in her career.

Adolf maintained a regular schedule of performances with the company in Jan 1786. On 31 Jan, the opera *Circe und Ulysses* had its premiere in Hamburg, with music by Gioacchino Alberterini on a text by Jonas Ludwig von Heß; Adolf took the role of Ulysses and Minna Brandes that of Circe. Of Adolf's performance, a correspondent to *Journal aller Journale* wrote:

> Den Ulysses machte Hr. Keilholtz; es wäre kein Wunder, wenn sich bei dessen elenden Spiel der eigentliche Ulysses im Grabe umgewandt hätte; jedoch muss man seinen vortrefflichen Gesang als hinreichenden Ersatz für seine erbärmliche Declamation annehmen. [*Journal aller Journale*, vol. 2 (1786), 184]

> Ulysses was Herr Keilholz; it would be no wonder if the real Ulysses had turned over in his grave at the former's miserable acting; however, one must take his excellent singing as sufficient compensation for his pathetic declamation.

On 6 Feb Adolf absconded from Hamburg with a Madame Ohlhorst:

> Den 6ten Februar entfernte sich heimlich Hr. **Keilholz** mit einer gewissen Mad. **Ohlhorst**, die er jezt für seine Frau ausgiebt.
> [*Ephemeriden*, iii:10, 11 Mar 1786, 156]

> On 6 February Herr **Keilholz** departed secretly with a certain Madame **Ohlhorst**, whom he now passes off as his wife.

This may have been Marianne Ohlhorst (née Schuch, b. 1768), who had made a guest appearance in Hamburg with her husband Johann Christian Ohlhorst on 2 Sep 1784 in the singspiel *Der Dorfjahrmarkt* (it is said that she was previously married to a G. G. Bürger). As Brandes tells the story of Adolf's elopement:

> Bald darauf heirathete der Sänger Keilholz eine **Schauspielerinn**, welche nach Hamburg gekommen war, um bei unserm Theater Engage= ment zu suchen, das ich ihr aber, weil sie ihres mo= ralischen Charakters halber nicht in dem besten Rufe stand, nicht gewähren konnte. So wie jene Ver= bindung bekannt wurde, verbreitete sich zugleich das Gerücht, daß die **Neuverheirathete** noch meh= rere Männer, von denen sie nicht geschieden sei, am Leben habe; man sprach von einer nähern gerichtli= chen Untersuchung dieser Sache; der **junge Ehe= mann** wurde gewarnt; er fürchtete Gefahr für seine Frau, und nahm, um sie zu retten, schleu= nigst mit ihr die **Flucht**. Sonach war nun die **Operette** aufs neue zerrissen, und da sie bisher meine ergiebigste Quelle, woraus ich mit einiger Zu= versicht schöpfen konnte, gewesen war, so gerieth ich durch diesen ganz unerwarteten doppelten Ver= lust, mehr als jemals in Verlegenheit.
> [Brandes 1800, 149–50]

[translation:]

> Soon afterwards the singer Keilholz married an actress who had come to Hamburg to seek an engagement with our theater, to which I could, however, not consent, because her moral character did not have the best reputation. Thus when that union was made known, the rumor spread at the same time that the **Newlywed** still had several living husbands from whom she was not divorced; a judicial

> investigation into the matter was discussed; the **young husband** was warned; he feared danger for his wife, and in order to save her, **fled** with her as quickly as possible. And so the **operetta** was once again torn asunder, and since up to then it had been my richest source, from which I could draw with some confidence, I fell into difficulty even more than before through this unexpected double loss.

By "double loss" Brandes means the loss of the Keilholz sisters, followed soon after by the loss of their brother Adolf. He continues:

> Zufälligerweise erfuhr ich des Flüchtlings Aufenthalt; ich schrieb also an ihn, verwies ihm seine Unbesonnenheit, stellte ihm die für mich dar= aus entstandenen höchst nachtheiligen Folgen lebhaft vor Augen, und suchte ihn durch Bitten und Dro= hungen, wenigstens für seine Person, wieder zur Rückkehr zu bewegen.
> [Brandes 1800, 150]

> I accidentally learned the fugitive's location; so I wrote to him, rebuked him for his rashness, placed vividly before his eyes the extremely disadvantageous consequences resulting for me , and sought to persuade him through pleas and threats, at least for himself, to return again.

Brandes reproduces in full Adolf's answering letter, complete with misspellings (presumably dialectical): for example, swapping /d/ and /t/ (making Adolf sound as if he had a bad cold), "feunde" for "Feinde," and "eugen" for "eigen." The opening gives the flavor:

> "Ihren Brief habe ich richtig erhalden; sie ma= chen mir darinnen vorwerfe die ich nich vertiene. Meine feunde habe es so weid gebracht, Son= stens wierde ich nie den Schrid gedahn haben den ich nun duhn müste; es duht mir in der sele weh, ihnen in der verlegenheit zu setzen worin sie nun sind, aber mein eugen wohl hienk davon ab, oder ich müste mich der schande breiß geben und das würden sie selbst nich gedahn ha= ben, was den wecksel betrift werde ich ihnen um die bestimte Zeit zahlen duhn. *[...]*"
> [Brandes 1800, 150]

> [I have duly received your letter; in it you make accusations against me that I do not deserve. My enemies have brought it to this point, otherwise I would never have taken the step that I now had to take; I hurts my soul to have placed you in the difficulty you are now in, but my own well-being is at stake, or I would have to face up to the disgrace, and even you would not have done that. As for the bill of exchange, I will pay you at the appointed time.]

In a footnote, Brandes notes that Adolf only ever paid back half of what he owed.

Adolf joined the company of Jean (Johann) Tilly, who had taken over Stöfler's company on the latter's death in 1781. Tilly began a season in nearby Altona on 12 Jun 1786 with a performance of *Das Mädchen von Fraskati*, with Adolf in the leading tenor role (*Ephemeriden*, iv:29, 22 Jul 1786, 93). Adolf and "Madame Keilholz"—evidently the woman with whom he had eloped—appear on the roster of Tilly's company for 1787 (*ThK* 1788, 210).

The Brandes-Klos directorate in Hamburg dissolved at the end of the season 1785/86. On 1 Oct 1786 Klos signed a contract with Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann to be co-director with Großmann of a new theater company (see Rüppel 2010, 350–51). It consisted of actors assembled by Großmann, supplemented by several members of the recently dissolved company of Ludwig Schmidt (about whom see our entry for 25 Aug 1785), plus Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz, who came with Klos. The new Großmann-Klos company opened a season in Cologne on 5 Oct 1786, giving three performances per week until 19 Nov (Wolter 1901, Beilage 2, xxviii–xxix). Little is known about the company's casting of roles during this engagement, but the works performed included *Im Trüben ist gut fischen* (8 Oct), which had been in the sisters' repertoire in Hamburg. The company performed *Der Alchymist* twice in Cologne (22 Oct and 12 Nov); Christiane had sung the boy's role of Gustel in this opera in Hamburg in 1779, but the performances with Großmann-Klos would presumably have given her the opportunity to take a leading female role. Up to now, Christiane had not taken major roles in spoken theater, but it is possible that she began to do so during this time, perhaps inspired by her rivalry with Minna Brandes, who excelled at both. Among other things, Christiane's short time with the Großmann-Klos company may have been her opportunity to perform Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*—a work she would have seen often in Hamburg, but did not perform there—which the company gave on 19 Oct 1786, and Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, which the company performed on 19 Nov; Christiane would go on to take leading roles in performances of both plays in Mannheim in 1790. The Großmann-Klos company began a season in Düsseldorf on 22 Nov; little seems to be known about the company's repertory there, but it appears to have prepared several new singspiels for the engagement (Rüppel 2010, 353).

The company was again in Cologne at the beginning of the new year. But the three-month-old partnership was already in trouble. On 10 Jan 1787, Klos appealed to the local authorities for help, citing deficiencies in Großmann's bookkeeping, and claiming that Großmann had been hiding expenditures and debts. Großmann published his response, charging Klos with incompetence in the theater—that he could not write German, act, or read music—and claiming that Klos's own bookkeeping was not in order. The authorities in Cologne, irritated by Großmann's public airing of the dirty laundry, ruled in favor of Klos, and had all of Großmann's

effects (including his theatrical effects and library) impounded. Großmann gave the members of the company the option of signing an agreement to remain with him or to go with Klos. Most elected to remain with Großman, but the Keilholz sisters decided to await the outcome of the dispute (on the Großmann-Klos affair, see principally Rüppel 2010, 354ff). In the end, the Großmann-Klos enterprise was dissolved. Großmann continued on with a company formed of the members who had elected to remain with him. Klos formed a short-lived company of his own, the roster for which was published in the *Theater-Kalender* for 1789 (well after it had disbanded). Klos's company included Christiane, Dorothea, and Adolf Keilholz, as well as Adolf's (apparent) wife.

> Klosche Gesellschaft.
> *[...]*
> Aktrizen im Singspiel. *[...]*
> Demois. Keilholz die Ältere, alle
> erste Liebhaberinnen, Demois. Keilholz die
> Jüngere Liebhaberinnen und naive Rollen.
> Mad. Keilholz, Liebhaberinnen und Kammer=
> mädchen. *[...]*
> Ak=
> teurs. *[...]*
> Hr. Keil=
> holz, alle erste Liebhaber. *[...]*
> Aktrizen. *[...]*
> Demois. Keil=
> holz die Aeltere, erste Liebhaberinnen, Dem.
> Keilholz die Jüngere, Liebhaberinnen, naive
> Rollen und Kammermädchen. Mad. Keilholz.
> Liebhaberinnen. *[...]*
> [*ThK* 1789, 173–74]

The roster lists Christiane as taking "first romantic leads" in both opera and plays, Dorothea as taking "second romantic leads" and naive roles in opera and plays, and Adolf as taking all "first romantic leads" in opera. "Madame Keilholz" (Adolf's wife) also took roles in opera and plays, but Adolf's name is conspicuously missing from the roster of actors in spoken theater: he appears only in the list for singspiels. There seem to have been no hard feelings between Großmann and Christiane, who in Feb 1787 became godmother to one of Großmann's children (Wolter 1901, Beilage 6, xci; this is also the topic of Christiane's letter to Großmann of 10 Mar 1787).

According to Rüppel (2010, 371), the Klos company performed in Cologne through 20 May 1787, then played a season in Aachen, returning to Cologne in the fall. Little seems to be known about their program in either city, but the *Theater-Kalender* for 1789 prints a long list of the operas and plays that the company had prepared. Operas in the company's repertory included *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Gotter and Benda's *Romeo und Julie*, *Una cosa rara* (presumably in a German adaptation), *Die Rauchfangkehrer*, *Der Deserteur*, *König Theodor in Venedig*, and *Der Barbier von Sevilla*, among several others. Thus it may be that the Keilholz sisters first learned

(and perhaps first performed) *Entführung* with Klos, and it seems likely that they would have added several other operas and plays to their repertoires at this time. When Klos's proposal for a season in Cologne in 1789 was turned down, the company dissolved, and the Keilholz sisters were once again looking for a new position (Rüppel 2010, 371).

The Keilholz sisters in Bonn and Mannheim (⇧)

In 1789, Christiane and Dorothea joined the new company of the Nationaltheater at the electoral court in Bonn, which opened its inaugural season on 3Jan. The *Theater-Kalender* for 1791 contains a roster and repertory for the Bonn company covering the period from its debut until 23 Feb 1790. The Keilholz sisters appear on the roster along with the soprano Magdalena Willmann (1771–1801) and her older sister Walburga (1769–1835), who appeared only rarely (she was mainly a pianist; see our entry for 13 Jul 1791). Magdalena, who was around seven years younger than Christiane, became her main rival in the opera, and Magdalena also became a member of the electoral Hofkapelle, which the Keilholz family may have found irritating. Also on the roster for the Bonn company was the young violist Ludwig van Beethoven.



Bonn.

Kurfürstlich-Kölnisches Nationaltheater, welches zum erstenmal den dritten Jänner 1789 eröfnet ward. Directeur: Herr Reicha. Regisseurs des Sing- und Schauspiels: Herren Neefe und Steiger. Correpetiteur: Herr Goldberg. Soufleur: Herr Römer. Theatermaler: Herren Rousseau und Bekenkam. Schauspielerinnen: Madam Bekenkam. Madam Brand. Demoiſell Christina Keilholz. Demoiſell Dorothea Keilholz. (Madam Müller ſpielt nur zuweilen.) Madam Neefe. Demoiſell Töpfer. Die Demoiſellen Willmann. (Die ältere ſpielt nur zuweilen.) Kinderrollen: Thereſia Brand. Luiſe und Feliſe Neefe. Schauſpieler: Herr Baltus. Herr Bekenkam. Herr Brand. Hr. Dardenne. Hr. Demmer. Hr. Lux. Hr. Fr. Müller. Herr Römer. Herr Spitzeter. Herr Steiger. Hr. Touſſy. Hr. Vohs. Kinderrollen: Max und Anton Brand, Karl Müller. Karl Neefe. Fritz Steiger. Alle, einige wenige ausgenommen, ſingen auch in der Oper. Von den Kindern ſingt bis jetzt nur Luiſe Neefe. Orcheſter. Direkteur: Herr Joſeph Reicha. Clavicembaliſt Herr Neefe. Violiniſten: die Herren Ferdinand Drewer, Ries, Goldberg, Perner, Romberg der ältere, Baum. (Franz Drewer, und Karl Willmann ſpielen

N 3 als

als Acceſſiſten mit.) Flautiſten: die Herren Pfau und Anton Reicha. Hautboiſten: die Herren Libiſch und Joſeph Welſch. Klarinetiſten: die Herren Meiſer und Pachmeier. Waldhorniſten: die Herren Simrock und Bamberger. Bracciſten: die Herren Philippart und van Beethoven. Violoncelliſten: die Herren Heller, Maximilian Willmann und Romberg der jüngere. Fagottiſten: die Herren Zileken, und Georg Welſch. Contrefagottiſt: Herr Eiſen. Contrebaſſiſten: die Herren Paraqvin und Pockhorny. Trompeter: die Herren Stumpf, Göpfert, Hofſtätter und Baltus. Paucker: Herr Renard. Aufgeführte Stücke

Roster of the Nationaltheater in Bonn, 1789/90
Theater-Kalender 1791, 197–98
(Google Books)

The new company gave two short seasons in Bonn over the next 14 months: the first from 3 Jan until 23 May 1789, and the second from 13 Oct 1789 until 23 Feb 1790. The *Theater-Kalender* gives what appears to be a complete listing of the works performed over those two seasons in chronological order, although without specific dates. However, it is possible to reconstruct the calendar of at least the second short season with reasonable confidence (see our entry for 14 Nov 1789, the premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* in Bonn).

Little is known about the specific casting of works performed during those two seasons, although we know that Magdalena Willmann made her debut in Bonn as Violante in *Das Mädchen von Frascati* (Paisiello's *La frascatana*), probably around 20 Jan 1789 (*ThK* 1791, 198). At present, we have only one documentary reference to a specific appearance by Christiane Keilholz in Bonn, a review in *Gazette de Bonn* of a performance of Gotter and Benda's *Romeo und Julie* on 7 Nov 1789:

> DE BONN, *le 9 Novembre*.
> *[...]*
> On donnera aujourd'hui au théatre national le *Bourguemaître* drâme en 5 actes du Comte de Bruhl. La pièce que l'on a représentée samedi, étoit *Romeo & Julie* de Mr. Gotter, avec la musique que le célèbre Benda a eu l'art d'adapter si parfaitement au sujet. La pièce a été généralement bien jouée, mais Mademoiselle Keilholz l'ainée a réuni sur elle tout l'intérêt des spectateurs, dans le rôle de *Julie* qu'elle a joué & chanté avec autant de Noblesse que de sentiment & d'expression. Jamais sa taille, sa figure & sa voix n'ont paru avec plus d'avantage. Le public lui a prodigué des applaudissemens, qui ont été jusqu'au transport, lorsqu'elle a chanté l'air si intéressant & si sublime *meinen Romeo zu sehen* (je reverrois Romeo.) Quoique son rôle ait été des plus fatiguans, elle a du néanmoins se conformer avec complaisance au desir du public en repétant ce beau morceau.
> [*Gazette de Bonn*, no. 280, Tue, 10 Nov 1789, (4)]

[translation:]

> FROM BONN, *9 November*. *[...]*
> Today's performance in the Nationaltheater will be *Der Bürgermeister*, a play in 5 acts by the Count von Brühl. The piece that was given on Saturday was *Romeo und Julie* by Mr. Gotter, with music adapted quite perfectly to the subject by the art of the celebrated Benda. The piece was generally well performed, but Mademoiselle Keilholz the elder drew all of the audience's attention to herself in the role of *Julie*, which she

> acted and sang with just as much nobility as feeling and expression. Never had her stature, her face, and her voice appeared to greater advantage. The public applauded her prodigiously to the point of rapture when she sang the attractive and sublime aria *Meinen Romeo zu sehen* (je reverrois Romeo). Even though her role would count among the most tiring, she nevertheless was able to comply with the public's desire that she repeat this beautiful item.

Although we currently have no documentary evidence for other specific roles that Christiane performed in Bonn, several of the works given by the Nationaltheater over these two short seasons were ones she probably already had in her repertoire: *Das Blendwerk* (*La Fausse Magie*, in which she had starred in Hamburg as early as 1782), and four operas that she had likely learned and perhaps performed with the Klos company in 1787 and 1788: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Der Deserteur*, *Der König Theodor in Venedig* (Paisiello's *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*), and *Der Barbier von Sevilla* (a German version of Paisiello's opera). Other works given in Bonn during Christiane's tenure were ones that she went on to perform during her series of tryouts in Mannheim, and had probably already performed in Bonn: the duodrama *Ariadne auf Naxos*, *Nina* (from Dalayrac's opera), Mozart's *Don Juan*, Kotzebue's hit play *Menschenhaß und Reue*, and Dittersdorf's *Doktor und Apotheker*. Christiane almost certainly also appeared as Diana in *Der Baum der Diana* (Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana*) in Bonn, the company's inaugural performance on 3 Jan 1789, which occurred before Magdalena Willmann's debut with the company. The company also performed Schuster's *Der Alchymist* in May 1789; as we have seen, Christiane may have sung a female lead in this opera with the Großmann-Klos company, and she may well have reprised the role in Bonn.

We know that Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz took the roles of Susanna and Cherubino in the Mannheim premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* on 24 Oct 1790, and this suggests that they might already have learned and performed these roles for the Bonn premiere of the opera, which probably took place on Sat, 14 Nov 1789. The Bonn company was relatively small, with only nine women (two of whom performed "nur zuweilen," only occasionally) available for operas and plays during the first two short seasons (*ThK* 1791, 197). Dorothea took soubrette roles in other operas (including *Entführung* and *Don Juan*), and would seem to have been the company's best casting choice for Cherubino (admittedly not a soubrette role, but vocally and probably physically suited to Dorothea, who was still quite young). As it happens, we now know that Christiane made a guest appearance as Susanna in *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* in Frankfurt on 25 Sep 1790, a month before the opera's premiere in Mannheim, so it seems plausible that she had already learned and perhaps performed it in Bonn. However, it is not certain that she did so: Magdalena Willmann had already sung Susanna in the Frankfurt premiere of *Figaro* on 11 Oct 1788, and so also already knew it (Mohr 1968, 92–93; she had just turned 17 the month before

the Frankfurt premiere). So we cannot at present be certain who sang Susanna in the Bonn premiere, and there may well have been rivalry over the casting.

That Christiane may have had the ego of a *prima donna* (or that her parents persuaded her to have one) is apparent from her rivalry with Minna Brandes at the end of 1785 and beginning of 1786. There are hints of a similar rivalry in Bonn. The letter to Baron von Schall quoted at the beginning of this commentary refers to Christiane's "Feindinn" (enemy) in Bonn, and this was almost certainly Magdalena Willmann. A brief reference in a letter to *Annalen des Theaters* in March 1790 describes them as competitors:

> **Auszug eines Briefes aus Bonn, vom 3. März 1790.** Die hiesigen Komödien sind nicht mehr, was sie bei **Großmann** waren, der bei uns noch immer in guten Andenken steht. Die Stärke des hiesigen Theaters besteht in der Oper, worinn die ältere **Keilholz** und die jüngere **Willmann** wetteifern. Allein die **Keilholz** gewöhnt sich eine Unverständlichkeit in Sprache und Gesang an, und die **Willmann** ist keine sonderliche Aktrize. *[...]* [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, v:100]
>
> **Extract from a Letter from Bonn, 3 March 1790.** The theater here is no longer what it was under **Großmann**, who still remains in good repute with us. The strength of the current company is in opera, in which the elder **Keilholz** and the younger **Willmann** compete. But **Keilholz** is making a habit of unintelligibility in speech and song, and **Willmann** is nothing special as an actress.

Another reference to the pair is found in the published travel diary *Voyage sur le Rhin, depuis Mayence jusqu'à Dusseldorf* by Alexandre-Louis-Bertrand Robineau (known by the anagram "de Beaunoir"):

> Une espece de troupe nationale de comédiens représentent sur le théâtre de la cour. Les deux demoiselles Keilholz sont les meilleures actrices; Mlle Vilmann est une excellente chanteuse *[...]* [Robineau 1791, ii:67]
>
> A sort of national troupe of actors performs at the court theater. The two Mademoiselles Keilholz are the better actresses; Mademoiselle Willmann is an excellent singer *[...]*

One suspects, then, that Christiane elected to leave the company in Bonn (or her family elected to leave), because Willmann was seen as Christiane's rival for lead operatic roles. (The letter to Baron von Schall implies that Christiane's departure from Bonn was voluntary.) Whether the threat was in fact sufficient reason for them to leave is difficult to judge, but at least one observer later found Willmann to be more than good enough as Christiane's replacement in the role of Nina:

> Auszug eines Briefs aus Bonn. *[...]*
> Der vernünftige Narr, und Nina.
> Demois. Willmann die an der Demois. Christel Keilholz in der Rolle der Nina eine gefährliche Vorgängerinn gehabt hatte, übertraf doch alle Erwartung. Selbst ihre Widersacher[,] die ihr der Partheigeist zugezogen hatte, mußten zuge= stehen, daß sie dieser Rolle Gnüge gethan habe. [*ThK* 1792, 338]

> Extract from a Letter from Bonn. *[...]*
> Der vernünftige Narr and Nina.
> Mademoiselle Willmann, who in the role of Nina had a dangerous predecessor in Mademoiselle Keilholz, nevertheless exceeded all expectations. Even her opponents, whom partisanship had disposed against her, had to admit that she had done well enough in this role.

For whatever reason, the Keilholz sisters did in fact leave the Bonn company, probably after the end of the season on 23 Feb 1790; their departure is recorded at the end of the article on the Bonn company in the *Theater-Kalender* for 1791: "Abgegangen: Die beiden Demoiselles Keilholz ..." (*ThK* 1791, 200).

The performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in Mannheim on 6 Jun 1790 began a series of guest appearances by Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz that resulted in their engagement by the company at the beginning of July. Those guest appearances are documented in detailed reports by an anonymous correspondent to Bertram's *Annalen des Theaters*, supplemented by an additional report from Bertram himself, who happened to be in Mannheim for part of that time.

Christiane made guest appearances in at least seven different roles—five operas and two major plays—over the space of three and half weeks; six were principal female roles (the only exception is Rosalie in *Doktor und Apotheker*). It is difficult to think of a similarly diverse and demanding series of tryouts by any singer or actor in the eighteenth century.

Date	Title	Role	Annalen des Theaters
6 Jun	*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*	Konstanze	vi:71–72
8 Jun	*Menschenhaß und Reue*	Eulalia	vi:72
10 Jun	*Nina*	Nina	vi:73

Date	Title	Role	Annalen des Theaters
13 Jun	*Don Juan*	Donna Anna	vi:74
15 Jun	*Kabale und Liebe*	Luise	vi:74
20 Jun	*Doktor und Apotheker*	Rosalie	vi:74
24 Jun	*Der Baum der Diana*	Diana	vi:105

Although the correspondent does not mention it, *Nina* was given again on 17 Jun (Walter 1899, ii:319); Christiane's first appearance in that role made a deep emotional impact on the audience (see below), so it seems likely that she would have reprised the role on 17 Jun, perhaps by popular demand.

Dorothea made guest appearances in Mannheim in five roles, four operas and one play, also an impressive list. She played Leonore, the female lead, in *Doktor und Apotheker*, and the rest were soubrette or secondary roles.

Date	Title	Role	Annalen des Theaters
6 Jun	*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*	Blonde	vi:71–72
13 Jun	*Don Juan*	Zerlina	vi:74
20 Jun	*Doktor und Apotheker*	Leonore	vi:74; vi:105
24 Jun	*Der Baum der Diana*	Amor	vi:105
27 Jun	*Das Räuschgen*	Wilhelmine	vi:105–6
4 Jul	*Romeo und Julie*	Laura	vi:75–76

The reviews of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Don Juan* transcribed at the top of this page are part of a series of reviews by the anonymous correspondent to *Annalen des Theaters* that cover most of the guest appearances by the Keilholz sisters. These reviews, in conjunction with Bertram's independent evaluation published in the same issue, give unusual insight into the strengths and weaknesses of both sisters at a time when they were making prominent appearances in operas by Mozart.

On 8 Jun 1790, two days after performing the role of Konstanze in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Christiane appeared as Eulalia, the starring female role in Kotzebue's hit play *Menschenhaß und Reue*. The correspondent to *Annalen* writes:

> Am 8ten im Juni, **Menschenhaß und Reue**,
> ein Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen, vom Präsidenten Herrn
> von Kozebue *[sic]*.
> *[...]*
> Dem. **Keilholz** die ältere war **Eulalia** und wirkte
> vereinigt mit dem Ganzen unwiderstehlich auf das
> Gefühl, daß es mir schwer werden sollte, ihr, —
> eine wenig Monotonie abgerechnet, — auch nur einen

> Fehler aufzumutzen. Vielleicht verfehlte sie in der
> Szene mit dem Major Horst den Ton der Conversa=
> tion, der grade hier so nothwendig ist, um ihre
> Schwermuth zu verbergen und der Erzählung ihrer
> Beschäftigungen den Anschein von Ruhmredigkeit und
> Selbstpreisung zu benehmen.
> [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:72]

[translation:]

> On June 8th, **Menschenhaß und Reue**,
> a play in 5 acts, by Herr President von Kotzebue.
> *[...]*
> Mademoiselle **Keilholz** the elder was **Eulalia**,
> and together with the ensemble, had an irresistible
> impact on the feelings, so that it would be difficult
> for me to reproach her for even a single fault—apart
> from a slight flatness of tone. Perhaps in the scene
> with Major Horst she lacks the conversational tone
> that is precisely so necessary here in order to hide
> her sadness and to lend to her narrative about her
> occupations the appearance of boastfulness and
> self-praise.

The correspondent is referring to Eulalia's conversation with Major von der Horst in Act 2, scene 2 of the play, during the course of which she explains how she entertains herself in winter: by sitting in quiet reflection next to the heating oven, by reading, or by playing "eine Sonate von Mozart" on the keyboard or singing an aria by Paisiello (on this passage, see our entry on *Menschenhaß und Reue*).

Two days later, on 10 Jun, Christiane appeared in the title role of Dalayrac's *Nina*. The correspondent and the audience were overwhelmed:

> Am 10ten im Juny, **der Richter**, ein Schau=
> spiel in 2 Aufzügen nach Mercier. Hierauf: **Nina,**
> **oder Wahnsinn aus Liebe**.
> Dem. **Keilholz** die ältere, war **Nina**, war es so
> ganz, daß der getäuschte Zuschauer alles um sich her
> vergaß und bloß für das leidende Mädchen fühlte,
> dessen aus der Quelle der Natur geschöpften Jammer=
> töne Herz und Seele fesselten. Es ist gewiß der
> höchste Triumph der Kunst, wenn der Zuschauer bei
> der Darstellung sich selbst vergißt, — und das war
> bei Dem. Keilholz ganz der Fall. Tiefe Rührung
> herrschte durch das ganze Haus, Thränen glänzten in
> jedem Auge. Vorzüglich war sie mir als Künstlerinn
> schätzbar, in der Szene, wo der Schäfer nach dem

> Dorfe zurückkehrt. Die sanfte, hinreißende Melodie des Liedes, das er bließ, wirkte sichtbar auf jede ihrer Bewegungen. Horchend faß sie, als wollte sie jeden Ton verschlingen, ihr ganzer Körper war Musik, un= willkürlich schien sich ihre Hand nach dem Takte zu erheben und ihr Auge strahlte von süßer Wonne, die ihre Seele füllte. Auch die Genesung von ihrem Wahnsinne war so glücklich motivirt, daß alle Un= wahrscheinlichkeit verschwand.
> [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:73–74]

[translation:]

> On June 10th, **Der Richter**, a play in 2 acts after Mercier. Followed by: **Nina, oder Wahnsinn aus Liebe**.
>
> Mademoiselle **Keilholz** the elder was **Nina**; she was it so completely that the spellbound audience forgot everything around them and simply felt for the suffering girl, captivated heart and soul by her tone of misery as if it sprang from nature. It is certainly the highest triumph of art when the audience forget themselves at a performance—and with Mademoiselle Keilholz this was completely the case. Deep emotion reigned through the entire house, tears shone in every eye. I treasured her most especially in the scene when the shepherd returns to the village. The soft, ravishing melody of the song that he pipes, had a visible effect on each of her movements. She hearkened to it as if she wished to devour each note, her entire body was music, she seemed involuntarily to lift her hand to the beat and her eyes beamed with sweet delight that filled her soul. Also her recovery from her madness was so happily motivated, that all implausibility disappeared.

Clearly Christiane at her best had a powerful emotional impact on an audience. The description here provides context for the correspondent's praise of her subtle physical and facial acting as Konstanze in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 6 Jun.

On 13 Jun, Christiane appeared in Mozart's *Don Juan* as Donna Anna, and the correspondent did not feel it necessary to repeat the praise he had given for her performance in *Entführung*, implying that she was equally good. Dorothea Keilholz took the role of Zerlina in that performance; the correspondent found her overly vivacious in a juvenile way, but promising. Don Gusmann (Ottavio) was Franz Anton Epp, who had sung Belmonte in the Mannheim premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 18 Apr 1784. Samuel Friedrich Leonard was Don Juan, and

Georg Gern was Leporello (on Epp, Leonard, and Gern, see our entry for 18 Apr 1784). All three men would appear together with the Keilholz sisters in the premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* on 24 Oct 1790, Epp as the Count, Gern as Figaro, and Leonard as Basilio.

Just two days later, on 15 Jun, Christiane performed the role of Luise in Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*. Here, the correspondent to Annalen found something to criticize:

> **Am 15ten, Kabale und Liebe**, ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen, von **Schiller**.
>
> Das vortrefliche Spiel des Herrn **Beck** als **Fer= dinand von Walter** verdunkelte jede andere Dar= stellung. Dem. **Keilholz die ältere** sprach ihre **Luise** für das Geräusch des vollen Hauses, besonders im letzten Akt zu leise, wodurch der größte Theil des Ein= drucks, den ihr Spiel hervorbringen sollte, verloren gieng. [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:74]

> **On the 15th, Kabale und Liebe**, a bourgeois tragedy in 5 acts by **Schiller**.
>
> The splendid acting of Herr **Beck** as **Ferdinand von Walter** overshadowed every other performance. Mademoiselle **Keilholz the elder** spoke her **Luise** too softly for the noise of the full house, especially in the last act, whereby the greater part of the impression that her acting should have brought forth was lost.

The reference is to the actor Heinrich Beck, husband of Josepha Beck, the first soprano of the Mannheim ensemble (on Josepha Beck, see our entry for 10 May 1791).

The correspondent to *Annalen* was less happy with the performances of both Keilholz sisters in *Doktor und Apotheker* on 20 Jun, finding them miscast:

> Am 20ten, **der Apotheker und der Doktor**, eine komische Operette in 4 Aufzügen von **Stephanie** dem jüngern.
>
> Beide Dem. **Keilholz** waren heute, — meines Erachtens nicht an ihrem Platze. **Die ältere** hatte als **Rosalie** zwar das Benehmen, aber nicht die Laune eines muntern, fröhlichen Mädchens; eben so war auch der feierliche Ernst der **jüngern** erkünstelt. Ihr Gesang war kunstvoll und angenehm. [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:74]

> On the 20th, **Der Apotheker und der Doktor**, a comic operetta in 4 acts by **Stephanie** the younger.
>
> Both Mademoiselles **Keilholz** were today—in my

> opinion, out of place. The **elder** as **Rosalie** indeed had the behavior but not the mood of a spirited and cheerful girl; and similarly the solemn seriousness of the **younger** was artificial. Her singing was artful and pleasant.

Be that as it may, this series of tryouts was sufficient for the Keilholz sisters to be engaged by the Nationaltheater in Mannheim. According to Walter (the original document does not survive), their contract was dated 1 Jul 1790 (Walter 1899, i:322), although their engagement may not have been been made known immediately to the audience: the correspondent to *Annalen des Theaters* first mentions their engagement in his report of Christiane's appearance in the title role of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* two weeks later, on 15 Jul (*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:77).

The correspondent was mildly disappointed with Christiane's performance of *Ariadne* on 1 Jul:

> **Am 1ten im Juny** [*sic*, *recte* July], **der Gläubiger. Hier=auf: Ariadne auf Naxos**.
> Dem. **Keilholz die ältere**, trat als **Ariadne** auf, leistete aber nicht ganz das, was man von ih=ren Talenten erwarten konnte. Ihre Monotonie war auffallender, auch accentuirte sie einigemal nicht richtig. Doch blieb ihre Ariadne immer noch ein schönes Gemälde, durch wenige Flecke entstellt, die nur dem Beobachter auffielen.
> [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:75]

> **On June 1st** [*recte* July 1st], **Die Gläubiger. Followed by: Ariadne auf Naxos**.
> Mademoiselle **Keilholz the elder** appeared as **Ariadne**, but did not entirely achieve what her talents could lead one to expect. Her flatness of tone was more notable, and a few times she also accentuated incorrectly. Even so her Ariadne remains a lovely portrait, marked by a few blemishes that were noticeable only to the observer.

The correspondent was, however, highly impressed by Christiane's performance in *Romeo und Julie* on 4 Jul, and pleased with her performance four days later as Countess Rotland in *Graf von Essex*, Johann Gottfried Dyk's adaptation of a play by John Banks:

> A m 4ten zum erstenmal: **der gutherzige Sohn**, Lustspiel in 1 Aufzuge von **Schmieder**, und **Romeo und Julie**, eine ernsthafte Oper in 3 Aufzügen von **Gotter**, die Musik von **Benda**.
> *[...]*
> Und nun zu **Romeo und Julie**.
> Wer kennt nicht **Benda's** Zaubertöne, die

mit **Gotters** Zauberworten ein so vortrefliches Gan=
zes ausmachen. Es ist so selten, wenn Text und
Musik frei von ausländischem Opernunsinne, gleich
gut sind, daß es einem wohl thut, auch einmal Nah=
rung für Kopf und Herz da zu finden, wo man sonst
für beides so leer ausgeht. Dem. **Keilholz** die äl=
tere war **Julie**, die jüngere **Laura**. Mit hinreißen=
dem Affekt, und dem lebhaftesten Feuer sang erstere
die Arie: "Meinen Romeo zu sehen." Das heißeste
Gefühl der Liebe, die ganze Wonne des Wiedersehens
war auf ihrem Gesichte gemahlt, die innigste Theil=
nahme des Publikums, der süßeste Lohn der Künst=
lerinn. Auch Herr **Epp** sang seinen **Romeo** mit
Energie und Wahrheit.

Am 8ten, **Graf von Essex,** ein Trauerspiel
nach dem Englischen des Banks in 5 Aufzügen.

Dem **Keilholz** die ältere, spielte die Gräfin
Rottland und gefiel am meisten im letzten Akt, in
der Scene mit der Königin.
[*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:75–76]

[translation:]

On the 4th for the first time: **Der gutherzige Sohn**,
comedy in 1 act by **Schmieder**, and **Romeo und**
Julie, a serious opera in 3 acts by Gotter,
music by Benda. *[...]*

And now to **Romeo und Julie**.

Who does not know **Benda's** magical tones,
which go so splendidly together with **Gotter's** magical
words. It is so seldom that text and music, free of
foreign operatic nonsense, are equally good, that it
does one good to find, for once, nourishment for head
and heart, where one otherwise so often goes away
empty of both. Mademoiselle **Keilholz** the elder was
Julie, the younger **Laura**. The former sang the aria
"Meinen Romeo zu sehen" with the most enchanting
affect and the liveliest fire. The most heated feeling
of love, the complete delight of the reunion was
painted on her face, the public's most intimate
participation was the artist's sweetest reward. Herr
Epp also sang his **Romeo** with energy and truth.

On the 8th, **Graf von Essex**, a tragedy after
the English of Banks in 5 acts.

Mademoiselle **Keilholz** the elder played Countess
Rotland and pleased most in the last act, in the
scene with the Queen.

As it happens, the editor of *Annalen des Theaters*, Christian August Bertram, was visiting Mannheim during the period of the Keilholz sisters' tryouts; his more negative evaluation provides an interesting contrast with that of the anonymous correspondent, and is worth quoting in full:

XV.
Nachschrift
des Herausgebers zu dem Aufsatze No. VII.
pag. 59.

Nach bereits vollendetem Abdruck des Aufsatzes: **Uebersicht der merkwürdigsten Vorfälle bei der Manheimer Bühne**, bemerkte ich, daß sein Verfasser einige Gastrollen der Dem. **Keilholz**, die ihm vielleicht entfallen seyn mögen, anzuführen vergessen hat. Meine diesjährige Anwesenheit in Manheim fiel gra= de in die Zeit, wo beide Demoiselles **Keilholz** auf der dortigen Schaubühne sich zeigten. Ich sahe von der ältern die **Rosalie** im Doktor und Apotheker; die **Diana** im Baum der Diana; und die Ariadne: von der jüngern die Leonore im Doktor und Apotheker; den **Amor** im Baum der Diana; die **Wilhelmine** im Räuschchen. Die hier mit andrer Schrift gedruck= ten Rollen sind nehmlich die, welche der Verfasser der **Uebersicht &c.** ausgelassen hat.

Demoiselles **Keilholz** waren schon vor meiner Ankunft in einigen Rollen mit einem Beifall aufge= nommen worden, den nur der Reiz der Neuheit er= klären konnte. Besonders hatte die ältere als Nina entzückt; man sprach noch immer mit Bewunderung von ihrem Spiel in dieser Rolle. Auch hörte ich, daß sie als Sängerin gefalle, welches mir eben nicht befremdend seyn durfte, da ich den Ruf kannte, in welchem sie als solche ehemals bei dem Hamburger Theater gestanden hatte. Sobald ich sie aber als Rosalie im Doktor und Apotheker singen hörte, so konnte ich wenigstens meine Verwunderung darüber nicht bergen, daß sie neben einer **Beck**, die durch einen starken, wohlthönenden und Kunstvollen Ge= sang hinreißt, Aufsehen zu machen im Stande war, und zwar bei einem Publikum, das sich durch Kennt= niß von Musik und Gesang seit langer Zeit ausge= zeichnet hat. Die Stimme der Mlle. **Keilholz** ist jetzt schwach, und muß daher seit ihrer Entfernung von Hamburg gelitten haben, weshalb auch schon in einem Briefe aus Bonn im **5ten Hefte der Anna=**

len S. 100. gesagt wird: "daß Mlle. Keilholz sich "eine Unverständlichkeit in Sprache und Gesang an= "gewöhne.

Als Schauspielerin betrachtet, so gelingen ihr sanfte Stellen besser als heftige, wozu ihr die Brust zu fehlen scheint. Auch ist es mir vorgekommen als wenn sie etwas lispelt. Die Rolle der Rosalie in ge= dachter Oper war nicht für sie; ich weiß nicht, wa= rum sie nicht die Leonore spielt, da dies die erstere Rolle ist und ihr auch wegen des Gesanges zukommt, in Ansehung dessen sie für die jüngere Schwester viel zu schwer war. Als Diana verfehlte Mlle. **Keilholz** zuweilen den Karakter und als Ariadne hätte ich ihr mehr Mannigfaltigkeit in ihrer Deklamation ge= wünscht, welches wohl ihre Brust verhinderte. Sonst ist Mlle. **Keilholz** von einem hübschen, edeln Wuchs, hat ein schönes, sprechendes Auge und zählt unge= fähr 28. Jahr.

Mlle. **Keilholz** die jüngere, die viel wenigere Sommer zählt, hat noch vielen Unterricht und Aus= bildung nöthig. Sie gleicht jetzt einer wilden Pflanze, die beschnitten werden muß, wenn sie nicht sich über= treiben, und bald verlohren gehn soll. Mlle. **Keil= holz** hat Feuer — aber was für Feuer? Rohes Spiel muß sie für munteres, naives Spiel halten. Den besten Beweiß hiervon gab sie in ihrer Wilhel= mine im Räuschchen. Den Amor im Baum der Dia= na spielte sie zwar gemäßigter, doch war sie noch im= mer viel zu dreist in Gang, Ton und Gebehrden. Als Sängerin ist sie jetzt nicht bedeutend, und kann auch in diesem Stücke mit Madame **Müller**, einer bei der dortigen Bühne stehenden angenehmen Sängerin und beliebten Aktrize nicht verglichen werden.

Mein Urtheil von diesen beiden Schauspielerinnen gehet zwar von denen des Verfassers der **Uebersicht &c.** etwas ab; indeß glaub ich mich ihm näher als es dem ersten Anscheine nach läßt. Man sieht an seinem Urtheil über Mlle. **Keilholz** als Ariadne, daß er gern dreister würde gesprochen haben, wenn die Sache nicht noch zu neu gewesen wäre, und der äußerst warme Beifall, den sein Publikum den beiden Demoiselles **Keilholz** gezollt, ihn davon nicht zurückgehalten hätte. [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1790, vi:105–7]

[translation:]

XV.
Postscript
by the Editor to the Article No. VII,
page 59.

After the article **Overview of the most notable events on the Mannheim stage** had already been printed, I noticed that the author had forgotten to include some of the guest roles of Mademoiselle **Keilholz**, which may have escaped his memory. My visit to Mannheim this year fell exactly at the time when the two Mademoiselles Keilholz were appearing on the stage there. From the elder I saw **Rosalie** in *Doktor und Apotheker*, **Diana** in *Der Baum der Diana*, and Ariadne; from the younger Leonore in *Doktor und Apotheker*, **Amor** in *Der Baum der Diana*, and **Wilhelmine** in *Das Räuschge*n. The roles printed here in a different type *[i.e. bold]* are the ones that the author of the **Uebersicht &c.** left out.

Already before my arrival, the Mademoiselles **Keilholz** had been greeted in several roles with an acclaim that can only be explained by the charm of novelty. The elder had delighted particularly as Nina; her acting in this role was still being spoken of with admiration. I also heard that she pleased as a singer, which would not have seemed odd to me, because I knew her reputation as one during the time that she had been in the Hamburg theater. As soon as I heard her sing as Rosalie in *Doktor und Apotheker*, however, I (at least) could not hide my astonishment that she was in a position to make a sensation compared with **Beck** (who thrills with strong, mellifluous, and artistic singing), and did so with a public that for a long time has distinguished itself by its knowledge of music and singing. The voice of Mademoiselle **Keilholz** is now weak, and must therefore have suffered since her departure from Hamburg, as is also noted in a letter from Bonn in issue 5 of *Annalen*, page 100: that Mademoiselle Keilholz "is making a habit of unintelligibility in speech and song."

As an actress, she succeeds better at gentle passages than at heavy ones, for which she seems to lack the chest. It also appeared to me as if she lisps slightly. The role of Rosalie in the aforementioned opera was not for her; I do not know why she does not play Leonore, as this is the leading role and would suit her vocally, given that it was far too difficult for the younger sister. As Diana,

> Mademoiselle **Keilholz** sometimes fell short of the character, and as Ariadne I would have wished for more variety in her declamation, which her chest probably hindered. Otherwise, Mademoiselle Keilholz is of handsome and noble stature, she has a beautiful, expressive eye, and is around 28 years old.
>
> The younger Mademoiselle **Keilholz**, who is several summers younger, still needs much instruction and education. She is like a wild plant that must be trimmed, if it is not to overgrow and soon go astray. Mademoiselle **Keilholz** has fire—but what kind of fire? She must mistake rough acting for cheerful and naive acting. The best proof of this was in her Wilhelmine in *Das Räuschgen*. She played Amor in *Der Baum der Diana* in a more measured way, yet she was still always much too bold in action, tone, and gesture. As a singer she is currently unimportant, and cannot be compared with Madame **Müller**, one of the pleasing singers and popular actresses on the stage there.
>
> My judgment of these two actresses does indeed depart somewhat from that of the author of **Uebersicht &c.**; and yet I believe that I am closer to him than at first appears. One sees in his judgment of Mademoiselle **Keilholz** as Ariadne what he would have liked to have said more boldly, had the thing not still been too new, and had the extremely warm reception given the Mademoiselles **Keilholz** by the public not held him back from doing so.

Bertram is comparing the sisters with Josepha Beck and Marie Müller (née Boudet), the first and second sopranos in the Mannheim company at that time; both had performed the role of Konstanze in *Entführung*. His comments might be taken to suggest that Christiane's voice had been damaged by wear and tear over the years, which would not be unusual for someone who had tackled highly ambitious repertoire as a teenager and might not have had sound technical training to learn how to avoid forcing; it is not difficult to think of modern examples of young singers whose voices have not aged well. On the other hand, her voice may simply have been tired. Bertram first heard Christiane in *Doktor und Apotheker* on 20 Jun. By that point during her guest appearances in Mannheim she had already performed Konstanze in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 6 Jun, Eulalia in *Menschenhaß und Reue* on 8 Jun, Nina on 10 Jun, Donna Anna in *Don Juan* on 13 Jun, Luise in *Kabale und Liebe* on 15 Jun, and probably Nina again on 17 Jun—that is, five different vocally demanding roles, both singing and speaking, in six appearances over the space of eleven days; she certainly would also have rehearsed each of these works at least once with the full ensemble. So vocal fatigue is likely to have been a factor. The intention in having Dorothea sing the lead role in *Doktor und Apotheker* would have been to give her a chance to shine during the tryouts, something Bertram seems not to have taken into account. And it is entirely possible that Christiane held back to some extent in that performance in order not to overshadow her sister.

Bertram also says nothing about Christiane's acting (apart from his reference to her "expressive eye"), whereas this had been a prominent theme in the reviews by the anonymous correspondent —and Bertram does not mention having seen her in any plays. He refers to the comment of an earlier correspondent to *Annalen* who had written of Christiane in Bonn that she was "making a habit of unintelligibility in speech and song"; Bertram seems to have taken this comment to imply vocal weakness, but it seems more likely to refer to unclear diction. So Bertram's negative evaluation must be read in context, and it is in any case not representative of the general run of comments about Christiane's singing and acting at that time.

However, Bertram's comments do provoke the question: why were the Keilholz sisters seeking positions in Mannheim in the first place? It is not clear that the company needed them. In 1789, the year before the arrival of the Keilholz sisters, the company included nine women and one girl (*ThK* 1790, 250–51). Four of the women sang in the opera: Josepha Beck (leading roles), Marie Müller (secondary romantic and soubrette roles, as well as occasional leads), Madame Nikola (mothers and other secondary roles), and Mademoiselle Berwald (Bärwald, Beerwald), who substituted for an ill Madame Müller in the second half of 1789, but left the company at the end of Jan 1790 (Würtz 1975, 62); her position was thus not a permanent one, and her departure did not create an opening in the opera. There was, however, an opening in the spoken theater: the actress Christina Engst, who had taken "erste Rollen im höhern Lustspiel" (leading roles in elevated comedies), left the Mannheim company on 23 Sep 1789 for Berlin after a comparatively short stint in Mannheim. This seems to have been the only evident opening in the company for a woman when the Keilholz sisters began their series of tryouts in 1790.

From Walter we know that the father, Philipp Keilholz, had sent letters (now lost) to the Mannheim theater in Apr and May 1790 that had something to do with the possibility of an engagement for his daughters (Walter 1899, i:322); he may have known of Engst's departure, and felt that Christiane's skill, experience, versatility, and wide repertoire, together with Dorothea's repertoire and (still admittedly somewhat untamed) talent, would make the pair an attractive joint hire. The Nationaltheater in Mannheim was an excellent gig by eighteenth-century standards. The company's roster was relatively stable: Josepha Beck had made her debut (still as Mademoiselle Schäfer) on 20 Jan 1780; Marie Müller had been with the company since 1782; and Madame Nikola had been with it since its foundation in 1778. Several members of the company, including Josepha Beck and Marie Müller, received lifetime appointments on 1 Sep 1790, not long after the Keilholz sisters were hired (all dates here are from Würtz 1975). The pay was good: according to Pichler (1879, 110), the Keilholz sisters received a combined salary of 2000 fl; by way of comparison, Heinrich and Josepha Beck, both among the company's stars, received a combined salary of 2300 fl.

The sisters' campaign of tryouts in Mannheim would have required careful advance planning: they would have had to consider not only whether a work would show off their talents to best advantage, but also whether the work was in the company's repertory. All 12 of the works in which Christiane and Dorothea appeared during their Mannheim tryouts and the first two weeks of their engagement were established repertory items:

Title	Mannheim premiere
Ariadne auf Naxos	9 Dec 1779
Emilia Galotti	25 Jun 1780
Graf von Essex	17 Aug 1781
Romeo und Julie	5 Feb 1784
Kabale und Liebe	15 Apr 1784
Die Entführung aus dem Serail	18 Apr 1784
Das Räuschgen	2 May 1786
Nina	17 Jun 1787
Doktor und Apotheker	20 Nov 1787
Menschenhaß und Reue	17 Sep 1789
Don Juan	27 Sep 1789
Der Baum der Diana	17 Jan 1790

Because of the relative stability of the Mannheim ensemble, many of the leading and secondary female roles in these works would already have been in the active repertoires of women still with the company. Thus the sisters had a steep hill to climb to convince the theater's directors to take them both on, and it is a testament to their planning, skill, talent, and experience that they succeeded.

Mozart is the only composer to appear twice among the musical works in their tryouts, and both *Entführung* and *Don Juan* have soprano roles that would have been suitable for both sisters: leading virtuosic roles for Christiane (Konstanze and Donna Anna) and substantial soubrette roles for Dorothea (Blonde and Zerlina). *Entführung* had already long been a repertory staple in Mannheim, where it had been performed 20 times before the arrival of the Keilholz sisters. *Don Juan* was a relatively new item in the repertory, having first been performed in Mannheim less than a year before, but it had been given four times in all by the time of the sisters' tryouts. That they chose these operas suggests not only that they felt them to be effective showcases for their abilities, but also that they knew both operas were popular with the Mannheim audience.

As with all of their engagements up to this point in their careers, the Keilholz sisters' stay in Mannheim was relatively brief: they left Mannheim on 21 Apr 1792, just 22 ½ months after their debut (Pichler 1879, 124). We have already seen that both sisters appeared in the Mannheim premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* on 24 Oct 1790, Christiane as Susanna and Dorothea as Cherubino; Mozart had participated in the final two rehearsals of *Figaro* in Mannheim and may have directed the music at the premiere (see our entries for 22 Oct 1790 and 24 Oct 1790). All three Mozart operas in the Mannheim repertory were performed at least twice more during the remainder of the sisters' tenure in Mannheim: *Figaro* on 7 Nov 1790 and 30 Oct 1791; *Don Juan* on 26 Jun 1791 and 29 Jan 1792; and *Entführung* on 17 Jul, 23 Oct, and 27 Dec 1791, and again on 19 Apr 1792, just two days before the sisters departed. The casting of these performances

remains to be determined, but it seems likely that the Keilholz sisters appeared in at least some of them. However, we know that the performance of *Entführung* on 19 Apr 1792 featured Josepha Beck (not Christiane) as Konstanze, with brother Adolf Keilholz performing Belmonte as a guest role (see below).

On 18 Jan 1791 both Keilholz sisters appeared in the Mannheim premiere of *Iphigenia in Tauris* (a German version of Gluck's opera), Christiane in the title role, and Dorothea as Diana (Pichler 1879, 110; Walter 1899, ii:322). Christiane also continued to appear in leading roles in spoken theater. On 21 Oct 1790, just three days before the premiere of *Figaro*, she played Ophelia in *Hamlet* (Walter 1899, ii:320); on 17 May 1791 she was Die Fürstin (the Princess) in the Mannheim premiere of Iffland's *Elise von Valberg* (Pichler 1879, 112; Walter 1899, ii:323); and on 22 Dec 1791 she appeared in the title role of Spieß's *Maria Stuart*. Her portrayal in the latter made a profound impression, as reported by an anonymous correspondent to *Annalen des Theaters*:

> Den 22ten Christmonat ward hier zum ersten= mal das bekannte Trauerspiel von **Spieß**, **Maria Stuart** gegeben. *[...]*
>
> Mlle. **Keilholz d. ä.** trat als Maria auf, und machte durch ihr Spiel ausserordentliche Wirkung. Sie äusserte ihre Liebe zu Norfolk mit einer Delika= tesse, daß weder das Weib, noch die Königin et= was dabei verlor. Bei Elisabeth sprach sie mit Wür= de, und dem Bewußtseyn der Unschuld. Erschütternd war ihr Spiel im lezten Akte, wo sie schon zum Tode verurtheilt ist; der Abschied von ihren Bedienten, ihr Testament, ihre Reden zu Lord Herries, der sie bis an den Rand des Grabes begleitet — erhöhten die allgemeine Rührung und vollendeten das Gemälde. *[...]* [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1792, ix:95–96]

[translation:]

> On the 22nd of December, the well-known tragedy **Maria Stuart** by **Spieß** was given here for the first time. *[...]*
>
> Mademoiselle **Keilholz the elder** appeared as Maria and made an extraordinary impact with her acting. She expressed her love for Norfolk with a delicacy that lost nothing of either the woman or the Queen. She spoke to Elizabeth with dignity and with awareness of her innocence. Her performance in the last act, when she is already condemned to death, was harrowing; her farewell to her servants, her testament, her speech to Lord Herries, who accompanies

> her to the edge of the grave—all evoked universal emotion and completed the picture. *[...]*

Iffland himself praised Christiane highly in his autobiography:

> In diesem Jahre *[1790]* kam für einige Gastrollen die Familie Keilholz nach Manheim. Die ältere Demoisell Keilholz riß durch den Aus= druck, den sie in den Gesang legte, durch ihre schöne Gestalt, jedermann so hin, daß man das geringere Talent ihrer Schwester nicht nur gern übersah, sondern freundlich aufnahm. Beide wurden engagiert. Sehr bald zeigte die ältere Schwester in der Rolle der Maria Stuart, wie in der Iphigenia von Gluck, in Nina, das seltenste Talent für das hohe Trauer= spiel. Der Wetteifer, und eben dadurch das Leben, welches diese Künstlerin in das Ganze brachte, schuf die glänzendste Periode der Man= heimer Bühne. [Iffland 1798, 182]

[translation:]

> In this year *[1790]*, the Keilholz family came to Mannheim for several guest roles. The elder Mademoiselle Keilholz so enraptured everyone through the expressiveness that she gave her singing and her beautiful form, that the lesser talent of her sister was not only happily overlooked, but even genially accepted. Quite soon the elder sister demonstrated, in the role of Maria Stuart, as well as in Gluck's *Iphigenia* and in *Nina*, the most uncommon talent for high tragedy. The rivalry and also thereby the life that this artist brought to the whole created the most brilliant period of the Mannheim stage.

High praise indeed from one of the leading actors, playwrights, and directors of the German stage at that time.

The eighth issue of *Annalen des Theaters* (1791) contains an effusive poem in blank verse in praise of Christiane Keilholz in Mannheim by Anton von Klein (1746–1810). It is by no means a classic (in spite of its thicket of Classical references); a contemporaneous reviewer of this volume of *Annalen* calls it "sehr schlecht" (very bad; *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. 107, i:157). But it is worth quoting this poetic mash note in full because it again highlights the vivid physicality of

Christiane's acting and its impact on at least one member of her audience; it also mentions several of her roles in Mannheim (Julie, Iphigenia, Nina, Lotte) and gives hints of her appearance:

An
Demoiselle Keilholz in Manheim.

Von jeher schwärmt' ich gern nach Dichterart
im Reich der schöpferischen Phantasie:
Bald hob die Mächtige mich zum Olymp,
und ließ am Nektartisch mich Götterfreuden blicken,
bald sah ich Cypria, umschwebt von Amoretten,
gewiegt vom Täubchenpaar auf Frühlingswölkchen;
oft scherzt' ich, Jugendgott! im Taumel deiner Feste.
So kosen hundertweiß mich lieblichere Stunden,
als die auf der gewohnten Lebensbahn uns schleppen;
doch nie ergriff mich süßere Begeisterung,
als da mir Thalia und Melpomen' erschienen.
Da stand die Muse des Kothurns mit hoher Würde,
das Aug' voll Adel, auf der Stirn' erhabner Sinn;
Gefühle großer Thaten schwellten ihr die Brust,
in einfaltvoller Pracht floß faltenreich das Kleid
am Götterleib, und ihrem Schritte folgten
Empfindung und Bewunderung und tiefes Staunen:
Ach! Wehmuth sprach ihr plötzlich aus dem Blick,
begoß mit einem Thränenstrom die holde Wange;
Schmerz hob und preßte ihren zarten Busen,
laut scholl ihr Jammer, tief durchbohrte mir die Seele
die klagende Gebärd und der erstickte Seufzer;
ein Wonneschauer, wie er vor den Wunderwerken
Athens mich oft durchfährt, durchschwärmte meine Glieder
bey jedem Wort und Blick und jeder Regung;
Mein Herz zerriß, zerfloß in süße Thränen:
denn ihre Töne gleiteten vom Mund der Anmuth,
Huldinnen lenkten ihren Arm und Tritt,
und scherzten nächst dem Schmerz auf ihrer Thränenwange.
Wie neidlos deckt den weißen Hals ihr fliegend Haar!
wie träufelten in schöner Unordnung
die schwarzen Löckchen auf die Alabasterbrust,
wie schmiegte sich, wenn hin und her der Schmerz sie trieb,
um ihre milden Glieder das Gewand,
und zeichnete dem trunkner Blick den edeln Körperbau!
Der Schmerz, der mich durchdrang war grenzenlose Wonne.
Bald kamst auch du vor meine Blicke Thalia!
mit süßer Red und schäkernder Gebärde;
um Dich, wie um der Schönheit Göttin, tanzten
die Grazien; dir lieh Pasithea
den Honigmund, die Rosenhand Aglaia —

> Die Genien des niedlichen Geschmackes
> bezähmten sanft an dem geschmeid'gen Leibe
> mit Cythereens Gürtel dein Gewand,
> getaucht ins Morgenroth; und alle holden Reize
> umschwärmten deinen Arm und Mund
> und spielten in den Locken, flogen mit den Blicken
> und wandelten die Scene deines Spiels
> in einen Zauberkreis der seligen Entzückung.
>
> So sah ich Thalia in mancher Wonnestunde,
> so sah ich Melpomenen, sah so wahr, so wirklich sie,
> daß ich mich nicht im Reich der Einbildung,
> daß ich ganz täuschungsfrey mich wähnte;
> da rief der Genius der Kunst mir zu: Fürwahr,
> es ist nicht Täuschung; Wahrheit ists, was dich beglückt!
> Du siehst die zauberischen Scenen nicht allein,
> mit Dir, sieh um Dich her, ist eine Welt entzückt:
> Es ist nicht Thalia, nicht Melpomene,
> es ist Romeo's Julie, und Roberts Lotte,
> und Iphigenia und Nina Keilholz.
> [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1792, viii:8–10]

The passages in blue above translate roughly as:

> Ah! Melancholy speaks suddenly from her glance,
> flooding her noble cheeks with a river of tears;
> Pain heaves and presses her tender bosom,
> loud cries her misery, her plaintive gestures and
> stifled sighs bore deeply into my soul;
> A shiver of bliss, as often passes through me
> before the wondrous works of Athens, surges
> through my limbs at every word and glance and movement;
> My heart is torn and dissolves in sweet tears *[...]*
>
> How generously her flowing hair covers her white throat!
> How her black locks trickle in beautiful disorder
> upon her alabaster breast *[...]*

(The rest of the translation is left as an exercise for the reader.) The first rather orgasmic extract suggests that she may have been able to cry on command (still a useful skill for an actor today), and the second suggests that she allowed her long (black) hair to fall naturally, without elaborate hairdos or wigs (this style is also suggested in the engraving above), perhaps still a relatively novelty for the Mannheim audience at that time. The final three lines of the poem mention four of Christiane's roles in Mannheim, three of which we have already seen in reviews: Julie in *Romeo und Julie*, Iphigenia in Gluck's opera, and Nina. (On the still unidentified reference to "Roberts Lotte," see the *Notes* below.)

The poem as a whole, while laughably overwritten, suggests the ways in which Christiane's physicality as an actress communicated itself quite directly to the bodies and emotions of the audience. That the poem is overwritten does not necessarily imply that she overacted (she is not responsible for the excesses of her fans), but it is clear that her audience found her acting viscerally and realistically communicative in roles featuring intense female emotion, such as Nina, Julie, Iphigenia—and probably also Konstanze and Donna Anna.

After Mannheim (⇧)

The file on the Keilholz sisters in the archive of the Mannheim theater is now lost, but Walter's summary of its contents gives hints of turmoil and dissatisfaction fairly soon after their engagement (Walter 1899, i:322–23). The sisters seem to have petitioned for a new contract as early as Jan 1791, just half a year after their first one. Walter quotes from one of the assessments of that petition:

> Kommissär Försch äußert sich in seinem Gutachten: "Es ist eine stadtkundige Sache, daß der bloße auf den Zetteln erscheinende Name deren Demoiselles Keilholz dem Schauspiel, worin solche aufzutreten haben, einen ungewöhnlichen Zulauf verschaffet." [Walter 1899, i:322]
>
> Commissioner Försch remarks in his assessment: "It is well-known in the town that the mere appearance of the name of the Mademoiselles Keilholz on the posters brings an uncommon throng to the piece in which they are to appear."

Given their popularity, the sisters may have assumed that they already had a strong negotiating position. They (or perhaps their family) may also have had debts: Walter lists a "Schuldverschreibung" for 500 fl in the Keilholz file under the date 7 Aug 1790, and a "Garantie eines Anlehens" of 1000 fl on 10 Apr 1791. Items 13 to 15 in the file, dated 21 Jul 1791, concerned the punishment (Strafverfügung) of Dorothea for some infraction. Items 16 to 18, under the same date, had to do with an official complaint from Christiane and the responses from directors Dalberg and Rennschüb; perhaps this complaint was related to items 19 to 22, "Beschwerde der Christine Keilholz über eine Rollenverteilung" (Complaint from Christine Keilholz over the assignment of a role). It may not be a coincidence that 21 Jul 1791 was the premiere of that year's winner of the Mannheim prize, the tragedy *Menzikoff und Natalie* by Franz Kratter; according to Walter, that premiere was the Mannheim debut of a Madame Freno from Vienna (Walter 1899, ii:324). Perhaps one or both sisters had not been given a desired role in that work. In any case, whatever their complaint may have been, they were eventually given a new contract (unfortunately also lost) dated 1 Oct 1791, and that same day Christiane received a bonus of 200 fl.

When Christiane and Dorothea were young, the Keilholz family had taken engagements as a collective; in at least one case—Hamburg in 1782—the family's engagement included the entire family: both parents and all three siblings. The mother ceases to appear on the rosters of theater

companies around this time, and one might think that she died; but she is said have lived until 1813 (see Schweitzer 1975, 29). Father Philipp likewise no longer appears on any rosters after the engagement in 1782, but his lost letters to the Mannheim theater from Apr and May 1790 suggest that he continued to play a role in the management of his daughters' careers (Walter 1899, i:322). Brother Adolf, after absconding from Hamburg in Feb 1786, maintained a separate career on the stage along with his "wife," who from that point appears in theatrical rosters as "Madame Keilholz" (there remains some doubt whether they were legally married). As we have seen, the couple were initially with the Tilly company. In 1787 and 1788 all three siblings were together again in the Klos company, but in 1789, when the Keilholz sisters were in Bonn, Adolf and his wife appear on the roster of the court theater of Mecklenburg-Schwerin: Madame Keilholz as "erste Liebhaberinnen in Lust= und Trauerspielen, erste und zweyte Rollen in der Oper" and Adolf as "erste Liebhaber in der Opera, einige Rollen im Schauspiel" (*ThK* 1790, 132); the roster also lists both among the company's dancers. In 1790 and 1791 they were with Großmann (*ThK* 1791, 210; *ThK* 1792, 280). Thus the Keilholz siblings were separated much of the time between 1786 and 1792.

On 19 Apr 1792, Adolf Keilholz made a guest appearance in Mannheim in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, as Belmonte opposite Josepha Beck's Konstanze. The guest appearance was noted in *Annalen des Theaters*:

> Den 19ten April *[1792]* trat Hr. **Keilholz**, der bisher bey der **Großmannischen** Gesellschaft gewesen war, als Belmonte in der Entführung aus dem Serail auf. Er ist eben keiner der ersten Sänger Deutschlands; indessen gefiel er doch manchem durch sein rasches Spiel und durch allenthalben im Gesange angebrachte Manieren. Ein Theil des Publikums erzeigte ihm die Ehre, ihn am Ende des Stückes herauszurufen: der bessere Theil der Zuschauer sah wohl ein, daß Hr. **K.** so ausgezeichneten Beyfall eben nicht ver= diente, und rief Mad. **Beck**, welche jenen Abend die Rolle des Konstanza meisterhaft gesungen hatte. Diese Parthie siegte auch über jene: Mad. **Beck** mußte zuerst erscheinen, und dann ließ man ruhig ge= schehen, daß auch Hr. **Keilholz** vorgerufen ward.
>
> Unsere Schaubühne erlitt um diese Zeit einen empfindlichen Verlust, der bis jetzt noch nicht ersetzt ist. Die beyden Demoiselles **Keilholz** nahmen auf sechs Wochen Urlaub, um eine theatralische Reise zu machen. Sie gingen nach Amsterdam, und bald darauf war es entschieden, daß sie nicht wieder kom= men würden, obgleich ihr Kontrakt sie verband, noch länger bey der hiesigen Bühne zu bleiben. Wir ver= loren an der älteren Dslle. **Keilholz** eine brave Sän= gerin, und eine vortreffliche Tragische Schauspielerin,

> deren Verlust vielleicht nie wird ersetzt werden; die jüngere vermissen wir nicht. Durch diese plötzliche Veränderung waren viele bessere Stücke unbesetzt, dazu kamen noch unverhoffte Unpäßlichkeiten anderer Mit= glieder, und man mußte sich mit minder guten Stücken, und mit Wiederholungen behelfen, und die sich daher allmählich im Publikum verbreitende Kälte ward nur selten durch interessante Vorstellungen verscheucht. [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1793, xii:35–36]

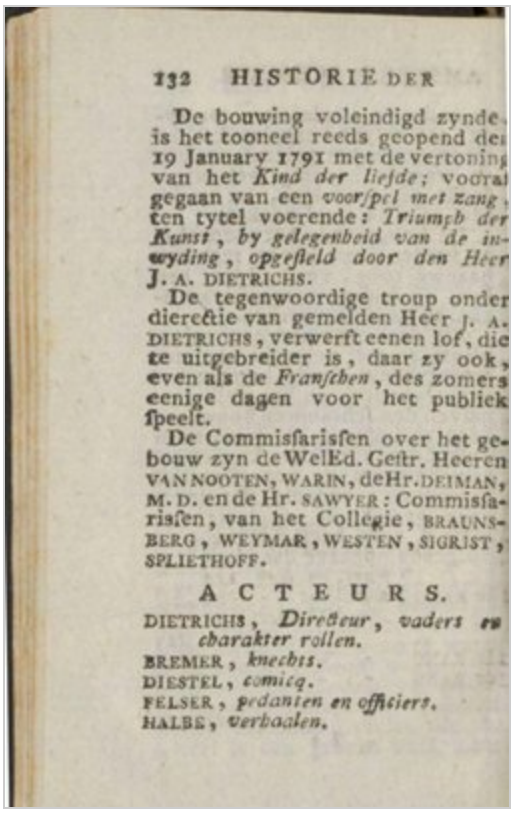
[translation:]

> On 19 April *[1792]*, Herr **Keilholz**, who previously had been with the Großmann company, appeared as Belmonte in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. He is by no means one of Germany's leading singers; but he pleased many with his impetuous acting and the embellishments he added everywhere in his singing. Part of the public did him the honor of a curtain call: the better part of the audience realized full well that Herr **K.** did not deserve such special acclaim, and called for Madame **Beck**, who had sung the role of Konstanze in a masterly way. This party was victorious over the other: Madame **Beck** had to appear first, and then Herr **Keilholz** was quietly allowed to be called forth.
>
> At this time our stage suffered a painful loss, which has not yet been filled. Both Mademoiselles **Keilholz** took a six-week leave of absence to go on a theatrical tour. They went to Amsterdam, and there it was soon decided that they would not return, even though their contract bound then to stay longer on the stage here. In the elder Mademoiselle **Keilholz** we have lost a good singer and an outstanding tragic actress, whose loss can perhaps never be filled; the younger one we do not miss. Through this sudden change, many of the better pieces remained uncast, and on top of that, other members suffered unexpected ailments, and so one had to make do with less good pieces and repeats, and the coldness that therefore gradually spread among the public was only occasionally dissipated by interesting performances.

It cannot be a coincidence that Adolf made a guest appearance in Mannheim just two days before the sisters left on their "tour." It may be that the family had already decided to reunite, hoping to find a company that would employ all three siblings. Whether they had already decided on Amsterdam as their destination remains an open question.

A new figure enters the Keilholz family saga at this point: tenor, actor, composer, and (later) kapellmeister Carl Theodor Haßloch (1769–1829), who was soon to become Christiane's husband. Haßloch had made his debut in Mannheim on 23 Aug 1789 (Würtz 1975, 72). According to Walter, the works performed that day were the comedy *Der Mann, der seine Frau nicht kennt*, and the singspiel *Felix, oder Der Findling* (Walter 1899, ii:315). As Haßloch was a tenor (or high baritone), he probably made his debut in the singspiel rather than the play. He seems to have been given a contract with the Mannheim company, but his tenure was not long: Walter refers to a (lost) memo from Dalberg dated 27 Mar 1791 that mentions Haßloch's departure and the consequent need to find another second tenor (Walter 1899, i:77; the first tenor was Franz Anton Epp). Haßloch is listed on the Mannheim roster in the *Theater-Kalender* for 1790 (reflecting the state of affairs in 1789), where he is described as playing "Liebhaber im Singspiel" (*ThK* 1790, 251). He is still on the company's roster the following year (1790; *ThK* 1791, 220), but not the year after that (1791), when he is said to have gone to Hamburg (*ThK* 1792, 292); however, his name does not appear on the Hamburg roster for that year or the next (*ThK* 1792, 282–84; *ThK* 1793, 147–49). Little is known about the roles that Haßloch played while in Mannheim, but he was Don Gusmann (Don Curzio) in the premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (see our entry for 24 Oct 1790).

The three Keilholz siblings and Haßloch may have gone to Amsterdam together: in a Dutch publication from 1793, all are listed on the roster of the company of Jakob Johann Albert Dietrichs, head of the German theater in Amsterdam at that time. Adolf Keilholz is first tenor and Haßloch second tenor; Christiane Keilholz is described as taking lead female roles in opera, and heroines and romantic leads in plays; and sister Dorothea is said to take secondary female roles in opera, and soubrette and naive roles in plays. Adolf's wife does not appear on the roster, and the couple may have separated by this point; in 1793 his wife and two daughters (that is, two new Demoiselles Keilholz) were with the traveling theater company of Johann Ferdinand Kübler (*ThK* 1794, 305; on Kübler, see Pies 1973, 208). The roster of Dietrichs' company contains another intriguing detail: Madame Freno, undoubtedly the same actress who made her debut in Mannheim on 21 Jul 1791, appears on the company's roster in Amsterdam, where she is said to play romantic leads in tragedy and comedy. This hints at a possible relationship with the Keilholz family, but the nature of the relationship, if it existed, is unknown. One also wonders whether the Keilholz family may have had some link with Amsterdam because of Adolf's earlier (if unconsummated) appointment as a lieutenant in a Dutch regiment.



132 HISTORIE DER

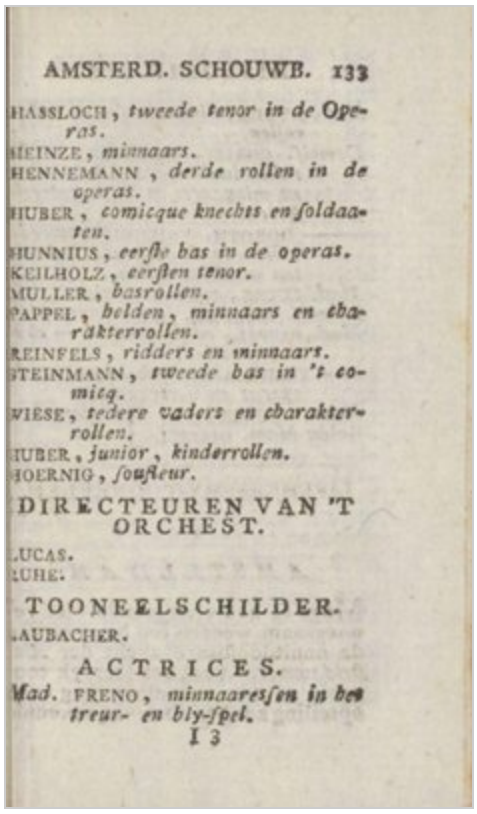
De bouwing voleindigd zynde, is het tooneel reeds geopend den 19 January 1791 met de vertoning van het *Kind der liefde;* vooraf gegaan van een *voor/pel met zang*, ten tytel voerende: *Triumph der Kunst, by gelegenheid van de inwyding, opgefteld door den Heer* J. A. DIETRICHS.

De tegenwoordige troup onder directie van gemelden Heer J. A. DIETRICHS, verwerft eenen lof, die te uitgebreider is, daar zy ook, even als de *Franfchen*, des zomers eenige dagen voor het publiek fpeelt.

De Commisfarisfen over het gebouw zyn de WelEd. Geftr. Heeren VAN NOOTEN, WARIN, de Hr. DEIMAN, M. D. en de Hr. SAWYER: Commisfarisfen, van het Collegie, BRAUNSBERG, WEYMAR, WESTEN, SIGRIST, SPLIETHOFF.

A C T E U R S.

DIETRICHS, *Directeur, vaders en charakter rollen.*
BREMER, *knechts.*
DIESTEL, *comicq.*
FELSER, *pedanten en officiers.*
HALBE, *verhaalen.*



AMSTERD. SCHOUWB. 133

HASSLOCH, *tweede tenor in de Operas.*
HEINZE, *minnaars.*
HENNEMANN, *derde rollen in de operas.*
HUBER, *comicque knechts en foldaaten.*
HUNNIUS, *eerfte bas in de operas.*
KEILHOLZ, *eerften tenor.*
MULLER, *basrollen.*
PAPPEL, *helden, minnaars en charakterrollen.*
REINFELS, *ridders en minnaars.*
STEINMANN, *tweede bas in 't comicq.*
WIESE, *tedere vaders en charakterrollen.*
HUBER, *junior, kinderrollen.*
HOERNIG, *foufleur.*

DIRECTEUREN VAN 'T ORCHEST.

LUCAS.
LUHE.

TOONEELSCHILDER.

LAUBACHER.

A C T R I C E S.

Mad. FRENO, *minnaaresfen in het treur- en bly-fpel.*

I 3



134 HISTORIE DER

Mad. HUBER, *minnaaresfen en naïve rollen.*
Demoif. CHRIST, KEILHOLZ, *eerfte rollen in de operas, heldinnen en minnaaresfen in de tooneelfpelen.*
—— DOROTH. KEILHOLZ, *tweede rollen in de operas, foubretten en naïve rollen.*
Mad. LUCAS, *oude kameniers.*
Demoif. MULLER, *jonge partyen.*
Mad. PAPPEL, *edele moeders en charakterrollen.*
—— STEINMANN, *moeders in de operas en vertrouwden.*
Mam. HEUBER, Beide *Mam.* DIESSEL, } *kinderrollen.*

LIEFHEBBERY-TOONEELEN.

TE

AMSTELDAM.

Mogt al het voorgaande niet genoegzaam weezen ten bewyze van de onuitdoofbaare zucht der *Amfteldammeren* voor het leerryk tooneel, zo zou men alhier nog eene optelling kunnen doen van vreemde

Algemeene Amsterdamsche schouburgs almanach voor't jaar 1793, 132–34 (Delpher)

Little is known at present about the roles taken by the Keilholz siblings in Amsterdam, but we find hints in reviews in *Die Deutsche Thalia in Amsterdam* of performances in the German theater at the end of 1793, after they had left the company but were still fresh in memory. Because the personnel of the German company in Amsterdam had recently changed substantially, the reviewer occasionally makes comparisons between new cast members and those who had previously appeared in the same roles. These comparisons show that Dorothea Keilholz had previously sung Blonde (*Die Deutsche Thalia*, no. 3, 22 Jan 1794, 27, in a review of *Entführung* on 16 Nov 1793); Christiane had previously sung Hedwig in Dittersdorf's *Das rote Käppchen* (op. cit., 40, in a review of a performance on 23 Dec 1793); and Adolf had previously sung Felsenberg in the same performance (*Die Deutsche Thalia*, no. 4, 29 Jan 1794, 42). In spite of their success in Amsterdam, however, the Keilholz family had already moved on. Once again their tenure had been quite short, in this case no more than a year and a half.

If we make the plausible assumption that Christiane sang Konstanze in earlier performances of *Entführung* by the Dietrichs company in Amsterdam, and that Adolf sang Belmonte, the review of the performance on 16 Nov 1793 takes on added interest. The review is also unusually detailed, commenting not only on the quality of the singing and acting, but also on the costumes and the chorus. (The idiosyncratic spellings in the review are given exactly as they appear in the original.)

> *Sonnabend's den 16 November 1793.*
> **Die Entführung aus dem Serail.**
> Singspiel in 2. Aufzügen. Musik von Mozart.
>
> Jeder war begierig, diese Oper von der neuen Gesellschafft zu sehen, denn sie sollte den Unterschied zwischen der *vorigen-* und *jezigen* Gesellschafft bestimmen.
>
> Jeder wird wissen, und bekennen, dass diese beliebte Oper von der ehemaligen Gesellschafft höchst vortreflich und befriedigend aufgeführt wurde, und dass es schwer seye, jene zu erreichen, — höchst schwer, jene zu übertreffen.
>
> Ich wil nicht vorgreifen, aber mich dünkt, dass das Ziel, wo nicht ganz erreicht, doch nicht weit verfehlt wurde. Soviel ist aber auch wahr, dass das erste schöne türkische Chor: *Singt dem grossen Bassa Lieder*, nicht ganz gefiel, ja beinahe zurrültet *[sic]* wurde, und das gab schon keine gute Erwartung.
>
> Dem. Schwachhofer, und Herr Eunike hatten die Hauptrollen der *Costanza*, und der *Bellmonte* beide erreichten ihre Vorgänger im Gesang beinahe, in der Action nur halb. — Im Duette: *Welch Geschik &c.*, fehlten beide, jedoch halfen sie so geschikt, dass es beinahe nicht bemerkt wurde, so dass die Art, wie sie sich wieder zurecht hielfen, alle Gewandtheit *ihrer*

Kunst verrieth. Der Putz der Dem. Schwachhofer war sicherlich nicht schlecht, aber die Art, wie sie sich kleidete, zeigte, dass sie mit der türkischen Toilette nicht bekannt sey, wovon das Aufbinden des türkischen Hemds ein deutlicher Beweiss war. Herrn Eunike's spannische Kleidung war auch nicht schlecht, aber zu einfach, und der Mantel zu alt. Von seinem Vorgänger, wie auch von der *Costanza* waren wir ehedem viel Pracht gewohnt.

Mad. Eunike hat die Rolle des *Blondchen* mit vieler Naïvität gespielt, und — hätte sie etwas mehr Feuer angewendet — sie wäre vortreflich gewesen. Obschon ihre Stimme schön, und angenehm ist, so ist sie doch für ein Orchester mit türkischer Musik zu klein. Ihre Kleidung ware ganz wiedrig, denn sie sahe ganz nicht, der geliebten Sclavin einer vornehmen türkischen Favorite ähnlich! woher das doch kommen mag? denn von Mad. Eunike erwartet man doch hier Geschmack! — Ich unterfange mich keineswegs mich an den Putztisch des Frauenzimmers zu wagen, und weis daher auch nicht zu sagen, wo es fehlte, aber genug! es gefiel weder andern, noch mir. Soviel muss ich aber doch erwähnen, dass weise türkische Frauenzimmer Kleidung, wenn sie nicht ausser-ordentlich prächtig ist, auf der Bühne nie gefällt. Die jüngste Demois. Keilholz wuste diesem Fehler in dieser Rolle auszuweichen.

Osmin wurde vom Herrn Hunnius d. ä. vorgestellt. Da er diese Rolle schon öfters auf der vorigen Bühne mit ungetheiltem Beyfall spielte, so wird es Niemand befremden, dass er denselben hier wieder doppelt erhielt. Nur dunkt uns dass *Osmin* mehr alt und mürrisch sein muste.

Herr Hunnius d. j. hatte die Rolle des *Pedrillo*. Wer in früheren Zeiten diese Rolle von Herrn Flammand sah, der ist schwer zu befriedigen. Herr Steinmann erreichte ihn nicht, und Herr Hunnius noch weniger. Er wurde von diesem viel zu rasch, und mit zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit vorgestellt: nicht einmal wuste er seinen Musik-Text richtig, und das ist wahrhaftig für eine Hauptrolle in der Oper ein grosser Mangel.

Die Rolle des *Bassa!* — Nun! aus der läst sich nicht viel machen, sonst würde Herr Pappel sich auch hier ine *[sic]* als Meister gezeigt haben.

Das Statisten Chor war beim beiderseitigen Geschlecht höchst bunt, und zusammen gestoppelt, welches mit dem Hauptpersonale stark contrastirte. Wir können sicherlich nicht verlangen, dass bei einer neuen

Gesellschaft alles in dem ersten Augenblik volkommen sein soll, aber es verdient auf allen Fall Errinnerung, und Anmahnung, diese mit der Zeit zu verbessern. Vorzüglich muss hier errinnert werden, dass man in dieser Oper die Chöre besser besezt und studiert zu hören wünscht.
[*Die Deutsche Thalia*, no. 3, 22 Jan 1794, 25–27]

[translation:]

Saturday, 16 November 1793.
Die Entführung aus dem Serail.
Singspiel in 2 Acts. Music by Mozart.

Everyone was eager to see this opera with the new company, for it would determine the difference between the *previous* company and the *current* one.

Everyone will know and admit that this popular opera was performed most splendidly and satisfyingly by the former company, and that it would be difficult to match it — and extremely difficult to surpass it.

I will not anticipate, but it seems to me that the goal, if not entirely reached, was not missed by much. But it is also true that the beautiful first Turkish chorus, *Singt dem grossen Bassa Lieder*, did not entirely please, indeed was nearly ruined, and this already did not make for high expectations.

In the main roles of *Konstanze* and *Belmonte*, Mademoiselle Schwachhofer and Herr Eunike both nearly reached their predecessors in singing, but only halfway in acting. — In the duet, *Welch ein Geschick! &c.*, both went astray, but helped each other so skillfully, that it went almost unnoticed, so that the manner in which they helped each other recover demonstrated all of *their* art. The costume of Mademoiselle Schwachhofer was certainly not bad, but the way in which she was attired showed that she is not acquainted with Turkish dress, for which the unwinding of the Turkish chemise was clear proof. Herr Eunike's Spanish costume was also not bad, but too simple, and the mantle too old. We were formerly accustomed to much magnificence from his predecessor, and also from *Konstanze*.

Madame Eunike played the role of *Blonde* with much naïveté, and — If she had somewhat more fire — she would have been excellent. Although her voice is beautiful and pleasing, it is yet too small for an orchestra with Turkish music. Her clothing was entirely

> untoward, for she did not look at all like the beloved slave of a courtly Turkish favorite! And where can that have come from? For we expect more taste from Madame Eunike here! — I do not at all presume to put myself at a woman's dressing table, and I do not know how to say what was lacking, but enough! It pleased neither others nor me. Yet I must at least mention that white clothing for Turkish women, if it is not extraordinarily magnificent, does not please on stage. The younger Mademoiselle Keilholz knew how to avoid this error in this role.
> *Osmin* was portrayed by Herr Hunnius the elder. As he had already played this role often with the previous company to undivided acclaim, no one will be surprised that he received it twice over here. Only it seems to us that *Osmin* must be older and grumpier.
>
> Herr Hunnius the younger took the role of *Pedrillo*. Whoever has seen Herr Flammand in this role is difficult to please. Herr Steinmann did not match him, and Herr Hunnius even less so. He was presented in this role much too soon and with little attention: he did not even know his music properly, and that is truly a great lack for a leading role in an opera.
>
> The role of *Bassa!* — Now! not much can be made out of this, otherwise Herr Pappel would have shown himself as a master.
>
> The chorus of supernumeraries of both sexes was quite colorful and cobbled together, which contrasted strongly with the main cast. We certainly cannot demand that everything with a new company should be perfect from the first moment, but in any case it deserves to be remembered and exhorted that this be improved with time. It must especially be remembered that in this opera we wish to hear choruses that are better staffed and prepared.

The previous cast in Amsterdam—probably Christiane Keilholz as Konstanze and Adolf as Belmonte, and certainly Dorothea as Blonde—are being favorably compared here to the married couple Friedrich and Henriette Eunike, and to Therese Schwachhofer, all of whom went on to have long and distinguished careers on the operatic stage. Before coming to Amsterdam, the Eunikes had been in the company of the Nationaltheater in Mainz, which had disbanded not long after the city was occupied by the French in 1792 (on the Mainz company, the Eunikes, and Schwachhofer, see our entry for 1 May 1791). The Eunikes had joined the Mainz company in 1789, and Friedrich (1764–1844) had sung the role of Ferdinand (Ferrando) in the Frankfurt premiere of *Liebe und Versuchung* (*Così fan tutte*) on 1 May 1791. During their tenure with that company, it performed in both Mainz and Frankfurt, and it had four other operas by Mozart in

its active repertory: *Das verstellte Gärtnermädchen* (*La finta giardiniera*), *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Figaro*, and *Don Juan*. It performed the first three of these in Frankfurt in the weeks leading up to and during the coronation festivities for Leopold II as Holy Roman Emperor. The casting in the Mozart performances by the Mainz company remains to be investigated, but it may be that Eunike had already sung the role of Belmonte and perhaps other Mozart roles with that company. The eminent actor and playwright Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder praised Eunike in *Liebe und Versuchung* and other roles during Schroeder's stay in Frankfurt from 24 Apr to 2 May 1791 (see our entry for 1 May 1791).

Therese Schwachhofer had been Eunike's student in Mainz (she seems to have sung in the chorus of *Liebe und Versuchung*). She and the Eunikes all later became members of the Nationaltheater in Berlin in 1796, and had long and successful careers on the operatic stage. Eunike made his debut in Berlin in the role of Belmonte on 14 Jun 1796; he remained in Berlin for the rest of his career, retiring in 1823. After separating from Henriette in 1797, Eunike married Schwachhofer, whose own career in Berlin lasted until her retirement in 1830. Both became renowned there for their many Mozart roles. Henriette, who married four times in all, eventually performing under the name Hendel-Schütz, also had a long and successful career on the stage.

The Eunikes and Schwachhofer were still at relatively early stages of their careers at the time of the performance of *Entführung* in Amsterdam on 16 Nov 1793, but they were clearly already quite accomplished. Thus the review gives insight into the relative capabilities and reception of the Keilholz siblings, whom the reviewer of the Amsterdam production seems generally to have preferred on all counts.

The reviewer of the Amsterdam performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 16 Nov 1793 also refers to the elder and younger Hunnius brothers, in the roles of Osmin and Pedrillo. The elder was Friedrich Johann Wilhelm Hunnius (1762–1835), who likewise had a long career in the theater; his younger brother Anton Christian (b. 1767), on the other hand, did not, but is said to have ended up as a doctor in Philadelphia. All five of the singers in the performance on 16 Nov 1793 appeared in the Amsterdam premiere of Mozart's *Don Juan* in 1794: the younger Hunnius as Don Juan, the elder as Leporello, Eunike as Don Ottavio, his wife Henriette as Donna Elvira, and Therese Schwachhofer as Donna Anna. (See the facsimile of the cast list from the libretto for the Amsterdam production in our entry for 1 May 1791.)

It is also notable that the reviewer calls *Entführung* "diese beliebte Oper" (this popular opera); the review makes clear that the opera had already been performed in Amsterdam many times, although we do not at present know how many. But Dietrichs' company had been performing the opera in Amsterdam since at least May 1791, around a year before the Keilholz siblings joined the company (see *Kabinet van Mode en Smaak*, no. 1, 1791, 426). The review of the Amsterdam *Entführung* also suggests that individual performers were responsible for selecting and providing their own costumes, and that the costumes did not belong to the company.

What appears to have been the largest group of items in the lost Keilholz file in Mannheim (items 26 to 55 as enumerated by Walter) had to do with Christiane's breach of contract: "Kontraktbruch der Keilholz auf einer Gastspielreise," with dates from Jun to Aug 1792 (Walter 1899, i:323). Eventually, she had to pay the Mannheim theater a penalty in the amount of 100 ducats, as reported in the *Taschenbuch fürs Theater* in 1795:

> *[...]* Die ältere Dlle Keilholz kam nach einiger
> Zeit hieher, um ihre Geschäfte zu berichtigen, und
> mußte 100 Dukaten wegen des gebrochenen Vertra=
> ges Strafe bezahlen. Sie ging wieder nach Am=
> sterdam zurück, und nahm Hrn. Haßloch mit,
> der vor einiger Zeit für die Oper war engagirt wor=
> den. Die Bühne fühlte lange den Verlust der ältern
> Dlle Keilholz.
> [*Taschenbuch fürs Theater* (Mannheim) 1795, 34]

> *[...]* The elder Mademoiselle Keilholz came
> back here after a time in order to settle her
> affairs, and had to pay 100 ducats penalty on account
> of the broken contract. She returned to Amsterdam and
> took with her Herr Haßloch, who had been engaged
> sometime earlier for the opera. The stage long felt
> the loss of the elder Mademoiselle Keilholz.

(This passage seems to imply that Haßloch was still under contract with Mannheim when Christiane returned to settle her affairs, but that timing would seem to conflict with Dalberg's memo of 27 Mar 1791, which stated, according to Walter, than Haßloch had already left the company by the time of the memo, around a year before the departure of the Keilholz sisters.) Whatever her problems with the directorate in Mannheim, Christiane was missed by the audience; a review of a performance on 29 Jun 1794 of Mozart's *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* closes with the sentence:

> Die Oper hatte seit dem Abgange der Delle. Keil=
> holz gelegen.—Man vermißte sie als Susanna.
> [*Rheinische Musen*, no. 12 (1794), 274]

> The opera had not been given since the departure of
> Demoiselle Keilholz.—One misses her as Susanna.

(For the complete review, see our entry for 24 Oct 1790; we suggest there that the review may have been written by Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder, the editor of the *Rheinische Musen*.)

By Sep 1793, the Keilholz siblings and Haßloch had formed a new theater company that was engaged in Kassel. By the time of a report on the company in *Rheinische Musen* nine months

later, Christiane, now 29, had married Haßloch, and her sister Dorothea had married a bass named Wachsmuth:

> Von Hessen Cassel im Februar.
>
> Hier ist seit dem September vorigen Jahrs für 9 Monate die Gesellschaft der Keilholzischen Ge= schwister engagirt. Herr Keilholz spielt die ersten Rollen im Schau= und Singspiel und dirigirt mit Hrn. Haßloch — sonst beim Mannheimer Theater, izt mit der ältern Dlle. Keilholz verheiratet. — Die übrigen Mitglieder sind: Mad. Haßloch, für die er= sten Liebhaberinnen im Sing= und Schauspiele, ihre Schwester, izt auch verheirathet mit H. Schwarz (sonst Wachsmuth) ersten Bassisten, nebst Dlle. Hu= ber, für die zwoten und dritten Singrollen. Mad. Huber für die Mütter. Herr Steinmann &c.
>
> Die Gesellschaft erhält vom Hofe 5000 Rthlr. sie giebt — im großen Opernhause — fast einzig Opern, und den ganzen Monat hindurch kaum 4 Schauspiele. [*Rheinische Musen*, no. 4 (1794), 93]

[translation:]

> From Hessian Kassel in February.
>
> The company of the Keilholz siblings has been engaged here since September of last year for 9 months. Herr Keilholz plays the first roles in plays and singspiels, and directs with Herr Haßloch — formerly with the Mannheim theater and now married to the elder Mademoiselle Keilholz. — The other members are: Madame Haßloch, for first romantic leads in singspiel and plays; her sister, now also married to Herr Schwarz (actually Wachsmuth), first bass; along with Mademoiselle Huber for second and third singing roles, Madame Huber for mothers, Herr Steinmann, &c.
>
> The company receives 5000 Reichstaler from the court, and gives, in the great opera house, almost exclusively operas, and scarcely 4 plays throughout an entire month.

The association of the Keilholz siblings with the theater in Kassel was a relatively long, if intermittent and rather bumpy one; this portion of their careers has not been adequately researched, and we will not attempt to fill that gap here. A report published in the May 1798 issue of *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* shows that all three were in Kassel at that point. The

correspondent praises the sisters highly, but criticizes Christiane for betraying her personal moods onstage:

> *[...]*
> Bey dem Schau= und Trauerspiel sind die ältere und jüngere **Keilholz**, jetzt Mad. **Haßloch** und **Wachsmuth**, für die ersten Rollen bestimmt. Es ist zu verwundern, wie weit es diese Schwestern in ihrer Kunst gebracht haben, da doch eigentlich die Oper ihr wahres Fach ist, und es so guten Sän= gerinnen nicht zu verargen wäre, wenn sie ihre Brust mehr schonten. Wenigstens findet man selten sowohl bey französi= schen und italiänischen als deutschen Bühnen, daß eine und dieselbe Person *prima Donna* in Oper und Schauspiel seyn kann und will; indessen muß jeder mit Wahrheit sagen, daß Mad. Wachsmuth ein eben so liebenswürdiger schön singender Schelm von Amor im **Baum der Diana**, als interessante Cora in der **Sonnen=Jungfrau** und den **Spaniern in Peru**, Mad. Haßloch eine eben so schöne Diana als gebieterische Orsina, sind. Die muntere Laune der Ersten ist unnachahmlich. Das Rondeau im Baum der Diana **Geh, mein Geliebter** &c. ist der Triumph der Mad. Haßloch., Ihre melodische Stimme, begleitet mit dem Empfindungs= vollsten edelsten Spiel, entzücken mich. Aber ein paar Unar= ten, die mich ärgerten, kann ich ihr nicht verzeihen. Mad. H. hat ein sehr ausdrucksreiches Gesicht, auf dem man leicht neben dem Ausdrucke, den sie ihm als zur Rolle passend zu geben gedenkt, auch den, welchen die durch ihre eigene Laune unwillkürlich annimmt, bemerkt, und dieses sollte doch eine Künstlerin ihrer Art sich nicht zu Schulden kommen lassen. So sieht man sie oft in einer komischen Rolle mit einem ern= sten kalten, düsteren Gesicht; indem das Publikum dieses nur als eine Geringschätzung ansehen kann, da es versichert ist, sie könnte leicht anders, wenn sie nur wollte. Ein andermal will sie ihrer Munterkeit und ihrem Lachen, das sich vielleicht auf einige hinter der Coulisse vorgefallene Klei= nigkeiten bezieht, eben so wenig Grenzen setzen; man sagt, ihr Spiegel habe sie überredet, es sey ihr sehr vor= theilhaft, dem Publikum eine schöne Perlenschnur von Zäh= nen zu zeigen; er hat nicht unrecht, nur muß sie es mit Ver= stand thun, und nicht, wie es vor einigen Abenden geschah, mit wider das herrliche große Duet aus dem Oberon durch ihr unnützes Lachen verderben. *[...]*
> [*Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, May 1798, "Briefe über Kassel," 286–87]

[translation:]

> *[...]*
> The leading roles in plays and tragedies are now assigned to
> the elder and younger **Keilholz** sisters, now Madames
> **Haßloch** and **Wachsmuth**. It is remarkable how far these
> sisters have brought their art, given that opera is actually their
> true specialty, and it would not be taken amiss were they
> to rest their voices more. At any rate, one seldom finds on the
> French and Italian, as well as German stages that one
> and the same person is able and wishes to be *prima donna* in
> both opera and plays; but everyone must truly admit that Madame
> Wachsmuth is just as lovable and pretty a singing imp as Amor
> in ***Der Baum der Diana*** as she is an interesting Cora in
> ***Die Sonnenjungfrau*** and ***Die Spanier in Peru***; and that
> Madame Haßloch is just as fine a Diana as she is a commanding
> Orsina. The cheerful caprice of the former is inimitable. The
> rondò in *Der Baum der Diana*, "Geh, mein Geliebter, &c", is the
> triumph of Madame Haßloch. Her melodious voice, accompanied
> by the most sensitive and noblest acting, enchanted me. But
> I cannot forgive her a few bad habits that irritated me. Madame
> H. has a very expressive face, in which one can easily notice,
> in addition to the appropriate expression that she intends to
> give to the role, also another that cannot help but betray her own
> mood, and this is something that an artist of her stature should
> not be guilty of. Thus one often sees her in comic roles with
> a serious, cold, gloomy face; but the public can only take this
> as disdain, since it is certain that she could easily do otherwise,
> if only she wanted to. Other times, she will place just as little
> restraint on her cheerfulness and laughter, which perhaps arises
> from some trifles that occurred backstage. It is said that her mirror
> has persuaded her that it would be very much to her advantage
> to show the public a beautiful string of pearly teeth; it is
> not wrong, but she must do so with sense and not, as happened
> a few evenings ago, when her inappropriate laughter spoiled
> the magnificent great duet from *Oberon*. *[...]*

This hints at an actress who was perhaps a bit bored and not fully engaged with her performances. The same correspondent was not a fan of Adolf Keilholz:

> H r. Keilholz nimmt hier den Platz des ersten Tenoristen
> ein. Stimme und Methode gehen an; aber übrigens ist er
> mir nur zu einem Don Juan oder einem Pferdehändler im
> Hokus pokus erträglich. Es liegt so etwas Krapuleuses in jeder
> seiner Geberden und Mienen, daß er jede edlere Rolle enthei=
> ligt. [*Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, May 1798, "Briefe über Kassel," 288]

> Herr Keilholz occupies the place of first tenor. Voice and method are acceptable; but beyond this I find him bearable only as Don Juan or a horse trader in *Hokus Pokus*. There is something so crapulous in all of his gestures and faces, that he desecrates every role.

(*Hokus Pokus* is a singspiel by Dittersdorf; it includes the role of Graf Goldbraun, "ein Pferdehändler.")

In Jul 1800, Christiane Haßloch and her husband joined the company of the German theater in Hamburg, remaining nine months. Before going to Hamburg, the couple made guest appearances in Weimar and Berlin. Christiane's first role in Weimar was Amalia in Schiller's *Die Räuber* on 27 May 1800. The following day she appeared as Donna Anna in *Don Juan*, with husband Carl in the title role, and on 31 May, they took the roles respectively of Queen of the Night and Tamino in *Die Zauberflöte*.

Their series of guest appearances in Berlin was more extensive, with Christiane performing eleven different roles, and Carl seven, all within the space of a month. As earlier in her career, Christiane continued to take leading roles in both operas and plays. Many (but not all) of the roles the couple performed in Berlin were ones they repeated in Hamburg. However, Christiane did not appear as Queen of the Night or Eulalia in *Menschenhaß und Reue* in Berlin, even though she did perform these roles in Hamburg and Carl made guest appearances in both in Berlin, as Tamino and as Peter. Carl sang Don Juan in Berlin, but in Hamburg he took the role of Ottavio; this unusual doubling suggests that he was a high baritone who sometimes took tenor roles, a not uncommon Fach on German stages at the time.

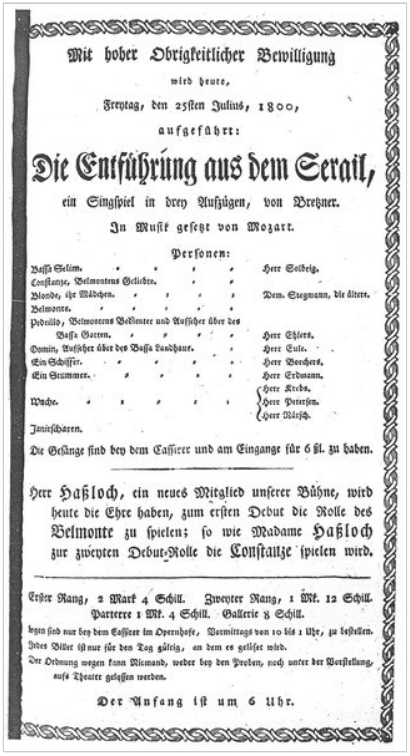
Guest appearances by the Haßlochs in the Nationaltheater in Berlin
13 Jun – 13 Jul 1800

Date	Work	Christiane	Carl
13 Jun	*Medea* (Gotter and Benda)	Medea	
16 Jun	*Der Baum der Diana*	Diana	
19 Jun	*Die Zauberflöte*		Tamino
22 Jun	*Die Schachmaschine*		Karl Ruf
23 Jun	*Elise von Valberg* (Iffland)	Die Fürstin	
26 Jun	*Romeo und Julie* (Gotter and Benda)	Julie	
28 Jun	*Menschenhaß und Reue*		Peter
29 Jun	*Don Juan*	Donna Anna	Don Juan
2 Jul	*Axur*	Astasia	Biscroma
4 Jul	*Betrug durch Aberglauben*	Luise	Wilhelm
6 Jul	*Johanna von Montfaucon* (Kotzebue)	Johanna von Montfaucon	

Date	Work	Christiane	Carl
9 Jul	*Der Barbier von Sevilla*	Rosine	Almaviva
11 Jul	*Belmonte und Constanze* (*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*)	Konstanze	
13 Jul	*Die neuen Arkadier* (Süßmayr/Vulpius)	Filania	

This table of the Haßlochs' guest appearances in Berlin is reconstructed from two sources. In the *Taschenbuch fürs Theater. Zum neuen Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1801, 165–66) their guest roles in Berlin are listed in chronological order, but without dates; later in the same article (183–84) there is a calendar of performances in Berlin for June 1800, but not July. For the schedule in July we have relied on the database at *Berlin Klassik*; the works listed there correspond precisely in correct chronological order to the lists of the Haßlochs' guest roles in the *Taschenbuch*.

Christiane Haßloch made her debut in Hamburg on 23 Jul 1800 as Diana in *Der Baum der Diana* (poster, Universität Hamburg), just ten days after her final appearance in Berlin. Two days later, on 25 Jul 1800, Carl Haßloch made his Hamburg debut, as Belmonte in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, with Christiane as Konstanze.



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung
wird heute,
Freytag, den 25sten Julius, 1800,
aufgeführt:

Die Entführung aus dem Serail,

ein Singspiel in drey Aufzügen, von Bretzner.
In Musik gesetzt von Mozart.

Personen:

Bassa Selim. — Herr Selberg.
Constanze, Belmontens Geliebte. —
Blonde, ihr Mädchen. — Dem. Stegmann, die ältere.
Belmonte. —
Pedrillo, Belmontens Bedienter und Aufseher über des Bassa Garten. — Herr Ehlers.
Osmin, Aufseher über des Bassa Landhaus. — Herr Eule.
Ein Schiffer. — Herr Borchers.
Ein Trommler. — Herr Erdmann.
Wache. — Herr Krebs, Herr Petersen, Herr Mätsch.
Janitscharen.

Die Gesänge sind bey dem Cassirer und am Eingange für 6 Bl. zu haben.

Herr Haßloch, ein neues Mitglied unserer Bühne, wird heute die Ehre haben, zum ersten Debut die Rolle des Belmonte zu spielen; so wie Madame Haßloch zur zweyten Debut-Rolle die Constanze spielen wird.

Erster Rang, 2 Mark 4 Schill. Zweyter Rang, 1 Mk. 12 Schill.
Parterre 1 Mk. 4 Schill. Gallerie 8 Schill.

Logen sind nur bey dem Cassirer im Opernhofe, Vormittags von 10 bis 1 Uhr, zu bestellen.
Jedes Billet ist nur für den Tag gültig, an dem es gelöset wird.
Der Ordnung wegen kann Niemand, weder bey den Proben, noch unter der Vorstellung, aufs Theater gelassen werden.

Der Anfang ist um 6 Uhr.

Poster for *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Hamburg, 25 Jul 1800
(Universität Hamburg)

Because images of the theater's posters are now available online for this entire period, the repertoires of Christiane and Carl Haßloch in Hamburg can be reconstructed in full. Just as earlier in her career, the diversity and difficulty of Christiane's roles is extraordinary, and was likely unprecedented at that time.

Roles performed by Christiane and Carl Haßloch in Hamburg
23 Jul 1800 to 13 Apr 1801

The dates correspond to the first appearance of the Haßlochs in these roles in Hamburg.

Date	Title	Christiane	Carl
1800			
23 Jul	*Der Baum der Diana*	title role	
25 Jul	*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*	Konstanze	Belmonte
28 Jul	*Die Zauberflöte*	Königin der Nacht	Tamino
30 Jul	*Menschenhaß und Reue*	Eulalia (Mme. Müller)	Peter
1 Aug	*Dom Juan* [sic]	Donna Anna	Dom Ottavio
4 Aug	*Johanna von Montfaucon*	title role	
5 Aug	*Die beyden Klingsberge*		Graf Adolph
8 Aug	*Das große Geheimniß*	Gräfin Marasini	
13 Aug	*Der Ring*	Die Majorin	
15 Aug	*Lodoïska*	title role	
22 Aug	*Romeo und Julie*	Julie	Romeo
29 Aug	*Der Lumpensammler*		Wilhelm
18 Sep	*Das Vaterhaus*		Chrétien
24 Sep	*Die Schachmaschine*		Graf von Balken
26 Sep	*Die geplagten Ehemänner*	Isabella	
3 Oct	*Die Räuber*		Kosinsky
6 Oct	*Oberon*	Almansaris	
17 Oct	*Gustav Wasa*	Margaretha Wasa	Hans Fynbo
21 Oct	*Das rothe Käppchen*	Lina	
31 Oct	*Der Corsar aus Liebe*	Lucille/Piedor	Dorimante
14 Nov	*Die Verschwörung des Fiesko*	Leonore	Lomellin
25 Nov	*Im Trüben ist gut fischen*	Hannchen	Christoph
28 Nov	*Das Gelübde*	Clara	Ein jünger Edelmann
12 Dec	*Der Fremde*	Philippine	
19 Dec	*Die Schwestern von Prag*	Fräulein Bärbchen	Chevalier Chemise
1801			

Date	Title	Christiane	Carl
9 Jan	*Die Hausehre*	Amalie	
3 Feb	*Nicht mehr als sechs Schüsseln*	Madame Reinhard	
8 Feb	*Der Faßbinder*		Steffen
3 Mar	*Bayard*	Blanka	Rochefort
10 Mar	*Weltton und Herzensgüte*		Herr von Füller
13 Mar	*Die abgeredete Zauberey*	Julienne	Lindthal
27 Mar	*Stille Wasser sind tief*	Baronin von Holmbach	
8 Apr	*Die Verläumder*	Emilie	

Christiane appeared in 26 different roles over the nine months that the Haßlochs were in Hamburg, including 13 operas and 13 plays; all her roles were major. In addition to the many leading roles from earlier in her career (such as Konstanze, Eulalia, Donna Anna, and Julie), she had added such major new ones as Lodoïska in Cherubini's opera (in a German adaptation) and Leonore in Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko*. Carl's repertoire in Hamburg was only slightly less ambitious: he appeared in 20 different roles, 10 operas and 10 plays; his were a mixture of leads and secondary parts. They appeared together in 12 different works. Christiane sometimes performed taxing leading roles on successive days. For example, she sang Almansaris in Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon* on 7 Dec 1800, and appeared the following day as Leonore in *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko*. She sang Lodoïska on 19 Jan 1801, the day after having appeared as Eulalia in *Menschenhaß und Reue*. That she could make such back-to-back appearances with no reported ill effect on her voice suggests that she did, indeed, have sound vocal technique.

Die Entführung aus dem Serail was performed three times during the Haßlochs' tenure in Hamburg, on 25 Jul, and 5 and 17 Sep 1800, but the Haßlochs appeared only in the first of these. On 5 and 17 Sep, the role of Konstanze was taken by "Madame Willmann aus Wien", and Belmonte by Adam Kirchner. "Madame Willmann" was probably Ignaz Willmann's second wife Marianne (née Tribolet, 1768–1813), not Christiane's former nemesis from Bonn, Magdalena Willmann. *Dom Juan* (as it is consistently spelled on all the Hamburg posters) was given six times during the Haßlochs' tenure (1 and 6 Aug, 1 Sep, 16 Oct, 10 Nov, and 27 Dec 1800), each time with Christiane as Donna Anna and Carl as "Dom Ottavio". *Die Zauberflöte* was likewise given six times, on 28 Jul, 11 Aug, 10 Sep, 1 and 26 Oct 1800, and 13 Apr 1801. Christiane appeared as Queen of the Night in all of these, but Carl sang Tamino only in the first. (We do not know exactly when Christiane added this role to her repertoire, but it was likely before this time.) In the performances of *Die Zauberflöte* on 10 Sep and 1 Oct, Christiane shared the stage with Marianne Willmann, who took the role of Pamina (which she also sang at the Theater an der Wien in Vienna). Christiane's appearance as Queen of the Night on 13 Apr 1801 was her last performance of a Mozart role in Hamburg. The Haßlochs' final performance before their departure was in *Menschenhaß und Reue*, on 20 Apr 1801.
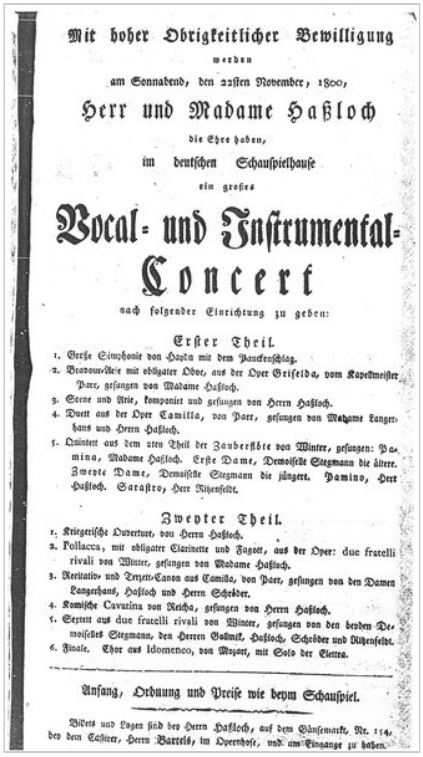
A brief report from Hamburg in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* singles out Christiane for praise for her performance as Blanka in Kotzebue's play *Bayard*, first performed in Hamburg on 3 Mar 1801:

> Deutsches Theater in Hamburg.
> (Hamburg, 5 März.)
> **Bayard** und **Kotzebue** hat auf unserm deutschen Theater großes Glück gemacht; auch wird seit einem Monate und länger fast nichts gegeben, als der Ritter ohne Furcht und Tadel, und das endlos beliebte Weibchen der Donau. **Herzfeld** giebt den Bayard nicht schlecht; vortreflich aber präsentirt und spricht Mad. **Haßloch** die Blanka. Ein schöner Körper, Seele im Blick, lebhafter und warmer Ton der Sprache — diese Blanka muste gelingen. Läßt man sie, wie es droht, auf Ostern abgehn, so fehlt es durch= aus an einer Darstellerin für Rollen wie diese. Auch Mad. **Langerhans** als Miranda verdient alles Lob. Dekora= tionen und Kleidung, Beides is Kostüm= und Zeitgemäß. [*Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, no. 42, Tue, 7 Apr 1801, col. 335]

> German Theater in Hamburg.
> (Hamburg, 5 March)
> ***Bayard*** and **Kotzebue** have had great success on our German stage; and for a month or longer almost nothing else has been given except *Der Ritter ohne Furcht und Tadel* and the endlessly popular *Donauweibchen*. **Herzfeld** is not bad as Bayard; but Madame **Haßloch** acts and speaks Blanka splendidly. A beautiful body, soulfulness in her glance, lively and warm tone in speech — this Blanka can only succeed. If she is allowed to leave at Easter, as threatened, there will be no actress at all for roles like this one. Madame **Langerhans** as Miranda also deserves every praise. Sets and costumes, both were appropriate to the customs and the time.

Der Ritter ohne Furcht is the subtitle of Kotzebue's *Bayard*. *Das Donauweibchen* is the Viennese singspiel by Hensler and Kauer; it was first performed in Hamburg on 27 Jan 1801, and had been given thirteen times by the date of the report. The correspondent's references are to Jacob Herzfeld, actor and co-director of the Hamburg theater, and soprano Johanna Langerhans (on Langerhans, see our entry for 19 Feb 1792; she sang the aria K. 505 at the Mozart memorial concert in Hamburg on that date.) The correspondent's praise of Christiane Haßloch suggests that she had lost none of her emotional and communicative power as an actress.

The Haßlochs also appeared on a number of concerts during their time in Hamburg, and they gave two benefit concerts for themselves. The first of their benefits took place on Sat, 22 Nov 1800.



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung
werden
am Sonnabend, den 22sten November, 1800,
Herr und Madame Haßloch
die Ehre haben,
im deutschen Schauspielhause
ein großes
Vocal- und Instrumental-
Concert
nach folgender Einrichtung zu geben:

Erster Theil.

1. Große Simphonie von Haydn mit dem Pauckenschlag.
2. Bravour-Arie mit obligater Oboe, aus der Oper Griselda, vom Kapellmeister Paer, gesungen von Madame Haßloch.
3. Scene und Arie, komponirt und gesungen von Herrn Haßloch.
4. Duett aus der Oper Camilla, von Paer, gesungen von Madame Langerhans und Herrn Haßloch.
5. Quintett aus dem 2ten Theil der Zauberflöte von Winter, gesungen: Pamina, Madame Haßloch. Erste Dame, Demoiselle Stegmann die ältere. Zweyte Dame, Demoiselle Stegmann die jüngere. Pamino, Herr Haßloch. Saraßtro, Herr Rihenfeldt.

Zweyter Theil.

1. Kriegerische Ouverture, von Herrn Haßloch.
2. Pollacca, mit obligater Clarinette und Fagott, aus der Oper: due fratelli rivali von Winter, gesungen von Madame Haßloch.
3. Recitativ- und Terzett-Canon aus Camilla, von Paer, gesungen von den Damen Langerhans, Haßloch und Herrn Schröder.
4. Komische Cavatina von Reicha, gesungen von Herrn Haßloch.
5. Sextett aus due fratelli rivali von Winter, gesungen von den beyden Demoiselles Stegmann, den Herren Gollmik, Haßloch, Schröder und Rihenfeldt.
6. Finale. Chor aus Idomeneo, von Mozart, mit Solo der Elettra.

Anfang, Ordnung und Preise wie beym Schauspiel.

Billets und Logen sind bey Herrn Haßloch, auf dem Gänsemarkt, Nr. 154, bey dem Cassirer, Herrn Bartels, im Opernhofe, und am Eingange zu haben.

Poster for the benefit concert of Herr and Madame Haßloch, Hamburg, 22 Nov 1800
(Universität Hamburg)

The concert opened with Joseph Haydn's symphony "mit dem Pauckenschlag" (the "Surprise" Symphony no. 94, in G Major). Among the items performed by the Haßlochs was the quintet from the second act of Peter Winter's "second part" of *Die Zauberflöte* (*Das Labyrinth*), with Christiane as Pamina and her husband as Tamino (the poster has "Pamino"). The concert closed with the final chorus from Mozart's *Idomeneo*, an opera that the Haßlochs would go on to stage in German in Kassel. The poster for their benefit in Hamburg refers to the chorus "mit Solo der Elettra," so it seems likely that the performance included Elettra's accompanied recitative "Oh smanie! oh furie!" preceding the final chorus. Although the poster does not name the soloist, Elettra would certainly have been sung by Christiane Haßloch.

A correspondent to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* attended the concert:

> 22) Am 22 Nov. [1800], ebendaselbst Herr und Mad. Hassloch, seit dem Anfang des Sommers 1800 und damals beyde zu den ersten Singpartien bey der deutschen Oper engagirt. Herr Hassloch besizt viele Musikkenntnisse, hat eine angenehme, biegsame Tenorstimme, und singt mit Geschmack. Er würde daher für jedes Theater in unsern, an guten Tenoristen so armseligen Zeiten eine eben so bedeutende als seltene Akquisition seyn, wenn er nur eine etwas mehr vortheilhafte Figure aufzuweisen hätte.

> Mad. Hassloch, die vor ohngefähr 18 Jahren als Demoiselle Keilholz hier sehr beliebt und gelitten war, ist bey weitem die bedeutendste Sängerinn, die wir seit der bis jezt unersezten Righini auf unserm Theater gesehen und gehört haben, auch überdies eine sehr brauchbare Schauspielerinn; Schade nur, dass sie oft ziemlich stark lispelt, wodurch sie hin und wieder unverständlich wird, und selbst ihr Gesang nicht wenig leidet. Beyde haben uns im leztverwichenen Frühjahre wieder verlassen, wodurch unsere Oper den lezten Stoss erhielt. [*AmZ*, vol 4. col. 294]

[translation:]

> 22) On 22 Nov [1800], in the same place, Herr and Madame Haßloch, engaged at the opera since the beginning of summer 1800 for the leading vocal roles. Herr Haßloch possesses much musical knowledge, has a pleasant, supple tenor voice, and sings with taste. Thus he would be just as important as rare an acquisition for any theater in our times, so destitute of good tenors, if only he were able to present a somewhat more advantageous figure. Madame Haßloch, who around 18 years ago, as Mademoiselle Keilholz, was very popular and endured here, is by far the most important female singer seen and heard on our stage since Righini, who has not yet been replaced, and in addition she is a very useable actress. It is a pity only that she often lisps strongly, whereby she now and again become unintelligible, and her singing suffers not a little. Both left us again early last year, which was the final blow to our opera.
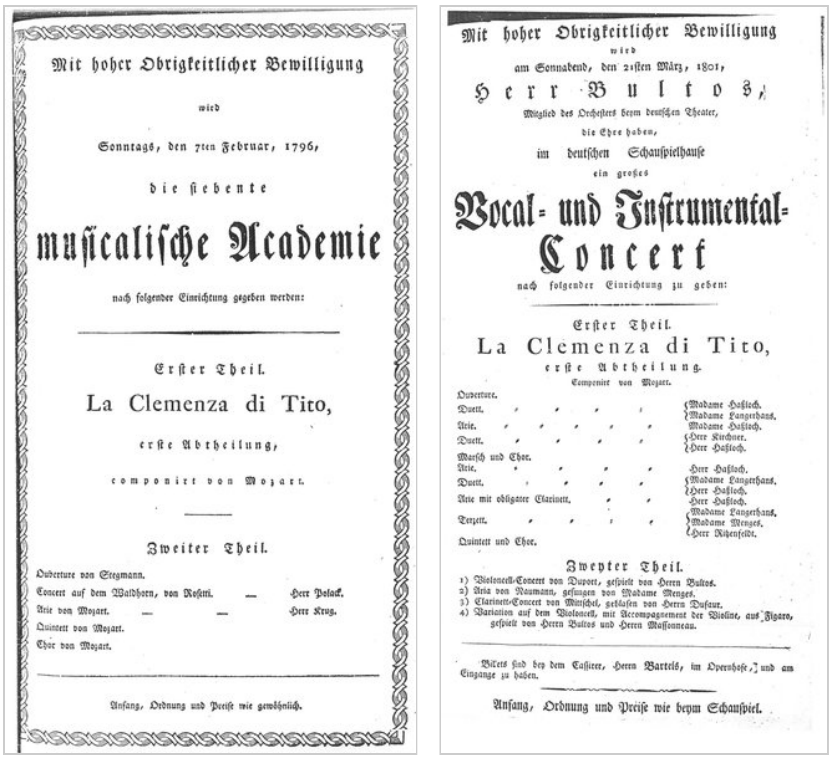
The anonymous correspondent is comparing Christiane to Henriette Righini (née Kneisel, 1767–1801), wife of composer Vincenzo. The reference to Christiane's "lisp" echoes Bertram's criticism in 1790; "gelitten" (literally "suffered") may recall Christiane's (allegedly) temperamental withdrawal from the stage in Hamburg around the end of 1785, fifteen years earlier (local critics can have long memories).

On 24 Mar 1801 the Haßlochs mounted a benefit performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*. The oratorio had first been performed in Hamburg on 28 Feb as a benefit for the theater's music director, Johann Friedrich Hönicke, who hired supplementary musicians from nearby Harburg and the theater in Altona in order to make his performing forces as large as possible (see the

report in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, no. 44, Sat, 11 Apr 1801, cols. 350–51). The directorate of the Hamburg theater gave the oratorio again on 6 Mar, but without the supplementary musicians, and hence with less success. Local amateurs mounted a third performance in the Hamburg Ratskeller shortly afterwards. The Haßlochs' performance of *Die Schöpfung* on 24 Mar was thus the fourth in Hamburg within the space of a month. Although the posters do not specify the soloists, Christiane and Carl Haßloch would likely have sung the soprano and tenor arias in all three performances in the theater, and certainly did so at their own benefit. Remarkably, the bass soloist on 24 Mar was the visiting Ludwig Fischer (1745–1825), who had created the role of Osmin in the original production of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in Vienna in 1782 and was now a celebrated member of the Italian opera in Berlin.

The Haßlochs also appeared in six benefit concerts for other musicians in Hamburg. On 25 Oct 1800 Christiane performed at a benefit concert for the bass singer Herr Ritzenfeldt; both Haßlochs sang on 29 Nov at a concert for violinist Louis Massoneau, on 20 Dec at a concert for baritone Friedrich Schröder, and on 21 Feb 1801 at a concert for tenor Adam Kirchner. Two other concerts in which the Haßlochs appeared are of particular interest here. On 13 Dec 1800, they performed at a concert given by tenor Friedrich Karl Gollmick (1774–1852). The fourth item in the first half of that concert was a "Terzett aus Idomeneo, von Mozart, gesungen von Madame Haßloch, Herrn Haßloch und Herrn Gollmick." This must have been "Pria di partir, oh Dio!" from act 2 of *Idomeneo*, for Idamante, Elettra, and Idomeneo. Christiane Haßloch would have sung Elettra's part; her husband and Gollmick were both experienced tenors, so we cannot say for certain which of them sang which of the other parts, although they must have performed a version with Idamante as a tenor rather than a soprano. The language of the performance is not specified on the poster, but it seems likely that the trio was sung in German, the language of the Haßlochs' production of *Idomeneo* in Kassel around a year later.

On 21 Mar 1801, the Haßlochs performed at a benefit concert given by a Herr Bultos, a cellist in the orchestra of the Hamburg theater. The first half of that concert consisted of a performance of the first act of Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*. It was not the first time the Hamburg audience had had the opportunity to hear this music: the first act of Tito had been given there in concert on 7 Feb 1796 (probably by Constanze Mozart, although she is not mentioned on the poster).



Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung
wird
Sonntags, den 7ten Februar, 1796,
die siebente
musicalische Academie
nach folgender Einrichtung gegeben werden:

Erster Theil.
La Clemenza di Tito,
erste Abtheilung,
componirt von Mozart.

Zweiter Theil.
Ouverture von Stegmann.
Concert auf dem Waldhorn, von Rosetti. — Herr Polack.
Arie von Mozart. — — Herr Krug.
Quintett von Mozart.
Chor von Mozart.

Anfang, Ordnung und Preise wie gewöhnlich.

Mit hoher Obrigkeitlicher Bewilligung
wird
am Sonnabend, den 21sten März, 1801,
Herr Bultos,
Mitglied des Orchesters beym deutschen Theater,
die Ehre haben,
im deutschen Schauspielhause
ein großes
Vocal- und Instrumental-Concert
nach folgender Einrichtung zu geben:

Erster Theil.
La Clemenza di Tito,
erste Abtheilung.
Componirt von Mozart.
Ouverture.
Duett. (Madame Haßloch. Madame Langerhans.)
Arie. (Madame Haßloch.)
Duett. (Herr Kirchner. Herr Haßloch.)
Marsch und Chor.
Arie. (Herr Haßloch.)
Duett. (Madame Langerhans. Herr Haßloch.)
Arie mit obligater Clarinett. (Herr Haßloch.)
Terzett. (Madame Langerhans, Madame Menges, Herr Ritzenfeldt.)
Quintett und Chor.

Zweyter Theil.
1) Violoncell-Concert von Duport, gespielt von Herrn Bultos.
2) Aria von Naumann, gesungen von Madame Menges.
3) Clarinett-Concert von Mittschel, geblasen von Herrn Dufour.
4) Variation auf dem Violoncell, mit Accompagnement der Violine, aus Figaro, gespielt von Herrn Bultos und Herrn Massonneau.

Billets sind bey dem Cassirer, Herrn Bartels, im Opernhofe, und am Eingange zu haben.

Anfang, Ordnung und Preise wie beym Schauspiel.

The first act of *La clemenza di Tito* in Hamburg
Posters from the concerts on 7 Feb 1796 and 21 Mar 1801
(Universität Hamburg)

The performance in Hamburg in 1801 included the overture and all numbers of the first act, except, apparently, no. 8, Tito's "Ah, se fosse intorno al trono," which does not correspond to any item on the poster. It seem likely that the simple recitatives were omitted; on the other hand, Sesto's accompanied recitative no. 11, "Oh Dei, che smania è questa," although it is not listed on the poster, might well have been included. No consistent connections were maintained in this performance between singers and roles. Sesto, originally a soprano, seems to have been sung in Hamburg both by a soprano (no. 1) and by at least one tenor (nos. 3 & 9); Annio, likewise originally a soprano role, was sung in Hamburg by a tenor (nos. 3 & 7) and (apparently) a soprano (no. 10). Carl Haßloch seems variously to have sung parts written for three different characters: Tito (no. 6), Annio (no. 7), and Sesto (no. 9). Because of this inconsistent connection between performers and roles, we cannot say for certain which tenor sang which part in the duettino no. 3. The language of the performance is not specified on the poster; it may have been German; however, the text incipits in the table below are given in the original Italian.

Items from Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* performed at the concert in Hamburg on 21 Mar 1801, with likely performers as per the poster

No.	Item	Text incipit	Performers
	Overture		
1	Duet	"Come ti piace imponi"	Christina Haßloch (Vitellia) Johanna Langerhans (Sesto)

No.	Item	Text incipit	Performers
2	Aria	"Deh se piacer mi vuoi"	Christina Haßloch (Vitellia)
3	Duettino	"Deh prendi un dolce amplesso"	Adam Kirchner (Sesto?) Carl Haßloch (Annio?)
4	March		
5	Chorus	"Serbate, oh Dei custodi"	
6	Aria	"Del più sublime soglio"	Carl Haßloch (Tito)
7	Duet	"Ah perdona al primo affetto"	Johanna Langerhans (Servilla) Carl Haßloch (Annio)
9	Aria	"Parto, ma tu ben mio"	Carl Haßloch (Sesto)
10	Terzetto	"Vengo ... Aspettate	Johanna Langerhans (Vitellia) Madame Menges (Annio) Publio (Herr Ritzenfeldt)
12	Quintet & Chorus	"Deh conservate, oh Dei"	

This performance was reviewed in the *Raisonirendes Journal vom deutschen Theater zu Hamburg*; the journal is attributed to Johann Friedrich Ernst von Brawe, whose similarly titled *Raisonnirendes Theaterjurnal* [sic] *von der Leipziger Michaelmesse 1783* is our primary source for the date of the premiere of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in Leipzig (see our entry for 4 Oct 1783). In that earlier publication Brawe claimed to have no feeling for music: he mentions the date of *Entführung* in Leipzig only in the course of explaining why he did not attend. By 1801, however, he no longer avoided writing about opera (even if he did so rather stiffly). Some of the singers he mentions in the review differ from those listed on the poster.

> Sonnabends, den 21. März, gab Herr Bultos, Mitglied unsers Orchester, im deutschen Schauspiel= hause Concert, zu seinem Benefize. Darinne wurde anfänglich die erste Abtheilung von der italienischen Oper: *la Clemenza di Tito*, nach Mozarts Com= position, ausgeführt. Die Vorträge im einzelnen Gesange bearbeiteten Madame Langerhans, Madame Menges, Mamsel Stegmann die iüngere, nebst denen Herren Haßloch, Kirchner, und Ritzenfeldt. – Abge= rechnet, daß Madame Menges durch Verspätigung den Anfang des ersten Duet ein Wenig derangirte, und daß auch im Finale manche Stimme merklich wankte, beeyferten sich die Sängerinnen und Sänger insge= samt, denen Vorschriften der meisterhaften Composi= tion Genüge zu leisten. Den vorzüglichsten Erfolg bewirkte Herr Haßloch, da er die übernommene Dis= cantparthie äußerst wohlgefällig durchführte, und eine Arie mit obligater Clarinette im hohen Grade ton= künstlerischer Vollkommenheit vortrug. – Die So=

> pranstimmen werden bey unserer Theatergesellschaft
> von Zeit zu Zeit rarer. —
> [*Raisonirendes Journal vom deutschen Theater zu Hamburg*, Fri, 27 Mar 1801, 177–78]

[translation:]

> On Saturday, 21 March, Herr Bustos, a member of our orchestra, gave a concert in the German theater here for his own benefit. Performed at the beginning was the first act of *La clemenza di Tito*, a composition by Mozart. The individual vocal numbers were prepared by Madame Langerhans, Madame Menges, and the younger Mademoiselle Stegmann, along with Herr Haßloch, Kirchner, and Ritzenfeldt. — Apart from the fact that Madame Menges somewhat fluffed the first duet by coming in late at the beginning, and that some voices in the finale also wavered noticeably, the female and male singers as a whole strove to meet the requirements of the piece. The most splendid success was achieved by Herr Haßloch, who brought off the adapted discant part in a highly pleasing manner, and performed an aria with obbligato clarinet with a high degree of artistic perfection. — Soprano voices are becoming ever rarer in our theater company as time goes on.

Brawe does not mention Madame Haßloch, but he does mention "Mamsel Stegmann die jüngere," whose name is not on the poster; this must have been Wilhelmine Stegmann (later Schäfer, 1783–1861), third daughter of Carl David Stegmann. (Stegmann's oldest daughter Caroline was already married, thus at the time of the concert the "elder" Mademoiselle Stegmann would have been Friederike, and the "younger" Wilhelmine.) Perhaps Christiane Haßloch was indisposed or could not perform for some other reason, and Wilhelmine Stegmann was a last-minute replacement. If so, the performers of various numbers may have been shuffled, and the duet "Come ti piace imponi" may not have been sufficiently rehearsed. The "aria with obbligato clarinet" sung by Carl Haßloch, which Brawe marks as the high point, is Sesto's "Parto, ma tu ben mio" (Act 1, no. 9).

During the Haßlochs' engagement in Hamburg, the theater in Kassel had been under the direction of Magdalena Viktoria Großmann (née Schroth), the second wife and now widow of Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann. From 1799 she had been co-director of the Kassel company with Carl Haßloch, and she became its sole director when the Haßlochs went to Hamburg. When the Haßlochs returned to Kassel, Carl assumed management of the theater. During the Haßlochs' first season back in Kassel, the theater mounted a production of Mozart's *Idomeneo* in German, the earliest known complete performance of the opera in that language, and the first known production of the opera anywhere following the one given by Prince Johann Adam Auersperg in Vienna in 1786 (see our entry on that production). According to

Loewenberg (1978, col. 386), the performance in Kassel took place on 1 Jan 1802, and the translation was by David August von Apell (1754–1832), a Kassel native, who is also credited with a German translation of *La clemenza di Tito*. It is Apell's translation of *Idomeneo* that appears in Simrock's piano-vocal score of the opera published in 1798. Loewenberg gives no source for the date of the performance of *Idomeneo* in Kassel, but his date has been generally adopted in the literature.

The Kassel performance of *Idomeneo* was reported in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*; from that report we know that Christiane Haßloch sang the role of Elettra (Elektra), her sister Dorothea Wachsmuth that of Ilia, and Carl Haßloch that of Idamante (Idamantus):

> Kassel. Unser Theater hat etwas gewagt, das noch keine deutsche Bühne unternommen: Mozarts Idomeneus auf das Theater zu bringen, und wenn man nur billig seyn will, muss man sagen, mit viel Glück. Freylich bleibt diese erhabene und tiefe Musik zunächst immer nur für den bessern Ausschuss der Zuhörer: aber desto verdienstlicher für die Direktionen, wenn sie wenigstens zuweilen so etwas geben, um den Gebildetern werth zu bleiben, und die nicht Gebildeten, aber Bildungsfähigen, allmählig zum Bessern zu leiten — was gewiss überall gelingen wird, wenn man sich in Achtung zu erhalten weiss und Ausdauer hat. Freylich ist es nicht möglich für ein Personale, wie das hiesige, alle Partien einer solchen grossen Oper gehörig zu besetzen: aber wenn nur einige vorzüglich, und die andern nicht schlecht und mit Personen besezt sind, die wenigstens gern leisten wollen, was in ihren Kräften stehet, so hat man doch Etwas, und bekömmt in der Folge mehr, weil die leztern (ganz von der Natur Verwahrlosete abgerechnet) auf diese Weise nach und nach besser werden. Madam Hassloch, die von Hamburg, wo sie so sehr viel Beyfall gefunden, zu uns gekommen, ist als Elektra äusserst anziehend, obschon man mit ihrem Gesang, gerade in dieser Rolle, nicht ganz zufrieden seyn konnte — besonders treibt sie in leidenschaftlichen Stellen die Stimme bis über die Linien der Schönheit hinaus. Aber ihr Spiel, ihre durch die geschmackvolleste Kleidung noch mehr gehobene theatralische Figur, ihre Stellungen und Situationen (von denen sie, als Elektra, einige mit vielem Glück

> nach der Hamilton gebildet zu haben schien)
> sind rühmenswerth. Auch Hr. Hassloch (als
> Idamantus) und Mad. Wachsmuth (als Ilia)
> verdienten den Dank des Publikums. —
> [*AmZ*, iv:21, 17 Feb 1802, cols. 342–43]

[translation:]

> Kassel: Our theater has attempted something
> that up to now no German stage has undertaken:
> to bring Mozart's *Idomeneus* to the theater—and
> if one wishes to be fair, one must say, with great
> success. Admittedly this elevated and profound
> music is initially only for the better class of listener:
> but it is all the more useful to the directors if they
> at least occasionally give something like this, in
> order to remain worthwhile for the educated, and
> gradually to lead the uneducated but educable
> to better things — which will certainly always
> succeed if one knows how to remain attentive
> and has perseverance. Of course it is not possible
> for a company like the one here to fill properly all
> the roles of such a great opera: but if only some
> are excellent, and the others not bad and are taken
> by people who at least would like to achieve what
> is within their powers, then one has something
> at least—and in consequence obtains more,
> because the latter (excepting those neglected by
> Nature) gradually become better in this way.
> Madame Haßloch, who has come to us from
> Hamburg, where she found so much acclaim,
> is most appealing as Elektra, although one cannot
> be entirely satisfied with her singing in precisely
> this role; in particular, in the passionate passages
> she drives her voice beyond the bounds of beauty.
> But her acting, her theatrical bearing, elevated by
> the most tasteful costumes, her poses and attitudes
> (some of which she, as Elektra, appears to have
> modeled with much success on Hamilton) are
> praiseworthy. Herr Haßloch (as Idamantus)
> and Madame Wachsmuth (as Ilia) also earned
> the public's thanks.

The reference is to the "Attitudes" of Emma, Lady Hamilton, who became famous for her manner of imitating poses from Classical art. Christiane Haßloch could have known of Hamilton's "attitudes" from prints like the one shown below; if the reviewer is correct in detecting this influence, it suggests that Christiane was not resting on her considerable laurels as

an actress, but rather continuing to study and experiment. The reviewer felt that Christiane sometimes pushed her voice beyond the bounds of beauty in the representation of high emotion; but modern listeners will know from such great singing actresses as Maria Callas and Teresa Stratas that characters in the throes of extreme emotion (which Elettra certainly sometimes is) do not always make beautiful sounds. From this point of view, Christiane Haßloch may have been ahead of her time, and perhaps also her audience.



The Attitudes of Lady Hamilton, Francesco Novelli after Pietro Antonio Novelli (after 1791) (Victoria and Albert Museum)

In 1804 the Haßlochs are said then to have made a tour of German theaters, appearing in guest roles: in Apr 1804, for example, they performed several times in Frankfurt (see Bing 1892, 63). Their tour brought Christiane back to the Mannheim stage for the first time since leaving it in 1792. In May 1804, the journal Aurora published a remarkable and vivid review of Christiane's four guest roles in Mannheim; it describes her performances of the title roles in Gotter and Benda's *Medea*, and Ferdinando Paër's *Camilla* (in German as *Kamilla*); Julie in *Romeo und Julie*; and the title role in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*:

> Hof=Theater in Mannheim.
>
> Mannheim den 16. Mai 1804.
>
> Wir haben gegenwärtig das Vergnügen, ein ehemahli=
> ges Mitglied unserer Bühne, Mad. Haßloch, vom kur=
> fürstlichen Hof=Theater zu Cassel, in einigen Gast=Rol=
> len hier auftreten zu sehen.
>
> Die Kunst, welche sie bei jeder Darstellung entfaltet,
> ist noch die wohlbekannte, die uns ehedem so manchen

entzückenden Genuß gewährte; aber die Hülle, welche die=
sen zarten Geist bekleidet, ist spröder und widerstrebender
geworden. Nach zwölf Jahren eines mühevollen Lebens=
— denn so lange ist es, daß Mad. Haßloch uns verlas=
sen — hat diese große Künstlerinn noch den ergreifenden
Ausdruck der Leidenschaft, die Wahrheit in jeder Bewe=
gung, das tiefe Gefühl, dem im Herzen des Zuschauers
die gleichgestimmte Saite wiedertönt, den Zauber mahle=
rischer Gebilde, und

"ihr großes, feuersprühendes Auge"

in unsere Mitte zurückgebracht; aber der Reiz der blü=
henden Gestalt, die leisen Uebergänge wechselnder Em=
pfindung, der ungehemmte Fluß der Rede, frei von jeder
Wirkung organischer Gebrechen — diese sind der Zeit,
der unerbittlichen, zum Opfer gefallen.

Medeens Character — in diesem erschien sie zu=
erst — hätte nie sollen auf die Bühne gebracht werden.
Im Gebiete des Mitleides und des Schreckens mag die
tragische Kunst sich bewegen, aber Abscheu und Verach=
tung — und nur solche Gefühle vermag die unnatürlichste
der Mütter zu erwecken — duldet Melpomene nicht in
ihrem geweihten Kreise. Die Künstlerinn milderte vieles
bei der Darstellung, und wahrscheinlich ist es dieser herr=
schenden Idee zuzuschreiben, daß Mad. Haßloch den Feh=
ler beging, einzelne Worte, dem allgemeinen Ausdrucke
der Empfindung zuwider, zu mahlen. So sprach sie zum
Beispiel in der Stelle:

"daß ich hasse, wie ich liebe"

den Nachsatz im Tone sanfter Zärtlichkeit, der jedoch nur
ein Glied in der Kette heftiger Vorwürfe ist, womit sie
ihren Treulosen bestürmt. So kleine Flecken verschwinden
übrigens in dem vollendeten Kunstwerke, und nur der
Raum verhindert uns, die große Menge einzelner Schön=
heiten anzuführen, welche diese Vorstellung auszeichneten.
Den größten Beifall erhielt Medeens seelenvolles Spiel
beim Anblicke ihrer Kinder; allgemeine Rührung und die
kaum verhaltenen Thränen der zahlreichen Zuschauer feier=
ten in diesem Augenblicke den Triumph der Künstlerinn
würdiger, als nach geendigtem Stücke das lärmende Her=
ausrufen, welches schon zu oft an die Lieblinge der
Gallerie verschwendet ward, um für Mad. Haßloch als
ehrende Belohnung gelten zu können.

Kamilla — diese war ihre zweite Gast=Rolle —

ist hier stets ohne besondere Theilnahme gesehen worden, wozu unstreitig die traurige Einförmigkeit der Situation das meiste beiträgt. Nur die geringe Zahl der Kenner wird durch die vorzügliche Musik entschädigt, und auch diesen Genuß schmälert die gewöhnliche Unfähigkeit der Sänger im Spiel ihrer Rollen. Etwas von dieser ungün= stigen Stimmung schien sich heute auch über Mad. Haß= loch zu verbreiten, und wiewohl ihr Gesang und ihre Dar= stellung bei weitem nicht vernachläßigt können genannt werden, so hatten wir doch Ursache zu beklagen, daß uns die Gemächlichkeit des Oper=Personales um Glucks **Iphigenia in Tauris** gebracht hatte, deren Vor= stellung wir, noch in der Erinnerung früheren Genusses schwelgend, mit Recht erwarten durften. Dafür sahen wir Mad. Haßloch als **Julie**, in dem Singspiele: **Ro= meo und Julie**, welches seit ihrem Abgange nicht mehr auf die hiesige Bühne gebracht worden ist. Wer hätte es auch wagen dürfen, nach **dieser Julie** auf= zutreten? — Alles ist vollendet in dieser Darstellung, ergreifend der Ausdruck jeder Empfindung, hinreißend ihr Gesang. — Die Arie: "Meinen Romeo zu sehen &c." begeisterte — entzückte das Publicum so sehr, daß man alle Rücksicht vergaß, und deren Weiderhohlung mit stür= mischer Freude verlangte: die Künstlerinn erfüllte den schmeichelhaften, obgleich ein wenig unbescheidenen Wunsch der ihr huldigenden Menge, und wiederhohlte die Arie, ohne irgend eine Aeußerung von — angeblicher Schwäche!

Schillers **Maria Stuart** beschloß die Reihe der Gast=Rollen, worin Mad. Haßloch hier auftrat. Mit Recht könnte diese Vorstellung ein vollkommenes Ganze genannt werden, wenn es nur einer Person bedürfte, um ein solches zu bilden. Die Künstlerinn stand allein auf uner= reichter Höhe, und in immer weiterer Entfernung die Mit= spieler unter ihr. Auf jeder Stufe vermißte man einen von ihren Vorzügen, auf der letzten sogar — die Sprache. Ihrem Spiele durch alle Scenen zu folgen, erlaubt der Umfang dieses Blattes nicht; einiges nur über die Un= terredung mit Elisabeth:

> "wie sie der edle, königliche Zorn umglänzte."

Mit verständiger Kühnheit hatte sie sich über die Pedan= terie des Costümes hinweggesetzt; und, indeß die Köni= ginn von England — einer mißverstandenen Stelle des Dichters wegen, und dessen eigener Anordnung in Wei= mar zuwider — ihre Krone noch aus dem Audienz=Saale dahin trug,

"wo die tobende Jagd erscholl,"

erschien Maria einfach weiß, mit weißem Schleier; diese letzte Zierde begleitete in immer wechselnder Gestalt die mahlende Geberde, und in freier Schönheit umfloß das faltenreiche Gewand die edle Dulderinn. Durch die Ge= walt aller Leidenschaften, welche in dieser Scene die Un= glückliche bestürmen, war stets der Adel des Betragens sichtbar, der höheren Ständen zur Natur geworden. Das gebeugte Weib zu Elisabeths Füßen war eine Königinn, und auch die beleidigte Maria sprach das durchbohrende Wort zu ihrer Feindinn mit dem Anstande einer Köni= ginn — so, daß uns diese Darstellung als ein seltenes, aber würdiges Gegenstück zu Iffland's Grafen Wodmar überraschte. Daß sie allen Wohlklang, der in der Sprache des Dichters liegt, getreu wiedergab, und keinen Vers eigenmächtig veränderte, erwähnen wir nur deßwegen, weil diese Achtung gegen Geisteswerke auf der deutschen Bühnen noch ungewöhnlich ist.

K. L.

[*Aurora*, no. 63, Fri, 25 May 1804, 249–50]

[translation:]

Court Theater in Mannheim.

Mannheim, 16 May 1804.

We have just had the pleasure of seeing a former member of our stage, Madame Haßloch of the princely Court Theater in Kassel, appear in several guest roles here.

The art that she deploys in every performance is still what we recall so well from the past and afforded us so much enchanting pleasure; but the shell that clothes this spirit has become brittle and more recalcitrant. After twelve years of a difficult life — for so long has it been since Madame Haßloch left us — this great artist has brought back to our midst that gripping expression of passion, the truth of every movement, the deep feeling that plucks the like-tuned string in the heart of the spectator, the magic of pictorial form, and

"her great, fire-spewing eye."

But the charm of her blooming figure, the soft transitions of changing feeling, the unrestricted flow of speech, free from every sign of organic affliction — these have fallen victim

to inexorable time.

Medea's character — in this did she first appear — should never have been brought to the stage. The tragic art may move within the realms of pity and fear; but loathing and contempt (and only the most unnatural mother can awaken such feeling), these Melpomene cannot tolerate within her sacred circle. The artist softened much in her performance, and it can probably be attributed to this prevailing idea that Madame Haßloch made the mistake of depicting individual words contrary to the general expression of the feeling. For example, in the passage:

> "that I hate, as I love,"

she spoke the second phrase in a tone of soft tenderness, when it is a link in a chain of fierce accusations with which she assails her betrayer. Such small flecks disappear in any case in the completed work of art, and only space prevents us from listing the great throng of individual beauties that distinguished this performance. Medea's soulful acting at the sight of her children received the greatest applause; the general emotion and unrestrained tears of the numerous audience celebrated at this moment the triumph of the artist more worthily than the tumultuous curtain calls after the piece ended, which are too often squandered on the darlings of the gallery to be able to count as an estimable reward for Madame Haßloch.

Kamilla — this was her second guest role — has continually aroused little interest here, which unquestionably arises from the dreary uniformity of the dramatic situation. Only the small number of connoisseurs are compensated by the excellent music, and this enjoyment also offsets the usual incapacity of the singers in the performance of their roles. Something of this inauspicious mood seemed also to spread today over Madame Haßloch, and although her singing and acting can by no means be said to have been negligent, even so we had cause to complain that we might justifiably have expected that the opera personnel could have indulged us with Gluck's ***Iphigenie in Tauri*s**, the earlier pleasures of whose performance still fill our memories. In compensation we had Madame Haßloch as **Julie** in the singspiel ***Romeo und Julie***, which has not been brought to the stage here since her departure. Who would have dared it after **such a Julie**? — Everything was perfect in this performance, the expression of every feeling was moving, her singing was enchanting. — The aria "Meinen Romeo zu sehen &c." so captivated

the public that all caution was forgotten, and an encore was demanded with rapturous joy; the artist fulfilled this flattering (although rather immodest) wish of the worshipful throng, and repeated the aria, without any outward sign of apparent weakness!

Schiller's ***Maria Stuart*** ended the series of guest roles in which Madame Haßloch appeared here. This performance could justifiably be called a perfect whole, if a single person were able to create one. The artist stood alone at an unreachable height, and at ever greater distance from those acting with her. At every step her merits surpassed the others, even to the last—her elocution. The space in this newspaper does not permit us to follow her acting through every scene; only something on her conversation with Elisabeth:

> "as her noble, queenly wrath blazed forth."

With sensible boldness she had defied the pedantry of tradition, and even though—on account of a misunderstood direction by the author, and counter to his own practice in Weimar— the Queen of England still wore her crown outside the Audience Hall,

> "where the clamorous hunt sounds,"

Maria appears simply in white, with white veils; these latter adornments follow her pictorial gestures in ever changing form, and the richly folded fabric flows about the noble sufferer in free beauty. Throughout the powerful passions that rage about the unfortunate woman in this scene, the nobility of her behavior was constantly visible and her high rank was brought to life. The woman who bowed down at Elisabeth's feet was a queen, and the abused Maria spoke the piercing word to her enemy with the dignity of a queen—so that this performance surprised us as a rare and worthy counterpart to Iffland's Count Wodmar. That she accurately reproduced all the euphony that lies in the poet's words, and did not make a single arbitrary alteration to the verse, we mention only because this respect for an intellectual work is so uncommon on the German stage.

The quotation "ihr großes, feuersprühendes Auge" (her great, fire-spewing eye) is from chapter 28 ("Leontion an Glycera") of Christoph Martin Wieland's novel *Menander und Glycerion*, which had just recently been published. The reviewer's negative comment on *Medea*

pertains to the suitability of the story for the stage, not to Christiane's performance, which the reviewer praises. The reviewer quibbles with her rendition of the line "daß ich hasse, wie ich liebe" (that I hate, as I love), from Medea's long opening monologue in the first scene. But to a modern audience, abrupt changes of affect in the delivery of lines spoken by a character driven to the point of insanity by powerful and conflicting emotions would probably seem realistic, and preferable to a specious uniformity of tone. The quotation "wie sie der edle, königliche Zorn umglänzte" (as her noble, queenly wrath blazed forth) is from Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Act 3, scene 5, Mortimer to Maria: "Wie dich der edle königliche Zorn / Umglänzte, deine Reize mir verklärte! Du bist das schönste Weib auf dieser Erde!". The line "wo die tobende Jagd erscholl" is from Act 3, scene 1 of the same play. It is spoken by Maria to Hanna Kennedy; the setting is outdoors in parkland: "Oft vernahm sie mein Ohr mit Freuden, / Auf des Hochlands bergigen Haiden, / Wann die tobende Jagd erscholl." Graf Wodmar, in the reviewer's comparison with Iffland, is a lead role in Gemmingen's *Der deutsche Hausvater*.

****

Dorothea Wachsmuth, née Keilholz, died in 1804; at present, we do not know the exact date of her death or where she died. Because we do not know when she was born, neither do we know her age at the time of her death, but she is unlikely to have been older than 35. Dorothea had spent her career largely in the shadow of her older sister. In her youth she was sometimes criticized for over-exuberance as an actress; but the praise in the report from Kassel in May 1798 (quoted above) suggests that she had grown into a mature and popular performer. Even in her younger years she had fans: the first volume of *Annalen des Theaters*, published in 1788, includes a poem addressed to her ("Der Knabe. An Demoiselle Keilholz, die jüngere"). The poet tells of having seen on the stage "a boy of extraordinary gifts" (Ich sah vor kurzem einen Knaben von außerordentlich Gaben), a boy who acted as if his heart had been pierced by love's arrow. The boy was lovely, youthful, naive, free. He sang with silvery tones and great feeling. In each stanza Dorothea's imagined responses to the poet are indented and quoted. The last of the six stanzas reads:

> E rinnerst du dich keines Knaben
> Mit blauem Auge, blondem Haar? —
> Kurz, daß ich Dir ihn näher bringe,
> So wisse, daß er, den ich singe,
> Nicht Knabe — daß er Mädchen war!
> "Ah darum rühmten Sie ihn so! —
> "Wer war das Mädchen denn und wo?"
> Du selbst, als Pag' im Figaro!
> [*Annalen des Theaters*, 1788, i:124–25]

> Do you not remember a boy
> With blue eyes, blond hair? —
> In short, to give you a hint who I mean,
> Know that he of whom I sing

Was no boy — he was a girl!
"Ah, so that is why you praise him so! —
"Who was the girl then, and where?"
You yourself, as the Page in *Figaro*!

It is tempting to think that the poet is referring to Dorothea as Cherubino in Mozart's opera. Indeed it is likely (although not certain) that she sang this role in the premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* in Bonn on 14 Nov 1789 (see above and our entry on that premiere), and she certainly sang it in the opera's premiere in Mannheim the following year. But the poem was published in 1788, and we have no evidence that Dorothea (or her sister) had the opportunity to learn or perform this opera prior to their engagement in Bonn; it was not in the repertory of the Klos company in 1787 and 1788, or that of its short-lived predecessor, the Großmann-Klos company. It is more likely, then, that the poet is referring to Dorothea performing "Cherubin" in a German version of Beaumarchais's original play. This does not entirely solve the problem, however: the Großmann-Klos company is not known to have performed the play (although it had been a staple of Großmann's previous company), nor is the Klos company known to have had it in its repertory during the period when the Keilholz sisters were members (the play is not in the company's repertory list printed in *ThK* 1789, 174–75). Beaumarchais's *Figaro* had been performed in Hamburg as early as 18 May 1785 and was repeated there often, but (according to the posters) Dorothea did not appear in that production. At present, then, we do not know where or when Dorothea performed the role of the Page in Beaumarchais's play, although the poem itself is strong evidence that she did.

In Dec 1804, a touching and sad eulogy to Dorothea Wachsmuth was published in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*:

Erinnerung an eine zu früh verblichene Schauspiele=
rin Mad. Wachsmuth geb. Keilholz.
(Von einem ihrer Zuschauer ihr gewidmet.)

Wer einem Publikum Freude machte, verdient auch von ihm bei gewissen Schlußperioden ein Andenken gewidmet zu erhalten. Da Schreiber dieses aber mit dem Gange der leicht vergessenden Welt bekannt ist, und mit Unwillen Jemandem seinen wohl verdienten Lohn entzogen sieht, so weihet er einer früh dahin geschiedenen braven Schauspie= lerin diese wenigen Worte in Ermangelung einer kleinen Rede, die man ihr wohl auf der Bühne, wo sie ihre besten Talente zeigte, und wo man ihre letzten Kräfte schwinden sah, hätte zum Andenken halten können. Mad. **Wachsmuth** war in vieler Hinsicht eine seltene Erscheinung für eine Teutsche Schauspielerin in dem Fache, welches sie spielte. In der Oper wie im Schauspiel giebt es ein Fach, welches den ganzen Zauber der da fesseln soll, umfaßt — es ist das idealische — poetische. — In Schauspielen legt man diesen

reizertheilenden poetischen Theil in die naiven Rollen, in Opern entweder gleichfalls in diese, oder es erscheint irgend eine leichtfüßige Gottheit, welche richtig vorzustellen Ge= stalten erfordert wie man sie in dieser Welt, am seltensten aber in unserem allzu ernsten Teutschland, nicht findet. Mad. **Wachsmuth** schien nicht bloß durch ihre zauberi= sche Gestalt zu solchen Rollen bestimmt; sondern auch durch ihre Ausbildung, durch ihren Gesang, der ganz die gute Italienische Methode athmete — obgleich ihre schwache Stimme durch die Gewalt, mit der sie auf dem Theater sin= gen mußte, oft etwas herbe wurde. Ueberraschend war die Vielseitigkeit dieser talentvollen Frau. Eben so belustigte ihre natürliche Lustigkeit in naiven Rollen als Emilie, im Kind der Liebe &c. als sie in zärtlichen tief rührte. Unver= geßlich bleibt sie dem unpartheiischen Kenner als **Cora**, **Oberon**, **Amor** im Baum der Diane. An der Ver= schiedenheit dieser drei Rollen, wird man schon sehen, wie sie das Lob der Vielseitigkeit verdient; um so mehr da sie mit gleichem Glücke die verschiedenartigsten Rollen des Schauspiels so wie der Oper ausführte. Als junges Mäd= chen trat sie auf der Kaßler Bühne auf, gefiel und bezau= berte das Publikum; späterhin ließ man ihr keine volle Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren: die Anstrengung die ihre schwa= che Gesundheit heischte, erregte Mitleiden. Die Menge trägt dieses aber nicht lange, und so wird der arme Gegen= stand am Ende das Opfer abgedrungener unangenehmer Ge= fühle. So war es mit der armen **Wachsmuth**. Ein jeder setzte etwas an ihr aus, und wußte selbst nicht was, weil der Grund in ihrer angehenden Krankheit lag, die den Zuschauer und sie verstimmten. Durch ihren Beruf ge= zwungen, spielte sie, bis der Tod nach einer kurzjährigen Auszehrung sie erlöste. Gerechtigkeit ihren Talenten! dies ist der vereinte Wunsch aller wahren Kunstfreunde.

D.

[*Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, vol. 19, Dec 1804, 595–97]

[translation:]

Remembrance of an actress who perished too soon,
Wachsmuth, née Keilholz
(Dedicated to her by one of her audience)

One who has given joy to the public also deserves, at certain points of closure, to receive back from it a dedicated memorial. Because, however, the writer of these lines is acquainted with the way of things in this quickly forgetful world, and is unwilling to see someone denied her well-deserved reward, thus

he is dedicating these few words to a fine actress who died too soon, in lieu of the short speech that ought to have been given in her memory on the stage where she displayed her best talent, and where her final powers were seen to fade. Madame **Wachsmuth** was in many respects a rare figure for a German actress in the Fach in which she acted. In operas as well as plays there is a Fach that encompasses all of the magic that is meant to be captured in them — it is the ideal — the poetic. — In plays, this appealing poetic aspect is placed in the naive roles; in operas, one does the same, or it appears in some fleet-footed deity, who rightly needs to be played in a manner that is not of this world, but which is very rarely found in our all-too-serious Germany. Madame **Wachsmuth** seemed made for such roles, not only because of her magical presence, but also through her training, and through her singing, which breathed completely of the good Italian method — although her weak voice often became somewhat harsh from the force with which she had to sing in the theater. The versatility of this talented woman was surprising. Her natural gaiety amused equally in such naive roles as Amalie in *Das Kind der Natur*, as it was moving in tender ones. For the impartial connoisseur, she remains unforgettable as **Cora**, **Oberon**, **Amor** in *Der Baum der Diana*. From the diversity of these three roles it will already be seen how she merits the praise of versatility, all the more so because she performed the most diverse roles in both plays and opera. She appeared on the Kassel stage as a young woman, pleasing and enchanting the public; later she was not done full justice: the exertion that her weak health demanded aroused pity. But the mob does not tolerate this for long, so the poor creature in the end becomes the victim of forced unpleasant feelings. So it was with poor **Wachsmuth**. Everyone found some fault with her, and did not know what it was — because the reason lay in her emerging illness, which irritated the audience and her. Forced by her occupation, she acted until death released her after a few years of consumption. Justice to her talents! this is the united wish of all true friends of art.

D.

Because we do not know when Dorothea was born, we cannot say how old she was when she came to Kassel in 1793, but she was probably around 20, or a year or two on either side. The eulogist's references are to the role of Amalie (not Emilie) in Kotzebue's *Das Kind der Liebe* (not "Natur"), Cora in Kotzebue's *Die Sonnenjungfrau*, the title role in Paul Wranitzky's *Oberon*, and Amor in *Der Baum der Diana*, a German version of Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana*. The writer's reference to "die gute italienische Methode" (the good Italian method) may hint at her vocal training and her sister's. At present, we know only that Christiane Keilholz studied with Johann Friedrich Hönicke, who was not a singer, but a good musician, becoming director of

music and leader of the orchestra in the Hamburg theater. She may also have studied with soprano Felicitas Agnesia Benda (née Ritz), who had studied in Würzburg with tenor Domenico Steffani; according to Gerber (*Neues Lexikon*, iv, col. 269), Steffani taught at the Conservatorio della Pietà in Venice, before being brought to Würzburg to establish a singing school there. It seems likely that Dorothea and Christiane studied with the same teachers; if so, both may have been trained in "the good Italian" method by Benda who had received it from Steffani. If Christiane had a foundation of good vocal training of this sort, it would help explain how she was able to undertake so many demanding leading roles in operas and plays in quick succession, sometimes even back-to-back.

The eulogist speaks of Dorothea suffering from "Auszehrung," which in the eighteenth-century primarily meant "consumption." Although historical diagnosis is anything but an exact science, Dorothea's slow decline from a wasting disease that affected her lungs would be consistent with tuberculosis. Even her eulogist probably did not know that she had sung Cherubino under Mozart's direction in Mannheim in 1790.

In 1810 Carl Haßloch came to the court theater in Darmstadt as tenor and director, and in 1813 he was named Hofkapellmeister there (Schweitzer 1975, 26). His wife Christiane also performed in the theater in Darmstadt, although this portion of her career has yet to be investigated. According to Schweitzer, the Haßlochs had two sons in the years between Kassel and Darmstadt: Christian born in 1805, and Wilhelm born in 1807. If that is correct, Christiane would have had these two sons at a relatively late age, around 41 and 43. The Haßlochs may also have had an older son, Carl August. He is mentioned in the sad story (which we have not yet been able to verify) that Schweitzer tells about Christiane's death:

> Christiane Haßloch starb am 25. Dezember 1820 an einer Jahre lang andauernden Gemütskrankheit. Sie konnte den Verlust ihres Sohnes Carl August, der in den Jahren 1812–1815 mit der Armee Napoleons nach Rußland mußte, nicht verwinden. Carl August hatte es bis zum Leutnant gebracht. Bei dem Rückzug der französischen Armee kam er nicht weiter als nach Wilna, wo er teils durch Kälte, Hunger und Strapazen gestorben war. [Schweitzer 1975, 30]

> Christiane Haßloch died on 25 December 1820 after an emotional illness that had lasted some years. She could not overcome the loss of her son Carl August, who had to go to Russia with Napoleon's army in 1812–1815. Carl August had advanced to the rank of lieutenant. During the retreat of the French army, he made it no further than Vilnius, where he died, in part from cold, hunger, and exertion.

In other words, Christiane died of a broken heart. She was 56.

Conclusion (⇧)

Christiane and Dorothea Keilholz both performed in important productions of Mozart's operas, ranging from the Mannheim premiere of *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* on 24 Oct 1790—probably

under Mozart's direction—to the earliest known production of *Idomeneo* in German, in Kassel in 1802. Dorothea may have played the role of Cherubino in the Bonn premiere of *Figaro* (probably on 14 Nov 1789), and Christiane may have sung Susanna in that production; she certainly sang Susanna as a guest role in Frankfurt on 25 Sep 1790. The roles of Konstanze, Donna Anna, and Queen of the Night became staples of Christiane's repertoire and she sang them often; she seems to have performed in *Figaro* less often. In 1802 she sang Elettra (Elektra) in the Kassel production of *Idomeneo*. She was also announced as Vitellia for a concert performance of the first act of *La clemenza di Tito* in Hamburg in 1801, but it remains uncertain whether she actually appeared (a review of the concert does not mention her). During her career, Dorothea, primarily a soubrette, sang the roles of Blonde, Cherubino, Zerlina, and (in 1802) Ilia.

In the summer of 1790, the Keilholz sisters made an extraordinary series of guest appearances with the Nationaltheater in Mannheim, appearances that served as their tryouts for the company, which did not have obvious openings for them. Nevertheless, both were hired, mainly on the strength of Christiane's extraordinary performances. Two of the works in their series of tryouts were by Mozart. They first performed in Mannheim on 6 Jun 1790 in Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (as Konstanze and Blonde); and on 13 Jun 1790, they appeared together in *Don Juan* (as Donna Anna and Zerlina). That they chose two operas by Mozart for their all-important tryouts suggests they knew that both were already in the Mannheim repertory and both were popular there. The enthusiastic reception of Christiane's performance as Konstanze is particularly striking, as that role had long been sung in Mannheim by Josepha Beck (née Schäfer), one of the great Mozart sopranos of the era.

Both Keilholz sisters performed major roles in operas and spoken theater throughout their careers. In the eighteenth century, members of traveling theater companies were often required both to act and sing as circumstances required; but by the last two decades of the eighteenth century, such crossing over between opera and spoken theater was already less common in resident companies, such as those in Hamburg, Bonn, and Mannheim. In fact, it is difficult to name prominent examples of actresses in resident German companies at the end of the eighteenth century who took leading roles in both genres. One was Minna Brandes, who performed leading roles in opera and plays in Hamburg in the 1780s, and may have been the motivation for the Keilholz sisters to do the same. Another actress successful in both genres was Friedericke Betmann-Unzelmann (1760–1815), although contemporaneous accounts suggest that she was a stronger actress than a singer (Laskus 1927, 35ff).

The Keilholz sisters may have received sound vocal training in "the Italian method" from Felicitas Agnesia Benda. While Christiane unquestionably had the greater natural vocal talent, Dorothea also had a successful career, cut short by illness, probably tuberculosis. Their good vocal training would have been essential in maintaining their vocal health in grueling performance schedules that sometimes required appearing in different major roles on successive days.

Reviewers who witnessed Christiane's performances were nearly unanimous in their praise of her powerful acting, in both operas and plays. Although she made a good impression as a singing

actress in her younger years in Hamburg, she seems not to have begun to incorporate major roles from spoken theater into her repertoire until after her departure from the Hamburg company in 1786. She may have been inspired to take on major roles in plays because of her rivalry with Minna Brandes, who was successful in both genres. That Christiane was able to achieve acclaim as a major actress in serious stage roles such as Eulalia in *Menschenhaß und Reue* and Luise in *Kabale und Liebe* in Mannheim in 1790, after (apparently) only four years of experience, is a testament to her talent, intelligence, and ambition. She continued to add major roles in both opera and spoken theater to her repertoire throughout her career: prominent examples are the title roles in Cherubini's *Lodoïska* and Schiller's *Maria Stuart*—and, of course, Queen of the Night in *Die Zauberflöte*.

Throughout her career, critics referred to Christiane's powerfully evocative physical and facial acting, which was reputedly able to transmit intense emotions directly to audiences in ways that left them spellbound and sometimes in tears. She was at her greatest in portrayals of women of intense and conflicting emotion: Konstanze, Donna Anna, Queen of the Night, Elettra, Eulalia, Nina, Julie (in *Romeo und Julie*), and Maria Stuart, to name only a few of the most prominent roles. That Christiane was also physically beautiful (as reviewers continually attested and can be seen from her portrait) also undoubtedly played a role in the impact she had on her male audience. Comedy was not her forte, although she did not entirely avoid comedic roles; her sister Dorothea had more success in that genre. Christiane's acting style was probably rooted in the great actors she had seen early in life, most notably Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, one of the most influential actors of the era (on Schröder, see especially Williams 1985, 54–62). But the reports of those who saw Christiane at her best suggest that she brought an inventive genius of her own to her portrayals.

The history of the Keilholz family hints at a family dynamic that was central to their lives but perhaps not altogether healthy, and one is often reminded of modern cases of ambitious parents managing (or attempting to manage) the careers of their talented children. The Keilholz family was a theatrical one, but father and mother seemed to have stopped performing by around 1782. The eldest child, Adolf, a good tenor but by all accounts a bad actor, probably initially became the family's primary breadwinner. Brandes, in his autobiography, mentions that the Keilholz family had a benefactor in Hamburg, who may have helped support the family while the sisters continued their studies. But Christiane had already demonstrated her star quality at a young age during the family's engagement in Hamburg between 1777 and 1780; indeed, one suspects that a primary motivation of the new Hamburg directorate in recalling the Keilholz family from Münster in 1780 was to have Christiane back. She was still only 15, but already unquestionably a star. Philipp Keilholz, the father, seems to have continued to manage the sisters' careers, at least through the period of their engagement in Mannheim. Their brother Adolf Keilholz maintained a career that was largely separate from the rest of the family between his flight from Hamburg in 1786 and the siblings' reunion in Amsterdam in 1792 in Dietrichs' company. It seems plausible that Christiane and Dorothea might have broken their Mannheim contracts precisely in order to reunite the family.

The Keilholz saga is an illuminating case study in the varying fortunes of a family attempting to make lives and livelihoods in the theater under the continually fluid and unstable circumstances of the eighteenth century. Their theatrical lives became interwoven with Mozart's operas from an early point. It is precisely because of Christiane's powerful acting and singing in the roles of Konstanze, Donna Anna, Queen of the Night, and Elettra that she deserves wider recognition as one of the pre-eminent Mozart sopranos of her era and an important force in the early reception of his operas on the German stage.

Notes (⇧)

Schwob (2015, 137–40) gives a longer, but still partial transcription of this long report published in the sixth issue of *Annalen des Theaters*. The extract at the top of this page gives the complete texts of the portions regarding performances of Mozart's operas.

The Keilholz sisters and their family have been largely neglected by Mozart scholars and scholars of eighteenth-century opera and theater; much of what appears in standard references is inaccurate or wrong and has never been corrected, and these errors have been propagated in current reference works. Because their careers were peripatetic, primary sources on their lives and careers are fragmented and scattered. Prior to the availability of the growing body of digitized primary sources online, research on the Keilholz sisters would have been enormously time-consuming and (for most scholars) prohibitively expensive. Our commentary here represents merely an initial attempt to draw together some of the many previously unremarked sources on the Keilholz family that have become available online in the last decade or so, and we have focused here mainly on their careers up to Christiane's triumphant return to Mannheim in 1804 and Dorothea's death that same year.

The story told here has been based primarily on the wide array of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century periodicals and yearbooks now available online, some quite rare: Reichard's *Theater-Kalender*, Bertram's journals (*Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*, *Ephemeriden der Literatur und des Theaters*, and *Annalen des Theaters*), *Theater-Journal für Deutschland*, *Reichs Post-Reuter*, *Journal aller Journale*, *Gazette de Bonn*, *Die Deutsche Thalia in Amsterdam*, *Rheinische Musen*, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, *Raisonirendes Journal vom deutschen Theater zu Hamburg*, and *Aurora*, to name only those used most often in this commentary. Also important are early histories and memoirs, including Schütze's 1794 history of theater in Hamburg, and the autobiographies of Iffland (1798) and Brandes (1800). For the Mannheim theater, where a large proportion of primary sources were destroyed in the Second World War, Pichler (1879) and Walter (1899) remain essential. This commentary has benefited tremendously from the relatively new *Digitaler Spielplan des Hamburger Stadttheaters 1770–1850* from the Universität Hamburg. This outstanding resource includes scanned pdfs of surviving posters, and these have made possible the complete reconstruction of the performances by the Keilholz siblings in Hamburg during a crucial early stage of their career, from 1783 to 1786, and also for the engagement of Carl and Christiane Haßloch in Hamburg in 1800.

So far as we are aware, almost no archival research has been done on the Keilholz family; the only possible exception seems to be Schweitzer's chapter on Carl Haßloch (Schweitzer 1975), which gives precise dates of birth and death for Christiane; these may be based on archival documentation, but Schweitzer cites no sources. Apart from this, all secondary reference literature has given birth dates and places that ultimately derive from the listings for the Keilholz family in Reichard's *Theater-Kalender*, in its "Verzeichniß einiger lebenden Mitglieder der deutschen Bühne …" (Register of some living members of German theater companies); the Keilholz family first appears on this register in the volume for 1782 (*ThK* 1782, 208–9). As Mozarteans will know, the *Theater-Kalender* is by no means an unimpeachable source for such biographical information.

We have not had the opportunity to investigate the 31 letters in German archives currently cataloged on Kalliope that mention the name "Keilholz," nor the 8 letters from this period that mention the name "Haßloch." Most of these letters are in the Kestner collection in the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig; by far the largest proportion are letters to Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann. The letters include four written by the father, Philipp Keilholz, six by Adolf Keilholz, three by Christiane, and six by her husband Carl Haßloch, five of which are to Schiller.

References to the names "Keilholz" or "Haßloch" in letters listed on Kalliope (1780–1802)

Date	Sender	Recipient	Location
21 Feb 1780	Johann Bonaventura Murr (Münster)	Großmann	Kestner
6 Feb 1781	Maximilian Scholz (Hamburg)	Großmann	Kestner
28 Apr 1781	Philipp Christian Keilholz (Hamburg)	Wolfgang Heribert von Dalberg	BSB
29 Oct 1785	Friedrich Wilhelm Dengel (Hamburg)	Großmann	Kestner
28 Aug 1786	Philipp Christian Keilholz (Hamburg)	Großmann	Kestner
26 Sep 1786	Adolf Keilholz (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
6 Dec 1786	Adolf Keilholz (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
8 Feb 1787	Philipp Christian Keilholz (Köln)	Großmann	Kestner
9 Mar 1787	Philipp Christian Keilholz (Köln)	Großmann	Kestner
10 Mar 1787	Christiane Keilholz (Köln)	Großmann	Kestner
27 Aug 1787	Rosburg (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
29 Sep 1787	Rosburg (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
3 Oct 1787	Rosburg (Lübeck)	Victoria Magdalena Schrott	Kestner
19 Dec 1787	Adolf Keilholz (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
5 Jan 1788	Adolf Keilholz (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
12 Jan 1788	Rosburg (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
29 Jan 1788	Adolf Keilholz (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner

Date	Sender	Recipient	Location
23 Feb 1788	Carl Pauli (Lübeck)	Großmann	Kestner
26 Jun 1788	Christiane Keilholz (Aachen)	Victoria Magdalena Schrott	Kestner
ca. 1790	Joseph Karl Ambrosch	Großmann	Kestner
17 Feb 1790	Bernhard Franz Joseph von Gerold (Bonn)	Großmann	Kestner
18 Apr 1790	Adolf Keilholz (Kassel)	Großmann	
23 Aug 1790	Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (Hamburg)	Großmann	Kestner
8 Sep 1790	Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (Hamburg)	unknown	Kestner
6 Mar 1791	Johann Christian Brandes (Berlin)	Großmann	Kestner
30 Jul 1791	Johann Christian Brandes (Berlin)	Großmann	Kestner
17 Oct 1791	Anton Christian Hunnius (Breslau)	Großmann	Kestner
17 Dec 1791	Christiane Keilholz (Mannheim)	Victoria Magdalena Schrott	Kestner
26 May 1793	Carl Wilhelmn Heinze	Großmann	Kestner
25 Mar 1794	Johann August Halbe (Kassel)	Großmann	Kestner
12 May 1794	Dorothea Huber	Großmann	Kestner
6 Jul 1794	Wilhelmine Charlotte Albertine Keilholz (Neustrelitz)	Großmann	Kestner
26 Nov 1798	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	unknown	Bremen
1802	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	Friedrich Schiller	Weimar
28 Jan 1802	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	Friedrich Schiller	Weimar
13 Feb 1802	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	Friedrich Schiller	Weimar
16 Feb 1802	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	Friedrich Schiller	Weimar
23 Feb 1802	Carl (Theodor) Haßloch	Friedrich Schiller	Weimar
26 & 28 Mar 1802	Kurfürst Wilhelm I (Hessen-Kassel), &c.		Leipzig

We have not taken into account here a folder of archival documents from the years 1811–1829 dealing with Carl Haßloch in Darmstadt; these documents have been scanned by the archive and are available online. At least a few theater posters from Darmstadt during the period when Carl and Christiane Haßloch performed there are also available online. Any further research on the Keilholz family will have to take all of these unexamined sources into account.

We will not attempt to give a comprehensive account of secondary references works on the Keilholz family and their errors. Just two brief examples will suffice.

- The article on Christiane Keilholz in Blum, Herloßsohn, and Marggraf (1841, 355–56) begins:

> ***Keilholz** (Christiane Elisabeth), geb. 1764 zu Pirna, betrat die Bühne 1780 mit eben so viel Glück als Talent. Sie war hierauf erste Sängerin in Hamburg und Mannheim, von 1792–95 in Amsterdam, dann in Kassel, wo sie sich mit dem Sänger Haßloch verehelichte. [...]*
>
> The year and place of birth ultimately derive from the *Theater-Kalender*. However, the entry in the *Theater-Kalender* goes on to claim that Christiane made her first appearance on stage in 1769, and as we have seen, her earliest documented appearance on stage in Hamburg was on 18 Nov 1777. Her association with the theater between then and 1786 was intermittent, and she was only the sole "erste Sängerin" for a relatively short time, in 1782 and 1783. She seems to have been in Amsterdam only in 1792 and 1793; by Sep 1793 she and Carl Haßloch were at the theater Kassel, and she married Haßloch no later than mid 1794, by the time of the publication of the report on the Kassel theater in *Rheinische Musen* quoted above. All of the errors in Blum et al. are relatively minor, but in aggregate they given an inaccurate picture of her early career, and they were often repeated.
>
> • The article in Pies (1973, 188) on Adolf Keilholz implies that he and the Keilholz family were engaged continuously in Hamburg from 1772 to 1777. So far as we know the family was initially in Hamburg only in 1772–73, and for that period, we have found documentation only for the father's engagement with the theater. The father and the three Keilholz siblings were then engaged in Hamburg from late 1777 until 1779, and during the entire period from spring 1780 until Mar 1783; Pies misses these engagements after 1777 entirely. She has nothing on the engagement of Adolf (with his sisters) in Amsterdam in 1792–93. Pies makes a number of other claims about Adolf's many other (mostly brief) engagements that we have not yet been able to verify (Pies does not cite her sources).

Perhaps the most reliable secondary reference on Christiane Keilholz at the time of this writing is the article on her at German Wikipedia.

The word "herausgeklatscht," occurs in several eighteenth-century articles transcribed in this commentary; we have translated it as "curtain call," although that term is not attested in English until the 1880s, and thus strictly speaking is anachronistic. However, we do not know of a workable equivalent term from eighteenth-century English; a literal rendering of "herausgeklatscht," such as "clapped out," is not suitable because of the modern meaning of that idiom. A report in Bertram's *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung* on the Lessing memorial in Hamburg in 1781 refers to the "Vorhang" (curtain) in the theater being open (*LTZ*, xiii, 31 Mar 1781, 193), so we know that there was such a stage curtain in that theater, so the reference to a "curtain call" seems justified, in the sense that there were, in fact, curtains in at least some theaters. Sources on Christiane Keilholz's early career make clear that such "curtain calls" were still relatively rare in the theaters in which she performed.

The play in which Christiane Keilholz, her father, and her brother made their debuts in Hamburg on 18 Nov 1777 was *Präsentiert das Gewehr!* (1775) by Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller. Schütze (1794, 462) refers to the good impression that Christiane Keilholz made in the role of "Therese" in that work. However, there is no role "Therese" in the Viennese playbook of 1775: the three children of the "General" are named Josephe, Karl, and Friedrich (Fritz). Schütze may be thinking of the role of Josephe; he also notes that Adolf Keilholz played Karl.

The review in the *Reichs Post=Reuter* of the performance of *Das Rendezvous* in Hamburg on 7 May 1781 describes the piece as an "Operette" (an operetta or singspiel). The Hamburg theater database (which does not cite this review) identifies the work only as a translation of Mercier's play *L'indigent*, and not as a singspiel.

A review in *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung* of a performance of *Das Urtheil des Midas* (after Grétry) in Hamburg on 7 Jan 1782 notes:

> Der Musikdirektor des hiesigen Theaters, **Herr Hönike**, hat ein artiges Rondeau für die ältere De= moiselle **Keilholz** gesetzt *[...]*
> [*LTZ*, xiv, 6 Apr 1782, 212]
>
> The music director of the theater here, Herr Hönicke, has set a pretty Rondeau for the elder Mademoiselle Keilholz *[...]*

Performing material from this production (a score and 18 vocal and instrumental parts) survives in the music collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg (D-Hs, ND VII 156). We have not had the opportunity to investigate this material to see if it contains Hönicke's rondeau for Christiane Keilholz.

The report in *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters* on the performance of *Das Narrenspital* in Hamburg on 23 Nov 1785 refers to one of the insertion numbers as "das Rondeau von **André**: Sind wir gleich im Anfang blöde &c." This is the first line of a song in *Adrast und Isidore*, a text attributed to Christoph Friedrich Bretzner, after Molière. The most well-known setting of Bretzner's text was by Baron Otto Erdmann von Kospoth, first performed in Berlin in 1779 (see Bauman 1985, 353). André himself is not known to have set the text, but he did publish Kospoth's setting of "Sind wir gleich" in a collection, and that probably accounts for the reviewer's misattribution to André. At any rate, it was most likely Kospoth's setting that was performed in Hamburg on 23 Nov 1785.

Two printings of Bretzner's text in the eighteenth century—one associated with a setting by Friedrich Preu (Leipzig, 1779), and another from a songbook from 1787—give the first couplet as:

> Sind wir gleich im Anfang spröde,
> Thun wir gleich ein wenig blöde *[...]*

Both refer to the number as a "Rondeau." Bretzner's text was published in Vienna in 1780 for yet another setting (said to be by Franz Adam von Mitscha [Miča]) that was performed twice in the Burgtheater that year and then dropped. In the Viennese printing, the opening rhyme is reversed, thus matching the first line as quoted by the reviewer in *Ephemeriden*:

> Sind wir gleich im Anfang blöde
> Thun wir gleich ein wenig spröde *[...]*

But there is no reason to think that the setting by Mitscha (or for that matter the one by Preu) would have been known in Hamburg.

An article published in *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters* in Aug 1786 writes of a performance in Altona of the singspiel *Robert und Hannchen* by Karl Hanke:

> *[...]* Die Musik von Ro=
> bert und Hannchen, die Hr. **Hanke** während seines Aufenthalts in Hamburg komponirte, kennen Sie aus dem von ihm herausgegebenen Klavierauszüge. Das Bildniß der Demois. **Keilholz**, welches auf dem Titel=blatt en Medaillon in Kupfer gestochen ist, gleicht die=ser liebenswürdigen Sängerin nicht ganz; das Gesicht ist zu völlig gerathen. — *[...]*
> [*Ephemeriden*, iv:32, 93]

> *[...]* You know from the the music of *Robert und Hannchen* from the keyboard-vocal score published by Herr **Hanke**, who composed it during his time in Hamburg. The portrait of Mademoiselle **Keilholz**, which is *en medaillon* on the title page in copper engraving, does not entirely resemble this amiable singer; the face turned out too full. — *[...]*

We have been unable to locate an exemplar of the keyboard-vocal score of Hanke's singspiel; it is not currently listed on RISM. Thus we have been unable to determine if this copper engraving differs from the engraving by Johann Christian Gottfried Fritsch shown in the commentary above.

Wolter's calendar of performances by the various theatrical companies of Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann is quite faulty (Walter 1901, Beilage 2). Two errors have turned up in the preparation of this commentary:

> • Wolter incorrectly labels *Figaros Hochzeit* on 11 Apr 1785 in Frankfurt as "Beaumarchais-Mozart" (Wolter 1901, Beilage 2, xxiii). Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* was first performed in Vienna on 1 May 1786, and was first performed in German (so far as we know) in Donaueschingen on 23 Sep 1787. Großmann's performance in Frankfurt must have been a German adaptation of Beaumarchais's play.
>
> • A necessary heading is missing from Wolter's calendar for Großmann in 1786, implying that Großmann's company (actually Großmann-Klos at that point) was in Frankfurt in the period 5 Oct to 19 Nov 1786. The company was actually in Cologne.

The review of *Romeo und Juliet* in *Gazette de Bonn* in its issue of 10 Nov 1789 is also given with slightly different translation in Whiting (2018, 815n70).

Würtz (1975, 75) states that the Keilholz family arrived in Mannheim on 26 May 1790, but gives no source, so we have not incorporated that date into the main text.

The poetic mash note in blank verse, "An Demoiselle Keilholz in Mannheim," published in *Annalen des Theaters* in 1792 (viii:8–10) refers at the end to four of the roles that Christiane performed in Mannheim. The identifications of three are straightforward: Julie in *Romeo und Julie*, Iphigenia in Gluck's *Iphigenie in Tauris*, and the title role in *Nina*. We have not yet been able to identify the fourth, "Roberts Lotte"; we have not found any play or opera from that time that contains both of these role names. The tragedy *Alderson* by Brandes has roles for Charlotte and Robert, but Robert (ein Kammerdiener des Grafen) seems to be a secondary role. In any case, this play was performed in Mannheim only on 18 Sep 1788, before the Keilholz sisters had joined the company. One prominent work with a "Robert" at this time was *Robert und Kalliste*, a German adaptation of Guglielmi's *La sposa fedele*. However, this opera was not given in Mannheim while the Keilholz sisters were engaged there. Gemmingen's play *Der deutsche Hausvater* includes a character named Lottchen, and the play was performed in Mannheim on 17 Aug 1790 (Walter 1899, ii:320) when Christiane Keilholz was a member of the company; but there is no character named Robert.

The passage from the *Taschenbuch fürs Theater* (Mannheim, 1795, 34) on Christiane's settlement of 100 ducats with the Mannheim theater for having broken her contract is copied with only very minor changes by Pichler (1879, 124), who does not, however, cite it.

Our transcription of Brawe's review of the concert performance of the first act of *La clemenza di Tito* is taken from de.wikisource, which also provides photographs of the individual pages of the original; we have reinserted the original line breaks into the transcription and made a few very minor copyediting changes to match our site style.

The performance of *Idomeneo* in Kassel is already mentioned by Nissen (1828, 436), who essentially plagiarizes the first sentence of the review in *AmZ*, which he does not cite. Jahn cites the review in the first edition of his Mozart biography, but does not quote it (Jahn 1856–59, ii:564). Nissen and Jahn give only the year of the performance; so far as we know, the precise date, 1 Jan 1802, comes from Loewenberg, and we do not yet know Loewenberg's source.

Walter (1899, i:296) lists contracts with the Mannheim theater in 1806 and 1808 for a "Carl Keilholz" (the contracts do not survive). It has sometimes been assumed that this was Adolf Keilholz (see, for example, Pies 1973, 188), but "Carl" or "Karl" was not, so far as we know, one of Adolf's names; the *Theater-Kalender* (*ThK* 1782, 208) gives his full name as "Adolf Philipp Christian Keilholz". At present, the relationship of Carl Keilholz to the Keilholz family is unknown, but perhaps he was Adolf's son.

Because of inconsistencies in the treatment of different volumes of *Annalen des Theaters* on Google Books, we have been obliged in several cases to link instead to scans on Hathi. Unfortunately, the scans on Hathi, perhaps owing to the vagaries of international copyright, may not be accessible from locations outside the United States. We apologize for any inconvenience this may cause users. Scans of most or all volumes of *Annalen des Theaters* are available online at the site of the Austrian National Library.

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