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THE WORK OF EMANUEL SCHIKANEDER AND THE TRADITION OF  
THE OLD VIENNESE POPULAR THEATRE.

A B S T R A C T

The establishment of the 'Theater am Kärntnertor' in 1712 allowed Stranitzky to call into existence the phenomenon known as Old Viennese Popular Theatre. This first resident theatre was itself responsible for the canalizing of literary and theatrical forces from home and abroad into an art form which gradually became specifically Viennese in character and which at the same time showed signs that it was attempting to elevate itself aesthetically. These signs were already becoming noticeable under Stranitzky, Prehauser and Kurz, but, in the early stages of Viennese Popular Theatre, only assumed some significance in the works of Philipp Hafner. As an incident which served to make popular theatre more conscious of the presence of literary drama the conflict between these two theatrical genres is important. It associates itself also with a wider sphere of theatrical activity as Joseph II attempts to found the German National Theatre and the National Singspiel in Vienna, the latter musical genre having been used by Kurz and Prehauser previously as a characteristic ingredient of Old Viennese Popular Theatre.

By Imperial Decree and a series of deaths, the influence of the Old Viennese Popular Theatre diminished greatly in Vienna in 1769 and its main representative, the popular comedian Hans Wurst, was exiled to a life on the Wanderbühne. The works of Philipp Hafner and, occasionally, those of the earlier popular comedians, also found their way on to the strolling stage. Schikaneder's experience and taste were wide enough to embrace a variety of aspects from both the Wanderbühne and the Old Viennese Popular Theatre. Thus his repertoire ranged from the popular 'Singspiel' to more formal opera on the one hand, and from popular and spectacular drama to the works of the more respectable playwrights such as Shakespeare, Lessing and Schiller on the other. The variety of Schikaneder's experience as actor, singer and impresario in the performance of works by others therefore enabled him to utilize that same variety in creating his own works. Throughout he never forgot his allegiance to both the popular and the national stage, an allegiance which is admirably stated via the 'Singspiel' particularly in the association between Schikaneder and the Mozart family in Salzburg in 1780. Even from the outset of his career

Schikaneder revealed that his theatrical ideals were raised somewhat higher than mere popular appeal and the first German 'Singspiel' of the era, his 'Die Lyranten' (1776), confirms this attitude. His dramas for the Wanderbühne in particular likewise reflect the influence of the classical stage and of popular environment as they illustrate a purposeful conciliation between the two extremes in producing works of artistic merit.

Schikaneder's activities in Vienna centred in the main around the furtherance and development of German 'Singspiel'. To this end it was important that he should have in his theatre musicians and singers of quality and his policy was directed accordingly. The musical standards of his theatre added therefore to the fame of 'Singspiel' to an extent which was never realized by the less ambitious products of Johann Adam Hiller on the Wanderbühne. The production of 'Die Zauberflöte' can consequently be regarded only as part of a much wider field of activity, important though the opera undoubtedly is. A direct link with the Old Viennese Popular Theatre is immediately established as the series of Schikaneder's 'Zauberoper'n' recall the earlier 'Zaubersingspiele' between the years 1712 and 1769. In both his dramatic and his musical works the sheer spectacle of the early popular stage is retained, but now with unifying and symbolic aspects. In his attempts to win credibility and vraisemblance for his 'Singspiel' and drama, Schikaneder is further persuaded to provide his work with local colour, a feature which was noted earlier in Hafner. The influence of the Old Viennese Popular Theatre is never completely lacking in Schikaneder's works and significantly the tradition did not end with his death in 1812. He did, however, impress his own individuality, his own theatrical and, to a degree, literary sense on that tradition and all his work reflects the inner conviction and purposeful drive of the skilled theatre-craftsman.

F. M. Batley.

22nd March, 1965.

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A B S T R A C T

From 1712 in the 'Theater am Kärtnertor' diverse literary and theatrical forces were canalized into a popular art form which became specifically Viennese and attained some aesthetic distinction under Stranitzky, Prehauser and Kurz. Even literary standards were achieved in the later works of Philipp Hafner, the most significant writer for the popular theatre. The growing conflict between this theatre and literary drama, allied to Joseph II's attempt to found a German National Theatre and Singspiel in Vienna, served to make the Old Viennese Popular Theatre more ambitious in its aims.

Popular theatre's influence in Vienna diminished after 1769 when Hans Wurst was exiled to the stage of the Wanderbühne, where works by the popular comedians and Hafner occasionally appeared. Here Schikaneder's repertoire reflected a variety of influence from the popular and strolling stage, ranging from popular 'Singspiel' to more formal opera, and from popular theatre to the dramas of Shakespeare, Lessing and Schiller. His wide experience as actor, singer and impresario provided Schikaneder with a rich source for the creation of his own works. An allegiance to the popular and national theatre is expressed in his attitude to drama and 'Singspiel', particularly in his association with the Mozart family in Salzburg in 1780.

In Vienna Schikaneder concentrated mainly on the development of 'Singspiel' and his theatres recorded a higher standard of musicianship than Miller's 'Singspiel' of the Wanderbühne had known. 'Die Zauberflöte' is therefore only part of a wider sphere of Schikaneder's activity and is to be seen as one of a series of 'Zauberopern', which renewed and strengthened their earlier association with Old Viennese Popular Theatre. These and other works for the Viennese stage reveal how Schikaneder elevated the literary and theatrical standing of popular theatre and how, externally, he remained subservient to its tradition.

2.

THE WORK OF EMANUEL SCHIKANEDER AND THE

TRADITION OF THE OLD VIENNESE POPULAR THEATRE

being an original thesis offered  
for the degree of M. Litt. of  
Durham University

by E. M. Batley, B.A., (Dunelm)

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p. 49. For 'fulfills' read 'fulfils'.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the initial stages of this thesis I was guided to Schikaneder's works and other relevant information by the Directors of the 'Wiener Staatsoper' and the 'Wiener Volkstheater', to whom I now express my thanks. The latter extended their kindness to bring me into contact with Professor Dr. Egon Komorzynski, who, despite his illness, gave me not a little assistance. A meeting with Professor Dr. Otto Erich Deutsch in Salzburg was both stimulating and enlightening. Professor Deutsch was very helpful in providing me with further information from the Mozart Museum in Salzburg, in particular in making available the text of Schikaneder's 'Der Luftballon' to be found in the 'Augsburger Mozartbuch', 1942/43. In view of his impending visit to America, I was more than ever conscious of his sacrifice of time, when he invited me to his home in Vienna and introduced me to his personal library. For this I am deeply indebted. The 'Musiksammlung', 'Theatersammlung' and 'Bildarchiv' of the Austrian National Library and the City Library in Vienna proved invaluable sources of information, whilst I am indebted also to the British Museum and the facilities offered by its Reading Room, as also to the University Libraries of Durham, Newcastle and Leeds. The topic was suggested to me by Professor D. F. S. Scott, Head of the German Department of Durham University, who, knowing my predilections from the start, remained throughout this study a constant and unique source of inspiration, freely giving his help, wherever it was needed.

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### AUTHOR'S NOTE

Many of the texts quoted in this work were printed originally at a time when use of the Modern German 'Umlaut' had not been standardized. In view of the typographical difficulties of reproducing its earlier rendering, the modern form has been adopted throughout. Antiquated or irregular orthography has been faithfully reproduced, unless ambiguities have threatened to emerge, and unless modern study has already accepted the standard spelling. The variety of literary and theatrical genres in this work has made the task of providing English equivalents impossible. There is no really satisfactory rendering in English of the term 'Volksstück' and where English has already attempted to convey the German meaning, as, for instance, 'fairy-opera' instead of 'Zauberoper', it has failed lamentably.

\*\*\*\*\*



## PREFACE

Throughout its history the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater reveals itself as a phenomenon arising from popular origin; where the rule of subsistence enforces a degree of compliance with the wishes of its audience, developing, nevertheless, to its eventual establishment as a profession, where its origins are never forgotten, but its scope is severally extended to produce works of theatrical, and literary worth. Personal endeavour alone did not, for instance, account for Grillparzer's exalted position as Austria's leading national dramatist. As a child of his age and environment Grillparzer could hardly avoid being influenced, consciously or otherwise, by the traditions of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater.

Under the management of Emanuel Schikaneder, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Viennese Popular Theatre flourished to such an extent that it could afford to live at a higher standard than that of mere subsistence. The re-emergence of Alt-Wiener Volkstheater occurred in the 'Kasperltheater' of Karl Marinelli, who was contemporary with Schikaneder, but here the tradition was only revived and multiplied, not developed. Schikaneder was so successful in his appeal to the Viennese audience that he could afford to build himself a new theatre, the 'Theater an der Wien'; he extended the variety of his repertoire to include and popularize German drama, and to encourage German librettists and musicians to cultivate the demand for Singspiel; he attracted to his theatre actors, actresses, singers, musicians and librettists, who by their common interests further stimulated in Vienna the desire for German drama, theatre, Singspiel and opera, which expressed itself in the number of theatres coming into existence between 1769 and 1794, and which supplied Raimund, Nestroy and Grillparzer with a foundation of theatrical interest and material. Theatre almanachs and journals now concerned themselves with the attempted imposition of aesthetic principles on a tradition, which had initially fought to the bitter end against accepting the requirements of literary drama. But popular origins were never forgotten as the theatre and its audience were educated and enlightened simultaneously.

Schikaneder's part in the growth of this tradition was considerable. His experience of classical drama, and of the new era of German Singspiel on the Wanderbühne, his deliberate 'Verwienerung', as he imbibed the atmospheres which had stimulated the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater from 1712 to 1769, brought forth in their fusion a spate of 'Singspiele' and 'Zauberoper'n' on the one hand, and on the other encouraged the localization of his dramas. The 'Lokalstück', which first appeared in the works of Philipp Hafner, father of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, was developed by Schikaneder in dramatic and 'Singspiel' form. Throughout his career Schikaneder remained conscious of the theatre's need to appeal to its audience. The awesome settings and scene-changes, which necessitated the existence of professional 'Maschinisten', the 'gesunde Moral', the happy-end and 'Versöhnung' are outward facets of this awareness, and as such embody the tradition which began in 1712 with Stranitzky. Schikaneder moulded them into a unity, which was endowed with its own inward, dramatic life, no longer pandering to its audience, but, within limits, seeking to uplift it.

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I

ALT-JULIAN VOLLEZEHNTAGE (1712-1769)

a.

THE INFLUENCE OF STRANITZKY, PREHAUSER AND

KURZ ON THE FORM OF THE WIENER VOLKSSTÜCK

1(a)

1. GdS. V.1. III. ESE. Mummereien,  
Fastnachtspiele. pp. 53, 55.
2. Sachs's 'Spiel vom fahrenden Schüler im Paradeis'  
provides a typical example of this:  
"man ziehe schad gegen schaden ab,  
damit man friedt im Ehestandt hab."  
GdL. p. 104.
3. Hafner makes extensive use of this ending. His  
'Evakathel und Schnudi' closes with the chorus:  
"Drum fliehet im Lieben  
Vor thierischen Trieben,  
Und liebet gescheid."  
HGS.V.3. p. 334.  
A Hanswurstian moral concludes 'Die bürgerliche  
Dame':  
"Wer ja gesinnet ist, sich ehlich zu  
verbinden,  
Der lerne mit Geduld in alles sich zu  
finden;  
Denn eine üble Eh, (Ihr Herren caveatis!)  
Ist uns auf dieser Welt die Hölle;  
Punctum satis."  
HGS.V.3. p. 323.
4. GdS. V.1. III. ESE. Mummereien,  
Fastnachtspiele. p. 67.
5. AWVK. p. 294.

From 1712 the Volksstück in Vienna displayed a uniformity that had begun to emerge earlier in its various associations with the German Wanderbühne and the incursions of the French, English and Italian stage. These influences provided a potpourri of foreign and native elements, which had need of the formulative power of a residential and national theatre, such as did not exist for the Volksstück before 1712.

The Schauspiele and Schwänke of Hans Sachs (1494-1576) bore features that persisted in the Wiener Volksstück throughout its reign from 1712-1769. These consisted of outer trappings such as quarrels, beatings, duplicity, music, the local reflection, sometimes humorous, of peasant and bourgeois life in sixteenth century Nürnberg, and a degree of improvisation in the Fastnachtspiele.<sup>1</sup> Sachs' imposition of 'die gesunde Moral', which was concisely and simply stated at the end of his plays,<sup>2</sup> was a deciding factor in the manipulation of his plots, and later became an indispensable part of the Wiener Volksstück.<sup>3</sup> It is known that the Fastnachtspiele of Hans Sachs appeared in Vienna,<sup>4</sup> whilst Stranitzky used the Bauernschwank as intermezzi for the entertainment of his audience between the acts of the Haupt- und Staatsaktion.<sup>5</sup>

Jakob Ayrer (c.1540-1605) likewise arranged the Schwank for presentation on stage. The material for his Singspiel 'Von dreyen bösen Weibern, denen weder Gott noch ihre Männer recht können thun.', which is dated 10th February, 1598, is an adaptation of two Schwänke by

2(a)

1. SdeK. p. 12.

2. SdeK. Der Narr als Reitpferd. p. 21.

3. GdS. V.1. IV. FdB. p. 99.

4. ibid. p. 88.

5. ibid. pp. 88, 98.

6. ibid. p. 93.

"Die Englische Comödianten gingen geradezu  
und ausschliesslich darauf aus, dem  
Publikum zu gefallen."

7. ibid. p. 90.

8. In Paris the commedia dell'arte of the late  
seventeenth century was similarly affected, when  
the dominant personalities of Tristano Martinelli,  
Dominique Locatelli, Josephe Dominique Biancolelli,  
Evariste Gherardi and Vincentini-Tommasin raised  
Harlequin to the rank of first comedian.

AWVK. p. 186.

H. W. Kirchhof,<sup>1</sup> and by this and other features remains in the tradition of Hans Sachs. The works of both Sachs and Ayrer reveal an awareness of the problems of characterisation in their portrayal of human traits, such as argumentativeness and stupidity.<sup>2</sup>

To the popular stage the Englische, or Niederländische Comödianten introduced Possenreisser, who represented, as required, England, the Netherlands, France, Germany and Italy. Their names were provided by the national dish of the country in question: Jak Pudding, Stockfisch or Pickelhering, Jean Potage, Hans Wurst or Signor Macaroni.<sup>3</sup> Of these, Pickelhering seems to have enjoyed the greatest prominence. Whereas previously comedy had been manifoldly represented by Bott, (Bote), Knecht, Rubin, in the mystery plays, and by Knecht, Eulenspiegel, Esop, Narren, Hans Wurst, Hans Hau, in the Fastnachtspiel, it had acquired a single representative, under the Englische Comödianten, in Pickelhering.<sup>4</sup> The process had a parallel in the works of Ayrer, where the comedian became known as 'der kurtzweiler Jann Posset'.<sup>5</sup>

The demands of comedy had been furthered, but the development of characterisation severely hampered. Pickelhering's business was not with the aesthetics of the Volksstück, but with the audience,<sup>6</sup> to whom he appealed in his provision of humour. But even jokes did not remain in his sole charge and were told by other characters in the play. Improvisation was not uncommon, existing not only in creative work on stage, but also in the curtailment of long speeches.<sup>7</sup> Gradually Pickelhering attracted more attention and became the leading character in the play, so that the shape of the Volksstück was now unbalanced, relying, as it did, on the physical and mental talents of one man.<sup>8</sup>



3(a)

1. The original English 'singetspiele', which were performed by the Englische Comödianten, were small Schwänke consisting simply of verse set to music.  
GddS. V.1. IV. FddB. p. 88.
2. SdeK. p. 51 ff. The German version is dated 1620.
3. ibid. v.6. 11.5-8.  
" Fraw:  
Ich hab ein Ort fein hinden  
Für dich, mein Schatz allein.  
Pickelhering:  
Sie hat ein Loch auch forne,  
Aber das ist gar gemein."
4. ibid. v.22.
5. GddS. pp. 84, 85.  
AWVK. p. 176.
6. GddS. pp. 94, 95.
7. Shakespeare's awareness of the dramatic value of music was passed to the continent by the 'Englische Comödianten', who, despite Devrient's assertions, had a basic repertoire of seven plays of Shakespeare. A similar phenomenon re-occurred in the 'Wiener Volksstück' and was used quite extensively in Schikaneder's dramas.  
GddS. ibid. pp. 84, 109.  
AWVK. p. 171.

The translation of the title of an English Singspiel<sup>1</sup> 'Singing Simpkin' into the German 'Pickelhering in der Kiste'<sup>2</sup> gives a premature hint that the ensuing comedy will be one of situation. The comedy of Pickelhering's unenviable position, when, as the lover, he is caught red-handed by the husband, is heightened by the use of obscene terms and the incorporation of those terms in rhyme.<sup>3</sup> Humour prevails to such an extent that 'die gesunde Moral' of Hans Sachs is nowhere in evidence. Pickelhering, akin to the devil, bears off another man's wife in triumph:

" Pickelhering

Die gantze Nacht in Frewd  
Wollen wir die Zeit vertreiben.

Fraw

Hier in mein schneeweiss Arm  
Sol Pickelhering bleiben.

Pickelhering

Lass uns nicht lang erwarten!

Fraw

Mein Schatz, kompt jetzt hinein!

Pickelhering (ad spectatores)

Mein Herrn, "über 40. Wochen  
Solt ihr Gevatter seyn." 4

The Englische Comödianten infused the German stage with a new energy and vitality.<sup>5</sup> From the English stage and Shakespeare came in addition new tricks of production such as the use of blood on stage<sup>6</sup> and the adaptation of music for the purposes of dramatic effect,<sup>7</sup> but the 'gesunde Moral' remained a facet peculiar to the Volksstück of Germany.

From the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, the commedia dell'arte flourished in its native country, Italy. As it declined

4(a)

1. AWVK. p. 338.
2. SdeK. p. 51. 1620 was the date of 'Pickelhering in der Kiste'.
3. E.B. V.6. p. 139.
4. AWVK. p. 208.
5. ibid. p. 181.
6. ibid. p. 181.
7. HGS. V.1.  
'Der alte Odoardo' p. 90.  
'Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo'. p. 133.

at home, however, its popularity increased abroad, some of the stock characters eventually appearing in the Alt-Wiener Volksstück.<sup>1</sup> The Pickelhering of the Englische Comödianten was in Germany by 1620,<sup>2</sup> the commedia dell'arte had influenced Shakespeare in the late sixteenth, and Molière in the seventeenth century,<sup>3</sup> but the earliest evidence of Arlecchino's presence in Germany is dated 1709, when there appeared: 'eine wohl sehenswürdige Haupt-Aktion mit Arlekins Lustbarkeiten gefüllt'.<sup>4</sup>

Improvisation in the commedia differed from the improvisation of the Schwank in Germany in that it was not of popular descent. Its use was more extensive and encouraged by competitions, and its nature and appeal were determined by its exponents, who were, in the first instance, educated laymen.<sup>5</sup> These actors improvised against a backcloth of classical or neoclassical, literary drama,<sup>3</sup> mainly comedy, where local features were introduced incidentally.<sup>5</sup> A framework of the plot was prescribed, often being taken from Plautus, and the actors then improvised within the limits of the framework.<sup>5</sup> The acquiring of the skill could be facilitated by the use of printed and handwritten collections of:

"schöner Stellen", Sentenzen, Monologe, auch fertiger Dialogstücke und sonstiger "Sources du dialogue", die bestimmte Empfindungen (Zorn, Verliebtheit, Verzweiflung, Wahnsinn) ausdrückten oder bestimmte Situationen (Liebesgespräche, oft vorkommende Missverständnisse, Abgänge, Auftritte) auswerteten".<sup>6</sup>

The establishment of a tradition was encouraged by the repeated use of the same episodes, situations and plots, of which some recurred later in the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater.<sup>7</sup>

5(a)

6. HGS. V.3. p. 115 Introduction by Sonnleithner to Hafner's 'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching'.

"Der Pantalon, der in diesem Stücke vorkommt, hatte von der bekannten italienischen Maske nichts als den Namen, und Hafners Pantalon ging wie ein ehrlicher alter Spiessbürger, nicht wie der alte venetianische Kaufmann des Gozzi gekleidet. Nicht nur Hafner, sondern alle deutschen Theaterdichter Wiens, seiner Zeit, und vor seiner Zeit, borgten die Namen von der Italienischen Bühne, und in allen Comödien dieser Periode heissen die Alten beynahe immer Odoardo, Pantolfo und Anselmo, die Liebhaber Leander, Lelio u.s.w. die Liebhaberinnen Angelika, Angela, Rosamunda, Rosalia, die Soubrette Colombine."

7. AWVK. p. 201.  
8. GdsS. V. pp. 128, 129. MVsK.  
9. *ibid.* p. 133 ff.

5(a)

1. AWVK. p.338.

2. By the time of Hafner the name of Odoardo had assumed greater prominence than Pantalon.

cf., 'Der alte Odoardo'. HGS. V.1.

'Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo'. HGS. V.1.

'Megära die fürchterliche Hexe'. HGS. V.2.

When Pantalon and Odoardo did appear in the same play, each fulfilling his dramatic duty as the miserly father-figure, Pantalon remained inferior to Weiskern's German creation.

cf., 'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching'. HGS. V.3.

E.B. V.6. p. 139.

3. Dr. Graziano became known as Anselmo, or even Pantolfo, in the 'Wiener Volksstück'.

cf., 'Megära die fürchterliche Hexe'. HGS. V.2.

E.B. V.6. p. 139.

4. Although the soldier appeared in Stranitzky's 'Ollapatrida',\* he is not in the character of the original Capitano. By the 1760's the purpose of Capitano, theatrically, has been realized by other characters such as Chevalier Chemise and Heinzenfeld, who are themselves now fopped by the comedians of the 'Volksstück'.

cf., 'Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagten Odoardo'. HGS. V.1.

'Der Furchtsame'. HGS. V.2.

OLP. 8N.Ts. pp. 27-34.

E.B. V.6. p. 139.

5. AWVK. p. 322.

E.B. V.6. p. 139.

\* 'Ollapatrida' Stranitzky.

'Ollapotrida' Smekal.

'Olla Potrida' Devrient. p. 185.

Masks<sup>1</sup> performed a similar function, and these characterised the persons of the play more than the individual actor. Stock characters were manifest in the commedia, the same figures appearing in several plays.

Certain characters from the commedia dell'arte retained their situation in the plays of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. Thus Pantalone,<sup>2</sup> the lecherous, miserly, Venetian magnifico, the parent, who will ultimately be duped by the two lovers, Dr. Graziano,<sup>3</sup> the gullible, amorous, old man, who is given to malapropism, Capitano,<sup>4</sup> the 'miles gloriosus', whose weaknesses are exposed by the low comedians of the servant class, some of the zanni themselves, in particular, Colombina and Arlecchino, and the irrelevant but comic lazzi<sup>5</sup> of the zanni, reappear with modifications in the Wiener Volksstück of the early eighteenth century,<sup>6</sup> at a time when the popularity of the commedia dell'arte was already diminishing in Italy.

In Germany, in 1678, Johann Velten (1640-1692) assumed management of a group of strolling players, who had previously acted under Karl Andreas Paulsen.<sup>7</sup> As all available material had been exhausted, Magister Velten introduced his audience to Molière.<sup>8</sup> The audience showed little appreciation of the French playwright and preferred the native Bauernschwänke.<sup>8</sup> Velten pandered to the audience by presenting Bauernschwänke spiced with 'freie augenblickliche Erfindung.'<sup>9</sup>

Some features of improvisation under Velten are not unlike those of the improvised play of the commedia dell'arte. A preconceived framework was essential, of which the vital stages in the development and dénouement were memorised by the actors.<sup>9</sup> Digressions in the form of improvised speaking and acting were permissible within that framework.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the miscellany of comedians in

6(a)

10. SW, Barockdrama. V.3. Die sozialen Voraussetzungen und der Betrieb. p. 7.
11. GdS. AVdC. VIII. p. 186.  
"das erste stabile deutsche Theater mit  
Kaiserlichem Privilegium..."
12. *ibid.* p. 185.
13. *ibid.* MVsK. p. 184. TK. 1776. p. 119.



6(a)

1. cf., p. 5(a) 9.

2. AWWK. p. 207.

3. ibid. p. 207.

Rommel methodically contradicts Devrient on this point and insists that the direction of the company with Madame Velthen continued with the same popular appeal.

4. ibid. p. 208.

Not until 1709 did there appear in Germany: "eine wohl sehenswürdige Haupt-Aktion mit Arlekins Lustbarkeiten gefüllt."

5. ibid. p. 189.

6. ibid. p. 208.

"...er (Herzog Ernst August von Hannover) nennt ihn bald Pickelhäring, bald Harlequin..."

7. ibid. p. 187.

On 10th August, 1726 in the prologue to 'Les comédiens esclaves', which was to be performed in Vienna in the 'Nouveau Théâtre Italien', Harlequin explains his dramatic function:

"Mein Geschäft ist, mich wohl oder übel der Aufträge zu entledigen, die man mir gibt, bald dumm, bald geistreich zu sein, Stockschläge zu geben oder zu empfangen, die einen zu täuschen, den andern einen Gefallen zu tun, verliebt zu sein, gefräßig (Gourmand), Faulenzer, Trunkenbold."

8. ibid. p. 197.

Rommel gives convincing evidence to show that Stranitzky died in 1726 at the age of fifty. However, the 'Wiener Hoftheateralmanach' of 1804 reports that Stranitzky died in 1727 after having engaged Schröter and Leinhaas in the same year. p. 89. ff. The Theaterkalender of 1776 confirms the latter source with the date 1727. TK. 1776. p. 148.

9. Gdds. VIII. AVdC. p. 184.

the commedia dell'arte, a single Lustigmacher appeared, and moreover, in various disguises. Comedy formed the greater part of the company's repertoire.<sup>1</sup> Upon the death of Magister Velten, Madame Velten assumed control,<sup>2</sup> and, apparently,<sup>3</sup> continued to direct the group in the same popular vein as her husband had done previously.

To some extent the Velten company had been responsible for the association of the German Bauernschwank with Pickelhering, the comedian of the Englische Comödianten. It was not until 1709 that Arlecchino appeared in Germany,<sup>4</sup> but when he did become known, it was, like Pickelhering, as an individual.<sup>5</sup> Mezzetino, Brighella, Pulcinella and Colombina no longer accompanied him.<sup>5</sup> As Harlequin became popularised, he was, inevitably, confused with Pickelhering,<sup>6</sup> especially since they had both become the central figure in the Volksstück. The name Pickelhering gradually disappeared and Harlequin assumed command of the popular stage, adopting, as he did so, more of Pickelhering's character than that of the original Arlecchino.<sup>7</sup>

Joseph Anton Stranitzky (1676-1727),<sup>8</sup> the founder of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, came to Vienna in 1708 and played in the 'Theater im Ballhause der Teinfaltstrasse'.<sup>9</sup> His burlesques, a genre for which he possessed natural talent, were so appreciated that in 1712 Stranitzky replaced the Italian Company in the 'Comödienhaus am Platze nächst dem Kärntnerthor', paying 2,000 Fl. per annum for the lease of the theatre, and an additional 1,300 Fl. tax for the poor.<sup>10</sup> Stranitzky's occupation of the Kärntnertortheater provided the Volksstück of the Wanderbühne with a more permanent stage than hitherto,<sup>11</sup> and furthered its cause by giving the Volksstück a specifically Viennese appeal.<sup>12</sup>

It is more than probable that Stranitzky was a member of the Velten company,<sup>13</sup> an association which would, undoubtedly, bring Stranitzky into close contact with the

7(a)

1. AWVK. p. 176.  
Smekal. AWTL. E. P.II.
2. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 24.  
AWVK. p. 217.
3. AVdC. p. 185.  
AWVK. p. 218.
4. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 13.
5. cf., 6(a) 8.
6. AWVK. p. 338.
7. ibid. p. 229. ff.
8. ibid. p. 295.  
Devrient's remark that Straitzky was wont to  
appear in 'Stegreifburlesken' (GddS. p. 191)  
requires clarification. (cf., AWVK. 'Der  
Wienerische Hanswurst als Dramatiker und  
Komiker'. p. 206. ff).
9. Smekal. AWTL. E. pp. VI-XI.

character of Velten's Lustigmacher Pickelhering. Stranitzky's acquaintance with Pickelhering is presumed by two authorities at least.<sup>1</sup> In their popular conception, both Pickelhering and Stranitzky's original creation, Hans Wurst, are indeed related, although the latter's features are more heavily underlined by a prescribed costume and accoutrements,<sup>2</sup> by his localization in Salzburg and his distinctly peasant classification.<sup>3</sup> So intensive and successful was the characterisation of the Salzburg peasant, that Stranitzky's successor, Gottfried Prehauser, who assumed sole responsibility for Hans Wurst upon Stranitzky's retirement from the stage, remained true to the original delineation until his death in 1769.<sup>4</sup> In so far as the precise date of Stranitzky's death has been ascertained,<sup>5</sup> it was only after his death in 1727, that the influx of Italian actors and the inclusion of plots and characters from the *commedia dell'arte* in the Wiener Volksstück, became more marked.<sup>6</sup> There was only limited improvisation on the Viennese popular stage between 1712 and 1727, as Stranitzky was quite prolific in writing for the theatre,<sup>7</sup> and what improvisation there was, was that of individual instance rather than that of a co-ordinated group.<sup>8</sup>

To a great extent, the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater under Stranitzky was influenced by the Wiener Barocktheater, first in its use of lavish décor as the backcloth for Hans Wurst's adventures and second in its musical appeal. The artificiality of musical composition in the Italian style, the pure showmanship of *coloratura* singing, the cosmopolitan libretti, all of which characterised the Baroque theatre in Vienna, did not, however, gain a foothold on Stranitzky's stage.<sup>9</sup>

Hans Wurst was of German conception, but, lacking a

8(a)

"Das Jahr 1724 bedeutet also lediglich einen  
Terminus ad quem." AWVK. p. 230.

9. cf., p. 8(a). 6.

10. AWVK. p. 236.  
AWTL.E. p. XI.

11. ibid. pp. X-XI.

12. ibid. p. XI.

8(a)

1. "Ein Palast wird gestürmt und muss also gerichtet werden, dass er Stück für Stück zusammen falle."  
(Tarquinius.II.8.)  
cf. p. 189(a)2. SHB. III vi.

"Der Tiber=Fluss, auf der Seiten hervor ein schöner Kunstgärtten mit schattigen Bäumen, Julius Antonius, Lucius Scipio und HW. auf den Gondeln." (Cicero.II.8.)

Mk.Bt. 1. p. 23.

2. ibid. "Der Wienerische Hans Wurst". p. 29.

3. AWTL.E. p. IX.

4. ibid. p. XI.

5. ibid. p. X.

6. OLP. öN.Ts. tp.

"Ollapatrida des durchgetriebenen Fuchsmundi worinnen

Iustige Gespräche / angenehme Begebenheiten / atliche Ränck und Schwänck / kurz-weilige / Stich=Reden / Politische Nasen=Stüber / subtile Verzierungen / spindisirte Fragen / spitzfindige Antworten / curieuse Gedancken und kurz-weilige Historien / satyrische Puff / zur lächerlichen / doch honnéten Zeit=Vertrieb sich in der Menge befinden.

an das Licht gegeben  
vom

Schalck Terrae

als des obbesagten ältesten hinterlassenen  
Respective

Stieff=Bruders Vetterns Sohn

In dem Jahr

Da Fuchsmundi feil war.

1711."

7. AWTL.E. p. X.  
AWVK. p. 278.

8. AWTL.E. p. X.  
AWVK. p. 230.

Smekal mentions only the number 15 regarding Stranitzky's Haupt= und Staatsaktionen. Of the date associated with the letter works, Rommel remarks:

cornucopia of native material, which was necessary as a target for his critical, and often destructive humour, his comic genius had to function against a background of foreign matter and form, which were available, as required, from the Italian stage in Vienna.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Hans Wurst's native originality, which was, after all, his comic impression on elevated material,<sup>2</sup> did not suffer.

Music was presented in the Jesuitendrama and the related *ludi caesari* in the form of 'Einlagen in ein gesprochenes Stück'.<sup>3</sup> According to Smekal, music was not in within the framework of evidence in Stranitzky's *Haupt- und Staatsaktion*,<sup>4</sup> but some songs, largely the work of Christian Felix Weise, did appear in Stranitzky's 'Ollapatrida',<sup>5</sup> a collection of comic items for the stage.<sup>6</sup> The latter work's affinity with Gherardi's *Théâtre Italien* is undisputed.<sup>7</sup>

The collection of Stranitzky's 14 *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, dated 1724,<sup>8</sup> contains dramas that are more specifically designed for Hans Wurst, whereas the 'Ollapatrida' catered only for the relatively indeterminate *Buchsmundi*.<sup>9</sup> The Haupt- und Staatsaktion itself appears to have had little musical interest according to Rommel and Smekal. There was, allegedly, no provision for a chorus and it is virtually certain, that Stranitzky had no singing voice.<sup>10</sup> For the most part the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* were merely adaptations of plots from the Italian Grand Opera of the Viennese Imperial Court, and, that Stranitzky lacked musical talent, is perhaps reflected by the fact that the arias of the original operas were either not reproduced at all in the *Haupt- und Staatsaktion*, or they were translated into German prose.<sup>11</sup> In the manner of Shakespeare and the *Englische Comödianten*, the *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* made use of rhymed verse at the end of scenes and acts, and at other significant points in the plot,<sup>12</sup> but there is no evidence to prove the existence of

9(a)

9. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
AWTL. E. p. XII.

10. AWVK. p. 366.

11. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
AWVK. p. 352.



9(a)

1. cf., p. 8(a). 12.
2. The function of Baroque theatre was to show:  
"...wie die metaphysischen Mächte, himmlische und hollische, vertreten durch Heilige, allegorische Verkörperungen von Tugenden, kirchlichen Begriffen, menschlichen Eigenschaften und dgl., aber auch durch antike Götter und Göttinnen, Dämonen, Zauberer und Magier, Hexen, das irdische Leben durchdringen, umfassen und leiten."  
Mk. Bt. 1. p. 8.
3. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 14.
4. OLP. Ch. 3. p. 20ff.  
"Wie der Teuffel diese Beschwörung gehöret, und dass er ihm sein böses Weib wolle herbringen, so ist der Teuffel also erschrocken, dass er durch Himmel und Hölle um Pardon gebetten, ist auch auf der Stell nicht allein gehorsamlich ausgefahren, sondern hat auch alle sein vornhin gewonnenes Geld dem Krauter-Männle, wenn er nur sein böses Weib nicht kommen lasse, freywillig verehret. Geht Herr! auch so gar der Teuffel fürchtet sich vor einem bösen Weib."
5. ibid. Ch. 7. p. 48ff.  
"Ich habe zwar ein wenig ein dicken Hintern, aber mein Doctor hat mir versprochen, dass er mir solchen vertreiben wolle, und zwar mit einer Ziegen-Molcken....Er versichert mich, dass es nur gewisse humors acres sind, welche sich durch das Diaphragma und Mensenterium ausbreiten, und endlich hinunter in das Sitzbret fallen."  
cf., Mk. Bt. 1. p. 26.  
"Betrachtet mich von vorn und riechet mich von hinten." (11,191).
6. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 14.
7. ibid. p. 15ff. p. 33.
8. OLP. Ch. I. pp. 4-5. 'Fuchsmundi beklaget sich gegen seinen Herrn wo er dienet'.

musical accompaniment in such instances.<sup>1</sup>

The Jesuitendrama depicted a world in which naive, moral conceptions such as Good, Evil, Virtue and Vice, were presented in human, divine and church form.<sup>2</sup> Inevitably, the figures of the Jesuitendrama remained psychologically static. The unreal and metaphysical tone of Baroque drama, however, was not transferred to Stranitzky's 'Ollapatrida' or to his Haupt- und Staatsaktion. Instead, Stranitzky's characters and plots were motivated in human terms.<sup>3</sup> Towards the same ends, the usual spice of Baroque drama, the ghosts, spirits, magicians, devils and allegories, was reduced to a minimum.<sup>3</sup> The awesome devil of 'Jenseits', becomes in the 'Ollapatrida' a representative of 'Diesseits',<sup>4</sup> a new association which is further stimulated by obscenities from the real world.<sup>5</sup> Misunderstandings and the miscarriage of letters still determine the course of Stranitzky's plots,<sup>6</sup> but disguises virtually disappear.<sup>7</sup> Under Stranitzky the love element assumes greater significance,<sup>6</sup> although it never overrides the importance of farce. A full stomach is preferred to a love-sick heart, sentimentality is decried as a folly, Stranitzky's appeal remaining popular throughout.<sup>8</sup>

It is reported that shortly before his death Stranitzky presented his successor Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769) to the audience of the Kärntnertortheater.<sup>9</sup> Like Stranitzky, Prehauser had experience of the Wanderbühne,<sup>10</sup> but, unfortunately, possessed no managerial talent, so that, although ably equipped to continue the tradition of the Viennese Hans Wurst, Prehauser had to relinquish management of the theatre to two Italian impresarios, Borosini, a court-singer, and Sellier, a court-dancer and composer of ballet.<sup>11</sup> After Stranitzky had presented Prehauser with the whip, the symbol of Hans Wurst's authority, the newcomer knelt down

10(a)

1. cf., p. 9(a). 9.
2. *ibid.* p. 337.  
Mk. Bt. 1. p. 13.
3. AWVK. p. 338.
4. HGS. V 1, 2, 3.
5. AWTL.E. p. XII. Smekal speaks of 'das schauspielerische Genie eines Frehauser'.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.  
"Den Just in der Minna von Barnhelm spielte er mit dem grössten Beyfalle; die rührenden Stellen drückte er mit gehöriger Wärme aus, dass man nicht einen Augenblick sich des Hannswursts erinnerte."
6. AWVK. pp. 190, 337.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.  
Mk. Bt. 1. pp. 33, 34.
7. Mk. Bt. 1. p.33.
8. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 34.
9. AWTL.E. p. XII.

before the silent audience and, in a droll voice, appealed: 'Bitte, lachen Sie über mich!' This the audience did and Prehauser's career as Hans Wurst was assured.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst adhering faithfully to the external features of Hans Wurst's costume and beard,<sup>2</sup> it was inevitable that the character of the original Hans Wurst should alter beneath the influence of a new personality. Prehauser was lighter, more adaptable and mobile,<sup>3</sup> and lacking the peasant out-of-town stolidity of Stranitzky, he became intimately associated with the city life of Vienna.<sup>4</sup> Prehauser's humour possessed variety beyond the grotesque bathos of Stranitzky's Haupt- und Staatsaktion. Even in literary drama Prehauser was impressive<sup>5</sup> and critics are at one in according Prehauser greater talents as a comedian and actor than Stranitzky.<sup>6</sup> A good singing voice assisted him in an attempt to establish 'Singspiel'.<sup>7</sup> As a natural consequence of the newfound versatility of the Hans Wurst, disguises returned to the plays of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater.

During the time of Prehauser a new form of Wiener Volksstück emerged. In the popular theatre the plots of serious drama and opera had been adapted to include 'burleske Zutaten', as, for instance, in the case of Stranitzky's Haupt- und Staatsaktion. Under Prehauser, who was aided in this by his musical ability,<sup>8</sup> these comic accessories developed in an independent state to form a new genre, which later became known as 'komische Singspiele'. In this way the Spassmacher was accorded his own field of comedy.<sup>9</sup>

Stranitzky's more stolid approach to the comic stage and the material which is available, lead to the supposition that there was a minimal degree of improvisation in the popular theatre from 1712 to 1727. It was, no doubt,

11(a)

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
AWVK. p. 338.
2. Romml, the most recent authority, places Hafner's date of birth as late as 1735, but both Komorzynski and Sonnleithner persist with the year 1731.  
AWVK. p. 389.  
E.S. p. 308.  
HGS. V.1. p. 3.
3. HGS. V.1.E. pp. IV-XII.
4. ibid. V.1. Ve. p. 81.
5. AWVK. p. 338ff.
6. cf., HGS. V.1. p. 133ff.  
'Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo'.  
The three male comedians in this play are Hannswurst, Crispin and Casperle. Colombine also plays an important part as the comedienne.
7. cf., p. 6(a) 8.
8. AWVK. p. 339.
9. Apparently these two actors were engaged by Stranitzky.  
AWVK. p. 361.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
10. AWVK. pp. 360, 361.

Prehauser's greater versatility and mobility, which assisted his talent for improvisation, for he practised the latter so extensively, that gradually a whole team of extempore actors and actresses gathered around him in the Kärntnertortheater.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1760's Philipp Hafner (1731-1764),<sup>2</sup> a talented improviser and comedian,<sup>3</sup> who wrote plays for Prehauser's Stegreifensemble, emphasized the importance of attaining a 'runde Vorstellung' when acting extempore.<sup>4</sup> The form of the Wiener Volksstück is no longer determined solely by the lazzi of one Spassmacher but by the practice of group improvisation, doubtless an inheritance from the commedia dell'arte.<sup>5</sup> A new prominence was given to the supporting cast and Hans Wurst, although still first comedian, was not so much the focal point of comic interest that he could continue to upset the balance in the form of the Wiener Volksstück.<sup>6</sup> Several minor comedians emerged during this period to enrich the heritage of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater.

The new style of group improvisation was encouraged by a marked influx of actors and actresses from Italy immediately after Stranitzky's death in 1727.<sup>7</sup> This infusion of new, and for the most part, foreign blood into the Kärntnertortheater was all the more noticeable, as Stranitzky had been relatively insular and stubborn in resisting the incursions of extraneous elements.<sup>8</sup>

Prehauser's Stegreifensemble consisted of a variety of German and Italian actors and actresses. In 1727 Andreas Schröter and Anna Maria Nuth joined the theatre.<sup>9</sup> The latter's husband, Franz Anton Nuth, also a member of the theatre, later provided the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater with scenes from the commedia dell'arte.<sup>10</sup> In the following year Signor Canzacchi came to the theatre from the Italian

12(a)

1. AWWK. p. 359.
2. Weiskern wrote the libretto which Mozart used for his Singspiel: 'Bastien und Bastienne' (1768). It is a German version of Favart's parody of Rousseau's 'Le Devin du village'.  
WO. p. 85.  
Even Sonnenfels paid tribute to Weiskern.  
BÜWS. 20 Schreiben. p. 290.
3. AWTL. p. XIII.
4. WHTA. p. 89ff.
5. AWWK. p. 361.
6. ibid. pp. 362, 363.
7. ibid. p. 361.
8. ibid. p. 360.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
9. As a measure of Colombine's popularity, as represented by Anna Maria Nuth, it is recorded in the almanach of 1804, that the audience, upon discovering that Madame Nuth was not to play Colombine that night, demanded the return of its money.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
10. AWWK. p. 361.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
11. AWWK. p. 359.
12. ibid. p. 360.  
HGS. V.3. p. 115.

company!<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern,<sup>2</sup> who presented the theatre with countless burlesques based on Italian, Spanish and French models,<sup>3</sup> came in 1734, Johann Mayberg in 1743, Joseph Huber in 1745 and Anton Brenner in 1755.<sup>4</sup> Additional members of the theatre were J. E. Leinhaas, who registered in 1727,<sup>4</sup> and Johann Christoph Gottlieb.<sup>5</sup> The extremely successful Joseph Kurz (1717-1784),<sup>6</sup> later joined by his wife Franziska in 1744, registered in 1737.<sup>4</sup> To the credit of the Stegreifensemble, the actor and actress, Gottlob Heydrich and Christiane Friedrike Lorenzin, who had enlisted originally in the service of literary drama, chose to join the exponents of extempore acting.<sup>7</sup> The attempt to establish a German, national, literary drama in the same theatre,<sup>5</sup> unwittingly provided the Stegreifensemble with material for burlesque, so that it was not uncommon for Lessing's dramas, for instance, to be performed 'mit Hanns Wursts Lustbarkeiten'.<sup>5</sup>

In its summary history of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, the Wiener Hoftheateralmanach of 1804 describes the spirit of the Stegreifensemble as being healthy and competitive. In this atmosphere each member was encouraged to create and develop his or her own 'Spezialität'. Amidst all this, characters from the commedia dell'arte began to appear in the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. Harlequin was portrayed, but still as a minor comedian, by Franz Anton Nuth,<sup>8</sup> whilst his wife won fame locally as Colombine,<sup>9</sup> the female counterpart to Prehauser's Hans Wurst. Schröter played the parts of Bramarbas and Capitano,<sup>10</sup> and Leinhaas introduced Pantalón to the Viennese stage.<sup>5</sup> Odoardo was portrayed by Weiskern<sup>5</sup> and Truffaldino by Canzacchi.<sup>11</sup> Other, less significant loans from the commedia dell'arte were Dottore, Scapin, Pierrot, Rosaura and Lelio; Anselmo, Leander, Angelika, Angela, Rosamunda and Rosalia.<sup>11</sup> Scaramouche,



13(a)

1. cf., 12(a). 12.
2. cf., HGS. V.3. p. 113ff.  
'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching'.
3. cf., 13(a). 2.  
This play by Hafner was performed in Salzburg in 1780 by Schikaneder's company. BWAM. V.4. pp. 369-75. MM-M. 30th November, 1780.
4. AWVK. p. 361.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
5. AWVK. p. 361.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
6. AWVK. p. 362ff.  
'Der Wienerische Bernardon Josef Felix von Kurz und der neue Wienerische Hanswurst Gottfried Prehauser'.
7. WHTA. p. 89ff.
8. AWTL.E. p. XII.
9. ibid. p. XIV.
10. MWdS. p. 25.

Mezzetin, Brighella, Francatrippa and Tartaglia did not appear in the Viennese popular theatre.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, new minor comedians appeared, who were more Germanic in origin. Brenner's creation of Burlin was truly German,<sup>2</sup> despite the derivation of his name from the Italian 'burlare burla'. Burlin achieved some measure of fame by being raised to first comedian in Hafner's play: 'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching: Oder: des Burlins und Hannswursts seltsame Carnevals Zufälle'.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Huber created the comedian Leopoldl,<sup>4</sup> the precursor of Anton Hasenhut's Thaddädl,<sup>4</sup> who appeared later in the Leopoldstadttheater as a companion figure to Laroche's Kasperl. Johann Christoph Gottlieb provided the theatre with a comedian of distinctly peasant flavour, called Jackerl,<sup>5</sup> whilst the comedian who enjoyed the greatest success, being subordinate only to Hans Wurst, was a man of quite noble descent, Joseph Kurz.<sup>6</sup> His comic figure was known by the name of Bernardon: 'der einen jungen ungezogenen, lüderlichen Buben charakterisirte'.<sup>7</sup>

The plays in which Bernardon appeared, remained burlesque and for twenty-five years such Bernardoniaden maintained their popularity on the Viennese stage.<sup>8</sup> But, in addition to supplementing comedy, Joseph Kurz directed the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater towards the genre known as Singspiel. In this, Kurz was assisted by his Italian wife, Franziska, who was  an excellent singer.<sup>9</sup>

The 'Teutsche Arien', a collection of songs written specifically for the members of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, appeared, according to one authority, as early as 1737.<sup>10</sup> They remained in the repertoire until 1757.<sup>10</sup> The supposition that Stranitzky was the author of the 'Teutsche Arien' cannot be allowed to stand, as the latter

14(a)

1. cf., p. 6(a). 8.
2. AWTL.E. p. XIII.  
Bernardon, Leopoldl, Kolombine, Lisette.
3. MWdS. p. 25ff.
4. ibid. p. 31. 'Hanns-Wurst als Musicus'.  
AWTL.E. pp. XIII-XV.
5. WHTA. p. 89ff.
6. MWdS. p. 25ff.
7. AWTL.E. p. XIV.
8. ibid. p. XV.
9. Rommel speaks of 'eine Beimengung von Kindlichkeit'.  
Mk.Bt. 1. p. 27.

died in 1727.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Stranitzky was not musically inclined, and characters appear in the collection who were not created until after Stranitzky's death.<sup>2</sup> The theory that Joseph Kurz was the author is very much doubted by Robert Haas, who prefers in his stead Varesi, an amateur, who supposedly was responsible for arranging the collection according to earlier printed versions of the arias.<sup>3</sup> Certainly the 'Teutsche Arien' were written with the individual 'Spezialitäten' of the theatre in mind. The collection contained musical items specifically for Hans Wurst, Bernardon and Leopoldl, whilst the female comedien-nes were represented by Lisette and Colombine.<sup>4</sup>

In their musical form the 'Teutsche Arien' offered a variety which revealed some influence from the opera seria and opera buffa of the Italians. That the German and Italian companies performed in the same vicinity,<sup>5</sup> no doubt encouraged any such collusion. Robert Haas's tabulation of the items of the 'Teutsche Arien' discloses a gradual increase, throughout the four volumes, of ensembles such as duets, trios, quartets, quintets and choruses, although arias, the solo items, remain predominant.<sup>6</sup>

Only rarely did the songs of the 'Teutsche Arien' bear a relationship with the relevant plot, and they have, in fact, been categorized as Rollenlieder rather than Stimmungslieder.<sup>7</sup> The former are more readily associated with caricature than drama and in this adapt themselves easily to the tone of the Wiener Volksstück. The content of the 'Teutsche Arien' is never far removed from well-known Volkslieder and proverbs,<sup>8</sup> further instances of the popular association, which the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater could never choose to ignore.

Advancing somewhat beyond its early naivety,<sup>9</sup> the Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie began to develop its comedy towards

15(a)

1. cf., 8(a). 1.

2. AWTL. E. p. XV.

"Hanswurst: Columbine, kleine Maus!  
Schöner als ein Veigerlstrauss!  
Columbine: Wurstl, allerliebstes Herz,  
Weicher als Spinat und Stertz!  
Hanswurst: Weisser als wie Kreid und Schnee!  
Columbine: Milder als ein Kräutelte!"

3. Mk.Bt.1. p.77.

Kurz. 'Der aufs neue begeisterte und belebte  
Bernardon.'

"O du arme Welt !  
Du nimmst ja nicht in acht  
Dass jeder Augenblick das Leben kürzer macht.  
O du arme Welt !  
So bist du jetzt bestellt,  
Auf Wortl, und auf Lügen,  
Den Nächsten zu betrügen,  
Sein Glücke zu beneiden,  
Die Ehre abzuschneiden,  
Bald singen,  
Bald springen,  
Bald sauffen, bald ranzen,  
Bald spielen, bald tanzen,  
Bald Steyrisch,  
Bald Schwäbisch,  
Hanaackisch,  
Slavakisch,  
Bald walzen unatum,  
He sa rum rum,  
O du arme Welt,  
Wie bist du jetzt bestellt."

4. cf., ZB. 11, Nr.14.p.106. Arie. "Königin der Nacht:  
Der Hölle Rache kocht in meinem Herzen."

parody. Indeed, the neighbouring company, once again, provided the Volkstheater with material for this. Just as Stranitzky had mocked the elevated tone of opera seria by placing his Salzburger Bauer alongside the effigies of Italian greatness,<sup>1</sup> so did the 'Teutsche Arien' parody the effusive love-declaration of opera seria in the popularized language of Hans Wurst and Colombine.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Kurz parodied the same Italian characters of rank and  ~~the awesome awareness of the passage of time,~~<sup>3</sup> which had characterized Baroque writing. As Kurz writes for Hans Wurst, he writes for the German theatre, and the mock heroics of Italian grand opera<sup>4</sup> are presented to the Viennese audience as things entirely beyond human comprehension. Hans Wurst, in contrast to Isabella, who is the female epitome of Italian opera, shows a healthy sanity:

" Isabella

Ich fülle in der Brust ein rechtes  
Höllenz=feuer,  
Ich borste fast vor Zorn, vor Rache und  
vor Wut, (zu Hanns Wurst)  
Komm her, verschlinge mich grausames  
Ungeheuer.<sup>4</sup>

Hanns Wurst (forchtsam)

Ach wär ich dasmal fort, das wär für mich  
recht gut.  
Madame, ich bin der Bräutigam.

Isabella (freundlich)

Ja, ja, ich kenne dich,  
Du bist, der mein Herze nahm,  
(sie umarmen sich)  
Ach! komme.

Hanns Wurst

Da bin ich.

Isabella (rasend, stösst Hanns  
Wurst von sich)

Fort Basilisque, fort Crocotil,  
Nach Blut geht nur dein Durst.

Hanns Wurst

Bey meiner Treu, das ist zu viel,  
Ich bin ja der Hanns Wurst.

Isabella (freundlich)

Mein Engel, komm, umarme mich.

Hanns Wurst (forchtsam, unarmet sie)

Was wird wol noch daraus.

Isabella (mit Dolch)

Stirb Mörder, Schelm hab ich dich.

Hanns Wurst (ängstig)

O. Weh! Jetzt ist es aus.

Isabella

Wilst du lieben?

Hanns Wurst

Ja.

Isabella

Wilst du sterben?

Hanns Wurst

Na.

Isabella

Wilst du lieben?

Hanns Wurst

Ja.

Isabella

Wilst du sterben?

Hanns Wurst

Na.

Isabella

Wilst du sterben?

Hanns Wurst

Na.

Isabella

Wilst du lieben?

Hanns Wurst

Ja.

Isabella

Wilst du lieben?

Hanns Wurst

Ja.

Isabella

Wilst du sterben?

Hanns Wurst

Na.

Isabella

Nun wolan, so solst du lieben.

Hanns Wurst

Wär ich doch zu Haus geblieben.

Isabella (serius)

"Höre meinen Entschluss an:  
Du solst mit mir stets in Plagen,  
Ja in Jammer, Angst, und Noht  
Deine Lebens-zeit zutragen,  
Endlich folgt darauf der Tod.  
Unsre Eh, sey Qual und Weh.

Hanns Wurst (adagio)

O du Wunder-schöne Eh!

Isabella (fröhlich)

Komm, mein Leben! komm, mein Herz!  
Komm zur Hochzeit, komm zum Scherz.

Hanns Wurst

Gehn wir lieber auf einmal



18(a)

1. Mk.Bt. 1. pp. 81-83.  
Der aufs neue begeisterte und belebte Bernardon....
2. cf., p. 9(a). 8.
3. Mk.Bt. 1. p. 106.  
"Alle: Ach! wir sind schon alle hin,  
Der Teufel der ist los,  
Ich weiss nicht, wo ich bin,  
Die Angst ist gar zu gross.  
NB. Fiametta kommt als Geist.  
  
Fiametta: Ich bin Fiamettens Geist,  
Der euch die Strafe weist.  
NB. Bernardon kommt auch als Geist.  
  
Bernardon: Und ich bin Bernardon,  
Der euch giebt jetzt den Lohn."  
  
From 'Der neue krumme Teufel'.
4. AWTL.E. p. XVI.
5. 'Lisuart und Dariolette' by Hiller and Schiebeler  
did not appear in Vienna until 1767 and in treat-  
ment is far removed from 'Der neue krumme Teufel'.  
AWTL.E. p. XV.  
cf., pp. 82-85.
6. Mk.Bt. 1. p. 122.  
'Intermezzo. intitolato  
Il Vecchio'.
7. ibid. p. 113.  
'Sogleich A Tempo lässt sich ein grösser Lärmen  
von Trommeln und Trompeten hören, das Theater  
verwandelt sich, man siehet H<sup>o</sup>lländische Schiffe,  
Etliche Holländer springen mit Säb<sup>e</sup>ln und  
Schildern aus denen Schiffen, die Indianer  
greiffen gleichfalls ihre Waffen, Arlequin, und  
Celio, da sie sehen, dass ihre Reisgefährten  
vorhanden, sind gleichfalls aufgesprungen, und  
haben sich zweyer Indianer ihrer Waffen  
bemächtigt. Es erfolget ein Compatement, bey  
welchem die Indianer das Kürzere ziehen, und  
in die Flucht gejaget werden...'  
cf., p. 171(a). 7.
8. AWVK. p. 363.

Auf St. Marx, ins Narrn-Spital.  
 (Isabella nimmt Hanns=Wurst bey der  
 Hand, und unter Springen trara, trara,  
 ab mit Hanns=Wurst.)<sup>1</sup>

Whereas Fuchsmundi had mocked sentimentality,<sup>2</sup> Kurz has attained parody of style.

Allegory re-appears on the popular stage under Joseph Kurz, in the original Baroque forms of Death, Devil, Virtue and Vice. This and the threat of eternal damnation would have recalled the Baroque age, which preceded Stranitzky,

had it not been for Bernardon's complete disrespect for such moral spice.<sup>3</sup> The horrific, awesome content of Baroque theatre has been attenuated, on this occasion, by reformation on the human and satirical plane. The first German Singspiel, Kurz's 'Der Neue Krumme Teufel' (1752), which, it was rumoured, was a satire at the expense of the Italian impresario, Affligio, was subsequently banned after its third performance.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps as a result of its prompt suppression 'Der Neue Krumme Teufel' had no imitators.<sup>5</sup> Its intermezzo was a short scene in the manner of the commedia dell'arte and was, moreover, written in Italian.<sup>6</sup> The décor, in the tradition of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, remained true to the Baroque style of the lavish settings and 'Machtvorstellungen' of the Italian Hofoper,<sup>7</sup> but the parody of such theatrical effusion was native.

Joseph Kurz was largely responsible for the true association of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater with music. Unlike Stranitzky, Kurz had such a great musical adaptability, that in one play he could sing the parts of Ormechus, bass, Cosroe, tenor, and Pharmaces, treble.<sup>8</sup> It was his and his wife's love of music, which led to an

19(a)

1. MWdS. p. 54ff.

2. It was normal in the eighteenth century for the playwright to be acknowledged above the composer, as he, in fact, achieved more work in its production. Even though the Singspiel inevitably included music in its essential form, music only served the ends of comedy and the ends of the play incidentally. Thus on the title page of 'Der neue krumme Teufel' there only appears:

'Alles componiert  
Von Joseph Kurz'. Mk.Bt. 1. p. 85.

Haydn is acknowledged at the end of the play:

'NB. die Musique sowohl von der Opera  
comique, als auch der Pantomime  
ist componiert

von Herrn Joseph Heyden'. Mk.Bt. 1. p. 132.

3. cf., p. 20.

4. AWVK. pp. 353-354.

'Der neue krumme Teufel' was designated 'Opéra comique' (Mk.Bt. 1. p. 85), whilst the texts of some of Hiller's Singspiele acknowledge an indebtedness to Favart or Sedaine. (cf., pp. 90, 91).

5. AWVK. p. 354.

6. AWVK. p. 354.

7. DV. p. 12.

8. MWdS. p. 25ff.

association with Joseph Haydn,<sup>1</sup> who wrote the music for 'Der Neue Krumme Teufel'.<sup>2</sup> Without detracting in any way from the significance of Kurz in the launching of Singspiel in Vienna, the new [genre] was, however, just as much a reflection of the age, and the result of [redacted] [redacted] imperial intervention,<sup>3</sup> as it was the result of the musicality of the leading representatives of the Stegreifensemble.

Although the link between the English stage and the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater of the 1750's must remain tenuous, a direct influence, via the Singspiele of Gherardi's Theatre Italien, was felt from the 'théâtres de la foire' in Paris.<sup>4</sup> The latter came into being towards the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> The influence has not been recognized so much in terms of detail, as in terms of form, whereby the prose dialogues and inserted, satirical, political and literary vaudevilles of the 'theatres de la foire' provided a stage phenomenon similar to the Singspiel of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. The 'opéra comique',<sup>6</sup> whose cause was taken up in the middle of the eighteenth century by the musicians Egidio Romoaldi Duni and Christoph Willibald Gluck, was a grander development of the 'theatres de la foire'! The form of Singspiel could, ostensibly, have been inherited from the 'théâtres de la foire', but, on the whole, its content and the content of the 'Teutsche Arien' remained dissimilar to the satirical and political bite of the original vaudevilles.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps significantly though, the genre of vaudeville is represented in the 'Teutsche Arien'<sup>8</sup>

A further, parallel influence on the form of the Alt-Wiener Volksstück came, with some administrative interference on the German side, from the light, burlesque 'Kurzopern' from Venice, Naples and Rome, which, again, were not entirely removed from the influential sphere of

20(a)

1. AWVK. p. 353.
2. ibid. pp. 352-353.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
3. AWVK. p. 352.
4. AWTL.E. p. XIV.
5. AWVK. p. 353.
6. The eventual setbacks which faced the 'Stegreifensemble' towards 1769, soon proved insurmountable. Of the original company Anna Maria Nuth had died in 1754, Bernardon left Vienna in 1760, Mayerberg and Schröter had died in 1761, Huber in 1760 and three more protagonists were to follow in quick succession, Leinhaas in 1767, Weiskern in 1768 and Prehauser on 29th January, 1769. Only Jakerle remained.  
AWVK. pp. 360-361.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.

the *commedia dell'arte*.<sup>1</sup> Prior to Affligio's accession, the Italian impresarios Borosini and Sellier, who had assumed management of the *Kärntnertortheater* after Stranitzky's death, had lost no time in expressing a desire to further the cause of Italian opera.<sup>2</sup> On this point the Imperial Court held the Italians in check by declaring that a Royal licence for Opera had already been granted to Francesco Bellini and, although the licence remained unused for financial reasons, the matter could not be overlooked.<sup>2</sup> A compromise was reached when the court, neither wishing to abuse the licence granted to Bellini on the one hand, nor, on the other wishing to bar the impresario's path to the operettas, decreed that the Italians may:

"die dermalen produzirenden Operetten  
nicht anderst als mit Untermischung  
deren Teutschen Comodien exhibiren."<sup>2</sup>

The decree had effect from 1728 until 1741 and thus imposed on the *Wiener Volksstück* a genre of similar construction to the '*opéra comique*', prose dialogue with musical insertions.<sup>3</sup>

The songs of the '*Teutsche Arien*' were often unrelated to the plot,<sup>4</sup> the '*Kurzopern*' enjoyed a similar independence as they were adopted only as '*musikalische Intermezzi*'<sup>5</sup> and in the same manner, the importance of the plot in the '*opéra comique*' appears to have remained slight.<sup>3</sup> Partly by the musical interest shown by Prehauser and Kurz, partly by their sensitivity to foreign influences, partly by external forces over which they had no control, the form of *Singspiel* was established in Vienna before the *Stegreifensemble* dissolved in 1769.<sup>6</sup> Song and play were presented in the same framework, but, hitherto, as single and separate items. The separateness of these two entities was further encouraged by the success of the

21(a)

1. cf., AWTL.E. p. XIV.

Stegreifensemble as a team of spontaneous comedians, amongst whose antics the 'Rollenlied' found a natural home, as, unlike the later 'Stimmungslied', it did not need to evolve from a dramatic union with the plot.<sup>1</sup>



b.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN POPULAR THEATRE  
AND LITERARY DRAMA IN THE  
'THEATER AM KÄRNTNERTOR', ENDING WITH THE  
DEMISE OF THE 'STEGREIFENSEMBLE' IN 1769

23(a)

1. This tragedy was the product of an actor, Weidner, and was set in verse by Krüger.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.  
Rommel gives Ephraim Krüger as the author, and the full title as 'Vitichal und Dankwart, die alemannischen Brüder'. AUVK. p. 382.
2. GddL. p. 140.
3. Sellier had engaged Heydrich, Lorenzin, Koch and his wife, with a specific clause 'zu studirten Stücken'. All four were previously in the 'Neuber Gesellschaft'.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.  
AUVK. p. 382.
4. WHTA. p. 89ff.

Perhaps by reason of the continued success of a literary drama 'Die Allemanischen Brüder',<sup>1</sup> first performed in 1747, and of the increasing fame of the Neuberin and Schönemann companies after Gottsched's attempt to purge the German stage of Hans Wurst,<sup>2</sup> the Viennese audience began to look more favourably on the 'new' style of drama.<sup>1</sup>

Although some of the actors who had registered at the Theater am Kärntnertor specifically in the service of literary drama, such as Gottlob Heydrich and Christiane Friedrike Lorenzin, were soon won over to the Stegreifensemble, and Gottfried Heinrich Koch left Vienna in 1749, a defeated man,<sup>3</sup> the Stegreifensemble sensed a threat to its existence and had recourse to theatrically underhand methods of protection. The main protagonists of the Stegreifensemble, Prehauser, Kurz and Weiskern, strove to discredit their rivals in the eyes of the public by misrepresentation:

" Sie führten unter dem Schein, als wären sie selbst da, in diesen Stücken zu spielen, Alzire auf... Madame Nuth, eine Frau von 46 Jahren mit einem schwerfälligen Körper, machte die Alzire; Madame Schröter and Müller, jede ebenfalls über 40 Jahre alt, ihre beyden Vertrauten, Huber den Zamor, Schröter den Alvar und Mayberg den Montez. Man liess nach Gefallen aus, das Lernen zu ersparen, mit einem Worte, das Stück wurde vorsetzlich verpfutscht."<sup>4</sup>

Even this venture and performances of Lessing's plays 'mit Hanns Wursts Lustbarkeiten'<sup>4</sup> could not effectively

24(a)

1. WETA. p. 89ff.
2. ibid. Some of the plays performed were:  
'Cinna', 'Polyeucte', 'Cornelia', 'Mutter der  
Griechen', 'Panthea und Merope'.
3. ibid. AEWK. p. 383.

halt the progress of literary drama. Despite the performance of Thomas Corneille's 'Graf Essex' with 'Hanswursts and Bernardons Lustbarkeiten',<sup>1</sup> the same tragedy remained a success, being repeated fifteen times in the same year. Although wilting before Weiskern's attacks, Koch too had gained moderate successes with 'Oedipus' and 'Zaire' before he was forced to leave Vienna. Weiskern continued to stage 'elende Opern' under the guise of literary drama and Mayberg made 'regelmässige Stücke' look ridiculous<sup>†</sup>

'Iphigenia' withstood Weiskern's attacks and ran successfully until 1751, the year in which Freiherr von Lopresti, formerly director of the Italian Opera, became manager of the German company. Under Lopresti the theatre performed translations from Goldoni and literary plays, which, together with Corneille's tragedies, brought greater financial gain than burlesques. Every Thursday a tragedy would be staged and every three weeks a new tragedy was brought to the theatre. The literary play had thus gained a place in the repertoire of the theatre.<sup>2</sup>

As the infiltration of literary drama became more intense and its success more noticeable, Empress Maria Theresia sought to centralize the court's power over the theatre, and in 1751 she dismissed Lopresti and imposed a censorship.<sup>3</sup> The Royal Decree of 11th February, 1752 stated:

"Die comedie solle keine andere compositionen spielen als die aus den französischen oder wälischen oder spanischen theatres herkommen, alle hiesigen compositionen von Bernardon und andern völlig aufzuheben, wan aber einige gutte doch waren von weiskern, sollen selbe ehender noch gelesen werden und keine equivoques noch schmutzige Worte

25(a)

1. AWVK. p. 384.

2. WETA. p. 89ff.

Even Lady Montague's indignation at seeing the coarseness of the popular theatre in 1716, can scarcely justify these measures, especially as the popular theatre under Prehauser was much more refined.

AWVK. p. 277.

CG. p. 42.

3. AWVK. p. 384. The effect was nil.

4. BüWS. p. 26.

5. AWVK. p. 384.

6. WHTA. p. 89ff.

"...und nun erschienen Zauberkomödien mit Arien vermischt, um durch diese Neuheiten die regelmässigen Stücke zu verdrängen."

darinnen gestattet werden, auch denen comödianten ohne straffe nicht erlaubt werden sich selber zu gebrauchen."<sup>1</sup>

Punishments for transgressions of the above were announced and the same are noted in the Wiener Hoftheater-almanach of 1804. A first offender would suffer a severe reprimand, a second offence called for fourteen days' arrest and a third entailed life imprisonment.<sup>2</sup>

Had the decree been effective,<sup>3</sup> the Wiener Volksstück could hardly have existed much longer, as its message was obviously meant for the ears of the Stegreifensemble. The censor, however, experienced great difficulty in performing his task on account of the spontaneous, capricious humour of the Wiener Volksstück, which was rarely realised in more concrete terms. That the Imperial Decree failed in its intent, is affirmed by Sonnenfels in his 'Briefe über die Wienerische Schaubühne':

"...und wovon die Polizey des Schauspiels dem öffentlichen Aergernisse vorzubauen, einige Strophen zu unterdrücken für notwendig hielt. Aber was nicht gedruckt werden sollte, warum hatte der Possenreisser das öffentlich auf den Brettern gesungen."<sup>4</sup>

The failure of the decree might also be attributed to the Empress's reluctance to enforce the severe punishments imposed, and certainly Franz Joseph condoned the liberties of the popular theatre.<sup>5</sup>

The Stegreifensemble re-acted immediately to the censorship by producing a flood of 'Novitäten', 'Bernardoniaden', 'Hanswurstiaden' and other burlesques, but their quantity belied their quality and subsequent reception. It was at this time that Huber's Leopoldl came into being. Music and magic<sup>6</sup> appeared as additional spice for the audience of the Stegreifensemble, but the danger to the existence of the company became more acute

26(a)

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.
2. *ibid.*  
AWVK. p. 387.
3. Towards the end of 1759 appeared "Das Orakel, Orest und Pylades, Eduard der Dritte, Der Mügner, Gabinie, Pamela, Zanga, und Miss Sara Sampson mit Hanswursts=Lustbarkeiten an Nortons Stelle."  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
4. *ibid.*
5. WHTA. p. 89ff.
6. *ibid.*  
AWVK. p. 390.
7. WHTA. p. 89ff.



when the popular comedienne, Anna Maria Nuth, the por-  
trayer of Colombine, died in 1754.<sup>1</sup>

Two years previously, on 14th May, 1752, a French company of actors had opened in the 'Theater nächst der Burg' with a performance of Thomas Corneille's 'Graf Essex'. As exponents of literary drama, the French actors were a serious threat to the survival of the Stegreifensemble and the Wiener Volksstück. However, German literary drama also suffered a setback at the hands of the French by losing the nobility of their audience to them. It was at this time that Maria Theresia decided to summon Karoline Neuber to Vienna, perhaps in an attempt to stimulate the cause of German literary drama.

Karoline Neuber arrived in 1753, had no success, and left in the following year.<sup>2</sup>

Changes now took place in both divisions of the Theater am Kärntnertor. In 1759 the performances of new, literary plays increased,<sup>3</sup> whilst amongst the Stegreifensemble the number of 'Professionsnarren' multiplied. Durazzo, now impresario at the theatre, procured the services of the elder Stephanie, Kirchhof and Jacquet, for 1760.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, Bernardon left the company, and in April, Huber, originator of Leopoldl and according to the Wiener Hoftheateralmanach, of Zauberkomödie, died<sup>1</sup>. Despite the advent of Brenner's Burlin, the popularity of burlesques declined rapidly,<sup>5</sup> whilst literary drama consolidated its position in the minds of a relatively better educated audience.

On 3rd November, 1761 the Theater am Kärntnertor was burnt down,<sup>6</sup> an event which necessitated the alternation of German and French companies in the Burgtheater. The former had often to appear in the grubby costumes of the latter,<sup>7</sup> and immediate comparison between the two brought discredit

27(a)

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.

2. It has not yet been conclusively proved which of Hafner's plays was the first. The 'Wiener Hoftheateralmanach' maintains that 'Die Bürgerliche Dame' was the first. Rommel insists that 'Der Geplagte Odoardo' (1762) was the first to be written, whilst 'Megära, die fürchterliche Hexe' (1763), was the first to be performed. As editor of Hafners Gesammelte Schriften, Sonnleithner has placed 'Der Alte Odoardo' as the first play in Vol. I., whilst Hafner himself describes it as 'den Erstling meiner gelehrten Geburt' in the prologue. Throughout the three volumes this play is certainly the most immature.

WHTA. p. 89ff.

AWVK. p. 390.

HGS. V.1. p. 89ff.

3. AWVK. p. 390ff.

4. HGS. V.1. pp. 3-12.

5. ibid. p. 4.

"Er war klug genug, in diesen Stücken die leidenschaftlichen Anhänger der extemporirten Komödie zu schonen: in beyden Teilen der Megära kommen mehrere Stellen vor, die dem Vortrage des Schauspielers überlassen waren. Das Publikum hatte er sehr bald gewonnen..."

6. cf., pp. 33-54.

to both the German literary and popular theatre, the superiority of the French company being abundantly evident:

"Man setzte hiedurch das einheimische Schauspiel einem fremden nach, und die Nettigkeit, der Pomp, die pünktlichste Ordnung, welche bey den französischen Vorstellungen herrschte, thaten den deutschen Schauspielern in den Augen des Publikums gewaltigen Abbruch."<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th July, 1763 the Oberhofarchitekt, Freyherr von Paccassi, had completed the new Theater am Kärntnertor.<sup>1</sup> One of Weiskern's Gelegenheitsfarce opened the theatre and was followed by 'Die Bürgerliche Dame' by Philipp Hafner.<sup>2</sup>

Whilst remaining essentially a dramatist of the Wiener Volksstück, Hafner was well aware of the inevitability of the eventual dominion of literary drama.<sup>3</sup> Coming as he did, in the midst of the struggle between literary and popular drama, Hafner appeared even as a mediator in this vital issue. Nevertheless, the sheer weight of his personality, of which Sonnleithner provides ample illustration,<sup>4</sup> served to maintain Hafner's unique position of subservience to neither cause. Outwardly Hafner conformed to the demands of the censorship and of literary drama, by writing his plays down, and yet at the same time he acknowledged the vitality of the Stegreifensemble by allowing their comedy freedom within his play.<sup>5</sup> Although his productivity was limited to two years of his life, Hafner was significant as the only dramatist to provide the Wiener Volksstück with a series of literary models. Gradually Hafner's comedies betrayed his own suspicions that literary drama would outlast the Stegreifensemble and his treatment matured accordingly.<sup>6</sup>

Towards the end of 1763 the theatre engaged two new

28(a)

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.
2. 'Sporck'.  
AWVK. p. 383.
3. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
AWVK. p. 385.  
"Moralische(n) Wochenschriften' (Die Welt',  
1762/63, Der österreichische Patriot', 1764/65;  
Die 'Wienerische Dramaturgie', 1767)"
4. AWVK. p. 385.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
5. WHTA. p. 89ff.
6. ibid.
7. ibid.

actors, Friedrich Müller, who played the part of Sever in 'Polyeucte', and Christoph Gottlieb, who created Jakerle, another 'Narrencharakter'. Literary drama continued to win support and now had a tragedy performed every Thursday and a comedy every Tuesday, although all other nights were still occupied by burlesques.<sup>1</sup>

In 1764 Graf Spork<sup>2</sup> received the directorship of the theatre, Durazzo having been sent as ambassador to Venice. Voices of literary critics were beginning to grow audible. Klemm denounced Hans Wurst, Burlin and Jakerle, in a weekly periodical,<sup>3</sup> whilst Sonnenfels was much of the same mind when he expressed his disgust at the idiotic Possenspiele in his 'Briefe über die Wiener Schaubühne'.<sup>4</sup> Such were the pressures brought to bear that the most voluble of all defenders of extempore acting, Weiskern, could no longer work so openly.<sup>5</sup>

Upon the death of Franz Joseph in 1765, the French actors were dismissed and the theatre was let to Hilverding von Memen. On the second day of Easter 1766 Hilverding re-opened the theatre. Klemm, who had since become secretary, was sent to Leipzig to engage actors and playwrights and was ordered to pay one hundred Gulden for a large play and half the sum for a small one.<sup>6</sup>

Herr von Ayrenhof had now begun to work with some success on the side of literary drama. His 'Aurelius', a tragedy, set in verse by Krüger, was a success and was followed by three more tragedies and three comedies. The money he received for the acceptance of each third play, Ayrenhof gave to one of the actors or actresses.<sup>7</sup> Although in the early 1760's Hafner was the only appendage to the Stegreifensemble who could jolt it occasionally from its crude rut, the literary theatre still had no real grounds for complacency, as its success was by no means assured.<sup>7</sup>

1. TK. 1778. p. 78.

"Wien den 15ten Febr. Originalschauspiele für die deutsche Nation, Werke des ächten Genies, wo Natur und Kunst richtig verbunden sind und deren Verfasser nicht regellos umherschweifen, noch von willkürlichen Vorschriften sich im besten Dichterfluge hemmen lassen. Schauspiele dieser Art giebt es noch immer sehr wenige: deren Anzahl vermehrt zu wissen, ist ein Wunsch aller Freunde der deutschen Nationalschaubühne.

Die Kaiserl. Königl. Theatral-Hof-Direktion will nunmehr, durch öffentliche Erklärung, alle dazu fähige Geister in Deutschland ermuntern, der Nationalbühne Ruhm befördern zu helfen; und wenn sie für Wien gute brauchbare Originalschauspiele liefern wollen, so sollen sie zur Vergeltung folgendes erhalten...."

2. WHTA. p. 89ff.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. ibid.

Literary drama's principal concern was the ominous lack of original plays.<sup>1</sup> Hilverding wrote a few 'Kinderkomödien' but these offered little of permanent value.<sup>2</sup> The French plays which were available, were, in the first place, badly translated and, in the second place, potentially undesirable, as they had only recently been performed in Vienna by the French company,<sup>3</sup> Hilverding's quest for something new and literary, was in vain. Even if such had been forthcoming, the theatre of literary drama was still hampered by the 'Burleskanten' who were unwilling to memorize parts, and by the lack of any other actors.<sup>4</sup> A constant threat to any hopes for a German national theatre was the unpatriotic longing of the aristocracy, who, as the Wiener Hoftheateralmanach reports, craved:

"...französische Komödie, welche immer sein Lieblingsschauspiel gewesen war."<sup>5</sup>

It was on such an avowal of duty towards the aristocracy that Affligio, another Italian, was engaged as director of the theatre, replacing Hilverding. Affligio's promise was:

"...aufs neue ein gutes französisches Theater zu gründen."<sup>6</sup>

In 1768 Affligio fulfilled his promise and rocked the somnolent German national theatre back on its heels by his declared theatrical policy:

"Ohne Kenntniss der deutschen Sprache, ohne Willen in Geschicklichkeit überliess sich Affligio blinden Führern, die ihm riethen, nur Possen zu geben, wenn er Nutzen von seiner Unternehmung ziehen wollte. Er befolgte diesen Rath auf das pünktlichste, vernachlässigte das Nationaltheater gänzlich und verschwendete ungeheure Summen auf das französische Theater, auf die opera buffa, und die Ballette."<sup>7</sup>

30(a)

1. WETA. p. 89ff.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

"...dass sie nicht verbunden wären, in  
extemporierten Stücken zu spielen."

4. *ibid.* AFWK. p. 414.

5. WETA. p. 89ff.

6. AFWK. p. 363.



In the Easter of 1769, the year in which the Stegreifensemble virtually ceased to exist, Freyherr von Bender became manager of the German theatre, whilst the French theatre remained under Affligio with Heufelden as its director.<sup>1</sup> The intention was to banish Possenspiele from the stage and establish 'ein studirtes gesittetes Theater'.<sup>2</sup> Actors competed keenly against each other and kept themselves in good physical condition so that they could stage two or three plays per week. The 'good taste' prevailed. Financially, however, the theatre was not successful and had to be returned to Affligio after only six months. Again he demanded burlesques but few actors wished to revert to them, especially as their contract with the theatre had been carefully phrased to discourage any participation in farces and Stegreifspiele.<sup>3</sup>

This impasse turned Affligio's attention to the Badner Truppe, which Menningen had brought to Vienna.<sup>4</sup> It was hoped that the company, which had already obtained permission to play in the Vorstadt, should play twice a week at the Theater am Kärntnertor. Members of the latter theatre foresaw Affligio's intentions to dismiss them and alternate with touring companies. A play subsequently appeared in which the elder Stephanie, now a successful member of the theatre, represented, in the name of the theatre, the dishonouring of the company and of their 'Schauplatz', and accordingly sought protection from the court.<sup>5</sup> The outcome of this was that the Imperial Court:

"allen fremden Truppen auf dem k.k. Theater zu spielen die Erlaubniss verweigert, und das Extemporiren untersagt wurde."<sup>5</sup>

A fatal blow was thus delivered to the Stegreifensemble. Its last exponent, Joseph Kurz, who returned to Vienna in 1770,<sup>6</sup> now had to write down his plays and submit them to

31(a)

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
'La serva padrona', 'Die Herrschaftsküche' and 'Die Weiber-und Buben-Bataille' appeared at this time.
2. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
People inferred that it was age, reports the almanach, "aber es war im Grunde der veränderte geläuterte Geschmack."
3. *ibid.*  
The Theaterkalender of 1776, however, places Bernardon's last attempt against literary drama as early as Fasching of the previous year.  
TK. 1776. p. 164.
4. *ibid.* cf., pp. 66-68.
5. AWVK. p. 412.
6. cf., pp. 62, 71.
7. WHTA. p. 89ff.  
"...um bey den Balleten deutsche Singspiele zu geben".
8. *ibid.* The almanach compliments Noverre:  
"...Ordnung, Adel, Geist, Würde, Anmuth, Grazie herrschten durchaus in seinen Balleten. Im Tragischen wusste er durch den pantomimischen Ausdruck, durch die blosse Aktion alle Leidenschaften bey dem Zuschauer zu erregen. Noch kann man sich aus der Sammlung seiner Programme überzeugen, wie schicklich er solche Handlungen zu wählen wusste, welche durch Pantomime sich vorstellen lassen, und wie er durch eine enge Verkettung rasch abwechselnder und leicht von einem in das andere überzeugender Gemählde ein Ganzes bildete, welches als Kunstwerk nicht bloss durch zerstreute Einzelheiten gefiel. Er besass überdiess das ihm ganz eigene Talent, junge Leute mit erstaunlicher Geschwindigkeit zu bilden."
9. WHTA. p. 89ff.

the censor.<sup>1</sup> His popularity diminished rapidly, perhaps on account of his years, perhaps on account of the more discerning theatre-goers.<sup>2</sup> Kurz's theatrical career closed at the end of Fasching 1771 with an operetta 'Die Judenhochzeit', which was whistled off the stage.<sup>3</sup>

The Imperial Decree, whose message of purgation was voiced too by Freyherr von Gebler,<sup>4</sup> forced Affligio to acknowledge the futility of persevering with the Volksstück, and resign.<sup>4</sup> The Volksstück was now, of necessity, committed to an itinerant life in the provinces, as only the market-places of Vienna remained open to it.<sup>5</sup>

On the literary side, the Theater am Kärntnertor continued to engage new actors, singers and directors. Hofschauspieler Müller travelled throughout Germany seeking the best actors. Noverre, who soon gained a degree of popularity, was engaged as Ballettmeister and he, in turn, installed Böhm<sup>6</sup> of the Brünner Theater, who was intended to present German Singspiele alongside the ballet.<sup>7</sup>

Kohary, director of the theatre since 1770, found maintenance of Noverre's ballets increasingly costly, their lavish settings, the German and French plays and opera seria and buffa involving a sum of 200,000 Gulden per annum. In 1772 Kohary had to dismiss the French theatre and pay in addition, 16,000 Gulden, as the contract had not yet expired. By 1773 Kohary was even deeper in debt and in the following year Noverre had to be dismissed.<sup>8</sup> Kohary's debts increased in 1775 and the audiences decreased hard upon the departure from the theatre of the French company and Noverre.<sup>9</sup>

In defiance of its financial position the Kärntnertor-theater of the 1770's did have its moments of success, as for instance, the presentation of the 'first' German opera

1. WHTA. p. 89ff.

Inspired by the success of Böh<sup>h</sup>m's company in Br<sup>u</sup>nn, which performed German Singspiele, Joseph instigated the same at the Kär<sup>n</sup>tnerthor theatre, Herr. Mü<sup>l</sup>ler being placed in charge of their production. 'Die Bergknappen' was a natural result of this.

cf., p. 71. The first German Singspiel was Schikaneder's 'Die Tyranten' (1776).

cf., p. 91ff.

2. *ibid.*

3. DDS. p. 157.

4. WHTA. p. 89ff.

5. The proclamation of 1776 announced:

"...dass fernerhin keine anschliessende Freyheit mehr würde ertheilt werden, sondern dass vielmehr jeder inn- und ausländischen Truppe Schauspieler freystehen sollte, das Theater nächst dem Kär<sup>n</sup>tnerthor zu beziehen, und Schauspiele auf ihr Risico zu geben."

*ibid.*

'Die Bergknappen' on 17th February, 1778.<sup>1</sup> The theatre and the court, however, were now becoming indissoluble; the Emperor, Joseph II, was often at the theatre, decisions taken by the production committee had to be ratified by the 'Hofdirektion', and the Hoftheateralmanach of 1804 remarks that the nobility always came in full attendance to their German stage. The actors did not become 'deutsche Schauspieler' but remained 'Hofschauspieler' and the theatre remained under the management of 'k.k. obersten Kämmerer'.<sup>2</sup> This was the re-birth of theatrical class-consciousness where the rapprochement of court and theatre encouraged segregation from the 'Volk'.

When in 1778 Joseph II declared the Burgtheater a German 'Hof- und Nationaltheater',<sup>3</sup> and in doing so moved the German company into the same building,<sup>4</sup> an Imperial Proclamation had already re-opened the Kärntnertortheater to companies from the German Wanderbühne,<sup>5</sup> and Vienna to a further reign of popular theatre.

c.

THE WORK OF PHILIPP HAFNER

AND THE GROWTH OF A TRADITION

34(a)

1. HGS. V.1. p. 89.  
The letter is headed 'Kunsterfahrner Herr!'
2. Presumably Durazzo. cf., p. 26ff.
3. HGS. p. 89.  
"Für die studierten und regelmässigen Stücke bin ich eben nicht geboren worden, aber für das Aufgeweckte, Extemporirte bin ich (wohl mich Apollo!) geschaffen, und ich glaube systematisch (ja, welcher Autor glaubt es nicht?) allein hiezu gemacht zu seyn."
4. cf., p. 27(a). 2.
5. HGS. p. 89.
6. ibid. p. 96. Nachschrift.  
"Bewundern Sie nicht das Ungezwungene meiner Feder? Hat wohl jemahls ein Verfasser den Vortheil innen gehabt ein Schauspiel in solche Kürze einzuschränken?"
7. ibid. p. 96.  
"Schreiben Sie mir nur bald, und schicken Sie mir für mein erstes Stück alsogleich Geld, damit mein Magen und ich wissen, woran wir sind."
8. cf., p. 5.
9. BüWS. 10 Schreiben. p. 143.
10. cf., p. 26ff.
11. cf., pp. 35, 38-39. AWVK. p. 396.
12. HGS. p. 90.  
"Neues Schauspiel von drey Abhandlungen, unter dem Titel: Der alte Odoardo, und der lächerliche Hannswurst. Verfasset von N.  
NB. Ich hätte hier sehr leicht meinen Namen beysetzen können, allein für das erste Mahl will ich es so beruhen lassen, aber bey dem nächsten Stücke bleibt er gewiss nicht aus."
13. ibid. 11,i.  
"NB. Diesen Auftritt bitte, recht gut zu machen, weil es etwas neues ist."
14. SdeK. p. 51ff.

With some lack of foresight into his own future and that of the Wiener Volksstück, Hafner's letter<sup>1</sup> to the manager<sup>2</sup> of the Kärntnertortheater, illustrates his advocacy of extempore acting,<sup>3</sup> at the same time providing words of explanation and justification for his first play 'Der alte Odoardo'.<sup>4</sup>

In compliance with Hafner's ironic assertion that the play is 'der Erstling meiner gelehrten Geburt',<sup>5</sup> and yet, in direct contrast to his rather conceited opinion of the play,<sup>6</sup> 'Der alte Odoardo' is so crudely fabricated, that only the brilliance of a Stegreifensemble could possibly ensure its success. The play is evidence of the truth of Hafner's inference that subsistence is perhaps of greater import than aesthetics.<sup>7</sup>

In the tradition of the commedia dell'arte the plot concerns the efforts of a miserly father, Odoardo, to defend his daughter from an 'unsuitable' marriage.<sup>8</sup> Molière had already manipulated the same plot and in the final years of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, the French playwright's influence cannot be ignored.<sup>9</sup> The literary theatre had been ruled by French companies and French plays<sup>10</sup> and further evidence appears in Hafner's later works to prove that Molière's plays were not unknown to him.<sup>11</sup>

Although 'Der alte Odoardo'<sup>12</sup> is little more than the framework for extemporized play, furnished with an original idea or two from Hafner,<sup>13</sup> it cannot escape criticism. Its naive humour of situation recalls the similar treatment of 'Pickelhering in der Kiste'<sup>14</sup> its predecessor on the German Wanderbühne by 143 years.



35(a)

8: cf., p. 5.

9. HGS. 11,xxi. p. 185.  
"Ein geschicktes Mädel kriegt dennoch  
einer einmahl an meiner Tochter; sie ist  
schön, sie redet ihre Sprachen, sie tanzt  
gut, singt gut, und schlägt das Clavier  
meisterlich."

1. EGS. p. 96.111.ix.  
"Der Mago verwandelt den Tisch und den Kasten in etwas, was dem Maschinenmeister beliebt."
2. ibid. p. 96.  
"NB. Grüßen Sie den Mago in meinem Nahmen, und sagen Sie ihm, er möchte ja nicht zu melden vergessen, auf was Art Hannswurst und Scapin in der dritten Abhandlung von dem Arreste los geworden, in welchen sie am Ende der zweyten geführt worden; denn mir fällt itzt nicht gleich eine Ursach bey, und vorhin hab ich ungefähr darauf vergessen."
3. HGS. p. 96.  
"...der Mago entdeckt alles."
4. ibid. p. 90. 'Spielende Personen'.
5. ibid. V.1. p. 133.  
"Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo, oder: Hannswurst und Crispin, die lächerlichen Schwestern von Prag. Ein Lustspiel von zweyen Abhandlungen."
6. ibid. 1,ix., p. 153.  
"Chev. Je\* suis le Chevalier Chemise!  
Crisp. Schmiss der Herr hin, wo der Herr will; ich frag den Herrn, wo man auf St. Marx geht?  
Chev. Je\* ne vous comprends pas; parlez mieux francois!  
Crisp. Ja frass eh, mein lieber Herr! wann ich was hätt; vierzehn Täg hab ich nichts Warmes über mein Herz gebracht, eine einzige Linsen die hat mir eine Köchinn in einem Papierl von dem Fenster herab geworffen..."
7. ibid. 11,xiii. p. 194.  
"Die Falschheit im Herzen, die Treue im Mund,  
Im Ernste nur lieben durch einige Stund;  
Schwur, List, Tücke, Vorwand, Verstellung,  
Betrug,  
Bethörende Blicke, Verrachtung und Lug,  
Das haben noch immer  
Für euch Frauenzimmer  
Die Männer genug."

Throughout the play there is complete deference to the demands of such contrived humour, to the dictates of the 'Maschinisten',<sup>1</sup> and even the author does not trouble to hide his own negligence.<sup>2</sup> Magic is manifest in 'Der Zauberer' who performs the function of a *deus ex machina*<sup>3</sup> and human endeavour is further hindered by the appropriate, if unrealistic, entourage of 'einige Teufeln' with its facile remark 'NB. Je mehr desto schöner'.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the provision of a written dialogue and the limitation of improvisation to the lazzi of Hans Wurst, 'Der geplagte Odoardo'<sup>5</sup> reveals an improvement in Hafner's art. Although his style remains unsure, as Crispin, for instance, speaks with a distinctly popular Viennese flavour in a notable scene with Chevalier Chemise,<sup>6</sup> and yet in an aria sings an accumulation of melodramatic epithets which recall Kurz's parody of Baroque opera,<sup>7</sup> a maturer approach, dramatically speaking, provides a measure of characterization. To an extent the lack of improvisation in the play is responsible for the divergence away from the original stock characters of the *commedia dell'arte*,<sup>8</sup> the necessary order prevalent in any literary drama encouraging a logical approach to the problem of individual characterization.

The play suffers the imposed burden of extraneous and foreign matter. The plot, and certain figures within the plot, owe their original inspiration to the resource of the *commedia dell'arte*. There is embodied in the play the mediaeval and mystic insistence on grouping subsidiary characters in threes, whilst French society, as depicted in Molière, is reflected by Odoardo and his pride in his daughter's education,<sup>9</sup> also by the bearing of two of the three rivals, Marquis Kletzenbrod and Chevalier Chemise. Such incidental features do not, however, detract from

36(a)

1. HGS. 1, vii. p. 147.
2. CddL. pp. 127-130.
3. HGS. op. cit., 11, xii. pp. 191-192.  
"... o pfui Teufel! es ist Schad, wann ein Herr einen gescheiden Lakey hat, wann er ihn statt des Lohns für seine richtige Dienstleistung zum Henker jagen will; - aber Geduld! Mein Herr hat halt auch seinen Schuss;..."
4. ibid. 1, iv. p. 144. Casperle to Hans Wurst.  
"...Wir seynd boyde Dienstbothen, und wann es mein Herr geschafft hat, dass Du sollst hinein kriechen, so kriech hinein, und mach mir kein böses Spiel.
5. HGS. 11, xii. p. 191.  
"Crisp. (voll Zörn) Was? Ist das die Belohnung für treue Dienst? Ist das der Dank, dass ich dahier bin stehn geblieben, und hab jedes Wort aufgefangt, und meinem Herrn zugesagt -..."
6. ibid. pp. 191-192.

the dramatic purpose of the play, which is the conquest of Odoardo's daughter, rather are they used as an additive to lively portrayal of character, and suffused with organic Viennese humour.

To a degree Hafner succeeds in overcoming the levelling effect of tri-characterisation by distinguishing Hans Wurst, Crispin and Casperle as individuals. Crispin has been a journeyman tailor before becoming the servant of Baron Pappendeckel.<sup>1</sup> His dramatic being is deliberately motivated and has tangible roots in the outside world. On the advice of a friend in Graz, Crispin came to Vienna, but discovered that he could not make a fortune as a tailor.<sup>1</sup> The reference to his employment as a 'Kuppler' helps to localize the action of the play.<sup>1</sup> Crispin's itinerant inclinations, encouraged by the friend in Graz and by his father,<sup>1</sup> relate his spirit to that of a Simplizius Simplizissimus,<sup>2</sup> but his connections with the real world, the substance of his character,<sup>3</sup> his human understanding,<sup>3</sup> infer that his wanderings shall not be eternally aimless. Compared with Hans Wurst and Casperle, Crispin's position as a servant, is merely a passing phantasy. Hans Wurst and Casperle acknowledge and accept their lowly status.<sup>4</sup>

Despite his apparent lack of purpose, Crispin will not subjugate himself completely to the moods of his master, and when Baron Pappendeckel is angry with him, Crispin responds in a like manner.<sup>5</sup> Admittedly his anger soon dissipates into a human sympathy for his master,<sup>6</sup> which distinguishes him from the officious foolishness of Hans Wurst and Casperle. There is, however, theatrical motivation for the subsidence of Crispin's anger, as it still remains his charge to deliver the Baron's letter to Mitzerl and it is a moot point whether the outer plot or the inner Crispin rules the day.

37(a)

1. HCL. 1,1. p. 137.  
"... in das Künftige aber sag ich Dir,  
es mag entweder bey Tag oder Nacht, wann  
ich nicht zu Hause bin, wer immer kommen,  
es mag seyn der Peter oder Paul, er mag  
vollen hincin gehen, steigen, laufen,  
fahren oder reiten, so lasse keinen  
Menschen hincin;..."

By his failure to comprehend his master's instructions that he is to allow no-one into the house, Casperle is depicted as an artless simpleton, whose only ability is the incredible brilliance of his stupidity. His interpretation of Odoardo's injunction that he should admit neither Peter nor Paul,<sup>1</sup> forms the basis for the subsequent farce:

" Casp (hält ihn ab)  
Wohin? Zurück da! Wohin?

B. Papd.

In das Haus dahier will ich  
hineingehen.

Casp

Ist der Herr der Paul?

B. Papd.

Ich bin der, der ich bin, was haht  
Ihr darnach zu fragen?

Casp

Ich hab stark danach zu fragen, denn  
ich muss wissen, ob der Herr der  
Paul ist?

B. Papd. (vor sich)

Es scheint mir, als ob der Kerl den  
Befehl hatte, Niemanden ausser einem  
sichern Paul in das Haus zu lassen,  
allein ich will dem dummen Teufel  
schon durch den Sinn fahren.  
(Zu Casp.) Nu! wenn Ihr es doch  
wissen müsst, so will ich es euch  
sagen; ja! ich bin der Paul!

Casp. (lacht)

Ja! no so geh der Herr nur seinen  
Weg, der Herr kommt nicht hinein.

B. Papd.

Und warum soll ich nicht hineinkommen?

1. HGS. 1,iii. pp. 140-141.
2. ibid. p. 142. 1,iv.
3. ibid. pp. 142-144.
4. ibid. p. 154. 'Vorstellende'.  
"Eine Gattung Brod, in welcher dor Taig reichlich mit getrockneten Birnen (Kletzen), Zirbelnüssen, u.s.w. vermengt ist, nennt man Kletzenbrod."
5. ibid. 11,xii. p. 191.  
"B. Papd. Du Narr du, wenn du nicht klüger aufführen wirst, so werd ich dich zum Henker jagen. - Fort sag ich, bestelle den Brief, und bring mir bald eine Antwort, sonst kannst du wieder hingehen, wo du hergekommen bist, du Phantast du! (geht zornig ab.)"
6. ibid. 11,xxix. p. 197.  
"Was? O ich Unglückseliger! Treulose Mitzerl, du Ursach meines Todes! In meiner grössten Verzweiflung verlasse ich diesen Ort, doch erschreckt nicht, wenn ihr in etlichen Minuten meinen Tod erfahren werdet."
7. ibid. 1,ix. p. 153-154.  
"Je\* parle un peu Allemand, mais je ne veux pas parler avec tout le monde, j'ai mes raisons, et je fais ça souvent par plaisir."
8. ibid. 11,xxviii. p. 196.  
"Das wär die Teuf! Eh bien! Ick suck mein fortun weiter, und die Korb, die ick ab krieg, werd ick transportir su die andere Korb, so ick hab bekom hin und wieder..."

\* cf., 35(a). 6.



Casp.

Weder der Peter noch der Paul  
kommt hinein.

B. Papd. (vor sich)

Je, was Teufel! Da bin ich schön  
angekommen! Was woll ich machen?  
(Zu Casp.) Guter Freund! wenn Ihr  
mich in das Haus lasst, so schenk  
ich Euch sechs Ducaten.

Casp. (weint)

Gütiger Himmel, warum hast Du einen  
so generosen Herrn lassen zu einem  
Paul werden?<sup>1</sup>

"

Marquis Kletzenbrod also fails to gain admittance and sends Hans Wurst, his servant, who claims: "ich kenn den dummen Teufel".<sup>2</sup> Hans Wurst proves the truth of this appraisal, revealing in Casperle a complete lack of mental vision, which is in direct opposition to his own experience and worldliness.<sup>3</sup>

A similar individuality exists in the characters of the three rivals. Marquis Kletzenbrod,<sup>4</sup> the ultimate victor, is the most stable and the most cautious of the three. He has not the shallowness of Chevalier Chemise, nor does he vent his anger on his servant as does Baron Pappendeckel.<sup>5</sup> The latter is an unstable character, who is given to moods, and when he is ultimately rebuffed by Mitzerl, it is in keeping with his character that he should threaten suicide.<sup>6</sup> Chevalier Chemise is the caricature of an aristocratic Frenchman, who disdains to speak German, except when occasion absolutely demands,<sup>7</sup> a man from Paris who is intent on making his fortune by some happy marital union, who shows an appropriate lack of feeling when he learns that his suit has failed.<sup>8</sup> As a social climber of the age, Chevalier Chemise recalls the criticism behind Molière's reflection of Parisian society,

39(a)

13. HGS. P.2. 111,xiv. p. 196.  
"Ork. Ich bin froh dein Freund zu seyn!  
Meg. Meine Freundschaft ist ganz dein!"  
p. 198. 111,xv.  
"Es ist eine so erfreuliche Sache, wenn sich  
viele Feinde unmarmen, als wenn sich zwey  
Herzen ungleichen Geschlechts miteinander  
vereinigen..."
14. ibid. 1,iii. p. 109.

39(a)

1. HGS. 11,xvi. p. 179.  
cf., 11,xxviii. p. 196.
2. HGS. V.2. p. 1.  
"Megära, die fürchterliche Hexe, oder: das  
bezauberte Schloss des Herrn von Einhorn."
3. WHTA. p. 89ff.
4. AWVK. p. 392.
5. HGS. 11,vi. p. 55.  
"Ich habe mich einmahl dieser unglücklich  
Verliebten angenommen, und also soll ihnen  
gewiss auch kein Leid widerfahren, aber der  
Odoardo sowohl als der halbverstorbene Anselmo,  
und alle, die es mit ihnen halten, sollen die  
Rache empfinden, die ich, gemäss meiner  
Zauberpflicht, an den eigensinnigen oder  
geldgierigen Aeltern, die ihre Kinder ihrer  
Gewinnsucht aufopfern, und mit Zwang  
verheirathen wollen, zu nehmen pflege..."
6. *ibid.* part 2., 1,iv. p. 111.  
"Alle Bedrängte\* sind meine Kinder."
7. *ibid.* p. 99.  
"Der fürchterlichen Hexe Megära Zweyter Theil.  
Unter dem Titel: die in eine dauerhafte  
Freundschaft sich verwandelnde Rache."
8. *ibid.* 111,xi, p. 94.  
"Odoardo und Anselmo hangen einer rechts, der  
andere linker Hand, und Riepel in der Mitte  
in der Luft auf einer Wolkenmaschine, als  
Hängleuchter, wo sie an jedem Arm und an  
jedem Fuss, auch auf den Kopf ein Licht haben;.."   
The success of part I (cf., 39(a). 4.) might also  
have had its influence on the creation of part 2.
9. *ibid.* 1,xi. pp. 27-31.
10. *ibid.* 11,v. p. 54.
11. *ibid.* P.2. 111, viii. p.189.
12. *ibid.* P.1. 1,xii. p. 32.

\* The mutation is omitted in the published text.

even his exits are suitably affected: '(Geht tanzend und singend ab)'.<sup>1</sup>

The first work of Hafner's to be performed was 'Megära, die fürchterliche Hexe'.<sup>2</sup> It was produced in 1763 in Pacassi's reconstruction of the Kärntnertortheater, which had been re-opened on July 9th.<sup>3</sup> The play, a Zauberspiel, was eminently successful.<sup>4</sup>

The plot of 'Megära' is in outline the action of both 'Der alte Odoardo' and 'Der geplagte Odoardo', illustrating the Wiener Volksstück's continued indebtedness to the commedia dell'arte. Magic is re-introduced and spices what would otherwise be the langour of a hackneyed plot. Megära gives her support to the lover, Leander, and his servant, Hans Wurst, in part I, her function being the defence of those who suffer from the tyrannies of obstinate fathers.<sup>5</sup> Orkamiastes, whose similar duty is to protect the oppressed,<sup>6</sup> provides Megära with some magical opposition in part 2.<sup>7</sup> A desire for symmetry, springing from a theatrical sense of injustice after Odoardo's degradation in part I,<sup>8</sup> alone justifies the existence of Orkamiastes in part 2. Human endeavour, after being mortified by Leander's proposed suicide,<sup>9</sup> is thus further belittled by the presence of its magic guardians.

Very noticeably the power of magic is not absolute. Odoardo shoots down the Wolkenmaschine,<sup>10</sup> Orkamiastes has to wrestle with Leander,<sup>11</sup> before he can fling the hero down into Hell, even the original wizard, Schlickziroschurakas, is governed by the rule of mortality, and dies.<sup>12</sup> Megära has strong human affiliations<sup>12</sup> and in part 2 becomes emotionally involved in the plot.<sup>13</sup> Only six years remain of the ninety year contract with Pluto,<sup>14</sup> and Orkamiastes foretells the end of magic: "...alsdenn ist

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1. HGS. 1,iii. p. 109.
2. ibid. P. 1. 1,xii. pp. 33-36.
3. ibid. 1,xii. p. 32.
4. ibid. 11,xxvii. p. 70.  
"...sogleich verwandelt sich das Wirthshaus in ein Peruckenmachergewölb Megära", Angela und Colombina als Peruckenmachergesellen, dessgleichen Leander, sind mit Accomodiren beschäftigt."
5. ibid. 111,x. p. 92.
6. ibid. 111,xi. p. 94.
7. ibid. P.2. 1,iii. p. 109.
8. ibid. P.1. 111,i. p. 75.  
"...ich werd sie schon zu kriegen wissen, denn ich kann selbst ein bissel mehr, als Birn braten."
9. Throughout the course of the plot it is Megära who is in possession of the castle. Nevertheless Odoardo's legal ownership is not disputed: 'mein ganzes Landgut ist zu einem Tummelplatz der Hexen geworden'. (p.73). The course of the plot and the sub-title intimate that the castle, which is now possessed of magic, will eventually revert to its rightful owner.

die Periode der Hexerey vorüber."<sup>1</sup> Whilst human endeavour is belittled, the power of magic is not sufficient to render its efforts futile.

The true spice of the magical element is realised by its visual representation. The construction and employment of the Wolkenmaschine and the finale of part I, where Odoardo, Anselmo and Riepel are left hanging from a chandelier with lights shining on their heads, arms and feet, ask little of 'Maschinisten' who can successfully stage Megära's conjuration of the spirits in Act I.<sup>2</sup> As a noble hero is popularized by his fall from the Wolkenmaschine, and his descent into the jaws of Hell, magic suffers a like humiliation, when Schlickziroschurakas threatens to wring Megära's neck, unless she continues in his tradition.<sup>3</sup> As part of its Baroque inheritance, the Wiener Volksstück aims at bewilderment of the senses.

Whilst the enervation of the magical element reflects only a traditional aspect of the Wiener Volksstück, its diminution is balanced positively by an increased preponderance of the 'Stadtelement'. Megära sacrifices wholesale her magical aloofness, when she mixes with its representatives.<sup>4</sup> Odoardo, Anselmo, Riepel, Schulmeister and Richter, are the ones who attack Megära's magic castle.<sup>5</sup> X Whilst timorous within the castle and ultimately ridiculous as they hang in defeat from the chandelier,<sup>6</sup> they represent the forces of realism, which oppose the dominion of magic; while they suffer defeat now, Orkamiastes foretells their victory in six years' time.<sup>7</sup> Already the schoolmaster infers that he has a secret weapon with which to combat magic.<sup>8</sup> Even the remarkable sub-title 'das bezauberte Schloss des Herrn von Einhorn' has perhaps futuristic intent.<sup>9</sup>

Although the Schulmeister has individual features

10. HGS. P. 2. 1,x. p. 129.  
 "Du sollst itzt und künftighin keinen Coffe mehr trinken, denn ich hab' meine sichern Zeichen, dass der Coffe euch Weibsbildern höchst schädlich ist, denn die stillesten und sitzsamsten Frauenzimmer, - sobald sie Coffe getrunken haben, fing ihnen das Maul an zu lauffen, wie eine Pfeffermühl. Ich hasse dieses Getränk über alles; (zu Ans.) Vorhin eben nicht, denn ich habe viele Centen verkauft, und manchen Kreuzer daran gewonnen. (zu Ang.) Ich lerne itzo die schädlichen Folgen davon einsehen; es muss Gift in diesen Bohnen seyn; sie kommen von den Türken her, welche abgesagte Feinde von uns sind."  
 cf., also p. 41(a). 4.
11. ibid. P. 2. 11,ix. p. 162.  
 Riepel: "...so steht der Leander da in der Mitte, und discuriert mit seinem Hut, so fall ich ihm mitten in die Red hinein, und sag: Bist Du da? Er aber nit faul, geht mit der blossen Scheid auf mich zu, ich schlag ihm gleich die Hand aus dem Degen, der Degen fällt auf die Erd, bleibt liegen, und steht nimmer auf;..."

1. HGS. P.1. 111,i. pp. 73-74.  
"Gnädiger Herr! ponamus caseum, dass auch wirklich ein Theil von dem Landgut unsicher seyn sollt, wie zwar Bauern, und andere Leut davon resigniren, so ist der Leuten ihre Einmargination und Einbildung selbst auch oft daran Ursach, sie glauben was zu sehen oder zu hören, und ob es schon eine pure Funktion ist, so erzählen sie es doch weiter, und das macht nachher eine ganze Convulsion im Ort."
2. ibid. P.1. 111,i. pp. 73-76.
3. ibid. p. 100. 'Vorstellende'.
4. ibid. P.2. 1,xi. p. 135.  
"Sie können sichs leicht auswendig merken, ich brauche lauter Hausmittel. Lassen Sie sich einen scabiosen Thee mit Wanzen und Rosoli Milchraum machen, der kühlt Sie ab und wird Ihnen ein wenig die Natur ändern, er ist sonst eine Herzstark für die verzweifelten Narren, und wird Ihnen darauf nicht besser, so krepiren Sie ins Himmels Nahmen alle beyde."
5. ibid. P.2. 11,iv. pp. 150-151.  
"...ich hab alles, was ich nur verlang, ich hab Geld, ich bin adelich, ich hab schöne Mädels zum foppen, und bin noch dazu recht schön;... Wenn ich noch zurückdenk auf zehn Jahrl, ehe ich bin adelich worden, da hats nichts gnädiger Herr geheissen, sondern Flegel reitter den Habern, koch für die Pferd, schnidel ihnen auf, richt an, und gib ihnen zu essen, wechsel ihnen die Teller."
6. ibid. P.2. 11,v. p. 153.  
"Kammerdiener! Das allerneuests ist, dass ich heirathen werde, und zwar morgen."
7. Nigewitz. cf., ibid. 'Megära'. P.2. 11,iv. pp. 150-152. Weinstein. cf., 1,xi. pp.131-135.
8. ibid. P.2. 11,vii. p. 158.  
fn. "An der sogenannten St. Marxerlinie zu Wien, in dem dermahligen Burgerspitale, war zu Hafners Zeit das Tollhaus."
9. ibid. P.2. 1,xiv. pp. 138-139.  
"Wenn ich ihn gleich fortjage, wo nehm' ich gleich wieder einen andern her? Um 5 fl. dient mir so leicht nicht wieder einer wie der..."



such as his misuse of foreign words and phrases,<sup>1</sup> even these are not sufficient to elevate his existence beyond that of caricature. The judge's deferential 'Vor Ihnen zu reden'<sup>2</sup> has a similar impotence. In part 2 the bourgeois element receives greater prominence by the introduction of a cousin of Odoardo's, Herr von Nigewitz; his servant, Ramsamperl, and a Hausdoctor, Weinstein, who attends Odoardo.<sup>3</sup> Weinstein's caricature of a contemporary quack adds local colour and his prescription **is a pleasant change from** the occasionally unrealistic tone of the earlier Volksstück.<sup>4</sup>

Nigewitz is a conceited individual, a lacquey who has prospered,<sup>5</sup> and who woos Angela in accordance with his whim to marry on the morrow.<sup>6</sup> As this is the only justification for his presence, Nigewitz remains a rather nebulous malcontent, but both he and Weinstein, baron and doctor respectively, rouse interest by the rogue in them, which lurks behind their outward respectability.<sup>7</sup> Nigewitz, Ramsamperl and Weinstein are vital to the plot only by their contribution of local colour. Indeed part 2 is so distended by the insertion of what appears to be little more than a series of pageants, that local colour enjoys an unnatural and undeserved prominence. Specific, local references are made to the asylum in St. Marx,<sup>8</sup> to the currency and cost of living,<sup>9</sup> and the habit of drinking coffee or tea,<sup>10</sup> which references with many others intensify the Viennese element of the Wiener Volksstück.

The comedians remain more or less within the tradition of Hafner's two earlier plays, Hans Wurst revealing a readier wit than the naive Riepel.<sup>11</sup> Hans Wurst's versatility is reflected by the various disguises, by means of which he deceives Odoardo and company. As a 'Leichenbitter' Hans Wurst is very convincing and parody is inferred by the

11. HGS. 'Megära' P. 1. l,xi. p. 30.  
 "Lean...Beyor ich sterbe, muss ich noch in  
 dieser Einode einige Worte meiner angebetheten  
 Angela schenken. Du kannst ein gleiches  
 deiner Colombina zu Ehren thun. Angebethete  
 Angela! = =  
 Hw. Verfluchte Colombina! = =  
 Lean. Weil ich in meinem Leben Dich nicht  
 besitzen kann = =  
 Hw. Ich wollt, dass ich Dich in meinem Leben  
 nicht gesehen hätt, aber weil ich Dich gesehen  
 hab = =" etc.
12. ibid. P. 1. lll,xi. p. 96.  
 "Ich aber räche mich auf keine andre Art, Als,  
 dass ich von ihr flieh;..."
13. ibid. P. 2. lll,xv. p. 197.
14. ibid. P. 1. lll,vi. pp. 86-90.

1. HGS. P.1. 11,iii. p. 44.  
 "(zu Col.) Was weinen Sie mein Kind! wir sind zum Tod geboren! (zu den beyden Alten auf sie deutend.) der morgen, jener heut, der Tod bleibt keinem aus.  
 Die Welt ist uns ja nur zur Marter auserkoren,  
 Der Leib ist unsrer Seel nichts als ein Krankenhaus,  
 Und darum wünsch ich auch die Ehre bald zu haben,  
 Mir meiner eignen Hand Sie beyde zu begraben. (Geht ernsthaft ab.)"
2. *ibid.* P. 1. 11,x. p. 61.  
 " Aria 11.  
 Ein Bäck ist halt ein ganzer Mann..."
3. *ibid.* P. 1. 11,xvii. p. 68.
4. *ibid.* P. 1. 11,iii. p. 44.
5. *ibid.* V.2. p. 2. 'Vorstellende'.  
 "Hannswurst, Diener des Leander."
6. Thus the function of Hannswurst as an undertaker is to convince Odoardo and Riepel of his own and Leander's death.  
*ibid.* 11,iii. pp. 40-48.
7. *ibid.* P. 2. 111,xv. p. 196.  
 "...du kannst nun thun, was du willst."
8. In his own way Odoardo is concerned at his daughter's misery, when she discovers that Leander is dead, (11,iii. p. 44.) and yet he only appreciates Leander's death in terms of his own advantage. (11,iii. p. 46.)
9. *ibid.* P. 1. 1,xi. pp. 27-31.
10. *ibid.* P. 1. 1,xi. p. 30.  
 "Lean. Gib acht, und sobald ich drey sage, so schiess auf mich; 1, 2, 3, (er schiesst los. Hw. lässt bey dem Wort drey die Pistolen fallen, bevor Leander noch losgedruckt hat und fällt unter grossem Geschrey auf die Erde; zugleich eröffnet sich die auf der Seite an dem Gestad stehende grosse Felsen, welche sich in ein Zauberkabinett verwandelt.)"

humour of his funereal incantation.<sup>1</sup> In 'Megära' Hans Wurst appears as a baker,<sup>2</sup> innkeeper,<sup>3</sup> undertaker<sup>4</sup> and lacquey,<sup>5</sup> of which each impersonation reflects a measure of caricature, but he remains a being who is solely responsive to the stimuli of situation<sup>6</sup> and not to the aesthetic and inward demands of character.

Whilst Odoardo, Anselmo, Leander and Angela still recall the commedia dell'arte, Hafner humanized what were originally stock characters. The sub-title of part 2 already suggests the new importance which the theatre was attaching to human relationships, and ultimately Odoardo relinquishes his tyrannical hold over his daughter.<sup>7</sup> Realistically Odoardo acts sometimes for good and sometimes for bad motives.<sup>8</sup> His obstinacy gives him courage, whilst his miserliness limits his vision. Leander is at bottom a noble and sentimental suicide,<sup>9</sup> whose misfortune is subjection to the comedy of Hans Wurst and the utilization of his suicide as the motive for Megära's entry.<sup>10</sup> Typical of popular drama, Leander's attempted suicide is merely a theatrical incident and does not reflect convincingly the despair of a distraught lover.<sup>11</sup> At times Leander is too ethical to be real, but the inner morality which impels him throughout the play, depicts him as a human idealist. After the proof of Angela's perfidy, it is this morality which refrains from the enjoyment of revenge,<sup>12</sup> and the same morality portrays Leander as a conceited and priggish idealist, when, as the popular tone of the play calls for complete reconciliation, he states that infidelity is too strong an insult to be washed away by tears.<sup>13</sup>

Angela is realistically coloured by human frailty when she surrenders to Gassbiegel's advances.<sup>14</sup> Hafner's good characters cannot boast of absolute integrity. The

1. HGS. P.1. 111,ii. p. 79.  
"Ang. ... es ist zwar gewiss, dass der Leander mir allgemach etwas abhold zu werden anfängt, allein daran ist nicht so viel mein wankendes Herze, als die vielen Hindernissen dieser Liebe....Ursach."
2. ibid. P.1. 11,i. p. 38.  
"...bey dem ersten Anblicke bin ich dein gewesen, nur du warest allzu grausam gegen mich, dass du mir vielleicht durch eine unüberlegte That das Vergnügen, dich ewig zu besitzen, entzogen hast, da uns doch beyde eine schnelle Flucht von einem tyrannischen Vater befreyen, und dabey glücklich hätte machen können...."
3. ibid. P. 1. 1,vii. p. 20.
4. ibid. P. 1. 11,i. p. 38.  
"...und ich darf mich wohl für das glücklichste Frauenzimmer unserer Zeiten schätzen, die einen so getreuen, und zärtlichen Liebhaber aufweisen kann..."
5. cf., p. 43(a). 2.
6. HGS. 'Megära' P.1. 11,i. p. 38.  
"...o treue Colombina! in kurzer Zeit wirst du deine Patroninn verliehren, denn ohne Leandern zu leben, ist mir nicht möglich!"
7. cf., p. 42(a). 13.
8. HGS. p. 199.  
"Der Furchtsame. Ein Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen."
9. ibid. 1,vi. pp. 216-219.
10. ibid. I,vii. p. 220. fn.  
"Hafner durfte doch nicht wagen, ein allgemeines Auto=da=fe über die Gespenster zu halten."

path leading to Angela's downfall is prepared by Hafner, so that Angela's reactions are characteristic. This is executed by a subtle disclosure of the insincerity of her love beforehand,<sup>1</sup> and by the depiction of that love as something which merely takes and possesses.<sup>2</sup> Angela's effusive ode to Leander's eye,<sup>3</sup> and the lavish kiss bestowed upon his portrait,<sup>3</sup> whilst reminiscent of Baroque melodrama, condemn her affection as affectation. Beginning to reflect the class-conscious female of Viennese society, Angela finds satisfaction in the knowledge that she is loved.<sup>4</sup> Happy in her megalomania, she readily believes that Leander has committed suicide for her sake and even upbraids him for thus abandoning her to the whims of a tyrannical father.<sup>5</sup> Even her compensatory attempt at suicide exists only fleetingly in her mind and has not the compulsion of sincerity.<sup>6</sup> On account of this shading, Leander's moral persistence<sup>7</sup> at the end of the play is not unacceptable.

Although Hafner's 'Der Furchtsame'<sup>8</sup> is entirely void of magic, a kindred superstition exists in Hasenkopf's belief in ghosts.<sup>9</sup> Very significantly, Hasenkopf's credulity is part of his character and the figments of his imagination are never interpreted visually by the 'Maschinisten'. It has been noted that Hafner, at a time when mediaeval superstition was still in the process of being dispersed by the forces of enlightenment, does not commit himself on this topical issue,<sup>10</sup> but the mere use of the name Hasenkopf indicates his penchant. The absence of a guardian element elevates human importance, just as the absence of technical trickery adds meaning to the intrigue.

The foundation of the plot is the same, but the treatment of individual characters is not. Herr von Hasenkopf fulfils the same function but with a warmth

1. HGS. 1,vi. pp. 218-219.  
 "...Wen wird sie doch etwa wieder aus unserem Hause oder aus der Nachbarschaft hinausheulen? - Der Himmel sey doch Jedem gnädig! - Mich überfällt eine gewisse Furcht, eine gewisse Ahndung. - - Geh Lisette! Sage dem Hausmeister, er soll geschwind zu dem Herrn von Alkantor springen, und nachsehen, ob ihn nicht etwa heute früh der Schlag getroffen - ..."
2. ibid. 111,x. p. 293.  
 "(hebt beyde von der Erde auf.) Stehet auf!  
 - Meine Henriette! Du bist mir unschätzbar..."
3. ibid. 1,x. p. 225.  
 "... und sie muss ihn heirathen; er hat einen grundreichen Vater; stirbt er, so bekommt er das ganze Vermögen, und noch dazu einen grossen Charakter. Ey! eines muss das andere übertragen. Man muss nicht so haiklich seyn. Wie viele Mädchen würden sich an die Stelle meiner Tochter wünschen.-..."
4. cf., p. 44(a). 1.
5. HGS. 1,vii. p. 219.  
 "(Trocknet sich das Gesicht ab.) Ja! Meine liebe Henriette! Die verwünschte Trud ist unerachtet Du sammt dem Hausmeister im Zimmer warest, heute Nacht wieder hier gewesen..."
6. ibid. 1,xi. pp. 226-230.
7. ibid. 1,xi. p. 227.
8. ibid. 111,x. pp. 288-289.  
 "Da Sie, Herr Vater, jederzeit einer zärtlichen Liebe, die nichts strafliches in sich hatte, ohne Ursach entgegen waren, so hab ich ..."
9. ibid. 111,vii. p. 270.  
 "...Wie glücklich werde ich seyn, wenn mich Valer heute Nacht von meinem wahnwitzigen Vater befreyen wird."
10. ibid. 1,vii. p. 220.
11. ibid. 111,x. p. 294. (to Valere)  
 "Verdopple deine brüderliche Liebe gegen mich, so wie ich sie als Schwester gegen Dich vervielfältige..."

unbecoming his traditional role. As his humanity increases, his traditional miserliness diminishes. His piteous superstition endows Hasenkopf with human tolerance<sup>1</sup> and he readily forgives all transgressions at the end of the play.<sup>2</sup> Not tyranny but true paternal concern for his daughter's welfare motivates his traditional desire for a good marriage.<sup>3</sup> Hasenkopf rouses sympathy and not laughter, when he explains his dilemma to his daughter, partly because his anxiety is for others as well as for himself<sup>4</sup> and partly because of the affection, which leads him to confide in his daughter.<sup>5</sup> So intense is the old man's superstition, that neither Henriette's<sup>10</sup> nor Alkantor's<sup>6</sup> appeal to reason can assuage his fear. With true human insight Hafner depicts Hasenkopf's fanatical insistence on the veracity of his beliefs:

"Ja? - Beym Henker! ich werde wohl noch einen Hund von der Klage zu unterscheiden wissen." <sup>7</sup>

Despite the traditional impatience with an obstinate father, Henriette remains kindly disposed towards him.<sup>8</sup> She is not blemished with Angela's guilt, but neither is she above revealing a certain ingratitude towards her father.<sup>9</sup> Her common sense, which heralds the age of enlightenment, prevents Henriette's succumbing to her father's beliefs and she analyses his fears accordingly, insisting:

"...dass die meiste Spuckerey aus den Quellen der Einbildung entstehe..." <sup>10</sup>

This quality and Henriette's natural resilience enable her, after the sudden revelation, to assimilate everything, quickly and rationally, in its new perspective.<sup>11</sup>

The hero has developed so much beyond Leander in stature, that even when the subject of farce, he retaliates



10. HGS. 1,i. p. 206.  
 "Was wird denn auch so Wichtiges darinn  
 enthalten seyn, als der Verliebten Gewöhnliches:  
 mein Engel! - Ich schmachte; - meine Schöne! -  
 mein Leben! - meine Gebietherinn! - ich küsse  
 Sie in Gedanken; - mein Abgott! - schenken Sie  
 mir Ihr Herz! - ich schwöre Ihnen ewige Treue;  
 - ich sterbe; hohl mich der Teufel! - und  
 dergleichen verliebte Possen. Und es ist  
 doch alles umsonst...."
11. ibid. 1,viii. p. 220. fn.  
 "Dass Herr von Heinzenfeld unaufhörlich  
 lateinische Worte einmengt, sollte ohne allen  
 Zweifel eine Ironie auf Kanzley und selbst den  
 Briefstyl in Hafners Zeit seyn. Man glaubte  
 damahls nicht zierlich zu schreiben, wenn  
 nicht lateinische und französische Worte in  
 einem Aufsätze vorkamen."
12. ibid. 1,iv. p. 214.  
 "...alles bewunderte mich, und da mir vormahls  
 als Herrn Jakob für einen Kopf 17 Kreuzer  
 bezahlt worden, so bekommt der Monsieur Jaques  
 itzt für einen Kopf 2, 3 auch 4 Gulden."
13. ibid. Ve. p. 201.  
 "Obschon man sich in dem grössten Theil von  
 Deutschland keinen bestimmten Brief von einem  
 Hausmeister in Wien macht, welchen Hafner so  
 ganz nach dem Leben geschildert hat, so ist  
 doch die vis comica in dem Stücke und besonders  
 in dieser Rolle so gross und unwiderstehlich,  
 dass diese Person überall den Zweck erreichte.  
 Ich sag' es ohne Bedenken, weder Plautus, noch  
 Moliere, noch Holberg haben irgend einen  
 komischen Character wahrer aufgefasst, und  
 lebendiger dargestellt. Der Hausmeister ist in  
 Wien in jedem grössern Hause zu finden; er hat  
 gewöhnlich das Maurerhandwerk gelernt. Er  
 wohnt meist auf der Flur; er besorgt die  
 Beleuchtung der Treppen, er weisst die Wände,  
 er besorgt alle kleineren Hausgeschäfte, er  
 bestellt die Aufträge des Hausherrn an die  
 Mietpartheien. Alle diese kleineren Geschäfte  
 machen, dass er mit den Verhältnissen der  
 Personen, die ein Haus bewohnen mehr oder  
 weniger bekannt ist, und wer zu einer Stunde,  
 in welcher das Haus geschlossen ist, hinein oder  
 heraus wollte, oder etwas in Geheim in das Haus  
 zu bestellen hätte, müsste sich auf irgend eine  
 Weise mit dem Hausmeister abfinden."

1. HGS. 11,iv. p. 241.  
"(zieht den Degen.) Was? Du verfluchter Hund, das soll dich dein Leben kosten! -"
2. *ibid.* 1,i. p. 206.  
"Was meinem Vater betrifft, so wird er endlich auch seine Einwilligung dazu geben, und von Henrietten bin ich versichert, dass sie den erzdummen Heinzenfeld gewiss nicht ehelichen werde, und kurz, ich habe einen Weg, ihrem Vater, meinem Vater, und dem seynsollenden Bräutigam durch den Sinn zu fahren."
3. *ibid.* 111,x. p. 293.  
"Val. (welcher bisher in Gedanken gestanden.) Endlich komm ich von meinem Erstaunen zu mir selbst. O Himmel! Was lassest Du mich erleben? Ich, der ich mich noch niemahls in eine verbindliche Liebe eingelassen habe, musste eben ohne mein Wissen die sträflichste Liebe der Welt erwählen, und meine eigene Schwester lieben?- Henriette! "
4. *ibid.* 111,x. p. 293.  
"Die heute so unverhofft entstandene Begebenheit macht, dass ich meiner Schwester zu Liebe die Abreise zum Regimente bis übermorgen verschoben werde..."
5. *ibid.* 11,xv. p. 256.  
"(zum Friseur.) Hab ich Dich erwischt, Du Hausbestie von einem Friseur - so unterstehst Du dich mit ehrlichen Leuten zu verfahren? - So betrügst Du meinen gnädigen Herrn, der Dir noch so vieles schenkt? - - "
6. *ibid.* 11,xv. pp. 254-257.  
The barber is the victim of the farce and thus atones for the deceit he has practised on Valer. Hannswurst reveals his guilt and relieves him of his ill-begotten ducats, showing an unusual awareness of loyalty towards his master.
7. *ibid.* 1,i. p. 204.
8. cf., OLP. Ch. 1. p. 4.
9. HGS. 1,i. pp. 203-208.

in character and angrily rebukes Hans Wurst for his effrontery.<sup>1</sup> No longer the sentimental suicide, Valere will not be thwarted by Hasenkopf or Alkantor.<sup>2</sup> Because of his determination, the tragic revelation that he has been wooing his sister affects Valere profoundly.<sup>3</sup> Nobly he reconciles himself to Henriette's re-appraisal of the situation.<sup>4</sup>

Hans Wurst, the only Lustigmacher in the play, remains in his traditional role as companion and servant to the hero, but in keeping with the stronger characterisation of Valere,<sup>1</sup> their relationship alters. The characterisation of the hero is no longer sacrificed to the comedy of his servant. Instead the latter modifies his demands, remaining bounded by his station just as Valere is bounded by his character.

As a sign of Hafner's development Hans Wurst is better integrated into the course of the action. His revenge on Jaques serves not only the ends of farce, but also provides material for the furtherance of the plot.<sup>6</sup> His business as an 'ungeschickter Sittenlehrer',<sup>7</sup> when he advises Valere in his affairs of the heart, whilst not new to the Volksstück,<sup>8</sup> is so specifically directed that Hans Wurst becomes an instrument of local colour.<sup>9</sup> His parody of love achieves a similar aim.<sup>10</sup>

The Viennese element increases its proportions not only by the quantity of local references in the dialogue, but by the reflection of mode. Heinzenfeld embodies a parody of the fashionable 'Kanzleistyl',<sup>11</sup> and Jaques is fully aware how much his hairdressing business depends on a French pseudonym.<sup>12</sup>

Hafner's innovation of the character of the Hausmeister is an expression of the same local colour, and is an entirely Viennese contribution to the Volksstück.<sup>13</sup> The

7. HGS. 'Der beschäftigte Hausregent'. V3.  
ll,ix. p. 108.  
In this play, however, Hafner attempts to provide dramatic illusion with more substance.  
cf., p. 48.
8. ibid. V3. p.1.  
"Die dramatische Unterhaltung unter guten Freunden. Ein Lustspiel von einem Aufzuge."
9. ibid. p. 3. E.  
"Es war ein origineller und drolliger Einfall Hafners, ein Stück in einem Akte zu schreiben, welches ein anderes Lustspiel, vielmehr eine andere Posse in zwey Aufzügen in sich schliesst, und gleichsam einen zusammenhängenden dramatischen Prolog und Epilog zu dieser Posse bildet..."
10. HGS.E. p. 3.
11. ibid. p. 4.
12. AWVK. p. 415. cf., also pp. 129,130.

1. HGS. 1,ii. p. 210.  
 "Val (zum Hausm.) So will ich Euch denn sagen-  
 Hausm. (zornig.) Was schlagen? - Mich schlagen?  
 - Ihr Brod ist nicht in meinem Dienst. - Itzt  
 geh ich gleich, und sag es meinem Herrn - Sie  
 sollen mir Schläg antragen? (eine Weile still-  
 stehend, auf ein Mahl wieder zornig.) Was? -  
 Wie? - Wer ist ein Flegel? - Ich bin kein  
 Kuppler? - Ich bin ein ehrlicher Kerl- mein  
 Herr wird Ihnen schon weisen, was zu weisen ist.  
 (läuft zornig in das Haus ab.)"
2. ibid. 111,iv. pp. 266-267.
3. ibid. 111,iv. p. 267.  
 "...Ich trinke zwar sonst eine Maass, aber  
 weil ich heute Nach wieder wegen der Trud  
 wachen muss, so hab ich mit Fleiss etwas mehr  
 getrunken, dass mein Geblüt sauer wird, damit  
 mich die Trud ungeschoren lässt, denn sie geht  
 nur auf ein süsses Geblüth..."
4. ibid. 111,x. p. 297.  
 Throughout the final dénouement, which concerns  
 only the family, the Hausmeister sleeps in  
 Hasenkopf's bed, awaking to close the play:  
 "Hausm. (richtet sich im Bette auf und schreyt.)  
 He, wie viel Uhr ist's? (springt zum Bett  
 heraus.) Was Plunder, ist kein Mensch mehr  
 hier? Sind sie alle fortgelaufen, und haben  
 mich alleine liegen lassen? Oder sind sie alle  
 von Geistern zerrissen worden? Da muss ich  
 gleich nachsehen. - - Aber ich hab unvergleichlich  
 geschlafen, und noch dazu einen recht wunderlichen  
 Traum gehabt. Mir traunte, dass ich in der  
 Komödie agiret, zuletzt, wie sie gewöhnlich auf  
 folgenden Tag verkünden, selbst verkündet und  
 gesagt hätte: Es wird usw..  
 NB. Hier meldet er das nächst künftige  
 Schauspiel und die Decke fällt zu."
5. ibid. 111,x. p. 292.  
 "Has.... - - Es ist wahr, Du hast mich hinter-  
 gangen, allein Du hast mich auf eine Art  
 hintergangen, die zu vergeben ist, denn da mich  
 der Himmel mit keinem Kinde mehr gesegnet hat,  
 so ist mir durch diesen Betrug kein Leid  
 zugefüget worden."
6. The action is described by Hasenkopf (cf.,  
 p. 46(a). 5.) and by Alkantor (111,x. p. 291).  
 as a 'Betrug'.  
 cf., p. 161(a). 2.

Hausmeister's deafness, however, is not caricature, as his ingenious interpretation of imagined dialogue is an individual feature.<sup>1</sup> His drunken monologue in Act 3. sc. iv.,<sup>2</sup> which provides comedy relevant to the plot,<sup>3</sup> motivates the sleep which finally overpowers him and renders him appropriately oblivious to events in the final scene.<sup>4</sup>

Alkantor, whose villainous intent has been to prevent a union between Valere and Henriette, provides the Volksstück with a new subtlety of characterization, when he is ultimately revealed as a good person seeking to avoid a catastrophe.<sup>5</sup> His revelation that Valere and Henriette are brother and sister, bring to light the deceit<sup>6</sup> on which the action of the play was founded and recalls Hafner's epithet 'Theatraldunst',<sup>7</sup> at the same time condemning the play as a child of the age.

'Die dramatische Unterhaltung unter guten Freunden'<sup>8</sup> earns Sonnleithner's praise by its presentation of a play within a play.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately this construction dispels at once any sense of unity, so that what is termed Lustspiel<sup>8</sup> resembles more a series of tableaux.<sup>9</sup> Essentially this is visual entertainment and not theatre.

Nevertheless, a mirror of Viennese society, 'Die dramatische Unterhaltung' reflects as its main issue the 'Hang der Wiener zu dramatischen Hausunterhaltungen'<sup>10</sup> and benevolently supports an urge for theatre, which later grew to such ridiculous proportions that the administration of Vienna stood in danger of collapse as amateur actors neglected their professional office.<sup>11</sup>

Eighty-four theatres, many of them private and amateur ones, as Sonnleithner infers, existed in Vienna,<sup>11</sup> but further building was banned by a court ultimatum in 1794.<sup>12</sup>

The extracts which Hafner offers within the play

criticise hypocrisy and society. Herr

47(a)

12. HGS. 1,ix. p. 38.  
"...ich verlasse Sie itzo, um Ihre Geduld nicht zu reitzen; vielleicht finden Sie mich zu einer andern Zeit würdiger, dero unschätzbare Person zu besitzen. (vor sich) Du Stolze und Flatterhafte hast mich heute gewiss zum letzten Mahl gesehen. (geht ab.)"

7. HGS. 1,ix. p. 32.  
 "...letzter Auftritt! Leander, Nicander und Salamander bringen sich um miteinander wegen der Rosaura!"
8. cf., HGS. V2. 'Megära'. P.1. 1,xi. pp. 27-31.  
 'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching'.  
 V3. 1,ii. p. 126.  
 'Evakathel und Schnudi'. V3. 11,ix. p. 330.
9. ibid. V3. op. cit. 1,ix. p. 37.  
 "...Die von vielen Amanten gefoppten Frauenzimmer, eine vom Anfang lustige, am Ende aber sehr traurige Comödie."
10. ibid. 1,ix. p. 39.  
 "Ang. Lassen Sie ihn gehn, ich mache es eben so, wie Sie es itzt gemacht haben; ich lasse alle meine Liebhaber schier verzweifeln; die Zeit, ehe wir uns verbinden, müssen wir geniessen; wir sind jung, und müssen, bis wir die höchste Zeit zu seyn glauben, immer wählen. Gesetzt es verliebt sich ein Graf in uns, sollen wir ihn denn gleich nehmen? Wer weiss es, ob nicht gar ein Fürst nachkommt? Sehen wir denn endlich, dass nichts bessers, oder gar nichts mehr nachkommen will, und wir fangen schon an, ein wenig unsere Jugend zu verlieren, so könne wir schon etwas weniger spröde seyn."
11. ibid. 1,ix. p. 41.  
 "...Es kam das Zugemüss, sie ass davon auch nichts, ich fragte sie nochmahl, ihre Antwort war, wie vorhin; es kam denn auch ein Eingemachtes, sie ass auch hievon nichts, und sagte noch immer zu mir, sie spare sich auf was bessers, endlich wie das Eingemachte aufgezehret war, stand der Hauspatron von Tische auf, und sagte zu seinen Gästen, ich bitt, Sie wollen vorlieb nehmen, es sind schlechte Zeiten, verzeihen Sie\*, dass ich Sie\* vordießsmahl mit nichts mehr bedienen kann, und die Tafel war gar. Da sass mein Frauenzimmer, die sich immer auf was bessers gespart hat, mit dem leeren Magen am Tische; wie sie sah, dass es Ernst war, so bath sie nur um sine Schale Suppe, allein auch die war nicht mehr zu haben...."

\* 'sie' in the published work.



47(a)

1. HGS. 1,viii. p. 19.  
"Guts. Nu bravo, bravo! Herr von Schwierig!  
nun bin ich nochmahl so froh, dass wir alle  
wieder in guter Harmonie sind..."
2. ibid. 1,viii. p. 21.  
"...und zudem wär es wider den Wohlstand,  
dass ein Diener mit Leuten von unserm  
Range Comödie spielen sollte."
3. ibid. 1,ix. p. 21.  
"...eine Comödie (er liest) 'mit Maschinen,  
Flugwerken und Arien; betitelt: das  
bezauberte Lungenbratel'"...
4. ibid. 1,ix. p. 29.  
" Arie:  
O Mensch! betracht einmahl die Welt, das  
Jammerthal,  
So wirst du sie mit Freuden  
Sammt ihrem Anhang meiden,  
Und vor den Menschen fliehn;  
Ein ruhiges Ergötzen ist Allem vorzuziehn,  
Er fängt an zu lachen und singt weiters.  
Des Halters zu Penzing sein Stubnmensch is  
schön;  
Um Zehni auf d'Nacht kann ma halsen hingehn;  
A Büsserl von ihr, schmeckt besser als Bier,  
Als Brandwein, als Schunken, als Speck und  
Clystier."
5. cf., pp. 20-21.
6. HGS. 1,ix. p. 31.  
"...Da ist eine andere, (und liesst) 'eine mit  
Scherz und Ernst, lustig und Moral, Lachen und  
Weinen, Elend und Wehklagen, Heulen und  
Zähklappern vermischte, durch und durch auf  
die Personen, so agiren, eingerichtete, mit  
Arien, Verkleidungen, Charakteren, Intriguen  
und Schlägen gezierte, und mit verdammten  
Einfällen und sinnreichen Ausfällen verbrämte,  
und mit unsichtbaren Auszierungen des Theaters,  
sowohl als der Schaubühne galonirte, erschreck-  
liche, bestialische Bourlesque, betitelt unter  
dem Titel: Hanswurst der lächerliche Gugelhupf,  
oder Untreu prügelt seinen eigenen Herrn, wobey  
HW. vorstelllet, erstens einen HW. zweytens  
einen HW, drittens einen Lackey seines Herrn,  
viertens einen HW. und siebentens einen Gugelhupf.'" "

von Gutschuth, philanthropist that he is,<sup>1</sup> is very conscious of class and shows the requisite respect for distinction.<sup>2</sup> But the extract from 'Das bezauberte Lungenbratel'<sup>3</sup> sharply criticises the hypocrisy of the philosopher, whose false idealism is built on the foundation of sensual desire, the duality of his character receiving humorous embodiment in an aria,<sup>4</sup> which is original in that it deals with character, and not the caricature of the Rollenlied.<sup>5</sup>

The second passage from 'Hanswurst der lächerliche Gugelhupf'<sup>6</sup> portrays the stupidity of three men, Leander, Nicander and Salamander, who commit suicide because of their blind devotion to an indifferent female.<sup>7</sup> The same criticism is inherent in the Volksstück's frequent treatment of the suicide scene<sup>8</sup> and chastises thereby the misuse and abuse of human feeling.

The treatment of the third extract from 'Die gefoppten Frauenzimmer'<sup>9</sup> has elevated woman as the sole object of man's worship and criticises her for her egotistical enjoyment of such exaltation. It is man who provides woman with her high standing by his adulation and woman's subsequently heartless humiliation of man<sup>10</sup> cannot be countenanced. The unnatural subjugation of man induces retaliation in the manner of Octavio's parable,<sup>11</sup> and the further practice of hypocrisy.<sup>12</sup>

'Die dramatische Unterhaltung' heralds the approach of a new era, where woman may choose a husband, perhaps a lover or male companion, instead of obeying every gesture of a tyrannic father and bowing to convention. The acquisition of male escorts may perhaps be excused as the natural reaction to the former restraint which Odoardo had imposed. In condemning both extremes and depicting clearly the inherent falseness, the Wiener Volksstück

7. HGS. 11,viii. pp. 105-107.  
After Fräule Fanille has died, Graf Hollerblüh follows her example "- ach ich sterbe! (er fällt in Ohnmacht)." p. 106.  
The Hausregent utters a like phrase, as he swoons "ich vergehe", but of the barber, Lisette and Matthies, it is only remarked that they swoon.
8. cf., Leander. p. 42.
9. ibid. 11,ix. p. 108.
10. ibid. 11,viii. p. 107.  
"Was? - alles fällt in die Ohnmacht - und ich soll in keine Ohnmacht fallen? das wär mir lebenslang eine Schande! - mir soll auch übel werden, aber ich will nicht in die Ohnmacht fallen. (er zieht sein Gewand aus und legt es auf die Erde) denn ich könnte mir ein Loch in den Kopf schlagen - ich will mich lieber in die Ohnmacht legen. (legt sich nieder.)"

1. HGS. p. 47.  
"Der beschäftigte Hausregent, oder das in einen unvermutheten Todfall verkehrte Beylager der Fräule Fanille. Von zwey Abhandlungen Bearbeitet von Philipp Hafner."
2. *ibid.* 1,vii. p. 60.  
"Reg. Ich mag die Plaudereyen ohnmöglich anhören, und meine Zeit mit gewissen eitlen Fragen und Reden, die die Fräule Fanille zu führen in Gewohnheit hat, verschwenden; mir ist ohnehin mein ganzer Kopf von dem beständigen Ueberlaufe der Leute warm."  
*ibid.* 1,xv. p. 73.  
"Reg. Das ist doch ärgerlich! Nichts als Narren, nichts als ungeschickte Leute überlaufen mich von allen Seiten, die Zeit vergeht und dennoch ist nichts ausgerichtet."
3. *ibid.* 11,v. p. 99. is only 5 lines long. 11,vi is of moderate length and closes dramatically with Matthies in almost open rebellion against his master. In 11,vii the Friseur rushes in very upset, to announce the death of Fräule Fanille.
4. *ibid.* 11,ix. p. 108.  
Guthsmuth claims that the play would have been 'ein eitler Theatraldunst' if he had written the usual ending of comedy. However, ending the play with death, tends to disperse its previous dramatic point.
5. *ibid.* 11,ix. p. 108.  
"Ich ändere auch diesen Ausgang nicht, und blosse derowegen, weil er durch den gedichteten Todfall der Braut mir zu mehr Lustigem Anlass gegeben hat, als wenn ich ihn mit allem Frohlocken beschlossen hätte."  
*ibid.* Anhang. p. 112. (Sonnleithner)  
"Wenn das Publikum nach einer Tragödie einen Ermordeten hervorrufft, wenn der Vorhang aufgeht, und die Leiche mit gerührtem Herzen für den Beyfall dankt, so wirkt diese Wiedererscheinung gewöhnlich komisch; Hafner mochte das bemerkt haben, und dadurch zu dem Lustspiele veranlasst worden seyn."
6. *ibid.* Anhang. p. 110.

upholds the moral sanity of a civilised man, where humanity is the guardian of enlightenment, and human excess, in all its forms, is effectively rebuked.

The fourth extract 'Der beschäftigte Hausregent',<sup>1</sup> consisting of one complete act, is decidedly Viennese in character. Here the plot of the commedia dell'arte has been abandoned, and where the play is lacking in intrigue, it compensates by its presentation of Viennese local colour. The action consists of little more than a series of interviews as the Hausregent seeks to employ suitable persons for the wedding festivities of Graf Höllerblüh and Fräule Fanille. Although this is repetitive, the diversity of character avoids monotony.

The action remains purposeful as the Hausregent becomes frustrated by his increasing awareness of the passage of time, as the nuptials approach.<sup>2</sup> But this is a realistic and not a Baroque conception.<sup>3</sup> However, after the accelerando towards the end of the play has intensified the action,<sup>3</sup> the ultimate explosion of the 'Theatraldunst'<sup>4</sup> on the death of Fräule Fanille, recalls the Baroque message of transitoriness.

Guthsmuth justifies his use of melodrama, insisting that exaggeration serves the ends of comedy.<sup>5</sup> As 'Lokalsatyre'<sup>6</sup> in which one death follows quickly upon another,<sup>7</sup> the play criticizes not only the Baroque awe of death, but the introspection of French sentimentalists.<sup>8</sup>

Neither does the Wiener Volksstück escape reproach, as

Guthsmuth declares that he could follow the tradition of Zauberkomödie and have some devil or magician revive those who have died in the first part.<sup>9</sup>

The parody of death<sup>7</sup> receives further elucidation as Matthies, the comedian of the play, prepares his collapse beforehand,<sup>10</sup> and the barber has little respect for the dead,

Reg. Ey was liest denn der Herr?---  
 Hoch=Edelgebohrner --  
 Hasp. Hoch=Edelgebohrner - im Sommer  
 Hochgeehrtester Herr! -  
 Reg. Was? was? im Sommer! Warum nicht  
 im Winter? - Insonders Hochgeehrtester Herr!  
 Hasp. Ich hätt schon längst gewischt --  
 Reg. Ey was gewischt? -- Gewünscht.  
 Hasp. 'An Sie zu speyen --  
 Reg. Zu schreiben, und nicht zu speyen."

12. *ibid.* 11,iv. p. 91.

"Oper. Illustrissimo Signore, humilissimo  
 servo, sprechen Sie wälsch?

Reg. Nein, mein Herr ich spreche nicht  
 wälsch.

Oper. (vor sich). Das ist desto besser für  
 mich, denn ich kann auch nichts...."

13. *ibid.* 11,iv. pp. 92-93.

p. 93.

"Ja ich hab einen Feldmarsche gemacht; da  
 hab ich eine ganze Belagerung hinein componirt."

14. *ibid.* 1,xxi. pp. 83-84.

"Nu ja, vielleicht umsonst auch noch? ists  
 doch wahr, Haber und Heu kosten nichts! man  
 lasst uns Kutscher so nicht mehr leben. Vor  
 Zeiten, wann ein Kutscher ein wenig wohin  
 gefahren ist, hat er gleich 2, 3 Siebenzehner  
 Trinkgeld, und das Sperrgeld aus und ein  
 kriegt, ich hab gar oft, wann ich über Land  
 gefahren, soviel Trinkgeld erhascht, als das  
 Fuhrlohn ausgetragen hat. Itzt, wann man den  
 ganzen Tag noch so fleissig fährt, und sitzen  
 Herrn und Frauenzimmer im Wagen, so heisst  
 beym Aussteigen: da hast ein Siebner Trink-  
 geld, und wann einer sagt: Ey werden ihr  
 Gnaden ja doch das Sperrgeld hinaus hergeben,  
 so heisst gleich: raisonnir nicht! ihr  
 Kutscher seydt halt unersättliche Kerls, und  
 wann mans nachher nur ein wenig ein Lumpen-  
 gesind, oder sonst was heisst, so schreyens  
 gleich: Kerl! was hast du für ein Nro? wart!  
 ich will dich bekommen, du sollst mir  
 geschlagen werden, und so fort. Nachdem soll  
 uns Kutscher das Fahren freuen."

dem ganzen Volke verbreiten, so verbreiteten sich damahls einzelne Lieder, die von den Liederweibern ausgingen. Viele Leser werden sich noch der Lieder; ey, du schwarz Mauserl, ey du schöner Kohlbauernbub, und des viel späteren: a Schüsserl und a Rein'l erinnern. Nicht die verminderte Fröhlichkeit im Volke (denn der Hang zur Fröhlichkeit scheint mit dem Wesen des Wieners innigst verbunden zu seyn) sondern der vermehrte Hang zum Theater hat die Gassenlieder verdrängt, oder doch vermindert. Der Wiener behält sehr leicht Melodien im Ohr, er hört sie oft im Theater, und jede gefällige Melodie wird ihm von Hautboisten und Harfenisten im Prater und in allen Gasthöfen und Bierschenken so oft wiederholt, dass er sie nicht vergessen kann, und der Gassenlieder nicht mehr bedarf."  
AWVK. p. 395.

9. HGS. 11,iv. pp. 91-99.

p. 92.

"Oper. Was mich betrifft, will ich ihnen dienen, so war ich einsmahls, ohne Ruhm zu melden, einer der ersten Virtuosen der Welt..."

10. HGS. V3. Anhang. p. 110.

"...Der ungeschickte, faule, aber doch verschlagene, eigennützig Bediente, der Impressario und seine Frau, die zwey Candidatinnen und der Kammerjungferndienst, der Lehenskutscher, der Friseur, sind getreue Copien von Originalien, die wir noch täglich vor uns sehen..."

WTZ. 19th August, 1806.

"Die Charaktere in seinen Stücken sind sehr richtig gezeichnet, und lebendig dargestellt, aber sind lauter Originale wie man sie auf der Strasse herumlaufen sieht. Versteckte Schlaueit, angeborne Spasshaftigkeit, Vorwitz und Neugierde, nebst einer etwas tölpischen Gutmüthigkeit, sind die Grundzüge seiner Personen. Daher der schnelle Übergang von Freude zu Leid, von Weinen zum Lachen, gerade wie im menschlichen Leben."

11. ibid. 1,v. pp. 54-55.

"Hasp. Gleich wird etwas kommen. (er fangt an zu lesen.) Hoch=Esel=Gefrorner! -

Granatäpfel und Scherruben. Mitten steht die Olio, die muss kohlschwarz aussehen; da wird alles, was im ganzen Hause ist, zusammengestossen, bis die Suppe fertig wird, damit sie allerhand Geschmack hat. Nachdem kann man sie auch mit Limonisaft etwas weniges sauer machen, und im Falle, dass man den Limoni ersparen wollte, thut auch ein wenig Dinte den nählichen Dienst, besonders weil die Suppe ohnehin schwarz ist..."

7. HGS. I,xx,xxi. pp. 76-87.

8. ibid. Anhang. pp. 110-111.

"Der Poet ist eine Carricatur, unterdessen gab es wirklich Individuen, die nicht weit hinter dieser Carricatur zurückblieben. Vor einigen zwanzig Jahren lebte in Wien ein Herr Hahner, der die Gassenlieder dichtete, welche die sogenannten Liederweiber feilbiethen, und der sich, ich habe ihn persönlich gekannt, einen Dichter nannte, und von dem Werthe seiner Producte vollkommen überzeugt war, obschon er der Verfasser des Verses: als Adam hack und Eva spann, hätte seyn können. ich erinnere mich sehr gut, dass er von Blumauer, Alxinger, überhaupt von den Dichtern Wiens sprach, und sich des Wortes w i r bediente. Er war nicht der einzige Dichter, der für die Dames de la Halle arbeitete; es gab ihrer mehrer, welche nebst diesen Gassenliedern auch die gereimten Neujahrswünsche, Devisen für Zuckerbäcker, und Lieder für die damahls noch bestehenden Bruderschaften zu verfassen hatten. Diese Bänkelsänger lebten aber nicht so elend, als Hafners Poet, obschon sie nicht besser dichteten, denn der Absatz der Frauen, welche das Leben und Leben lassen verstunden, war bedeutend, und die Druckkosten allein für die Gassenlieder, welche in der ehemahligen Schulzischen Buchdruckerey gedruckt wurden, beliefen sich jährlich auf zweytausend Gulden. Da die Liederweiber damahls die Käuferinnen sogleich die Melodie lehrten, verbreitete sich die Lust zu diesen Liedern durch die ganze geringere Volksclasse, und wie sich jetzt, wo diese Classe sehr häufig, und nicht nur des Sonntags, sondern beynahe täglich das Schauspielhaus besucht, einzelne Lieblingsmelodien, z.B. das berühmte Iudlerlied unter



1. HGS. 11,vii. p. 103.  
 "...ich denk mir, die Fräule möcht in meinen Arm nicht gut liegen, ich lass sie aus, so fällt sie auf die Erd, und hat einen solchen Schlag gethan, dass der Erdboden gezittert hat."
2. ibid. 11,vi. p. 101. Matthies loses his temper with his master, but nevertheless cannot exceed his position completely, and soon repents: "Ich bitt um Vergebung Ihr Gnaden, ich hab mich verredet."
3. ibid. 1,i.ii. pp. 49-51.  
 p. 51.  
 "Math. Ihr Gnaden auch nicht, sondern das Bett, dass liess mich vor acht Uhr nicht heraus, ich möchte machen was ich wollte.  
 Reg. Treib du nur Scherz! aber du sollst meinen Ernst schon fühlen..."
4. ibid. 1,v. pp. 52-59.  
 Anhang. p.111.  
 "Der Herr Haspel ist ebenfalls Carricatur, aber doch weniger, als man vermuthen sollte. Noch jetzt giebt es Menschen, die nicht nur Anspruch auf Anstellung machen, sondern wirklich Aemter bekleiden, die vielleicht laufig lesen, aber nicht richtig schreiben, die schlechterdings nichts gelernt haben, nicht willens sind, etwas zu lernen, und nicht einmahl das Bedürfniss des Unterrichts fühlen. Wenn ein Theil, leider ein zu grosser Theil unsrer jetzigen Junglinge nichts lernt, als Tabak schmauchen, dem Theater, der Bierschenke und den Mädchen nachlaufen, so werden wir - und ich besorge, die Zeit ist nicht zu weit entfernt - erleben, dass Herr Haspel keine Carricatur mehr ist."
5. ibid. 1,x.xi.xii. pp. 63-68.
6. ibid. 1,xv. pp. 70-73.  
 pp. 70-71.  
 "...Aber es ist alles eins, auf zwanzig Personen müssen dreyerley Suppen seyn, oben kömmt die braune Suppe, das muss eine Kelchsuppe seyn, und die wird durch ein braunes Tuch gezogen, dass sie die Farbe bekömmt. Einige nehmen auch Leibzelten und Schokolade dazu, aber ich gehe gerne natürlich darein; unten setzt man eine chien - Suppe, zum Exempel einen Reiss mit

when he succumbs to human weakness and drops the body on the floor.<sup>1</sup> Although the melodramatic ending subjects characterization to its execution, Matthies' traditional Hanswurstian facetiousness does not allow him to exceed the bounds of his station,<sup>2</sup> and he remains a servant throughout. The Hausregent, too, will not act out of character

and refuses to participate in farce or to be degraded by it.<sup>3</sup>

The caricature of some persons of the play is encouraged by their brief appearance and they are dominated accordingly by one feature. Haspel is an ignoramus trying to play the scholar,<sup>4</sup> Lisette and Lenchen, scarcely distinguishable apart from a year's difference in age, are out-of-work maids with dubious morals,<sup>5</sup> the cook is a glib salesman of his own culinary art,<sup>6</sup> the poet is a product of the age, a talentless and penniless trier,<sup>7</sup> not unrelated to the Viennese Bänkelsänger,<sup>8</sup> whilst the 'Operist' and his family attempt to sell their services via the glory of a past greatness.<sup>9</sup> Caricature fulfills its purpose as an attribute of local colour,<sup>10</sup> as the cook Mehlschöberl lists the delicatessen of the Wiener Küche,<sup>6</sup> the poet recalls the practice of the Bänkelsänger,<sup>8</sup> and Haspel reflects the increasing obeisance to bureaucratic detail and delightfully misinterprets its elevated terminology.<sup>11</sup> The 'Operisten' reflect the Viennese preference for Italian opera and language,<sup>12</sup> accompanying their persuasion with promises which foretell the future 'Ritterdrama' of Schikaneder's theatre,<sup>13</sup> and thus make their contribution to a play which is larded with local references and colour.

Two minor characters of genuine humanity are the coachman, who is driven by his urge to earn enough money to feed his horse and pay the toll,<sup>14</sup> and the barber, who re-acts  instinctively by letting Fräule Fanille's

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10. HGS. V3. Anhang. pp. 110,111.  
cf., p. 49(a). 8.
11. cf., p. 13.  
WHTA. p. 89ff.
12. HGS. V3. 1,ii. p. 126.  
"Bur...ich bin meines Lebens wahrhaftig so  
überdrüssig, dass, wenn ich einen Strick  
bekommen könnte, ich im Stande wäre, mich  
aufzuhängen.  
Hw. (will abgehen)  
Bur. (ruft ihn zurück). Wo willst Du denn  
schon wieder hin?  
Hw. Ich hab zuvor in der Kuchel einen Strick  
liegen sehen, der wird just recht seyn, wenn  
Sie sich aufhängen wollten. -  
Bur. Bleib hier, ich will mir zur Qual leben..."
13. ibid. 11,vi. Burlin acquires 250 ducats.  
11,viii. The solicitor and guards relieve him  
of his clothes and money.  
11,x. After being given some clothes by  
Pantalon, Burlin is stripped by the  
caterer and guards.  
11,xiii. Burlin is robbed by the two barons.  
111,i. The Jew robs him of jewelry worth  
11,000 Flaschen.

1. cf., p. 49(a). 1.
2. HGS. V3. 1,xxi. p. 84.  
"Was Zeit? was Lieb des Nächsten? meine Pferd und ich fressen davon nicht; so könnte jeder Narr fahren. Ich muss gezahlt seyn, ich werde da kurzen Prozess machen."
3. ibid. 11,vii. p. 102.  
"O ich unglückseliger Both! die Angst, die Furcht, das Unglück hat mich verwirrt."
4. ibid. V3. 1,xxi. p. 86.  
"Poet. Darüber lasst sich ein Gedanke anbringen, als gesetzt, man fängt gleich also an: 'Willkommen, liebster Schatz! gepriesne Evadudel, Verfasserin der so berühmten Germudel.  
Kut. Das ist gut, Herr, das ist schön und köstlich!"
5. ibid. p. 112.  
"Neue Bourlesque betittelt: Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching: Oder: des Burlins und Hannswursts seltsame Carnevals Zufälle."
6. ibid. p. 116.  
"2. Diener im Cofeehaus.  
2. Sesseltrager.  
2. Bediente.  
1. Jud.  
10. Mann Wache.  
Ein Kutscher, ein Wirth, ein Kellner, ein Heyduck, vier Lakey, ein Paar Soldaten und sechs Weibsbilder, welche zuletzt tanzen. Drey oder vier Musikanten."
7. cf., pp. 1-21.
8. HGS. V3. 1,i. p. 121.  
"...Nero hat seine Mutter mit einen Dolch ermordet, du aber, Bösewicht, wirst deinen Vater zu tod tanzen (er weint und fängt gleich wieder zu lachen an.) aber einen walzerischen habens aufgemacht, auf den will ich mein Lebtag denken. das deutsche Tanzen ist halt doch weit lustiger als der Menuet. (N.B. Er fängt an einen walzerischen zu geigen, und springt und tanzt rechtschaffen herum. Dazu)."
9. cf., pp. 20,21.

dead body fall to the ground.<sup>1</sup> By this motivation the coachman is compelled to demand money from the penniless poet<sup>2</sup> and the barber is impelled by fear and shock, when he arrives to explain the death of Fräule Fanille.<sup>3</sup> Fear enhances the barber, whilst the coachman's weakness for a bit of 'well-turned' verse<sup>4</sup> is a master-stroke of compromise.

'Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching',<sup>5</sup> reverts to the former plot of the commedia dell'arte, but a new emphasis is laid on the degradation of the hero, Burlin. The play is adorned with the local caricatures which have come to typify the work of Hafner, and supplemented by the 'Stumme Personen',<sup>6</sup> who fulfil a similar function.<sup>7</sup> The newfound breadth of caricature and characterization, apart from its indebtedness to Hafner, no doubt owed some of its inspiration to the teamwork of the Stegreifensemble, where minor characters acted in their own right and did not simply serve the purpose of the Lustigmacher.<sup>7</sup> The liveliness of Hafner's humour is not simply transposed into terms of caricature, but also into music. The gay, German waltz is preferred to the stately minuet.<sup>8</sup> Whilst it does not reflect the drama of the situation, the waltz does reflect a mood, and its purpose is thus more readily associated with the Stimmungslied than the Rollenlied.<sup>9</sup> The melody of the the waltz perpetuates the Volksstück's association with the musical inheritance of the Bänkelsänger.<sup>10</sup>

Burlin, originally conceived as a Volksnarr,<sup>11</sup> is no longer the customary popular comedian, despite the fact that he, too, has a mock suicide scene.<sup>12</sup> Although Burlin has a genial nature, he is a person with tragic potential, whose schizophrenic tendencies are presented in moral terms.<sup>8</sup> Similarly his effect is twofold. By the power of an incredibly long series of catastrophes,<sup>13</sup> sympathy is roused, especially as Burlin refrains from the indulgence of self-pity. Yet it is perhaps a certain insensitivity,

7. HGS. 1,ii. p. 123.  
 "Hw. So hab ich doch in meinem Leben keinen Menschen gesehen, der so wenig Ehr im Leib wie Sie hat! Es möcht Ihnen begegnen, was da will, so machen Sie nur Spass daraus, aber nur Geduld, es wird Ihnen bald vergehen, dann ich hab wirklich gehört, dass die Gläubiger Sie heut beym helllichten Tag werden in Arrest führen lassen."
8. ibid. 1,xxxviii. pp. 152-156.
9. ibid. 11,xviii. pp. 187-189.  
 p. 188.  
 "Odo. Das mag seyn, aber dass Ihr Herr Sohn ein Taugenichts ist, das ist so gewiss, als ich hier fest sitze. (Hannswurst greift abermahl hervor, und wirft den Odoardo über den Sessel.)"
10. ibid. 1,vi. p. 133.  
 "Solic. O ich habe Frauenzimmer in der Neglige angetroffen, dass Sie noch ein Engel dagegen wären..."  
 p. 135.  
 "Solic. (vor sich). Der böse Geist hat mich hieher geführt - was will ich machen? Das übergrosse Elend rührt mich - (zum Bur.) No! aus sonderbarer Hochachtung gegen Sie, will ich diese Thorheit geschehen lassen."
11. ibid. p. 217.  
 "Die bürgerliche Dame oder die bezähmten Ausschweifungen eines zügellosen Eheweibes mit Hannswurst und Colombine, zweyen Mustern heutiger Dienstbothen."
12. AWT. p. 394.  
 "Nicht um Moralpredigten war es ihm zu tun, sondern um die komische Wirkung."

1. HGS. 11,xx. p. 189.  
 "Burlin. ...Itzt hab ich das letzte bey der Rosalva gewagt; ich hab ihr das Heirathen nochmahl auf das theuerste versprochen, und ihr meine Noth so geklagt, dass sie einen Schmuck von 6000 fl. ihrem Vater heimlich enttragen und mir zum versetzen gegeben hat. Wann ich nur wüsste, wo der Hannswurst wär, und was er bey der Nanette ausgerichtet hat! Ist er auch so glücklich gewesen, was zu bekommen, so will ich das zu Stande bringen, was ich mir schon lange vorgenommen habe."
2. ibid. V3., 1,ii. p. 127. fn.  
 "So ausschweifend dieser Leichtsinn scheint, so hab ich doch selbst einen jungen Herrn gekannt, der sein Bett am Faschingmontage verkaufte, um den folgenden Dienstag den Carneval noch auf der Redoute beschliessen zu können."
3. cf., 'Die bürgerliche Dame'. HGS. V3. p.217ff.
4. cf., p. 50(a). 8.
5. HGS. V3. 111,xxvii. p. 215-216.  
 " Burlin allein.  
 So ist es wirklich Ernst? So muss ich mich bequemen,  
 Des Musquetirs Montour auf meinen Leib zu nehmen?  
 Verdammte Faschingslust, wie theuer kömmt Du mir!  
 Du nahmst mir Geld und Ehr, und was gibst du dafür?  
 Schand, Elend, saures Brod! - Was hab ich doch begangen?  
 Durch Missiggang hat all mein Unglück angefangen,  
 Doch mir geschieht schon recht, und tröstet mich allein,  
 Ich werde nicht der erste und letzte Tagedieb seyn,  
 Ja ich will ganz getrost zu meiner Strafe gehen,  
 Wenn nur die Gonner uns mit Lust heut zusehen. (Mit Wache ab.)"
6. ibid. 111,xxvii. p. 214.  
 Anselmo, Burlin's father, virtually disowns him and is the one responsible for his banishment to the militia.

which diminishes the power of overwhelming circumstance, as it is insensitivity which prevents Burlin from treating Nanette and Rosalia more humanely,<sup>1</sup> a failing, which is not readily forgiven.

Burlin's moral failing, which has the implications of a social disease of the age,<sup>2</sup> and particularly of the season, is his inability to practise economy.<sup>3</sup> He is powerless to contain the urge for ostentation and yet shows a sincere awareness of his guilt.<sup>4</sup> There is no development of character, as he is as deeply conscious of his failing at the beginning as he is at the end of the play.<sup>5</sup> Yet only at the end is it made clear that Burlin is absolutely incorrigible,<sup>6</sup> despite the penitent promise of service as a musketeer<sup>5</sup> and an attempt to blame his financial degradation on Fasching.<sup>5</sup>

Hans Wurst plays his traditional role in pointing out the moral, as he did in *Stranitzky*, but now he preaches it to the hero, Burlin, and magnifies the reflection of the latter's conscience.<sup>7</sup> Hans Wurst's intimate association with this gradual degradation of the hero's character does not, however, prevent him from having recourse to his original comic function in a farcical scene with the solicitor's tight-fitting suit,<sup>8</sup> and he finds himself under the table again in Act II, sc. 19, albeit provided with Hafnerian ideas.<sup>9</sup>

The solicitor is caricatured with such intensity, that no concessions are granted to farce, when he is effectively duped by Burlin and Hans Wurst.<sup>8</sup> As a mark of individual distinction the solicitor's personal feelings are allowed to seep through the outer cloak of pretended authority, which portends a progress beyond caricature.<sup>10</sup>

In *Die bürgerliche Dame*<sup>11</sup> Hafner holds up to ridicule a similar moral weakness of contemporary Viennese society. Contrary to Rommel's belief,<sup>12</sup> the moral import dominates



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15. HGS. V3. 111,xvi. p. 301.  
Technically this is not soliloquoy, as Colombine is also on stage. However, she is so disturbed at the thought of her own possible fate, that Frau Redlichinn's monologue can be regarded as such.

7. HGS. Anhang. p. 324.  
 "...Der Charakter der Frau Redlich ist meisterhaft geschildert, und reiner gezeichnet als jener des Burlins..."
8. ibid. III,xxiv. p. 296.  
 "Fr. Red. Zu strafen? Durch was hätte ich mich bey Dir sträflich gemacht?"
9. ibid. I,iii. p. 228.  
 II,i. p. 250.  
 cf., p. 52(a). 2.
10. ibid. I,iv. p. 231.  
 "Fr. Red. Der gemeine Flegel! Der sollte sich eine Gnade daraus machen, wenn Damen meines gleichen bey ihm etwas ausborgen wollen."
11. ibid. III,i. p. 274.  
 "Fr. Red. Ja, ich will alles gar genau haben; Du weisst wohl wie die Weiber sind, die heute zu mir kommen; wenn eine einzige Nadel nicht gut gesteckt ist, so wissen sie einen in andern Gesellschaften darüber lächerlich zu machen, und die Herren Chapeaux können es auch vortrefflich!- Bin ich nicht zu roth? Nicht zu bleich?"
12. ibid. I,iv. p. 231.  
 "Fr. Red...Wo hat denn der Henker\*) heute die Haarkrauserinn, dass sie nicht kömmt?"  
 \*) Diese und viele andere gemeine Ausdrücke im Mund eines Frauenzimmers beleidigen mit Recht, aber sie, waren wirklich üblich, und leider hört man sie nicht nur in der gemeinsten Volksclasse noch oft."
13. ibid. I,viii. p. 238.  
 I,v. p. 233.  
 "Wenn ich nur heute Nacht nicht so unglücklich gespielt hätte! Der Gesellschaft kann ich nicht mehr absagen, und das dazu bestimmte Geld ist verloren; nun heisst es auf neue Mittel sinnen, wo Geld herzunehmen ist."
14. ibid. I,xiii. p. 243.  
 "Fr. Red. (zur Sophie, die immer schreyt) Was ist Dir mein Herz? Mein Engel? Was ist Dir geschehen?"

1. cf., pp. 1-21.
2. HGS. V3. 1,iii. p. 223.  
 "Col... auch sie habe sich immerfort nach ihrem Stande aufgeführt, und sei ihm beständig treu gewesen. Nur seit seiner Abwesenheit war ihr der Hoffartsteufel in den Sinn gekommen, sie habe sich mit Personen vom Stande in Gesellschaft eingelassen, und endlich selbst angefangen eine Dame zu spielen; denn vor Dir und mir ist noch keine Kammerjungfer und kein Lakey im Hause gesehen worden; alles war honett genug, aber nichts überflüssig und verschwenderisch, jetzt geht es zu wie im ewigen Leben."
3. ibid. 1,iii. p. 229.  
 "Red..... ich habe auch überdiess abermahl einen Brief verfasst, welchen ich Sie noch heute Vormittags meinem Weibe zu überbringen bitte; ich habe in selbem geschrieben, als ob ich auf einmahl von neuen so krank geworden wäre, dass man an meinem Aufkommen gänzlich verzweifeln wollte, und dieses hab ich unternommen, theils meine Gegenwart desto unerwarteter zu machen, theils aber auch wahrzunehmen, wie Sie sich bey Anhoffung meines nahen Todes anschicken werde..."
4. ibid. 1,i. p. 219.  
 "Col....Itzt wird sie aufstehen, alsdenn setzt sie sich zur Toilette, trinkt Chokolade, lässt sich aufputzen, bekommt Visiten, isst, trinkt, spielt, fährt spazieren, hält grosse Gesellschaft, spielt, isst, trinkt wieder, und geht endlich lang nach Mitternacht erst zu Bette.."
5. ibid. 1,iii. p. 228.  
 "Red.... und man hat mir geschrieben, dass sie wirklich mehr einer verwunschenen Prinzessin als einem ehrlichen Burgerskinde ähnlich seye."
6. ibid. 1,iii. p. 228.  
 "Red... sie hat ihre bürgerliche Wohnung verlassen, und sich einen kleinen Pallast gemiethet; sie hält Kammermagd und Lakey...sie spielt, verkauft, versetzt, macht Schulden, schwärmt halbe Nächte herum..."

the humorous content. Indeed Hafner is perhaps alone responsible for dispersing something of the levity of the original Wiener Volksstück.<sup>1</sup>

Frau Redlichinn is of humble parentage, and her behaviour before the action of the play has been exemplary.<sup>2</sup> But now that her husband has been absent for two years and is supposedly on his death-bed,<sup>3</sup> Frau Redlichinn parades herself<sup>4</sup>, her daughter<sup>5</sup> and her household, as paragons of the upper crust, ignoring in the meantime the limitations which her husband's bourgeois finances impose.<sup>6</sup> Whilst suffering a similar degradation to Burlin,<sup>7</sup> it is suspected that the lady is merely letting her hair down, whereas Burlin's complete disregard of the need for economy is inborn.

The suspicion that Frau Redlichinn is mentally sick, founded on her insane protestations of innocence when her guilt is all too obvious,<sup>8</sup> excites sympathy for her predicament and diminishes her moral responsibility. Persistent reference is made to her previously unimpeachable behaviour,<sup>9</sup> inferring that her husband's prolonged absence is the cause of her various misdemeanours.

The intensity of Frau Redlichinn's belief in the divine right of her aristocratic self<sup>10</sup> condemns her as a being, who is contriving to exceed the bounds of her natural standing.<sup>11</sup> Frau Redlichinn is potentially tragic, as she continues to strive for an ideal, which she herself recognizes, but dare not acknowledge as unattainable.

The spoken word condemns her as one striving to exceed her station,  
yet sympathy is roused as the victim senses that she is caught up in the vortex, which inevitably leads to absolute corruption.<sup>13</sup> Like Burlin, Frau Redlichinn is penitent, but helpless, the affection she bestows on her daughter revealing her mental anguish.<sup>14</sup> In a soliloquy,<sup>15</sup> which is remarkable for its psychological insight, Frau Redlichinn reveals

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14. HGS. 1,ii. p. 309.

15. ibid. 1,iii. p. 310.

16. ibid. 1,i. p. 308.

" Pamstig.

Dein Bitten ist umsonst; steh auf, sonst  
kriegst Du Flaschen!

Evakathel.

Die Deichsals Liebe brennt mein Herz zu  
Staub und Aschen; Herr Vater, ach! -

Pamstig.

Schweig still! Ich nehm Dich sonst beym  
Schopf.

Evakathel.

Prinz Schnudi sey mein Mann -

Pamstig.

Der Lienel?

Evakathel. (steht auf.)

Sey kein Knopf! "

cf., Anhang. p. 324.

"...Herr Redlich ist ein treflicher Mann, und behauptet durch sein Betragen den grössten Anspruch auf unsere Achtung, nur fällt er für einen schlichten Bürger ein bischen zu sehr in den Redner, hier und da sogar in den Kanzelton."

5. 

ibid. Anhang. p. 324.  
"...Der Charakter der Frau Redlich ist meisterhaft geschildert, und reiner gezeichnet also jener des Burlins; wir können hoffen, dass sie von ihren Verirrungen zurück kömmt, und Hafner hat sie mit vieler Klugheit vor dem Verdachte der Untreue geschützt, um sie uns doch von einer Seite schätzbar zu zeigen, und um auch ihren Mann in Achtung zu erhalten, da in unsrer Zeit der Hahnrey leider nebst seinem Unglück noch den Spott dulden muss..."
6. 

ibid. p. 307.
7. 

ibid. Anhang. p. 325.
8. 

ibid. V3. 1,1. p. 307.  
" Evakathel.  
Nicht, sagst Du? Grosser Chan! Ach Pamstig!  
Liebster Tattel!  
Sieh Dein erwachsnes Kind! Sieh Deine  
Evakathel!"
9. 

ibid. p. 306. Pamstig.  
"Das Beywort pamstig drückt im Oesterreichischen eigentlich aus, dass eine Pflanze nicht mehr in ihrem natürlichen Zustande, sondern zu fest und derb geworden ist; so sagt man: der Rettig ist pamstig geworden. Einen schwächlichen, aufgedunsenen Körper nennt man auch so."
10. 

ibid. p. 306.  
"Eva Katharine, heisst in Oesterreich Evakathel."
11. 

ibid. p. 306.  
"Ein Osterreichischer Schimpfnahme, mit dem man einen verächtlichen Menschen ausdrückt."
12. 

ibid. p. 306.  
"Drückt einen einfältigen, tölpischen Menschen aus."
13. 

ibid. p. 306.  
"Der Schluchzen heisst im Oesterreichischen Schnackerl."

1. HGS. V3. III,xvi. p. 301.  
 "Rache, Scham, Reue und Forcht bemeistern sich meiner Seele == ich bin von allen Seiten hintergangen und beschimpft! == Was wird die Welt == was werden die Bekannten von mir sagen? Doch was hat die Welt und Bekannten vormahls von mir sagen können? In was unglückseligen Umständen befindest du dich, ärmste Redlichinn! = aber hattest du dir wohl ein andres End deiner Ausschweifungen vermuthen können? == Alles geht verlohren! == die Hochachtung, die man gegen mich doch wer hatte sie gegen mich bezeugt, ausser Leuten, die ich, mir solche zu bezeugen, zu meinem Schaden beschenkt habe? =="
2. *ibid.* Anhang. p. 324(1)\*  
 "...Die episodischen Personen zeigen uns eine bunte Gallerie von Taugenichtsen, die man leider überall findet. Hannswurst und Colombine sind sehr ähnliche Porträte aus der Gesindewelt, wie sie war, ist, und seyn wird. Dieses Lustspiel schliesst nicht nur gegen die gewöhnliche Theatersitte ohne Heirath, sondern Hafner hat sogar gewagt, mit einer Warnung vor der Ehe zu schliessen; ohne Zweifel war das ein Wagestück. Mehrere Dichter haben nach ihm mit mehr oder weniger Glück versucht, Verirrungen einer Hausfrau aus den mindern Ständen zu schildern; am glücklichsten war hierin Hr. Schikaneder in seinen Fiakern, einem trefflichen Localstücke, das sich jeder Dichter, der Localsatyre und Schilderung der untern Volksclasse zum Zwecke hat, zum Muster nehmen darf."
3. *ibid.* I,iii. pp. 226-230.  
 III,xiv. p. 296.  
 "Red....derewegen erkenne nunmehr statt deines sonst zärtlichen Gemahls in mir den Dich bestrafenden Richter, nachdem Du Dich gleichfalls als eine sonst tugendhaft geweste Frau in eine lasterhafte verkehret hast."
4. *ibid.* III,xiv. pp. 297-298.  
 The effect of Redlich's remonstrations against his wife is rather melodramatic, as he has previously vanquished Chevalier Miroir, Baron Bagatelli, Baron Plumpfsack, Herr von Wasserfeind and Herr von Schlaukopf in the same way.

\* Vol. 3. HGS. contains two pages numbered p.324 and the same discrepancy is not limited to this one instance.

the duality of the impulses which have motivated her actions.<sup>1</sup> As a woman, who has been emotionally upset, she gradually overcomes her piqued senses by reason, and subsequently humbles herself as a true penitent.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the successful characterization of Frau Redlichinn,<sup>2</sup> and an intensity of local colour, the play still contains vestiges of Baroque thought, embodied in the judging and avenging persons of Hildebert and Redlich,<sup>3</sup> but their dreadful admonitions, and especially Redlich's self-righteous attempt to mete out justice,<sup>4</sup> only sully the effect of the skilful portrayal of Frau Redlichinn.<sup>5</sup> The reflection alone of an irresponsible wife chastises sufficiently. Where the theatre acts as more than a mirror of immorality and transgression, it is dated as a vessel of religious thought.

The last play in Hafner's *Gesammelte Schriften*, 'ein lustiges Trauerspiel' entitled 'Evakathel and Schnudi',<sup>6</sup> is a parody. Sonnleithner acknowledges it as one of the earliest parodies in German literature,<sup>7</sup> and it is wisely limited to two short acts. It reflects local colour in its parody, by putting popular, Viennese terminology into the mouths of high-born persons,<sup>8</sup> and by giving the latter such colourful names as Pamstig,<sup>9</sup> Evakathel,<sup>10</sup> Schnudi,<sup>11</sup> Diedeltapp,<sup>12</sup> Schnackerl.<sup>13</sup>

To a great extent Hafner's comedy consists in his use of anachronism. Pamstig bids his daughter do some darning, whilst he receives Schnudi's ambassador,<sup>14</sup> and in the following scene Diedeltapp speaks of powder, lead, sabres and grenades.<sup>15</sup> Verse, which is reminiscent of Saxonian 'Knittelvers', is also used to heighten comedy.<sup>16</sup>

The general parody of the play is directed at the traditional plot of the Wiener Volksstück,<sup>17</sup> as it has been manifoldly represented in Hafner's own works. The climax



1. HGS. 11,iii. p. 320.
2. ibid. 11,ix. p. 330.
3. ibid. 11,ix. p. 330.
4. ibid. 11,ix. p. 327.  
"Schnudi. (mit dem Kopfe des Tartarchans.)  
...Hör meine Unschuld doch! Ich weiss, dass  
ich gefehlet,  
Und wider Dein Geboth den Vater hab  
entseelet;  
Allein die Noth zwang mich, dass ich es so  
gemacht;  
Hätt ich ihn nicht gestutzt, hätte er mich  
umgebracht...."
5. ibid. 11,vii. p. 325.
6. ibid. 11,ix. p. 329.  
"Die Neigung gegen ihn ist noch, wie vor,  
zu heftig,  
Und meine Macht die Glut zu dämpfen, bleibt  
unkräftig;  
Drum straf ich das an mir, was ich an ihm  
nicht kann,  
Und weil ich ihn nicht krieg, so sterb ich  
ohne Mann."
7. ibid. 11,ix. pp. 331-332.
8. ibid. 11,ix. pp. 329-330.
9. ibid. 11,ix. p. 329. fn.  
"Die Walzer nannte man vor mehreren Jahren  
Steyrische, das ist Steyermärkische Tänze,  
oder schlechtweg Steyrische."
10. ibid. 11,ix. pp. 329, 331.

of the parody indicates the tragedy, which might ensue, if the father-figure remains completely obdurate and refuses to be reconciled to the idea of his daughter's marriage. Tamstig is killed by Schnudi for his obstinacy, after a period of hair-pulling.<sup>1</sup> On hearing the news of her father's death Evakathel commits suicide with a pocket-knife<sup>2</sup> and witnessing this, Schnudi eats a bag of poisoned sweets.<sup>3</sup> Schnudi's ridiculous attempt to exculpate himself before Evakathel is the most glaring instance of parody in the whole play.<sup>4</sup>

Evakathel's earlier appreciation of the imminent tragedy is poetically expressed: 'Nur der den andern stürzt, macht sich zu meinem Feind'.<sup>5</sup> The horror at the realisation that she loves her father's murderer motivates her suicide,<sup>6</sup> and she expires, like Schnudi,<sup>7</sup> in the conventional operatic manner.<sup>8</sup> Music, however, is also part of the parody and the swan-songs are set 'Im Ton eines Steyrischen<sup>9</sup> Tanzes'.<sup>10</sup>