

Durham E-Theses

The work of Emanuel Schikaneder and the tradition of the old Viennese popular theatre

Batley, E. M.

How to cite:

Batley, E. M. (1965) *The work of Emanuel Schikaneder and the tradition of the old Viennese popular theatre*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9998/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

2

EMANUEL SCHEKANEDER AND THE WANDERBÜCHE

(1773-1789)

a.

SCHIKANEDER'S EXPERIENCE OF THE WANDERBÜHNE

AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH SINGSPIEL

57(a)

11. ES. p. 35.

57(a)

1. ES. p. 25.
2. ibid. p. 26.
TK. 1778.
"Schikaneder Joseph, geb. zu Regensburg 1751.
deb. 1773."
3. TK. 1776, p. 235.
"Verzeichniss einiger jetzt lebenden Mitglieder
der deutschen Bühne, nach ihrem Vornamen,
Geburts=ort und erstem Theater=Jahr."
"Schikanede...geb. zu Regensburg. 1751."
"Verzeichniss einiger inn- und ausländischen
Schauspieler Gesellschaften."
"H.* Schikanede: Liebhaber."
4. TK. 1777.
5. It is probable by this time that Schikaneder
had acquainted himself with Hiller's 'Sing-
spiele'. cf., p. 82-91.
6. TK. 1777.
"Mitglied der Schopfischen Gesellschaft zu
Innspruk; komponierte seine eigene Operette, die
Lyranten oder das lustige Elend."
7. DL.
"(Wenn jemand die Musik zu den Arien verlangte,
müsste er sich an den Verfasser wenden, der
zugleich der Komponist davon ist.)"
8. ibid.
"Da das Publikum diesen ersten Versuch eines
der Schaubühne gewidmeten Liebhabers der Musen
mit einigem Beyfalle aufgenommen hat, so hat sich
derselbe überreden lassen, dieses Stück nach
vorgenommenen merklichen Verbesserungen in den
Druck zu geben. Liebhaber der Musik und des
Theaters, die Geschmack haben, werden ihm je
nach dem Grade des Beyfalles Aufmunterung oder
Stillschweigen zuwenden."
9. cf., pp. 58, 59, 69, 76, 77.
10. ZT. p. 30ff. February 7th, 1790.

* cf., ES. pp. 22-25.

Emanuel Schikaneder was born on September 1st, 1751 in Straubing¹. Some years of his childhood were spent in Regensburg where Schikaneder earned money for his widowed mother by playing the violin in the streets.² Eventually, accompanied by two other men, Diendel and Harold, he left Regensburg to become 'ein wandernder Musikant'.²

In Augsburg in 1773, Andreas Schopf, manager of a touring company, engaged Schikaneder as an actor.² As early as 1775, when the company visited Innsbruck, Schikaneder³ was earning a modicum of success as a producer² and singer² and before two years had elapsed, he was designated 'Tonkünstler'.⁴

The earliest evidence of Schikaneder's acquaintance with Singspiel is 'Die Tyranten',⁵ his first work for the stage, which was printed in Innsbruck in 1776.⁶ Schikaneder was both composer and playwright, an achievement which was noted on the title-page.⁷ The Singspiel accorded Schikaneder the right to be listed under 'Tonkünstler' in the Gotha Theaterkalender of 1777 and 1778. The preface to 'Die Tyranten' vouches for its warm reception before the work was printed;⁸ whilst its frequent revival on the Wanderbühne,⁹ and even later in Vienna,¹⁰ reflected its continued popularity.

The Theaterkalender of 1777 reveals Schikaneder's versatility as 'Liebhaber, Stutzer und Helden: erster Sänger!' and gives Augsburg and Innsbruck as centres for the Schopf company. Schikaneder acted again in Augsburg from 1776 to February 11th, 1777.¹¹

Andreas Schopf took advantage of the size of the new Augsburg Stadttheater, which was opened on 16th October, 1776,

58(a)

1. ES. p. 35.
2. ES. pp. 36, 37.
3. ibid. p. 36. 'Arth'. 'Artin'. p. 37. 'Arthin'.
TK. 1778. 'Artim'.
4. TK. 1778.
5. ibid. 'Schauspieler Verzeichniss'.
"Madame Schikaneder....erste Liebhaberinnen
im Schau- und Singspiele."
6. ES. p. 37.
7. ibid. pp. 35-37.
8. ibid. pp. 37, 38.
9. ibid. p. 38.
10. ibid. p. 39.
11. ibid. p. 39.
cf., pp. 90-100.

as ballet became the company's greatest attraction,¹ a genre for which it was well equipped. The post of 'Ballettmeister', held by Herr. Joseph Hornung, enjoyed the privilege of being included immediately after the names of Andreas Schopf and Theresia Schumann, in the list of members for that year.² The total membership was 18 and 12 of these were 'Tanzende'.² The only evidence of Singspiel in Augsburg is a performance of 'Die Tyranten', on January 13th, 1777, which was well attended.¹

On 9th February, 1777 Schikaneder married Eleonora Arth,³ an actress, who was born in Hermannstadt in 1752⁴ and made her first appearance on stage in 1770.⁴ The Theaterkalender of 1778 gives the name Eleonore Schikaneder, both she and her husband playing the leading roles in drama and Singspiel.⁵ In the same Theaterkalender Schikaneder and his wife are described as members of Moser's touring company.⁵

Schopf had intended to perform in Regensburg and it is conceivable that Schikaneder might not have wished to return so soon to the town of his childhood.⁶ But Schikaneder's move to the Moser company might also have been due to a desire for broader theatrical experience. Whilst Schikaneder was undoubtedly active in Schopf's productions of drama, and the one performance of 'Die Tyranten'⁷ there is no evidence to the effect that Schikaneder was ever employed in ballet. Eventually Schopf had to leave Augsburg for financial reasons.⁸ Schikaneder and his wife, together with a third member, Ißfler, joined Moser's company in Nuremberg, where they remained until 18th September, 1777.⁹

In Nuremberg Schikaneder was busily occupied with the performance of popular adaptations of Shakespeare¹⁰ and the series of 'Singspiele' by Johann Adam Hiller.¹¹ 'Die

59(a)

1. ES. pp. 38, 39.
2. ibid. p. 39. 'Lisouart'.
The 1766 publication of this Singspiel spells the name 'Lisuart'. cf., pp. 90-93.
AWTL.E. p. 15. 'Lisuart'.
3. ES. p. 39.
4. ibid. p. 38.
WAM. p. 477.
"...ging 1777 mit dem Impresario Moser, der unter seinem Einfluss Shakespeare und Moderne, wie Gebler, aber auch Hillers Singspiele gab..."
5. ES. p. 39. 30th June, 1777.
"Wir haben hier mit einer opera die Nürnbergger delicat gemacht, jetzt wollen sie lauter musikalische opera sehen, biss eine zu Stande kommt, braucht es Zeit: muss beständig schreiben, dann aus dem Klavierauszug müssen die übrigen Stimmen gezogen werden, das kostet Mühe und Zeit. So oft nur eine opera aufgeföhret wird, ist das Haus voll."
6. cf., pp. 23, 24.
KO. Vb.
"Ueberdiess musste er (Hiller) und ich auf die damaligen Schauspieler des Kochischen Theaters sehen, für die es hauptsächlich verfertigt war.."
7. ibid. Vb.
"So kann auch ein blosses Bret bey einem Schiffbruche wichtig seyn."
8. ibid. Vb.
9. ES. p. 39.
10. DDS. p. 119.
"Der Charakter der Operettenmusik ist vor allen Dingen ein volksthümlicher, gefälliger, ansprechender, naiver; halb lustig, halb rührend, fein oder derb komisch, bleibt er vorzugsweise der Freude zugeneigt. Die Handlung soll rasch und lebendig vorwärts schreiten, die Charaktere müssen bestimmt gezeichnet sein. Dichter und Componist dürfen nie aus den Augen verlieren, dass sie für das grosse Publikum zu arbeiten haben. Ersterer muss mit Leichtigkeit populäre Gestalten erfinden können, letzterer ihnen einen vertraulichen und natürlichen Ausdruck zu geben wissen."

'Tyranten' was also successfully performed on several occasions.¹ Singspiel, judging from the evidence available, now formed at least half of the company's repertoire.¹

On 6th June Hiller's 'Die Jagd' was performed, with Schikaneder as Töffel, and Madame Schikaneder as Röschen, on 23rd July 'Der Erntekranz' by the same composer, with Schikaneder as Herr von Lindfort and Madame Schikaneder as Lindfort's wife. Other Singspiele by Hiller followed: 'Lottchen am Hofe' with Madame Schikaneder in the title-role and Schikaneder as Görg, 'Die Liebe auf dem Lande' with Schikaneder as Schösser and his wife as the peasant girl Lieschen and finally 'Lisuart'² and 'Dariolette' with Schikaneder as Lisuart.³ Coincidental with Schikaneder's appearance in the company of Joseph Moser, was the company's sudden success with Singspiel. The obvious conclusions have already been drawn.⁴

The popularity of Singspiel amongst the citizens of Nuremberg, of which Moser's letter to the Augsburg authorities gives evidence,⁵ was not an isolated success. Hiller's Singspiele had originally been conceived to save the company of Heinrich Gottfried Koch⁶ from financial disaster and being so well received, they were likened to a plank which saves the drowning man in a shipwreck.⁷ The desire for Singspiel appears to have been quite widespread on the Wanderbühne.⁸

In a repertoire which included drama in the manner of 'Die Gunst der Fürsten', adapted by H. C. Schmid from the English version by Banks, 'Hamlet', 'Macbeth', 'Othello' and 'Richard III',⁹ Singspiel offered variety as 'Unterhaltungsmittel', which was characterized by its music, comedy and popular appeal.¹⁰

In a letter to Augsburg, dated 25th August, 1777, Moser

1. ES. p. 39. 25th August, 1777.
"Heute habe ich die Ehr, ihnen mit Vernunft zu schreiben, denn letzthin schrieb ich nur in Eil, ich hatte noch alle Hände voll, die Musik zu unserer neuen Opera zu Stande zu bringen, welche eben heute ihre erste Probe überstanden hat, gottlob mit allen erdenklichen Beyfall. Mir ist es umso viel lieber, nur damit, ich Augsburg recht bedienen kann, dann um Nürnberg gebe ich mir die Mühe nicht mehr, und alles was, ich mache dienet uns nur zur Probe, wir haben prächtige Stücke, welche in Augsburg nicht gleichgültig können gesehen werden."
2. ibid. p. 40.
3. ibid. p. 41.
4. ibid. p. 41.
5. ibid. p. 42.
6. TK. 1779.
"Verzeichniss einiger inn- und ausländischen Schauspieler-Gesellschaften.
Schikanederische Gesellschaft.
Aufenthalt - Augsburg, Ulm, Stuttgard."
WAM. p. 478.
Michl was still with Schikaneder in Salzburg.
"Unter den Mitgliedern befand sich als Musikdirektor Michel, der schon Moser in solcher Eigenschaft gedient und für diesen eine Reihe von Singspielen geschrieben hatte."
7. As with other TK.
8. ES. pp. 42, 43.

expressed dissatisfaction with Nuremberg, despite his theatrical success there.¹ Financial considerations probably persuaded him to leave and he began his season on 30th September, 1777 in Augsburg.² Singspiel continued to form a large part of the company's repertoire, although there were only five singers in a total cast of twenty-nine.² However, a new post of 'Komponist der Gesellschaft' was created and Johann Michael Michl occupied it.²

In the same year Intendant Graf Seeau invited Schikaneder to a Gastspiel in Munich where he gave an excellent performance of Hamlet in Heufeld's version of the original.³ As a result Schikaneder was offered an engagement in Munich, which he accepted, first, however, returning to Augsburg to complete the season with Moser.⁴

Fate intervened when Frau Barbara Moser died on 18th January, 1778.⁵ An overwrought widower offered the company to Schikaneder for 2,000 Gulden. The theatre was closed on 20th and 21st January, and on the following day 'Die Liebe auf dem Lande' was performed. The next play to be given was 'Die Gunst der Fürsten', the part of Essex being one of Schikaneder's most successful, on 28th January. After the play Schikaneder was named the new manager.⁵ The Theaterkalender of 1779,⁶ referring to the previous year,⁷ notes the change and lists the members of Schikaneder's company.⁶ Significantly, the number of singers has increased to nine.⁶ Herr Maag has become Musikdirektor but Herr Michl is no longer designated Komponist.⁶

The Augsburg authorities showed a distinct preference for the variety of Schikaneder's repertoire and rejected Graf Seeau's application to perform Italian 'biblische Operetten' during Lent, just as they rejected Felix Berner's repertoire of forty Italian and French operas.⁸

From Ulm, where Schikaneder remained until the end of

61(a)

3. ES. p. 46.
4. ibid. p. 42.
5. ibid. p. 43.
6. ibid. p. 48.
7. ibid. p. 48.
"Samson, oder: Der Tote ein Sieger."
8. ibid. p. 49.
9. cf., ibid. p. 53. 'Der Gesellschafter'
Berlin 1834, Nr. 71.
"Er war wie ein Kavalier damaliger Zeit
gekleidet, trug seidene Strümpfe, Schuhe mit
hohen roten Absätzen, gelbseidene Beinkleider,
gelbseidene, mit Silber gestickte Weste, einen
Scharlachfrack, einen dreieckigen Hut mit
weissen Federn geziert und einen Stahldegen an
der Seite."
10. AMF.GQ. p. 100.
11. ES. p. 51.

1. ES. pp. 43, 44.

2. *ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

"Schikaneder, der Prinzipal, hat von Natur einen Wuchs und eine Bildung, welche keine Rolle verderben können. Hierzu kommt noch ein fürtreffliches Auge und eine besondere Stärke der Gebärden Sprache. Daher gefiel er mir in der Person Hamlets, dem der unnachahmliche Dichter das schwere Los aufbürdete, den stärksten Grad des Schmerzes, den heftigsten Zorn und die glühendste Rache nicht in Worten und Handlungen auszudrücken, sondern zu fühlen und zu verbeissen und die unaufhaltbaren Ausbrüche dieser Leidenschaften vor dem gewünschten Augenblick unter der Maske des Wahwitzes zu verbergen, am besten; und ich glaube nicht, dass es redendere Augen und Mienen geben kann, als Schikaneder in diesem Stück hatte. In andern tragischen Rollen wurde ihm der Vorwurf gemacht, dass er den Affekt übertreibe. Es mag sein, dass dieser Vorwurf bei einzelnen Stellen Grund hatte. Aber wenn ich das Brausende seines Alters erwäge und hinzudenke, dass er, wenn ihm diese Kritik mit einer guten Art gemacht worden, wie z.B. nach der ersten Aufführung der Ariadne geschah, sich zum Ton, den die Natur der Sache erforderte, herabzustimmen willig war, so ist es mir lieber, zu viel Feuer als zu wenig an ihm zu erblicken. Jenes verspricht immer grössere Vollkommenheit in der Folge, dieses versprache nur Rauch. In den niedrigkomischen Rollen war er ganz unvergleichlich, wie ihm selbst seine Tadler eingestehen mussten. Sie suchten sich wegen dieses abgenötigten Geständnisses der Wahrheit dadurch zu rächen, dass sie sagten, wie dieses Talent auch in seinen erhabenen Charakteren durchscheine. Allein ausser dem, dass es ungerecht ist, unsern Schauspielern diesen Vorwurf zu machen, denen es leid genug tut, dass ihnen die Umstände nicht erlauben, sich einem Charakter allein zu widmen und in solchem nach der höchstmöglichen Vollkommenheit zu streben, so liegt gewiss zu diesem Vorwurf die Ursache mehr in unserer Einbildungskraft als in dem Schauspieler. Was aber jedoch bei Schikanedern insbesondere zu diesem Vorwurf einige Veranlassung, neben unsrer angeborenen Erbsünde, geben kann, mag seine österreichische Mundart sein, die wir, wenn er niedrige Rollen spielte, wirklich hörten und in seinen vornehmen Rollen zu hören glaubten."

May, the company visited Stuttgart, where a repertoire of classical drama, 'Hamlet' in particular, and Singspiel, was warmly received.¹ Schikaneder is praised by the 'Journal von auswärtigen und deutschen Theatern' as 'ein reizender S"anger'.²

In September, 1778³ Schikaneder returned to Augsburg to honour his earlier engagement there 'vom Michaeli 1778 bis Fastnacht 1779'.⁴ The 200 Gulden caution money was given to the Armenkasse. Permission was even granted to perform 'lauter lehrreiche, auch geistliche St"ucke'.⁵ During Advent Schikaneder ventured beyond the entertaining Singspiel to the melodramas of Brandes and Benda, when his company produced 'Die St"arke der Grossmut' and 'Ariadne auf Naxos'.⁶ A tragedy by Weiskern, one of the more prominent members of the Wiener Stegreifensemble, was also performed.⁷ Drama and comedy had, on the whole, a more favourable reception in Augsburg than musical productions.

From Augsburg the company travelled to Neuburg an der Donau and then to Nuremberg, where they arrived at Easter 1779.⁸ The 'Gratulatorisches Quodlibet' of 1779 refers to Schikaneder's stay in Nuremberg, which lasted from 26th April until 27th September.⁸ Schikaneder is commended for his singing but the 'Quodlibet' contains too the exhortation that Schikaneder should show greater appreciation of his wife's efforts. Her only thanks have been the applause of the audience, whereas someone, supposedly Schikaneder,⁹ is rewarded with 'goldne Uhren - gespickte Tabatieren - und Beutel'.¹⁰

Singspiel maintained its place in the repertoire and on 5th May 'Der lustige Schuster' was performed with Schikaneder as Jobsen Zekel and Madame Schikaneder as his wife Iene.¹¹ Again Schikaneder attempted more serious musical items than Singspiel. On 21st July and on 18th

62(a)

1. *ibid.* p. 51.
2. *ibid.* p. 52.
3. *ibid.* pp. 53, 54.
4. *ibid.* p. 54.
5. *ibid.* p. 55.
IMP. V2. fn. p. 969. M-III 10th May, 1779.
6. *AMP.* 82. p. 14022.
7. *BRAN.* M-III 10th May, 1779. VI. 145. p. 23522.
cf., also M-III 10th December, 1780. V4. 15. p. 372.
8. *IMP.* V2. p. 969 M-III 10th May, 1779.
p. 972 M-III 24th April, 1780 fn.
9. *AMP.* 82. p. 14022.
10. *ibid.* p. 55.

August the company gave 'Jason und Medea', a melodrama by Benda, with Schikaneder as Jason.¹ Further musical productions were 'Die Sklavin oder: Der grossmütige Seefahrer' by Piccini, a one-act operetta 'Der Kaufmann von Smyrna' by Vogler, which had been successful in Mannheim and Munich from 1771² and 'Das Milchmädchen oder: die beiden Jäger' adapted from the French by Johann Heinrich Faber, music by Egidio Romoaldo Duni, with Schikaneder as Niclas and his wife as the milkmaid, Röschen.³ The latter was so well received that copper engravings of Madame Schikaneder as Röschen were circulated in Nuremberg.³

Schikaneder left Nuremberg at the end of September for Rothenburg ob der Tauber. In 1780 he visited Iaibach, Klagenfurt and Linz and then, after previously writing for permission, arrived in Salzburg to begin his season on 17th September, 1780.⁴

Before Schikaneder, Johannes Böhm and his company had played in Salzburg from autumn 1779 until spring 1780,⁵ these dates automatically refuting Blüml's supposition that the two companies alternated at the theatre.⁶ Mozart's letter to his cousin Maria Anna Thekla Mozart, written in 1779, mentions Böhm.⁷ Indeed Mozart appears to have been personally acquainted with him.⁸ The Theaterkalender for that year intimates that Schikaneder's production of ballet and opera was not as effective as that of Böhm.⁹

Schikaneder's company was then accredited with thirty-four members, including ballet, and in addition two new members, Herr Wallerschenk and Mademoiselle Adelheit registered and made their debut on 22nd October, 1780 in Piccini's 'Der Seefahrer'.¹⁰

The Archbishop of Salzburg had originally granted

63(a)

1. ES. p. 55.
BWAM. V4. 214 p. 160. IM-M 15th December, 1780.
2. LMF. V2. p.1007. IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
BWAM. V4. 209 p. 150 IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
3. BWAM. V4. 209 p. 150 IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
"...wird er gott danken, wenn er hier bleiben kann."
also; V4. 214 p. 160 IM-M 15th December, 1780.
4. AMF. SS. p. 140.
5. ES. p. 56.
6. BWAM. V4. 214 p. 160. IM-M 15th December, 1780.
7. ibid. V4. 209 p. 150. IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
8. ibid. V4. 205 p. 142. IM-M 18th November, 1780.
V4. 14 p. 371. MM-M 30th November, 1780.
V4. 210 p. 152. IM-M 4th December, 1780.
V4. 15 p. 372. MM-M 18th December, 1780.
9. ibid. IM-M V4. 210 p. 152. 4th December, 1780.
MM-M V4. 15 p. 372. 18th December, 1780.
10. BWAM. V4. 210 p. 152. IM-M 4th December, 1780.
"...an meinem Namens Tag kam Mme Maresquelle mir glückzuvünschen, sie sagte ihr frantzös: Compliment und unter demselben neigte sie ihren rechten Blattermasichten Backen gegen mein gesicht..."
11. ibid. V4. 205 p. 140. IM-M 18th November, 1780.
12. ibid. V4. 15 p. 372. MM-M 18th December, 1780.

Schikaneder permission to play until the end of 1780,¹ and Schikaneder had arranged to perform in Laibach from the beginning of 1781 until Lent.¹ The death of the Empress Maria Theresia on 29th November necessitated an alteration in Schikaneder's plans.¹ On account of general mourning and the subsequent closing of the theatre in Laibach, Schikaneder cancelled his visit,¹ an act which Leopold Mozart remarks saved Schikaneder the unnecessary expense of travel,² and applied to the Archbishop for an extension of the original agreement.¹ This was granted on 11th December, 1780.¹ The prompt answer from the Archbishop has been construed as a sign of benevolence towards Schikaneder,¹ although Leopold Mozart, who, being in the service of the Archbishop, was undoubtedly well acquainted with him, comments perhaps more aptly on Schikaneder's predicament in a letter to his son, written on 2nd December.³

When Schikaneder arrived in Salzburg in September, 1780, the Mozart family was living 'im Hannibalgarten'.⁴ Apart from the communal 'Kegelschieben' and the private parties of 'Bölzelschiessen', which were held in Leopold Mozart's dwelling,⁵ Schikaneder was also present at the occasional musical soirée,⁶ a fact which speaks for his sincere and not merely theatrical musicianship. Adresses and singers from Schikaneder's company, Mesdames Ballo⁷ and Maresquelle,⁸ are mentioned in Leopold Mozart's letters to Wolfgang in Munich.

Madame Maresquelle's presence at private parties,⁹ her familiarity with Leopold Mozart,¹⁰ the dubious targets for the 'Bölzelschiessen',¹¹ Madame Maresquelle's acquisition of Wolfgang's gun,¹² whilst he was away in Munich, and her acquaintance with Wannerl, intimate the Mozart family's close and friendly association with Schikaneder.

64(a)

1. BWAM. V4. 206 p. 145. IM-M 20th November, 1780.
2. *ibid.* V4. 14 p. 371. MM-M 30th November, 1780.
V2. 155 p. 24. M-IM 13th December, 1780.
V2. 161 p. 38. M-IM 10th January, 1781.
3. The list of plays performed by Schikaneder in Salzburg is omitted from Anderson's edition of Mozart's letters.
BWAM. V4. 14 p. 371.
V4. 15 p. 372
4. BWAM. V4. 14 p. 371. MM-M 30th November, 1780.
"...wir selbst haben nicht wollen zeugen seyn wenn ~~man~~ ihm ein afront geschehen sollte, und sind bey der letzen scene fortgegangen."
5. BWAM. V2. 158 p. 31. M-IM 27th December, 1780.
also V2. 160 p. 36. M-IM 3rd January, 1781.
"...freylich werden wir noch vielle beobachtungen im 3ten actt auf dem theater zu machen haben; - wie zum beyspiell scena VI nach dem Arbace seiner aria steht. Idomeneo, Arbace, Etc = wie kann dieser gleich wieder da seyn? - - Nach dem trauerchor geht der könig, das ganze volk und alles weg - und in der folgende scene steht - Idomeneo in ginochione nel tèmpe - Das kann so ohnmöglich seyn - ..."
6. IMF. V2. p. 984. PS. M-IM 13th November, 1780.
"...Then he (Idomeneo) must address a few words to his people and desire them to leave him alone, which in his present melancholy situation is quite natural.....(The second duet was omitted because it was) very gênant for the other actors who must stand by doing nothing."
7. BWAM. V4. 213 p. 159. IM-M 11th December, 1780.
8. *ibid.* V2. 156 p. 25. M-IM 16th December, 1780.
"..wegen dem sogenannten Populare sorgen sie nichts, denn, in meiner oper ist Musick für aller Gattungen leute; - ausgenommen für lange ohren nicht."
9. cf., pp. 55-119.
cf., pp. 120-191.

Schikaneder wished a personal farewell to Wolfgang Mozart, when he left by coach for Munich¹ and Mozart continued to show a sincere interest in the success of his theatre.² He inquired whether Schikaneder was still getting good houses² and asked Nannerl to forward a list of his plays,³ which she did on the 30th November and the 18th December, 1780.³ Some parts of the correspondence between the Mozart family suggest a sincere affection for Schikaneder, which is not based solely on their common interests in music and the theatre. Nannerl's report of Schikaneder's disastrous production of 'Rache für Rache' reflects a warm sympathy.⁴

From the time of their association in Salzburg, it becomes evident that Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart had similar views to Schikaneder on music and the theatre. Whilst preparing his opera 'Idomeneo' in Munich, Mozart's letters reveal an increasing awareness of theatrical demands,⁵ including the motivation of characters.⁶ In his correspondence to his son, Leopold Mozart remonstrates with Wolfgang, that he should not neglect the popular style:

"Ich empfehle Dir Bey Deiner Arbeit nicht einzig und allein für das musikalische, sondern auch für das ohnmusikalische Publikum zu denken, - Du weißt es sind 100 ohnwissende gegen 10 wahre Kenner, - vergiss also das so genannte populare nicht, das auch die langen Ohren kitzelt."⁷

On this occasion Mozart refused to bow to the dictates of the 'long-eared' members of his audience,⁸ which no doubt horrified the practical concern of a worldly father, and certainly conflicted with Schikaneder's estimation of the importance of popular appeal.⁹ Yet whilst Wolfgang Mozart would make no concession in his composition, he showed an understandable concern about finance in a letter to

65(a)

15. WAMB. p. 96.
'Zaide' was the name given to an unfinished
fragment by the publisher André.

16 NWAM. p. 90.

also V4. 205 p. 140. IM-M 18th November, 1780.
 "Aber was denkest Du Dir! - wir müssen uns
 erstaunlich bey Hr: Schikaneder schämen, an
 meinem Nahmens Tage sagte ich ihm beym schüssen:
 morgen wird die Aria gewiss kommen. - - konnte
 ich ihm, nach meiner gründlichsten vermuthung,
 etwas anders sagen? - - 8 Tage zuvor musste ich
 ihm sagen, Du hättest sie nicht ganz ausschreiben
 können: nun blieb ja gar kein zweifel übrig, dass
 Du sie 8 tag darnach mit dem Postwagen schicken
 würdest, um so mehr, da er nur noch 12
 Commoedien spielen wird. Ich weiss wirklich
 nicht, was ich ihm morgen, da er zum schüssen
 kommt, vorliegen soll; dann Du weisst, dass ich
 zum Lügen gar nicht aufgelegt bin. - ich muss
 nur sagen, Du hättest den Postwagen versäumt,
 und das extra Post-porto wäre zu theuer: sie
 werde mit dem nächsten Postwagen gewiss eintreffen.
 Nun will ich nicht das zweyte mahl zum Lügner
 werden..."

10. IMF. V2. p. 992. M-IM 22nd November, 1780.
11. IMF. V2. p. 980. M-IM 8th November,* 1780. fn.
 "There is no trace of this aria, which Mozart
 composed for Schikaneder's production of the
 German translation by F.A.C. Werthes of Carlo
 Gozzi's drama 'Le due notti affannose'. The
 performance of 'Peter der Grausame oder Die zwei
 schlaflosen Nächte' took place in Salzburg on
 December 1st, 1780, See Köchel. p. 433f."
12. BWAM. V4. 209. p. 150. IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
 "Die Comoedie mit Deiner Aria war gestern, -
 die Comoedia ist sehr gut, das Haus war voll,
 der Erzb: war auch da, die aria war gut
 produciert, und sie sang solche gut, - so gut
 nahmlich, als es möglich war ihr in der Kurzen
 zeit zu Lehren. Dann sie ist auch auf der
 faulen Seite, wie die Ballon, alles gieng mit
 vergnügen aus dem Theater, obwohl es bis über
 halb 10 Uhr dauerte."
13. ibid. V4. 209. p. 150. PS. IM-M 2nd December, 1780.
 "Hr: Schikaneder danckt für die Arie, ich muss
 ihm auch die Aria Denti il mio peto io Sento
 aus der opera Buffa schreiben lassen...."
14. Schachtner also translated the libretto of
 Mozart's 'Idomeneo' into German.

* cf., fn. 1. p. 977.

1. BWAM. VI. 137 p. 270. M - Dalberg.
24th November, 1778.
"...Ich verbinde mich um 25 louis d'or ein Monodrama zu schreiben - mich zwey Monathe noch hier aufzuhalten - alles in ordnung zu bringen - allen Proben beizuwohnen Etc: jedoch mit diesem beysatz, dass, es mag sich ereignen was nur will, ich zu Ende jenners meine bezahlung habe; - Dass ich mir ausbitte in spektakel frey zu seyn - versteht sich von selbst; - sehen sie, mein Herr Baron, das ist alles, was ich thun kann! - wenn sie es recht überlegen, so werden sie sehen, dass ich gewiss sehr discret handle; - was ihre opera betrifft ("Cora" ein musikalisches Drama, Text von Dalberg) so versichere ich sie, dass ich sie von herzen gerne in Musick setzen möchte; - diese arbeit könnte ich zwar nicht um 25 louis d'or übernehmen, diess werden sie mir selbst zugestehen; denn es ist (recht gering gerechnet) noch so viell arbeit als ein Mondrame -doch, setzen wir, dass sie, mir 50 louis d'or dafür geben wollten, so würde ich ihnen als ein Ehrlicher Mann ganz gewis abrathen...."
2. ES. p. 56.
3. IMF. V2. p. 1016. IM-M 11th December, 1780. fn.
4. ES. pp. 48, 51.
5. ibid. p. 54.
6. cf., IMF. V2. fn. p.1016. IM-M 11th December, 1780.
7. BWAM. V4. 205 p. 140. IM-M 18th November, 1780.
"...da es eben nichts geringes ist für 3 Personen den freyen Eintritt so lange Zeit auf alle Plätze des Theaters zu haben."
8. ibid. V4. 205 p. 140. IM-M 18th November, 1780.
V4. 206 p. 145. IM-M 20th November, 1780.
9. ibid. V4. 206 p. 145. IM-M 20th November, 1780.
"...Ich schäme mich, der ehrliche gute Mann ist doch so gar mit Dir zum Postwagen gelaufen, um bey Deiner abreise zu seyn."

Heribert von Dalberg, which he wrote in 1778¹.

It has been noted that Mozart's 'Zaide' reflected Schikaneder's influence,² and that it was written with a view to its performance by Schikaneder's company.² Another authority is more conscious of the influence of Benda's duodramas.³ Certainly the latter's works were performed in Salzburg, having recently secured a place in Schikaneder's repertoire.⁴ His influence on 'Zaide', however, must not be overestimated, as Mozart had already begun work on the subject in the autumn of 1779,⁵ and Schikaneder did not arrive in Salzburg until September, 1780.⁵ There is no evidence of their meeting previously. It is more probable that a performance with Böhn's company was intended.⁶

In Salzburg Leopold Mozart appears to have enjoyed a closer relationship with Schikaneder, than did his son. He is deeply grateful to Schikaneder for allowing his family three free seats at any performance in his theatre,⁷ and he upbraids his son repeatedly for failing to forward the aria,⁸ which he had promised Schikaneder, a matter which caused him some considerable embarrassment.⁹

On the 22nd November, 1780, Mozart posted the long-awaited aria to his father.¹⁰ It was intended for the interval in the production of the drama 'Peter der Grausame'.¹¹ Accordingly, both were performed on the 1st December, 1780 and warmly received.¹² As a measure of Schikaneder's gratification, he made a second request for an aria from 'La finta giardiniera'.¹³

The libretto to 'Zaide' was written by Andreas Schachtner,¹⁴ court-trumpeter and colleague of Leopold Mozart. Musically, the work remained a fragment.¹⁵ Indeed Mozart's early works have been criticised as being simply 'schöne Musik',¹⁶ whilst his arias were little more than

66(a)

9. ES. p. 58.
WAMB. p. 96.
10. Th. ZVB. p. 7.
also ibid. tp.
'Erste Fassung Salzburg 1773, endgültige Fassung
wahrscheinlich Salzburg März - Dezember, 1779.'
11. ibid. ZVB. p. 7.
WAMj. P2. p. 379ff.
12. Th. ZVB. p. 7.
ZMS. p. 47ff.
13. WAMB. p. 96.
ES. p. 56.
14. Th. ZVB. p. 7.

1. NWAM. p. 90.
2. Z. 1,i. p. 3.
 "Brüder, lasst uns lustig sein, trotzet wakker den Beschwerden; denkt, es ist der Fluch der Erden: Jeder Mensch hat seine Pein. Lasst uns singen, lasst uns lachen, kann man doch's nicht anders machen Welt und Not ist einerlei, keiner bleibt von Plagen frei."
3. BWAM. V2. No. 197. p. 127. M-IM 13th October, 1781. Vienna.
 "...um so mehr muss Ja eine opera gefallen wo der Plan des Stücks gut ausgearbeitet; die Wörter aber nur blos für die Musick geschrieben sind, und nicht hier und dort einem Elenden Reime zu gefallen (die doch, bey gott, zum werth einer theatralischen vorstellung, es mag seyn was es wolle, gar nichts beytragen, wohl aber eher schaden bringen) worte setzen - oder ganze stropfen die des komponisten seine ganze idee verderben. - verse sind wohl für die Musick das unentbehrlichste - aber Reime - des reimens wegen das schädlichste; - die herrn, die so Pedantisch zu werke gehen, werden immer mit sammt der Musick zu grunde gehen. -"
4. Z. 1,i. p. 7.
 "...und mich, mich Armseligen, mich flieheth alle Heiterkeit, vom Morgen bis zum Abend - vom Abend bis zum Morgen. - -
 Jeder Balsam ist unwirksam für die Wunden meiner Seele."
 also; 1,iv. Nr. 6 Aria p. 32. 'Ich will sie suchen und herführen.'
5. Z. 1,ii. p. 10.
6. WHTA. p. 89ff.
7. ES. p. 41.
 WAM. p. 477.
8. Komorzynski sees this work as the forerunner to 'Die Zauberflöte'. ES. p. 57.
 WAMB. p. 96.
 Endrös maintains that 'Thamos' was performed by Schikaneder in the 'Impressariotheater beim Mirabellgarten.' AM. p. 218.

'vokalisierte Instrumentalmusik und nur selten durch die dramatische Situation angeregt',¹ which, however just, does not take into account the pseudo-Baroque insipidity of Schachtner's libretto.² The text offers rhyme, but no life, and Mozart himself complained about the uselessness of the former, upholding on the other hand the validity of verse in libretti.³ In the true style of Baroque melodrama, Gomatz pervades the work with his indulgent self-pity,⁴ and an unnatural refinement of language is evident, as sleep is described as 'naher Anverwandter des stillen Todes'.⁵ Fate rules man's life; the text of 'Zaide' remains oblivious to the portents of enlightenment.

The works of Tobias Philipp Freiherr von Gebler, an ardent supporter of literary drama,⁶ had long been in Schikaneder's repertoire by the time he arrived in Salzburg.⁷ However, there is little evidence to uphold the supposition⁸ that Gebler's 'Thamos, König in Ägypten'⁸ was performed by Schikaneder at this time. It has, moreover, been submitted that Mozart composed the music to the play with a view to its performance by Schikaneder's company,⁹ but neither can this be accepted as more recent authorities have placed the date of the final version between March and December, 1779¹⁰, at a time when Mozart had not even made Schikaneder's acquaintance.

Originally Gebler had delivered the text of his play to Magister Johann Tobias Sattler, but the latter's musical setting had not satisfied him.¹¹ By April, 1774 the work had been performed at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna and Mozart's hand in the music became apparent.¹² It has been asserted that Mozart became acquainted with 'Thamos' in 1773 via Gebler's 'Theatralische Werke', which appeared in Vienna,¹³ and that in the same year Mozart set the priests' choruses to music.¹⁴ A second authority would include the musical interludes in this

67(a)

10. ZB. Arie. Nr. 3. p. 30. 'Tamino: Dies Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön.'
Th. III, v. p. 65.
The portrait scene however, is nevertheless part of the popular tradition.
cf., p. 43(a). 3. pp. 176-177.
11. ZB. Arie mit Chor. Nr. 10. p. 91. 'Sarastro und Männerchor: O Isis und Osiris.'
Th. III, v. p. 65. 'Isis'.
Th. IV. Nr. 6. 'Osiris'.
12. Th. I, vi. p. 41.
cf., pp. 162-163.
13. Th. I, i. p. 3.
cf., p. 163.

67(a)

1. AWWK. p. 501.
2. ES. p. 56.
3. AWWK. p. 502ff.
"Sethos, histoire ou vie tirée des monuments anecdotes de l'ancienne Égypte, traduite d'un manuscrit grec. (Paris 1731)."
The work was translated into German by Matthias Claudius in 1777/78.
MO. p. 338.
'Sethos is an Egyptian Prince born in the century before the Trojan War, son of a virtuous mother who dies early in the story, and a weak father, who takes as his second wife, a disreputable lady of the court. The first part of the book is mainly taken up with the education of Sethos, and his initiation into the mysteries is described in great detail. The second part describes his travels in Africa as a universal law-giver and organiser of constitutions for savage tribes; finally he returns to Egypt and defeats the conspiracies of his half-brothers, but magnanimously hands over both his kingdom and his lady-love to them in order to retire into a college of initiates for the rest of his days.'
4. MO. p. 339.
5. ES. p. 195.
6. Th. p. 8. Vr.
"...nach dem Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Josephus, Eratosthenes und andern Chronologisten."
7. ibid. p. 8.
8. cf., ES. p. 193ff.
AWVK. p. 502ff.
MO. p. 380ff.
'The Times' Monday September 11th, 1961.
'Similarities between Thamos and Die Zauberflöte'
Special Correspondent.
9. LD. cf., pp. 82-85.
LH. cf., pp. 85-87.
DB. cf., pp. 87-88.
DL. cf., pp. 91-95.
LB. cf., pp. 95-100.
RV. cf., pp. 106-110.

year¹ Komorzynski, the original source, notes that five concerted pieces were later added in Salzburg, presumably in 1779.²

Terrasson's 'Sethos'³ has been widely accepted as the source of Gebler's 'Thamos', the former being virtually regarded in the previous century as a 'standard authority on the Egyptian mysteries'⁴. It appears to have been generally available to masons.⁵ Gebler's preface to the play, however, fails to mention the above source, but instead lists several other Egyptian historians.⁶

On account of the confusion amongst the various sources, Gebler felt justified in adapting history to suit the demands of his play.⁷ The action was placed as far back in history as possible and situated in an age, when 'charitable constellations or heathens' were worshipped.⁷ Gebler allowed himself the use of unshorn priests and invented sacred vows and 'whole assemblies of holy virgins'.⁷ Although Gebler had read in the second book of Herodotus, that music was only a recent supplement to worship in the temples, he nevertheless felt justified in including it in 'Thamos'.⁷ Thus 'Thamos' would appear to be a play determined by aesthetic principles, rather than a play of deliberate reference. It reflects the beliefs of masonry, rather than the history of Egypt.

Comparisons inevitably ensued between 'Thamos' and the text of 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁸ The moral implication that true love overcomes all obstacles is indeed common to both, but other theatrical works reflected the same thought.⁹ Minor details certainly recur later in 'Die Zauberflöte', such as the use of the portrait,¹⁰ the mention of the goddesses Osiris and Isis,¹¹ and the significance of Pheron's knocking three times.¹² The symbolic presence of the sun furthers the comparison.¹³ The final laudatory tone contains summarily a defence of the dynasty, love as

1. Th. IV. Nr. 6. p. 133.
2. IMF. V2. p. 975. Introduction to Mozart's letters from München from November, 1780.
3. BWAM. V2. 147. p. 3. M-IM. 8th November, 1780.
 V2. 158. p. 31. 27th December, 1780. M-IM.
 " - und warum ich sogleich nemlicher Meynung war, ist, weil Raaff und del Prato das Recitativ ganz ohne geist und feuer, so ganz Monoton herab singen - und die Elendesten acteurs, die Jemals die bühne trug, sind - wegen der unschicklichkeit, unnatürlichkeit und fast ohnmöglichkeit des weglassens, habe lezthin mich verflucht herumgebalget mit dem Seeau."
 p. 32.
 "...als wenn man in einem quartetto nicht viel mehr reden als singen sollte - Dergleichen Sachen versteht er (Raaff) gar nicht."
4. BWAM. V2. 160. p. 36. M-IM 3rd January, 1781.
5. IMF. V3. p. 1263ff. M-IM 7th May, 1783.
6. ibid. V2. p. 1046. IM-M 4th January, 1781.
 "peggio del Italiano vero".

the ultimate reward, and a final masonic binding:

"Treu wir dem Throne, Lieb' zum
Lohne, ist der wechselweise Bund."¹

Outreaching the self-centred philosophy of 'Zaide', 'Thamos' indicates a future age of literature and thought, when Thamos and Tharsis are united in their love and dominion.

In autumn 1780 Mozart had been commissioned to compose for the **Munich** carnival season an opera seria, 'Idomeneo, Rè di Creta', and the librettist was to be chosen by the court.² The Italian, Abbate Varesco, court chaplain in Salzburg, was selected. Mozart had left Salzburg for **Munich** in early November and the ensuing correspondence reveals Mozart's bitter disappointment at the poor quality of singers at his disposal.² Of the castrato Vincenzo Dal Prato, who played the part of Idamante, Mozart complains that his breath often gives out in the middle of an aria.³ He remarks that the same man has never been on stage, whilst the bass, Raaff, who sang Idomeneo, is like a statue. In this light Mozart's silence concerning the theatrical standards of the *Wanderbühne* can only be construed as complimentary to Böhm and Schikaneder.

Mozart's dissatisfaction with his librettist, Varesco, is prompted by the latter's failure to write for the theatre. The original libretto did not conform to theatrical demands, the hiatus necessary between an actor's entry and exit being ignored.⁴ The libretto was altered accordingly. Mozart's irritation in this matter could only serve to increase his dislike of Italians,⁵ a feeling which is shared by his father.⁶

The text is overloaded with mock, melodramatic heroism and the excessive indulgence in selfish lamentations

1. I. Nr. 6. Arie. Idomeneo. p. 30.
 "Ein klagender Schatten wird mich umgeben...
 Mit blut'ger Wunde, mit blassem Antlitz, wird
 er mich mahnen, an mein Verbrechen, und
 sein Geschick,
 Welche Schrekken! Welch Entsetzen!
 Welche Schrekken! Welch Entsetzen!"
 cf., Recitativo. Idomeneo. p. 87.
 "Sehet in mir, grausame Götter, den Schuld'gen..
 Ich nur bin strafbar, nehmt mich zum Opfer
 es falle, es fall' auf mich allein eure Rache
 Euch genüge mein Tod allein
 ihr konnt für mein Verbrechen
 kein anders Opfer fordern,
 schonet der Unschuld
 hört ihr Flehen...."
2. ibid. Ilia, Idamante are the
 characters who offer to die instead of Idomeneo,
 but the latter is rather intent upon dying
 himself.
3. I. p. 149.
 "Seht hier des Königs Gattinn!
 Bewundert in diesem schönen Paare ein Geschenk,
 das der Himmel euch gab."
 p. 158.
4. AM. p. 218.
 "Mit aufgeschlossenem Sinn für die Bedürfnisse
 und Forderungen der Zeit bot er - abgesehen vom
 immer noch stark vernachlässigten Singspiel -
 seinem Publikum eine solide Auswahl an gutem
 Altem und nicht allzu problematischem Neuem;
 er betonte spürbar das Deutsche, das Ernste und
 moralisch Anspruchvolle."
5. The programme of productions is compiled from
 two sources:
 AMF. SS. p. 14Off.
 ES. p. 58.
6. AMF. SS. p. 14Off.

is reminiscent of 'Zaide'.¹ There are two offers of sacrifice² before potential tragedy is avoided by a 'deus ex machina' in the form of Neptune. The dénouement unfolds the moral pattern implied in 'Thamos', as a period of trial is followed by the reward of love. The finale is in praise of the royal couple.³

Schikaneder in Salzburg has been upheld as the person responsible for maintaining Singspiel in the German companies.⁴ Whilst this remains somewhat unjust to Johannes Böhm, it is evident that Schikaneder performed a large number of musical items, whilst in Salzburg. On the 18th September appeared 'Das lustige Elend oder die drei Bettelstudenten' music and text by Schikaneder, on the 24th 'Die pucefarbenen Schuhe' by Stephanie and Umlauf, and on the 29th 'Ariadne auf Naxos', a melodrama by Brandes and Benda. 'Der Barbier von Seville', from the Beaumarchais original, text by G. F. W. Grossmann and music by Benda, followed on the 11th October, 'Der Seefahrer' by J. J. Eschenburg and Niccolò Piccini on the 22nd of the same month. On the 5th November the company produced 'Der lustige Schuster' by Hiller and Weisse, on the 15th 'Der Sklavenhändler' by Schwan and Vogler, whilst Schikaneder's 'Die Tyranten' was given a repeat performance on the 19th. Then came 'Das Milchmädchen' by Duni on the 28th December, 'Der Töpfer', an opera by J. André, on the 8th January, 'Medea' by Gotter and Benda on the 21st, a third performance of 'Die Tyranten' on 2nd February, and on the 18th February, 'Lottchen am Hofe' by Weisse and Hiller.⁵ In view of the quantity of musical productions by Schikaneder's company, it is surprising that the company is criticised as being unsuitable for the performance of Singspiel.⁶

From Salzburg Schikaneder travelled to Laibach, where he remained only a short time, and where his elder brother,

70(a)

1. ES. p. 65.
2. *ibid.* p. 66.
3. *ibid.* pp. 66-67.
4. *ibid.* p. 67.
5. *ibid.* p. 67.
6. *ibid.* p. 70.
Such a description does not consider the
existence of 'Die Bergknappen' (1778) by
Umlauf and Weidmann, nor Schikaneder's own
'Die Tyranten' (1776). cf., p. 90ff.
7. *ibid.* p. 70.
8. ÖN. Th.
9. ES. p. 70.
10. cf., p. 32.

Urban, joined the company. The latter has been described as an excellent bass-singer.¹ Enjoying no particular success in Laibach, Schikaneder found himself in Graz for the two summers of 1781 and 1782.¹ Urban Schikaneder's son Karl then registered with the company but soon left after some discord with his uncle.²

On the 17th October, 1782 Schikaneder began his season in Pressburg,² which then belonged to Hungary. Johann Friedel, who was a great admirer of Schikaneder's management of the company, but who later took advantage of a slighted woman in Schikaneder's wife, became a member of the company.³ The poor receipts in Pressburg compelled Schikaneder to dismiss some actors, and he subsequently moved to the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna.⁴ Although his portrayal of Hamlet was particularly successful, Schikaneder returned to Pressburg for the winter.⁵ Receipts remained poor and in summer he paid a short visit to Pest, where it is known that he performed 'Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen', which has, wrongly, been described as the first opera in the German language.⁶ After private affairs had rendered his position in Pest untenable, Schikaneder returned to Pressburg in September, 1784.⁷ If, as was customary in the theatre, the performance preceded publication, it must have been during Schikaneder's previous sojourn in Pressburg, that his company produced 'Helena and Paris', a musical play in three acts, as the date given in the dedication was 20th May, 1784.⁸ In the autumn of 1784 Joseph II visited Schikaneder's theatre on the 8th and 10th October, when he saw the performance of a German comic opera and a tragedy by Schikaneder entitled: 'Kinder, reizet eure Eltern, und Eltern, reizet eure Kinder nicht'.⁹

In 1776 Emperor Joseph, still only co-regent, had reopened Vienna to the companies of the Wanderbühne¹⁰ and had tried to invest the theatre with some sense of national

71(a)

1. RE. p. 107.
cf., p. 32.
2. RE. p. 107.
3. ES. p. 71.
4. TK. 1778. p. 78.
cf., p. 29(a). 1.
5. RE. p. 108.
6. WHTA. p. 89ff.
7. ibid. p. 89ff.
8. RE. p. 266.
ES. p. 71.
9. ES. p. 71.

urgency. However positive a move this might have been, it was also prompted by certain destructive urges on Joseph's part. Joseph decided to destroy the French theatre in Vienna, because it was French, and because the Viennese nobility derived enjoyment from it.¹ This was in accordance with the emperor's policy of removing undeserved privileges from the nobility, and of attempting to reimburse the poor.¹ Hitherto the theatre had been supported by the proceeds of legalized gambling, each faro bank paying ten ducats, but now a calculated financial blow was delivered to the French theatre, when gambling was forbidden.² Having ruined the French theatre, Joseph placed it under the administration of the court.² It was officially designated the German National Theatre² and the change was accompanied by a reduction in the price of seats.³

The above project was seriously handicapped by lack of material and the management of the theatre advertised accordingly for suitable plays. In conjunction with this the Theaterkalender of 1778 notes a response of eighty-four plays, of which only a small percentage was accepted.⁴ Nevertheless the venture was successful for a time, and Lessing praised Joseph's interest in the theatre, noting at the same time the indifference of the 'King in Berlin'.⁵

It was the success of Böhm's productions of Singspiel in Brünn, which persuaded the Emperor to institute the Teutsches Nationalsingspiel in 1778.⁶ Böhm had been engaged by Joseph in 1776 to give Singspiel alongside the ballet of Noverre, which did not afford the Singspiel much independence.⁷ After two months and five performances of ballet, Böhm left the theatre.⁷ Joseph was at least successful in inspiring a certain enthusiasm for his project, by personally attending rehearsals⁸ and ensuring that only the best singers were employed.⁹ Unfortunately, the best singers were generally Italian.⁹

72(a)

1. ES. p. 71.
2. WHTA. p. 89ff.
3. TK. 1779. pp. 101-102.
4. ES. pp. 71, 76.
5. *ibid.* pp. 71, 75, 76.
6. *ibid.* p. 76.
7. RE. p. 269ff.
8. ~~IMF. V3. p. 1232.fn.1. (re: Abert. V.1. p. 896. fn.3.)~~ According to the letters immediately preceding this footnote, the opera in
9. IMF. ~~V5.fn.3.p. 1359.~~ this case was 'Die Entführung'.
10. ES. p. 71.
11. OD. p. 22.
12. IMF. V2. p. 1028. fn.4. M-IM 19th December, 1780.
13. IMF. V2. p. 1028. fn.4. M-IM 19th December, 1780.
14. ES. p. 71.

Ignaz Umlauf, hitherto a violinist in the orchestra,¹ was appointed director of Singspiel,¹ and it was he, who wrote the music for Weidmann's 'Die Bergknappen', the opera, which opened the Teutsches Nationalsingspiel on the 18th February, 1778.¹ Herr Müller was conductor of the orchestra² and Stephanie and Schmidt wrote several Singspiele, which were warmly received.³

Whereas the development of German drama was hindered by lack of material, German Singspiel suffered more by the intrigues of the Italians in the theatre.⁴ Unfortunately for Mozart, the production of both 'Die Entführung aus dem Serail' and 'Le Nozze di Figaro' became involved with the same machinations.⁵ In face of the most powerful cabals the latter work was at last performed on 1st May, 1786.⁶ Joseph was furious when 'Don Giovanni' met with a cold reception.⁷

Mozart also suffered financially, when he was offered only fifty ducats for an opera, where the normal fee was

one hundred.⁸ Later in 1787, when Mozart was eventually appointed Kammerkomponist, he was paid an annual salary of only 800 Gulden, whereas his predecessor, Gluck, had received 2,000.⁹

Antonio Salieri (1727-1797) has been named as instigator of the Italian intrigue.¹⁰ Trained as a musician by Gassmann,¹¹ he had been appointed composer for the Viennese court in 1774,¹² and was later to become Hofkapellmeister and Director of the Viennese Opera in 1788.¹³ The leading soprano, Katharina Cavalieri,¹⁴ who sang Constanze in the 'Entführung', was, moreover, Salieri's favourite pupil,¹⁴ and has also been accredited with a share in the conspiracy against Mozart.¹⁴ Leopold Mozart is very adamant in condemning Salieri as the leader of the intrigues and remarks that he is expecting Salieri and his

73(a)

bekommen! - Doch da würde vielleicht, das so schön aufkeimende National-theater zur blüthe gedeihen, und das wäre Ja ein ewiger Schandfleck für teutschland, wenn wir teutsche einmal mit Ernst enfiengen teutsch zu denken - teutsch zu handeln - teutsch zu reden, und gar teutsch - zu singen!!! - "

6. BWAM. V2. No. 239. p. 199. M-IM 21st December, 1782.
7. BWAM. V2. 239. p. 199. M-IM 21st December, 1782.
8. IMF. V3. pp. 1286-1287. M-IM 10th December, 1783.
9. ibid. V3. pp. 1270-1271. M-IM 21st June, 1783.
In the same opera Mozart also wrote a rondo for Adamberger.
10. ibid. V3. p. 1255. M-IM. 12th March, 1783.

73(a)

1. IMF. V3. p. 1336. Salzburg. IM-MM.
25th April, 1786.
2. OD. p. 22.
3. AWVK. p. 981.
2). Ist Cornets Bericht glaubwürdig?
4. WAN. p. 775. Mozart wrote that: ...
"...ihnen nicht nur meine Musik sondern das
Buch und alles zusammen gefiel."
5. BWAN. M - Prof. Anton Klein in V2. 276. p. 265.
Mannheim. 21st March, 1785.
"...Nachrichten, die zukünftige teutsche Singbühne
betrefend kann ich ihnen noch dermalen keine geben,
da es dermalen noch (das bauen in dem dazu
bestimmten karntnerthortheater ausgenommen) sehr
stille hergeheth. - sie soll mit anfangs october
eröffnet werden. ich, meinestheils, verspreche
ihr nicht viel glück. - nach den bereits
gemachten anstalten sucht man in der that mehr
die bereits vielleicht nur auf einige zeit
gefallene teutsche Oper, gänzlich zu stürzen -
als ihr wieder empor zu helfen - und sie zu
erhalten. - Meine Schwägerin lange nur allein
darf zum teutschen Singspiele. - Die Cavallieri,
Adamberger, die teuber, lauter teutsche, worauf
teutschland Stolz seyn darf, müssen bey dem welschen
theater bleiben - müssen gegen ihre eigene land-
sleute kämpfen! - - - Die teutschen Sängler und
Sängerinnen dermalen sind leicht zu zählen! -
und sollte es auch wirklich so gute als die
benannten, Ja auch noch bessere geben, daran
ich doch sehr zweifle, so scheint mir die hiesige
theaterdirection zu oeconomisch und zu wenig
Patriotisch zu denken um mit schwerem geld fremde
kommen zu lassen, die sie hier im Orte besser -
wenigstens gleich gut - und umsonst hat; - denn
die welsche trup braucht ihrer nicht - was die
anzahl betrifft; sie kann für sich alleine spielen.
- Die Idee dermalen ist, sich bey der teutschen
oper mit acteurs und actricen zu behelfen, die
nur zur Noth singen; - zum grössten unglück sind
die directeurs des theaters so wohl als des
orchesters beybehalten worden, welche so wohl
durch ihre unwissenheit als unthätigkeit das
meiste dazu beygetragen haben, ihr eigenes Werk
fallen zu machen. wäre nur ein einziger Patriot
mit am brette - es sollte ein anders gesicht

supporters to do their utmost to impede the success of 'Le Nozze di Figaro'.¹

One authority, however, does not condemn Salieri as an intriguer against the German Singspiel, but sees in his work only a positive influence on the genre. But although his work is praised as being possessed of truly German character, and he is described as a more severe critic of the Italian than of the German school,² the veracity of these assertions must be questioned, as they were not published until 1849, more than sixty years after the alleged incidents. The accuracy of the same authority has been called into question on other counts.³ However, both Madame Cavalieri and Salieri appear to have been quite favourably disposed towards Mozart, when 'Die Zauberflöte' was performed in 1791.⁴ Whatever the cost of the conspiracy against German Singspiel, it served to make Mozart deeply conscious of his desire to establish German opera.⁵

Neither Mozart's talent, nor his enthusiasm sufficed to maintain the German Singspiel in Vienna. As early as December 13th, 1782 a comedy with ariettas by Umlauf, entitled 'Welche ist die beste Nation', received a damning criticism from Mozart,⁶ and a repeat performance was an equal failure.⁷ Mozart further criticises 'Der Rauchfangkehrer', written in 1781 by Auenbrugger and Salieri, as a wretched work, in doing so acknowledging that the opera is German and not Italian.⁸ Perhaps as a measure of Mozart's talent against the mediocrity of other German and Italian composers, Anfossi's 'Il curioso indiscreto', performed on 30th June, 1783, was a complete failure, apart from two arias, which Mozart had written for Madame Lange.⁹ By the 12th March, 1783, Mozart had expressed extreme doubt as to the continued existence of the German opera, as originally conceived by Joseph.¹⁰

Nun fährt der Alte fort, was spricht man denn so zu Paris, und Kasperle antwortet: nichts als französisch."

and VWV. p. 33.

"Meine Grossmutter erzählte mir, dass sie einst einem "Freitheater" beigewohnt, wo Laroche so dreist war, nachdem der Vorhang in die Höhe gegangen, mit einer Gluthpfanne, auf der Wachholderbeeren gelegen, zu kommen und das allerdings nicht nach Lavendel duftende Haus, - öffentlich - auszuräuchern. Und man lachte über den brutalen Einfall, die zweifellose Sottise, und verzieh ihm auch diese wie jede zeitgenössische Ungezogenheit."

7. ES. pp. 72,73.

8. *ibid.* p. 34.
WAM. p. 754.

9. ES. p. 73.

10. *ibid.* p. 74.

1. ES. p. 72.

2. Kasperl appeared in the vory first play "Aller Anfang ist schwer". AWWK. p. 416.
cf., ES. pp. 80,147.

3. AWWK. p. 430.

"Die Idee des Vorhangs...ist artig. Auf der linken Seite sitzt Hanswurst, mit schwarzem Flor behangen, und betrauert seine Verbannung vom Theater. Weiter in der Mitte des Vorhanges tanzen die Charaktere des wälschen Theaters, Scapin, Pierrot, Harlequin und Dottore einen Reihentanz, aber an Händen und Füssen mit Ketten gebunden; andeutend, dass sie nicht mehr so frei auf dem deutschen Theater erscheinen dürfen. Auf der rechten Seite sieht man den Parnass mit einem Schlagbaum, den ein grämischer, pedantischer Kunstrichter mit einer grossen Rute bewacht und jenen Spassmachern den Eingang auf den Parnass verweigert. Indessen fährt Kasperle, begleitet von Thalien, oben in den Lüften auf einem geflügelten Wagen, dem grämischen Kunstrichter zum Trotz, den Parnass hinauf; was ihm denn jeder gern vergönnt, der billig ist, lebt und leben lässt."

The above extract Rommel takes from Schink (a.a.O.,p. 125ff) and insists further:

"In dem neuen Hause herrschte Kasperl souverän, und er verleugnete seine Abkunft von Hanswurst keineswegs."

Marinelli's theatre was concerned essentially with 'Erschütterung des Zwergfells'. DSB.4. Brief 22nd March, 1783. p. 123.

4. AWWK. p. 431.

5. DDS. p. 119.

6. AWWK. pp. 428-456.

Only later under Hensler did the Singspiel flourish in the Kasperltheater, and in these instances Kasperl's rôle became a subordinate one. pp. 442-445.

Amusing examples of Kasperl's comedy are to be found in DSB. p. 129.

"In einer Komödie der Barbier von Paris, erkundigt sich der Alte beim Kasperle, der ihn barbirt, wo er her sei? Kasperl antwortet: aus Paris.

Aware of the failure of his enterprise, Joseph sought to provide alternative accommodation for Singspiel as early as February, 1781, when he granted Marinelli and Menninger permission to build a theatre in the Leopoldstadt.¹ The Leopoldstadttheater was constructed accordingly and opened on the 20th October, providing Vienna with a theatre removed from Italian intrigue.¹ Although it has been asserted, that Singspiel was initially introduced into the Leopoldstadttheater, it is significant how soon Kasperl was included in the repertoire.² The device on the safety-curtain revealed that the Leopoldstadttheater was not initially dedicated to the establishment of German Singspiel, but to the reincarnation of the popular comedian.³ Johann Laroche, the portrayer of Kasperl, was himself an obstacle to the performance of Singspiel, as he could not sing,⁴ and the nature of Singspiel comprised the trinity of comedy, music and popular appeal.⁵ Financially, Marinelli could not have survived without Kasperlpossen and he naturally took advantage of Laroche's almost invincible talent as a popular fool.⁶

After approving of Schikaneder's productions in Pressburg, Joseph summoned him to Vienna to perform German Singspiel in the Kärntnertortheater, which Schikaneder did successfully from 5th November, 1784 until 6th January, 1785.⁷ The first Singspiel to be given was Mozart's 'Entführung',⁷ in which the final clemency shown towards Belmonte and Constanze has been attributed to Schikaneder's influence.⁸ The Wiener Zeitung extols the standards of Schikaneder's company as being the best for years.⁹ Joseph often visited the theatre.⁹ Schikaneder was also successful with two dramas but dissension in his company, and Schikaneder's estrangement from his wife, caused the troupe to disband and leave Schikaneder as he began, an actor.¹⁰

75(a)

1. cf., ES. p. 75.
NWAM. p. 28.
 2. IMF. V3. p. 1251. & fn.1. M-IM 5th February, 1783.
By this time the whole of act 1 had been translated into German, but Mozart's hopes with this opera were never realised.
 3. EB. V3. p. 341.
 4. ES. pp. 75, 76.
WAM. p. 630.
 5. JJT. pp. 12-25.
ES. pp. 75, 76.
EB. V3. p. 341.
 6. ES. p. 75.
 7. EB. V3. p. 341.
"In 'Le Mariage' (published in 1785), the sequel to 'Le Barbier', Figaro was much bolder and attacked both the nobility and absolutism in general; the pre-revolutionary atmosphere gave his attacks extra point."
JJT. p. 13. Beaumarchais.
'Le Mariage de Figaro' V.iii.
"Parce que vous êtes un grand Seigneur, vous vous croyez un grand génie! Noblesse, Fortune, un rang, des places: tout cela rend si fier! Qu'avez-vous fait pour tant de biens! Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus; du reste, homme assez ordinaire.."
 8. ES. p. 75.
 9. ibid. p. 76.
 10. ibid. p. 77.
 11. ibid. p. 77.
-

After 'Entführung' it was some time before Mozart received any further commissions for opera.¹ He was on the point of taking a libretto from the work of Goldoni, a comedy entitled 'Il servitore di due padroni',² when Beaumarchais's comedy, 'Le mariage de Figaro', which had its original success in Paris in 1784,³ began to be noticed in Vienna. Schikaneder had produced a German translation of the comedy, whilst in Salzburg, in its earlier form as 'Barbier von Sevilla' and now he handed in to the Hof- und Nationaltheater his own translation of the Parisian success of 1784.⁴

There was some concern about the political issues included in 'Die Hochzeit des Figaro'.⁵ The Wiener Blättchen of 1785 reports that the censor allowed the play to be printed, but not performed.⁶ The original play certainly criticized the nobility,⁷ but the censor's decision is surprising, as Schikaneder omitted the more satirical parts.⁸ Italian intrigue has been accused of having some influence on the censorship. Even Da Ponte's Italian libretto, which was eventually performed together with Mozart's music on the 1st May, 1786, was not sufficient safeguard against powerful cabals.⁹

From the 1st April, 1785 until the 28th February, 1786, Schikaneder was engaged as actor and singer at the Hof- und Nationaltheater, where there was a continuous struggle to maintain Singspiel.¹⁰ Intrigue was so rife, that Schikaneder was whistled off the stage as Essex in 'Die Gunst der Fürsten', a role in which he had been highly successful on the Wanderbühne.⁴ Perhaps significantly, the same role was a favourite of Brockmann, who also acted at the same theatre.¹⁰ Schikaneder was, however, warmly received as a singer, in particular as Bassbuffo,¹¹ appearing as Justin in the operetta 'Die Dorfhändel', Velten in 'Die

Dorfdeputierten' and Jagdl in 'Felix der Lindling'. As Maler Schwindel he had success in Gluck's 'Pilgrime von Mekka'.¹

It has been supposed that the performance of 'Der Bettel-
student', to which Eipeldauer refers,² was an alternative
title for Schikaneder's Singspiel 'Die Tyranten',³ but this cannot now be accepted.
 It was during this stay in Vienna that Schikaneder must have provided the text for Mozart's 'Freimaurerkantate'.⁴

After his application to take a new company to Regensburg, where there was a growing consciousness of the need for German drama, as opposed to French and Italian opera, had been refused,⁵ Schikaneder appealed to Joseph for a Privilegium, which would enable him to build a theatre for the performance of 'deutsche and sittliche Stücke'.⁶ The request was promptly granted by Joseph in February, 1786 and Schikaneder was given permission to build not on the Glacis, as was his original intent, but in one of the suburbs of Vienna. The said theatre was not constructed until the beginning of the new century.⁷

In March 1786 Schikaneder left Vienna and reappeared in Salzburg at the beginning of May, where he remained until the end of the month.⁸ Here he gave ten performances of German opera, including his own Singspiel 'Das Uranische Schloss' which was performed on 3rd May,⁹ and renewed his acquaintance with Leopold Mozart.¹⁰ Before his arrival in Salzburg, Schikaneder must have travelled through Budweis, as it was here that Benedikt Schack joined his company.¹¹

Schack (1758-1826) was born in Mirowitz in Bohemia.¹² He received musical instruction first from his father, then as a choir boy in the Jesuitengymnasium in Prague, and then as a singer in the Veitsdom,^{where} he became a pupil of Kapellmeister Lauer.¹² From 1775 Schack was in Vienna, a student of medicine and philosophy. By that time he was an excellent flautist and studied singing under Frieberth.¹²

77(a)

1. WAM. p. 754.
2. ES. p. 81. IM-III 26th May, 1786.
"Gestern ist der neue Tenorist, den Schikaneder
verschrieben hat, angekommen. Er singt
vortrefflich, hat eine schöne Stimme, leicht
geläufige Gurgel und schöne Methode..."
WAM. p. 754.
3. WAM. p. 754.
cf., p. 137.
4. WAM. p. 754.
5. ES. p. 81.
6. ibid. p. 82.
7. ibid. p. 82.
cf., p. 76(a). 3.
8. ES. p. 82.
9. ibid. pp. 82, 83.
10. ibid. p. 83ff.

In 1780 he became Musikdirektor for Prince Heinrich von Carolath at Liegnitz, where he married the singer Weinhold. After losing his position there and finding hard times upon him, he joined Schikaneder's company, travelling with him from Salzburg to Augsburg, Regensburg and then Vienna.¹

Leopold Mozart gives a good account of Schack's tenor voice in a letter he wrote from Salzburg.² Schack was not without talent as a composer,³ but the Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung refused to acknowledge him as an actor.⁴

From the 3rd June, 1786 to the 18th September Schikaneder presented a repertoire in Augsburg, which was aimed at the production of Singspiel and comedies.⁵ Musically his company had individuals of good quality. Frau Seve, the leading female singer, was lauded by Leopold Mozart.⁶ Frau Schack was a 'gut geschulte und tüchtige Altsängerin'.⁶ Schack and Schikaneder represented the male singing element.⁶ In Augsburg Schikaneder produced the 'Entführung' with Madame Seve as Konstanze, Mademoiselle Jagdstein as Blondchen, Schack as Belmonte and Schmerck as Pedrillo.⁶ 'Der Bettelstudent', which was also performed, was probably a comedy by P. Weidmann, first printed in 1776.⁷

Works such as Salieri's 'Das Narrenhaus' and Anfossi's 'La forza delle donne', which were really Italian, were given in German as German Singspiele.⁸ Drama, particularly 'Hamlet', and including Möller's Ritterstück 'Graf Walltron', which was performed with full military honours, completed the repertoire.⁹

Baron Joseph Maximilian von Lütgendorf's project to make a balloon-flight from Augsburg proved immensely profitable for the citizens of that town, when visitors came from München, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Fragye, Strasbourg and Vienna to view the proceedings.¹⁰ Persistent bad weather

78(a)

1. ES. p. 85.
2. *ibid.* p. 86.
3. *ibid.* pp. 93-95.
4. *ibid.* p. 95.
5. *ibid.* p. 97.
6. *ibid.* p. 97.
7. *ibid.* p. 98.
8. *ibid.* p. 98.
9. *ibid.* p. 98ff.

caused the flight to be postponed beyond the original date, 24th August, 1786.¹ Schikaneder sought to occupy the new amphitheatre, which had been constructed to seat spectators at the ascent, and produce his operetta 'Der Luftballon' there after the successful flight.² A crowning ceremony for the victorious baron was to be included.² Unfortunately neither Lütgendorf's ascent, nor Schikaneder's operetta, took place as the baron confessed on the 4th September, 1786, that some mechanical difficulty had not been overcome, and the attempt was revealed as a hoax.²

A performance of 'Balders Tod' in 1786, translated from the Danish by J. Ewald, was designated heroic Singspiel and had Germanic legend as its basis.³ It has been suggested that the work pointed towards the opera of Wagner.⁴

From Augsburg Schikaneder moved for a short time to Memmingen, where he became acquainted with the proprietor of the inn 'Zum Weissen Ochsen', a man named Rheineck.⁵ The latter was famed locally as a Liederkomponist and had just written a new song 'Lied eines Vogelstellers',⁵ in which the call of the Swabian bird-catchers could be heard.⁵ This meeting has already been related to Schikaneder's performance of a Vogelkomödie in Fressburg and to the later figure of Papageno in 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁵

Schikaneder returned to Augsburg on 12th November, 1786,⁶ but left for Regensburg in Lent in the following year,⁷ the Prince of Thurn having conferred on him the directorship of the 'Teutsches Nationalschauspiel'.⁸ On account of its contemporary, political significance Regensburg, the centre for the Reichstag, was duly attended by the nobility, and subsequently intrigue was rife.⁹ Inevitably Schikaneder became involved, as, despite the recent developments, some of the nobility resented the introduction of a German theatre and continued to show

79(a)

1. ES. p. 98ff.
2. ibid. pp. 116, 117.
3. ibid. p. 117.
4. ibid. p. 117.
5. These terms are in fact mentioned in Schikaneder's letter of application.
ibid. ES. p. 117.
6. cf., p. 67(a). 9.
7. ES. p. 127.
8. MWL.
Professor Deutsch maintains that Schikaneder could never be readmitted to a Lodge, once such pronouncements had been made.
MWL. p. 33. n.42.
"Schikaneder, der Mozart vor 10 Jahren in Salzburg kennengelernt hatte, war von seiner Regensburger Loge beurlaubt und gehörte anscheinend nie zur "Neugekrönten Hoffnung"..."
9. ES. p. 118.
10. WAM. p. 754.
ES. p. 121.
As Komorzynski has pointed out, there is some confusion regarding the identity of the two brothers Gerl, especially as they were both musicians and composers. From the available evidence, it is logical to assume that it was the elder brother Thaddäus Gerl, who joined Schikaneder's company in Regensburg. Otherwise Franz Xaver Gerl would have had to be a very unusual person to sing the part of the Heathen Knight, Krako, at the age of 14, and that of Sarastro, at the age of 17, where both parts required a mature bass voice.
11. ES. pp. 119, 120.
12. ibid. p. 150.

allegiance to the Italians.¹ Consorting too freely with the female members of his company, Schikaneder gave occasion for jealousy, unwittingly providing his enemies with a means to offer stubborn and sly resistance.²

On 14th July, 1788 Schikaneder applied for membership of the Regensburg Lodge 'Carl zu den drey Schlüsseln' and was accepted.³ Despite the postulation that Schikaneder already had a foreknowledge of freemasonry,⁴ 'Menschenliebe' and 'Weisheit'⁵ received such a universal expression on the Wanderbühne, and in Vienna, that his familiarity with these moral conceptions cannot be attributed to one source.⁶ Schikaneder's visits to the Lodge remained occasional, but his company was appreciated.⁷ However, rumours about Schikaneder's private life circulated to such an extent that the Lodge had to ban him for a period of six months.⁷ In a letter to the Lodge after his expulsion, Schikaneder respectfully admits his guilt.⁷ This would infer that the original acceptance was the act of an ill-informed Lodge, or of an unusually lax one.⁸

The inner turmoil of the company in Regensburg is reflected by the changes, whereby five members left the company and six made their début.⁹ One notable increase was the addition of the bass-singer and eventual Singspiel-komponist, Thaddäus Gerl (1766-1844).¹⁰ The latter played the part of Krako in the production of Schikaneder's own Ritterstück 'Hanns Dollinger', in which Schikaneder included the Regensburg 'Zunft der Meistersinger'.¹¹

Despite his by now customary success, Schikaneder began to realise that his position in Regensburg was fast becoming untenable, and it was fortunate for him that the death of Johann Friedel on 31st March, 1789 left Eleonore Schikaneder without a manager for her theatre in Vienna.¹² Schikaneder was thus summoned to Vienna and supposedly

1. ES. p. 130.

2. *ibid.* pp. 131-137.

Komorzynski relates in detail the tragic story of Rechenmacher's and his wife's futile attempts to continue the German theatre in Ravensburg. This in itself is proof that it was not Schikaneder who annoyed the pro-Italian aristocrats of Ravensburg, but merely German Theatre.

moved from Regensburg at the beginning of June, 1789,¹
leaving the management of the German Theatre in the hands
of the conscientious Jakob Rechenmacher.²

b.

THE SINGSPIEL OF THE WANDERBÜHNE

1. 8N. TS. The title-page bears the date 1766. Schletterer, perhaps referring to an earlier version, mentions the year 1764. DDS.E. p. 2.
2. cf., pp. 13-18.
3. ES. p. 38ff.
4. cf., p. 59.
5. It is, moreover, possible that Schikaneder performed these 'Singspiele' in Stuttgart, and on his second, as well as his first visit to Salzburg, although, as yet, no evidence can give such hypothesis a true foundation. ES. pp. 39, 41, 51, 58.
6. Valere in 'Der Furchtsame': HGS. V3. p. 199. Leander in 'Megära'. ibid. V2. p. 1. usw...
7. LD. 1,ii. p. 12ff.
8. ibid. 11,vi. p. 31ff.

The operetta 'Lisuart und Dariolette', music by Johann Adam Hiller, libretto by Daniel Schiebeler, appeared in Vienna in 1767, a year after its publication.¹ The names of Frau Huberin, Frau Gottliebinn and Herr Brenner, which are included in the cast, indicate that the work was performed by the members of the Stegreifensemble in the Theater am Kärntnertor, at a time when the Wiener Volksstück had begun to reveal some musical penchant.² The source of the text was acknowledged by Schiebeler as Chaucer's 'Tale of the Wife of Bath', as translated into modern English by Dryden in a collection of his fables. English legend is introduced with Ginevra appearing as the Queen 'Wittwe des Königs Arthur'. It was, however, not until 1777, when Moser's company performed the operetta in Nuremberg,³ that Schikaneder became acquainted with it.⁴ Since that time, until Schikaneder arrived in Vienna in 1789, it was not common for this Singspiel, or those by Hiller and Weisse, to be omitted from his repertoire.⁵

The character of the hero, Lisuart, although undeniably associated with the traditional hero of Hafner's Volksstück,⁶ excels the latter by the implication of an inherent, moral development. As the action of the operetta begins, Lisuart is returning to the court of Ginevra to report the failure of his quest to find the Queen's daughter.⁷ This is in accordance with his promise, that, successful or not, he would return after a year and a day.⁷ The awesome aspect of the Queen, as reflected by Derwin, the timid squire, helps to emphasize Lisuart's moral fortitude.⁸ But at this juncture the noble Lisuart relates the somewhat baser motives, which occasioned his first appearance at court, namely his desire to abduct the

Chor: O Liebe! deine Wundermacht
Reisst Herzen aus des Lasters Nacht
Schaft Thoren um zu Weisen
Dich müsse jede Zunge preisen!"

6. LD. 1,i.
"...Wer weiss wie vielen Gefahren diese
Unschuldige ausgesetzt ist? O Himmel!
wie lange fleht, wie lange seufzt mein
banges Herz zu dir? gieb mir doch die
Freude meines Lebens, meine Tochter
zurück! - allein vergebene Hoffnung! -"
cf., ZB.I, vi. pp. 33-37. Arie. Königin der
Nacht. (p. 161(a). 7.)
7. LD. 11,vi. p. 31ff.
8. *ibid.* 11,vi. p. 31. In the text these two
lines are in larger print.

as in text.

4. ID. 11,vii. p. 35ff.
 "(kaum hat der Ritter die Alte umarmet, so erhebt sich ein Donnerwetter, und sie wird in ein schönes, junges Mädchen verwandelt. Die Hofdamen thun einen lauten Schrey, und rufen: O Himmel die Prinzessin."
5. ibid. 1,i. p. 1ff.
1. Es war einmal ein Königssohn
 Ein Wütrich, den die Menschen flohn.
 Nicht bänger fliehn die Kinder,
 Wenn Niklas kommt, und nicht geschwinder.
 2. Der Vater weinte bitterlich,
 Und sprach vergebens: bessre dich!
 Die Lehrer zwang sein Fluchen,
 Die Thore vom Pallast zu suchen...
 3. Einst führte sein Geschick ihn hin,
 Wo eine junge Schäfferinn
 Die Hitz und Lauf ermattet,
 Des Waldes grüne Nacht beschattet.
 4. Sie ruht im Schlaf. Ihr Antlitz lacht
 Gleich einer heitern Sommernacht,
 Und frey und immer freyer
 Spielt Zephir mit des Busens Schleyer...
 5. Wie ward dem Wilden, der sie sah!
 Wie eine Säule steht er da,
 Steht eine ganze Stunde
 Mit starrem Blick und ofnen Munde.
 6. Itzt glüht, von Verlangen heiss,
 Itzt zittert er. Sein Blut wird Eis.
 Er glüht, sie aufzuwecken
 Und beb't das Mädchen zu erschrecken..
 7. Doch sie erwacht, und eilt zu fliehn.
 Die Ehrfurcht lehrt ihn niederknien.
 Der Stolze ruft mit Thränen:
 Verzeuch vortreflichste der Schönen!
 8. Umsonst, sie flieht. Mit trüben Blick
 Und mit Gefühl kehrt er zurück;
 Das nie sein Herz beweget
 Seit ihm ein Herz im Busen schläget...
 9. Die Menschenhuld, des Wissens Lust
 Entflammen plötzlich seine Brust;
 Der Vater will vor Freuden
 Im Arm des neuen Sohns verscheiden.
 10. Er fragt; wer hat dich so bekehrt?
 Der Jüngling sagts, der Alte schwört:
 Ich setze sie noch heute
 Im Hochzeit Schmuck an deine Seite...
 11. Sie reichen sich die frohe Hand;
 Noch itzt hört man durchs ganze Land
 Vom Prinzen und der Schönen
 Das Lob von allen Lippen tönen.

1. HGS. 11,ii. p. 20.
 "Ich Thörlicher! wie war es möglich, dass ich mich von der mittelmässigen Schönheit Olindens so sehr einnehmen liess, dass ich sie sogar entführen wollte..."
2. LD.11, ii. p.20ff.
 "Derwin:
 Das ist allerliebste. Sie sollten sich zum Tode bereiten, und sie gedenken an ihre Liebe? Sobald sich ihr Herz einer neuen Göttin ergiebt -
Der Ritter:
 Schweig! -
Derwin:
 So wünschen sie alle diejenigen, die es vorher besessen, zum Henker.
Der Ritter:
 Schweige! sage ich -
Derwin:
 Sie beten Olinden an. Ihr Vorhaben, sich dieser Spröden mit Gewalt zu bemächtigen, schlägt ihnen fehl. Wir sehen uns genöthigt, den Hof zu verlassen. Die Königin giebt ihnen das Portrait ihrer Tochter mit, dass wir dieselbe desto besser erkennen möchten, wenn wir sie anfragen.
Der Ritter:
 Treibe meine Geduld nicht bis auf das äusserste.
Derwin:
 Kaum sind wir eine Tagreise von hier entfernt, so höre ich sie erbärmlich seufzen. Ich frage was ihnen fehlt. Sie antworten nicht, sie betrachten das Portrait zu ganzen Stunden, als ob ein Magnet darinnen sässe, und ihre Augen von Stahl wären. Sie herzen es, sie reden mit demselben, und ich verstehe endlich, dass es die Liebe für Olinden bey ihnen ausgelöschet hat. Aber was mich in Verwunderung setzt, ist, dass es sich ein ganzes Jahr bey der Regierung erhalten. Es wird allem Anschein nach die Reihe beschliessen, wenn man sich nicht etwann auch bey den Todten verliebt."
3. LD. 11,ii. p. 20.
 "Arie:
 O Bild voll göttlich hoher Reize!
 Dich schaut mein Blick mit süssem Geize,
 Dich küsst mein Mund; doch nie genug.
 Nie schwindest du aus meinem Herzen,
 Dort grub der Gott verliebter Schmerzen
 Mit seinem Pfeil mir jeden Zug."
 cf., ZB.I.iv. p. 30. Tamino.
 "Dies Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön..."

beautiful Olinde.¹ Derwin too alludes to the ease with which Lisuart offers his heart, and the former's recollection of Lisuart's previously rather irresponsible and immature behaviour towards the fair sex, serves to make the hero conscious of his own shortcomings.² Even the aria to Dariolette's portrait has a sensual undertone, which can only support Derwin in his scepticism.³ Derwin is astounded that Lisuart's love for Dariolette should be as strong as it was a year ago.² Ultimately, however, Lisuart has to sacrifice himself in marriage to an old and ugly woman and by this act his character undergoes a certain sublimation, which is acknowledged as the old woman is transformed into the beautiful Dariolette.⁴ Rather nebulously true love is upheld as the purge of character, and the motivation of Lisuart's maturity receives a premature elucidation in the ballad, which is sung to the Queen in Act 1, sc. i.⁵ Wüterich, a wild person wont to frighten all⁹ whom he met, is taught by the power of true love to appreciate nobility and enlightenment:

"Die Menschenhuld, des Wissens Lust
Entflammen plötzlich seine Brust;..."⁵

Thus the ends of drama are served by the means of song, the ballad being particularly relevant to the course of the plot.

Despite the Queen's sincere maternal affection for her daughter,⁶ she remains an awesome representative of sovereign authority, her very words giving life or death to Lisuart and Derwin.⁷ Nevertheless Lisuart's audacity in the face of probable death enables him to reveal the humanity behind her kingdom:

"Das ganze weibliche Geschlechte
Wünscht sehnsuchtsvoll die Oberherrschaft sich."⁸

In its obeisance to a human authority the Volksstück

84(a)

1. LD. 11,vii. p. 35ff.
"Der Ritter: (zur Alten)
Empfange doch hier meine Hand, in Gegenwart
der Königin, und lass dich umarmen (vor sich)
O Himmel! (er umarmt sie, und kehrt zugleich
das Gesicht von ihr weg)".
2. ibid. 1,i. 1,iii. p. 13ff.
cf., ZB. Die drei Damen.
3. ibid. 11,ii. p. 19.
"Und mein Vorschlag wäre, dass wir sogleich
zu unsern Pferden nach jener Wiese liefen,
wo sie sich weidlich laben, da wir vor Angst
Hunger und Durst vergehen, dass wir geschwinde
hinauf sprängen, und in vollem Galop davon
flögen."
4. cf., pp. 33-54.
5. LD. 11,ii. p. 19ff.
6. ibid. 11,vii. p. 35ff.
7. LD. 1,ii. p. 19ff.

reflects the contemporary, political and physical subjection of the people before its rulers. However, the religious heritage of the Volksstück continues to provide it with moral symbols, which influence the course of the plot. Thus Serena, the good fairy, and Morosa, the wicked fairy, tend to fight their own conflict over and above the humanity of the play, so that in fact the outcome can never seriously be questioned. In keeping with its tradition the good power must be ultimately victorious. But as a measure of the increasing significance of both characterisation and of the individual, a human decision provides the final dénouement, as Lisuart nobly consents to marry the old woman.¹

The dignity of court life is admirably stated by the Queen's three ladies-in-waiting, Quintaniona, Madasina and Znidie,² without making mention of the beautiful Olinde, whose individual appeal places her apart from her equals.² Even Derwin at times expresses himself in suitably courtly language.³ But although comedy remains sparse in the play, Derwin, its exponent, remains essentially a popular figure, whose timidity and willing infidelity allow him to become but a pale shadow of Hafner's Hannswurst.⁴ As in Hafner, the hero is provided with a popular companion, whose two-fold function is to provide comic relief and to enhance the nobility and character of the royalty, whom he serves.⁴ In his former office Derwin is somewhat lacking in 'Lisuart und Dariolette' but he is an effective foil in the depiction of Lisuart's character.⁵ Lisuart's sacrifice assumes unexpected proportions in the light of Derwin's cowardly reluctance to have three dozen hairs plucked from his beard.⁶ When Derwin reveals his scepticism regarding Lisuart's feelings towards Dariolette, he acts as an admirable expositor and in doing so helps to associate the character of Lisuart with that of Wüterich in the song.⁷

Durch ganz Germanien sich noch zu rühmen wusste,
Und ihre Scen' umher, wie Thespis, fahren müßte:
Bald Gallien durch Witz, bald Welschland durch
Gesang,

Wo sie kaum athmete, sie wiederum verdrang:
Wenn man das kleinste Lob der armen Kunst versagte,
So bald sie sich nur zu gefallen wagte:
Was Wunder! dass sich nie ihr Lob
Zu jener Bühnen Stolz erhob?
Dass Deutschlands Dichter selbst Kothurn
und Soccus scheuten,
Und jeden Schritt, den sie darauf gethan,
gereuten?..." etc....

1. Hafner's name did not appear on the Wanderbühne, as far as is known, until 1776-1777, when Schopf produced 'Der Furchtsame' in Augsburg. Schikaneder was then a member of that company. ES. p. 35.
Maria Anna Thekla Mozart notes a performance of Hafner's "Burlin" in Salzburg in 1780.
BWAM. V4. pp. 369-375. No.14. 30th November, 1780.
MM-M.
2. 8N. Ts.
3. ES. p. 39.
4. ibid. p. 41. 'Die Jagd' and 'Der Erntekranz' enjoyed a similar success.
5. ioid.
6. 8N. LH. tp.
7. LH. 1,i. p. 16.
"Lottchen:
Wenn sich zu einem Freudenfest
Das kleine Glöckchen hören lässt,
So macht es; Bimm, bimm, bimm.
Und denk ich morgen dein zu sein,
So hüpf mein Herz und stimmt mit ein;
Bimbimm, bimbimm, bimbimm..."
8. LH. 11,viii. p. 84.
"Lottchen:
Wie mirs gefällt, fragten Sie? - von Herzen schlecht. Das ist ein verwünschtes Land!
Man ist geschäftig, ohne etwas zu thun zu haben
man isst, ohne hungrig zu seyn; man legt sich ins Bette, ohne zu schlaffen; man umarmt einander, um einander zu ersticken, und schmeichelt einander, um einander weh zu thun (zu Emilien, welche lacht.) man lachtet mit einer siegreichen Miene, um seinen heimlichen Verdross zu verbergen: Die Heiterkeit ist eine blosse Gesichtsverzerrung und das Vergnügen nur ein lautes Lärmen!"
cf., p. 75.
9. KO. Theil. 1. tp.
"Wenn unsre deutsche Schauspielkunst
Nicht Eines Fürsten Schutz, nicht eines
Höflings Gunst

The diminution of the popular comedians' earlier omnipotency, which had ruled to the exclusion of all other theatrical values, had already made itself felt in the works of Hafner, and by 1777 had been passed to the Volksstück of the Wanderbühne via the operetta 'Lisuart und Dariolette'.¹

After Schiebeler, Christian Felix Weisse became Hiller's librettist and in 1767 the first of their Singspiele appeared, entitled 'Lottchen am Hofe, eine komische Oper in drey Aufzügen'.² Together with other musical works of Hiller and Weisse, this Singspiel was performed with considerable success by Moser's company, which played in Nuremberg in 1777,³ and it received wider acclaim when produced later in the same year in Augsburg.⁴ In both instances Schikaneder had a leading role.⁵ The original source was Favart's 'Ninette à la Cour', which is acknowledged by Weisse.⁶

The first act is set in a beautiful and fertile countryside and the remaining two acts take place at court. Nature is upheld in its attractive simplicity as the location of unadulterated happiness and its representatives, Lottchen and Gurge, display an appropriate naivety.⁷ In humorous and perpetual comparison with this, the levity of a court, whose very nature should boast a responsibility towards its subjects, is severely reprimanded.⁸

The criticism, which is implied by Lottchen's farcical and destructive existence at court, was of contemporary relevance and it was only later in 1777 that Weisse had occasion to revoke such daring outspokenness and appreciate the blessings that a suitably charmed patron might bestow upon a poor strolling company.⁹ Lottchen's simplicity and practical common sense are factors which clearly underline the criticism of aristocratic life and, through her,

aufs Äusserste, indem sie mich wieder zu meiner Pflicht zurück führet. Ich würde aber noch eine grössere Demüthigung verdienen, wenn ich ihrem Beyspiele nicht folgen wollte. Ich biete Ihnen aufs neue meine Hand und mein Herz an. Noch diesen Abend soll uns Hymen verbinden, wenn Sie anders die Rückkehr meiner Liebe Ihrer Gegenliebe werth halten!

Emilie:

(zum Prinzen mit vieler Zärtlichkeit und Empfindung.)

Ach die Liebe entschuldiget nur gar zu leicht die Fehltritte der Liebe! - O Lottchen! wie bin ich beschämt über mein voriges Betragen gegen dich!..."

7. ibid. III, xii. p. 118ff.

"Gürge: (Er führt den Prinzen beyseite)

An. a Propos! wenn ich bitten dürfte, so jagen sie nicht mehr in unserm Reviere: es kömmt nicht viel dabei heraus!"

Liebreizend Kind an dich:
 Mein ganzes Herz ist dein,
 Um ewig dein zu seyn. -
 Dein schalkhaft Auge lacht? -
 Du kennst der Liebe Macht.
 Noch nicht, und wirfst in Eil
 So schrecklich ihren Pfeil?

Lottchen:

Was reden Sie da von Fesseln von Pfeilen
 und von Anbeten? Das sind zu hohe Worte für
 mich!

Astolph:

Je nun - so hör' es deutlicher: ich liebe dich!"

5. IH. III, v. p. 101.

"Astolph:

Vergebens kämpft mit wilden Wogen
 Der Schiffer auf dem Meer:
 Der Himmel wird mit Nacht umzogen
 Es braust der Sturm daher,
 Und stürzt den Trost, der ihm noch Kräfte gab,
 Die Hoffnung selbst ins Grab.
 So stürmt in der Liebe Macht.
 Es ist in meinem Herzen Nacht,
 Von keinem Licht erheitert.
 Des Glückes stolzer Eigensinn
 Wirft meine Lieb an Klippen hin,
 Und meine Hoffnung scheitert."

cf., LB. No. 16. Schiffskapitain.

"Es rast der Winde Wutgeheul
 Das Schiff fliegt wie ein leichter Pfeil
 Umhergepeitscht von Donnerwellen:
 Die brausend sich zum Himmel schwellen.
 Es flammen zischend Schwefelblitze,
 Und leuchten durch die Wetternacht.
 Jetzt schwebt das Schiff auf einer Wogenspitze,
 Und stürzt herab und schwankt und kracht;
 Der Donner rasselt Schlag auf Schlag,
 Verderben saust ihm glühend nach,
 Und splittert einen Mast in Stücken.
 Das Schiffsvolk beth, flucht und heult,
 Und Höllenangst malt sich in allen Blicken
 Bis sich der Donnersturm zerteilt."

6. IH. III, xii. p. 118.

"Astolph:

Bleiben Sie, Emilie. Unsere Herzen sind nicht
 gemacht, getrennt zu werden. Es ist wahr, diess
 liebenswürdige Bauermädchen demüthiget mich

1. IH. 1,ii. p. 62ff.
also p. 85(a). 8.
2. ibid. 11,viii. p. 48.
"Lottchen:
 Gürge, nun entsag' ich dir,
 Nur an Hof gefällt er mir:
 Da will ich recht vornehm werden,
 Geh zu deinem Dorfe hin,
 Hol' dir eine Bäuerinn;
 Ich kann nicht die Deine werden.
Gürge:
 O mein gutes Lottchen! vergieb mir nur das mal -
 (schluchzend) ich will - ich will -
Lottchen:
 Ey, was du willst, will ich nicht. - Ich will
 schöne Equipagen, Diener, Laufer, Heyducken,
 Spitzenhauben, seidne Kleider, eine goldne Uhr
 an der Seite, Ringe an Fingern und in Ohren,
 bunte Halsbänder - ach! ich weiss selbst nicht
 alles! Siehst du, das will ich haben, und werde
 es haben, und hiermit Adjeu Gürge, Adjeu!
Gürge:
 (der auf die Knie fällt und ihr nachrutschet)
 Aber Lottchen, die Narrenspossen! du brauchst
 alles das nicht, mir zu gefallen.
Lottchen:
 Seht doch, seht doch! er denkt noch, ihm will
 ich damit gefallen? Nein, nein, Prinzen sollen
 es seyn, denen ich gefallen will. -"
3. ES. pp. 59, 60.
 The tragedy was printed in München in 1780. Its
 first performance was on 6th January, 1781.
 Schikaneder produced it in Salzburg as early as
 18th January of the same year. The play was
 a great success.
 The relationship in thought is evident in the
 following speech:
"Astolph:
 Stolz und Liebe quälen mich:
 Bald zieht mich der Ruhm zu sich
 Und lockt mich durch Stand und Ehre;
 Doch, wenn ich die Liebe höre,
 So verschwindet Ruhm und Macht.
 Und ich sage: gute Nacht,
 Gute Nacht, O Stand und Ehre!"
 IH. 1,iii. p. 26.
4. ibid. 1. p. 31.
"Astolph:
 Die Liebe fesselt mich,

laughter chastises the vain imitation of the royal *modus vivendi*.¹ The treatment is too naive for satire and the criticism is a natural outcome of the translation of a beautiful and vivacious peasant girl into unfamiliar environs. Indeed the only cruelty in the play is reflected in Icttchen's capricious dominion of Gürge's feelings.²

The distinction between court and country is clearly defined by a deliberate manipulation and application of style, which itself implies a criticism. Astolph, the young prince, whose stand amid the conflicting forces of love and duty poses a probable relationship with Törning's 'Agnes Bernauer',³ declares his feelings for Iottchen in the refined manner of courtly language.⁴ In so doing his metaphors are so artificially distended, that they are revealed as products of the mind and not of the heart⁵ and his declaration of love has to be reiterated in simple terms which Iottchen can understand! The shallowness of the court and its adulatory forms of address is again exposed.

Astolph's frequent hunting forays provide the link between the elements of court and country. Ultimately, after not infrequent displays of his immaturity and the tardy realisation that beauty alone is not sufficient reason for a lasting union with Iottchen, the prince acknowledges the responsibility of his office and the guilt of his former levity. Astolph becomes reconciled to his lady Emilie, who is astutely figured as a demon when jealous, but as kind-hearted once the thorn has been removed,⁶ and acquiesces to Gürge's request that he should forbid the further practice of such inconsiderate and destructive indulgences.⁷ In common with Hiller's earlier *Singspiel*, Weisse's libretto boasts of a hero, who shows development of character, and the moral achievement

87(a)

1. ÖN. Ts. tp.
"Eine komische Opern in zwey Aufzügen."
2. cf., pp. 2, 3.
3. OD. p. 22ff.
4. DB. ll,viii. p. 77.
Barthel:
Jücker Liebe deine Frau!
Nimm nicht alles zu genau!
Wenn sich Mann und Frau verstehn,
So pflecht alles gut zu gehn.
Susanne: (zu Gretchen)
Buhlt um dich ein alter Thor,
Und hält eine Quittung vor -
Nimm die Quittung, doch dabey
Bleibe deinen Manne treu."
5. ibid. l,ii. p. 10ff.
Barthel:
Weib ich bitte dich recht sehr,
Mach' mir nicht das Leben schwer;
Lass une heut' es noch genießen;
Wenn wir Morgen sterben müssen.
Braucht man keiner Möbeln mehr."
6. ibid. ll,viii. p. 77.
7. ibid. ll,ii. p. 46ff.
8. ibid. l.iii. p. 20.
Barthel:
Hahahaha, schreibt, schreibt! - Wird meine
Frau nicht auch aufgeschrieben? sie gehöret,
wie ihr sehet, auch unter die Mobilien.
Schreibt, nur schreibt, ihr Herren, schreibt:
Wenn mir nichts mehr übrig bleibt,
So geh ich zum Türken und werde Soldat:
Patabum, Patabum, Patabum:
Dann komm ich wieder,
Und säble nieder,
Was Hand und Fusse hat:
Patabum, Patabum, Patabum.
Susanne:
Ja, geh' nur: sie werden dir Patabum auf
deinem faulen Puckel herum trummeln. Ich
wollte, dass du schon dort wärst!"

of the play is crowned by the sublime experience of true love, as Astolph finds happiness with Emilie and Gurge with Iottchen.

In 1770 appeared a second Singspiel by Hiller and Weisse, entitled 'Der Dorfbalbier'.¹ Although the librettist notes the French influence of M. Sedaine's 'Blaise le Savetier', the inherent comedy of situation, in which the cupboard plays a prominent part, strongly recalls Pickelhering's situation in 1620.² Schikaneder's specific acquaintance with 'Der Dorfbalbier' has not been noted at this stage, although a possible one may be mooted from Cornet's quotation in his German Opernverzeichnis of 1790 to 1800 of a later Singspiel with the same title by 'J. Schenk (Wien)'.³

On this occasion Weisse concentrates his plot upon the trying circumstances associated with middle-class life, where the terms of reference are general and lack the piquancy of local colour. Barthel and Susanne are thus motivated by the reality of financial considerations, although eventually true love is extolled above all material values.⁴

Barthel the barber, whose business is financially very embarrassed by his frequent imbibing, is indifferent to the call of reality and prefers the Baroque precept of living for the present moment.⁵ His foolishness is at least based on a philosophy. Barthel's short-sighted naivety is aptly balanced by Susanne's practical nature and this ambivalence in the couple is responsible both for the happy concord of their married life, and the occasional 'Aprilwetter'.⁶ It is discovered that adversity draws them closer together,⁷ after premature doubts are raised early in the play,⁸ and the successful extortion practised on the schoolmaster, Ruthe, and his wife,

1. LB. 11,viii. p. 77.
"Wenn sich Mann und Frau verstehn,
So pflecht alles gut zu gehn."
2. cf., LD. pp. 82-85.
3. cf., RS. pp. 102, 103.
4. DB. 11,viii. p. 77.
5. ibid. 11,ii. p. 46ff.
"Susanne: (stellt sich, als ob sie weinte)
Aber - wenn nun seine Frau - - oder mein Mann
dazu käme - Die Thüre - steht offen - doch
warte Er nur - ich will die Thüre verschliessen
Ruthe: (legt seinen Hut und Stock mit vieler
Zerstreuung ab!)
Was für ein schlauer Mann bin ich!
Das kleine Süsschen liebet mich.
Was ich gewünscht, wird mir gewährt:
Ich bin erhört! ich bin erhört!
Zwar achtzehn Gulden sind schon viel.
Doch Süsschen ist kein Kinderspiel -
Und achtzehn Gulden werth."
6. KO. 8N. Ts.
The publication includes 'Die Liebe auf dem
Lande', 'Die verwandelten Weiber oder der
Teufel ist los. Zweiter Teil', 'Der lustige
Schuster oder der zweyte Teil vom Teufel ist
los', 'Die Jagd' and 'Der Aerntekranz.'
7. ibid. Vb.
8. cf., pp. 23, 24, 59.
9. cf., p. 59.

reveals a relationship based on implicit trust and understanding.¹ However, the intractable nature of Barthel's early shortsightedness leads to the supposition that his ultimate awareness of the practical demands of married life is neither the result of organic development,² nor of purgative experience,³ but of the enforced imposition of the Volksstück's salutary doctrine of true love. As in 'Lottchen am Hofe' the happiness of one couple is used to persuade an inexperienced couple of the virtues of the married state.⁴

The schoolmaster, Ruthe, is depicted as more than caricature, when he lasciviously imagines his impending seduction of Susanne.⁵ His song 'Was für ein schlauer Mann bin ich!' humorously reveals the irony of a situation, in which he is about to be manifoldly duped, as his weaknesses of character, ably exploited by Barthel and Susanne, bring about his own downfall.⁵

The collection of Singspiele by Weisse which appeared in 1777, continued in the popular tradition of the Wiener Bühne and Wanderbühne by presenting the ultimate happiness at the end of the play in the form of a united couple.⁶ The publication, which was evidently preceded by editions of separate Singspiele, was a result of Weisse's concern that many strolling players were adapting the originals and he wished accordingly to state his position as the librettist.⁷ In the first instance, the Singspiele had not been envisaged as an offering to posterity, but had had an immediate and practical purpose in that they were to provide the company of Gottfried Heinrich Koch⁸ with new and attractive material, so that his theatre might continue to earn a living.⁷ This they did to good effect and thus gained quite a wide reputation on the German Wanderbühne.⁹

Apart from his practical intent Weisse desired to

1. KO., Vb.
2. cf., pp. 147-149.
3. KO. Vb.
 "Seit einiger Zeit hat man die kleinen Lieder wieder aus den komischen Opern zu verdrängen, und sie durch Arie di Bravura mit allen möglichen Coloraturen zu ersetzen gesucht; ja, mit einem verächtlichen Blick auf die vortreffliche Hillerische Musik herabgesehen, weil er seine Arien nicht für eine Mara oder Helmut gesetzt hat. Dass er es hätte thun können, wenn er gewollt, davon hat er Beweise genug gegeben, und giebt sie täglich: aber er wusste, dass sie der Natur dieses Schauspiels und meiner Absicht nicht gemäss waren, und uns lag mehr daran, von einer fröhlichen Gesellschaft, als von Virtuosen gesungen zu werden."
4. WO. p. 87.
 OD. p. 15.
5. WO. p. 87.
 CO. pp. 109-110, 117.
6. KO. Vb.
 "Das Lied hält immer die Handlung auf: denn oft ist eine blosse Empfindung ausgedrückt, und die Melodie muss vorzüglich schön seyn, wenn man sie zu wiederholten malen hören soll."
7. ibid.
 "Ueberdiess musste er und ich auf die damaligen Schauspieler des Kochischen Theaters sehen, für die es hauptsächlich verfertigt war. Diese waren keine grossen gelehrten Sänger, deren Stimmen zu diesem Liede zureichten; die aber, was ihnen an musicalischer Kunst fehlte, durch ein vortreffliches Spiel ersetzten."
 also ES. p. 20.
 "Das Theater hatte keine eigentlichen Sänger und Sängerinnen, sondern wer von Natur eine leidliche Stimme und ein bisschen Taktgefühl hatte, unternahm es, in den Opern zu singen."
 DDS. p. 138.

establish on the German stage 'das kleine gesellschaftliche Lied' and he regarded this item as a further aspect of the popular appeal, which would entice an audience into a theatre.¹ The music he had in mind would have to be simple and direct and the outcome was that the songs often passed from the stage into the taverns and on to the streets.¹ In this way some of the Wanderbühne's previous coarseness diminished.¹ Weisse attacks those who would misinterpret the nature of Singspiel by attempting to introduce 'Arie di bravura'² and the Italian style of coloratura singing to the popular stage.¹ The Singspiel's inherent simplicity is further upheld by Weisse's declared advocacy of natural and rustic settings.¹

The musician who sacrificed his Italian schooling in order that his music might be better suited to the nature of Singspiel,³ was the man who eventually became the first conductor of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig, Johann Adam Hiller.⁴ Musically he has been regarded as the father of Singspiel⁴ and his influence on the work of Mozart has been acknowledged.⁵ His association with Weisse and Koch in the production of Singspiel demanded that the simplicity of the genre should be matched by musical expression. Weisse's conception of the function of songs in the Singspiel was that, as they often voiced 'eine blosse Empfindung', they constituted a break in the continuity of the plot.⁶ In the light of this circumstance it was advisable for the music to consist of a simple and attractive melody, which would not only suffer repetition, but would appeal directly to the audience.⁶ Koch's company, moreover, consisted of people who were essentially actors and not singers.⁷ Hiller's Italian musicianship would undoubtedly have suffered, had he persisted in its application to the Singspiel. His claims on the singing voices of the actors had to be moderated. As a measure of the Singspiel's lack of

90(a)

1. KO. Vb.
2. WO. p. 43.
3. Rommel remarks that the opera arose under the influence of the comedy of the Parisian vaudeville.
AWVK. p. 354.
4. WO. p. 43.
5. ibid. pp. 87, 649.
6. AWVK. p. 355.

musical pretention, a piano was sufficient accompaniment for the songs.¹

It appears that Weisse's and Hiller's contribution to the musical culture of Germany was, to a degree, influenced by the English stage.

On 29th January, 1728, a ballad-opera by John Gay and Dr. Johann Christoph Pepusch,² entitled 'The Beggar's Opera',³ received its first performance in London,² becoming an unprecedented success by achieving sixty-two performances during the first season.² Folk-tunes and melodies, some of them from Handel and Purcell,² together with an overture and one song by Pepusch comprised the musical content.

A successful imitation of 'The Beggar's Opera' was 'The Devil to Pay' by Charles Coffey and John Mottley.⁵ The latter work appeared in Berlin in 1731,⁶ where it was performed by the Schönemann Company in the German translation by Kaspar Wilhelm Borcke,⁶ although the original music was retained, to which its failure in Germany has been attributed.⁶ The work was produced in two parts, 'The Wives Matamorphosed' and 'The Merry Cobler'. Weisse's adaptations of the same Singspiel, 'Die verwandelten Weiber oder der Teufel ist los' and 'Der lustige Schuster oder der zweyte Theil vom Teufel ist los', which with music by Standfuss⁶ were performed by Koch's company in Leipzig, had only limited success.⁶ Only later in conjunction with Hiller, when the latter set both parts to music in 1766 and 1768 respectively, did they become popular.⁶

Whilst the world of music has acknowledged Hiller as the father of the German Singspiel, his usual librettist, Weisse, cannot be regarded as a like claimant in the world of literature. Whilst his libretti are German in character,

91(a)

1. ES. p. 28.
This authority also maintains that the origins of these 'Singspiele' were French vaudevilles. Indeed, Weisse himself acknowledges the French influence.
2. cf., p. 82.
3. KO.
4. LH. 8N. Ts. tp.
5. DB. 8N. Ts. tp.
6. cf., pp. 32, 70(a)6.
7. In 1776 Haydn apparently set the music to a Singspiel, 'Das abgebrannte Haus', a play in Viennese dialect.
CO. p. 109. fn.
Schikaneder's comedy of the same name did not appear in Vienna until 1792.
ES. p. 356.
8. Weiskern was one of the leading members of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. cf., p. 11.
9. WO. p. 85. fn.
10. On 23rd April, 1777, Moser's company, of which Schikaneder was then a member, (cf., pp. 61-64) gave a performance of a 'Bastien et Bastienne', which was probably an adaptation of Marie Justine Benoitte Favart's and Harry de Guerville's 'Les Amours de Bastien et Bastienne', and which boasts the same origin of Rousseau's 'Le Devin du Village'.
MDL. p. 143.
11. cf., p. 57.
12. ES. p. 26.
13. KO. Vb.
14. DL. 8N. Th.

their origins are not of Germany.¹ Before Weisse, Schiebeler acknowledged Chaucer as the original source of 'Lisuart and Dariolette'.² Of the products of Weisse's association with Hiller, 'Der Teufel ist los' was indebted to Charles Coffey,³ 'Lottchen am Hofe' to Charles Favart's 'Le Caprice amoureux' or 'Ninette à la cour',⁴ 'Der Dorfbarbier' to Francois Philidor's and M. Sedaine's 'Blaise le savetier' of 1759,⁵ and 'Die Jagd' partly to the French comedy 'La Partie de Chasse de Henrici IV'.³ In the above light Schikaneder's 'Die Tyranten' of 1776⁶ can be regarded as the first truly German Singspiel.⁷ Even Mozart's 'Bastien et Bastienne', whose libretto, by Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern,⁸ was a German version of Charles Favart's parody of Rousseau's 'Le Devin du village',⁹ cannot boast the same Germanic purity.¹⁰

Schikaneder's comic operetta, 'Die Tyranten oder das lustige Elend' was published in Innsbruck in 1776, as a result of its warm acclaim on the Wanderbühne.¹¹ Reflecting Schikaneder's achievement as composer and, at the same time, librettist, 'Die Tyranten' raised his name from a position of more or less absolute anonymity to one of comparative fame.¹¹ His depiction of three wandering musicians, being thoroughly Germanic, has, perhaps rightly, been interpreted as autobiographical.¹² Schikaneder won further acclaim for himself as an actor in the part of Leichtsinn, one of the musicians.¹²

Musically it would appear that Schikaneder's work offered greater complexity than that of Hiller. Only individual instances of song can be appropriately termed 'das kleine gesellschaftliche Lied'.¹³ Act 1 contains six arias, one allegro, one march off, one duet and one chorus, Act 2 has eight arias and one allegro, and Act 3 one recitative and aria, one aria and allegro and the final chorus.¹⁴ Within one Singspiel Schikaneder provides songs

92(a)

1. ES. p. 32.
2. DL. 11,iii.
Komorzynski omits the last repeated line of
verses 2, 3 and 4. ES. p. 32.

which obey Weisse's maxim and appeal by a simple melodic line, and those which are effective by their rhythmic and theatrical impact. Stock's aria 'Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding' is a song of little textual import, and its fame in Germany¹ and Vienna¹ can only be attributed to the melody of the first line, textually and musically, which, unadulterated, comprises eight of the sixteen lines of the whole aria:

"Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Wenn man ihr Komplimente macht,
 So wird sie gleich verliebt gemacht -
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Wenn man nur einem Manne gleicht,
 So wird ihr Herzchen gleich erweicht -
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Geht man nicht ihre Liebe ein,
 So stirbt sie fast vor Liebespein -
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding.
 Kaum bricht der frühe Morgen an,
 So bittet sie um einen Mann -
 Ein Weibsbild ist ein nährisch Ding. "2

In contrast to the above song, Schikaneder's use of recitative is seen as an integral part of dramatic function, where the tempo of a theatrical situation is manifest in the rhythmic quality of the text and requires little melodic embellishment to fulfil its purpose:

" Wirthinn
 Wisset, ihr zerlumpfte Schrollen!
 Dass ich Frau vom Hause bin?
 Ihr sollt euch von hinnen trollen!

Alle
 Frau, das gehet nicht so hin:
 Wir sind Gäste, die bezahlen.

93(a)

1. DL. 1,7.

Schulmeister

Ich Schulmeister will vor allen
 Viel mehr Respekt, viel mehr Respekt!
 Denn ich bin ein gelehrter Mann.

Wirthinn

Der immer in dem Wirtshaus steckt,
 Mit Lumpen zecht, und saufen kann.
 Fort, fort aus meinem Haus!

Schulmeister

Ich bin Schulmeister.

Wirthinn

Fort fort hinaus!

Bauer

Ich bin Geschworne.

Wirthinn

Fort fort hinaus!

Leichtsinn

Ich bin gereister -

Wirthinn

Fort fort hinaus!

Stock

Ich ein gebohrner -

Wirthinn

Fort fort hinaus!

Leichtsinn

Violinist!

Stock

Bassist!

Wirthinn

Hinaus mit dem Mist!" 1

The transition from dialogue to song succeeds quite

1. cf., DDS. p. 150.
Schletterer infers in his criticism of the Singspiel of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, wherein the latter is upbraided for its lack of 'Kunstform', that the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne was not guilty of the same negligence.
cf., pp. 18-21.
2. DL. 11,vii.
3. ibid. 1,i.

smoothly in 'Die Tyranten', the musical nature of the plot itself justifying any such interruption in the continuity. More specifically, Schikaneder deliberately heightens the tone of the preceding dialogue, so that the song is a natural creation of the atmosphere. Thus the Singspiel can no longer be regarded in its former, awkward purity, as dialogue form with musical insertions,¹ as the fusion of the two elements becomes more complete:

" Wirthin

... ich halte selbst gern mit, und es wird mich freuen Sie noch besser kennen zu lernen.

Leichtsinn (küsst ihr die Hand)

Sie sind allzugütig Frau Wirthin, und ihre himmelblauen Augen, hol mich der Plunder! wenn sie mich nicht verführen!

Wirthin

Und ihre schwarze sind ebenso gefährlich.

Arie

Man müsste fühllos und von Stein,
Und nicht ein Frauenzimmer seyn!
Ein holdes schwarzes Aug zu sehn....."²

The function of song in 'Die Tyranten' extends beyond Weisse's naive conception and is used by Schikaneder for a variety of theatrical purposes, such as the portrayal of realism, humour, character, events, and for the ends of exposition and dramatic effect. The opening arias and allegro by Leichtsinn and Stock, two of the 'Tyranten', contain much of this variety in the one musical episode. As a low-class, wandering musician Leichtsinn displays a humorous incongruity, when he adopts the courtly fashion of waxing his hair.³ For the moment Stock and Leichtsinn surrender to 'Amor' but their conceptions of what love has to offer are individual. Leichtsinn sings of the outward

1. DL. 1,i.

2. ibid. 1,i.

"Stock:

Jetzt hab ich die Nadel perdidiert (zornig auf den Leichtsin) dass du mich doch immer in meinen schneiderischen Officio stören musst! Ein jedes Wort kann mich bey meiner Denkensarbeit in Verwirrung bringen."

3. Under Schikaneder even the traditional delivery of the 'Maulschelle', which was a common occurrence in the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater', has a freshness, which smacks of originality.

DL. 111,ii.

"Leichtsinn:

Das Mädel hat Witz (sie zurückhaltend) komm her, ich muss dir was sagen.

Rosina:

Aber nur geschwind!

Leichtsinn: (küssst sie) Nu! sagt dir dein Herz nichts?

Rosina:

Ja.

Leichtsinn:

(Gutes Zeichen sie wird roth) und was?

Rosina: (giebt ihm eine Maulschelle)

Dieses. (sie läuft weg)."

4. ES. p. 28.

5. KO. Dedication.

6. ES. p. 34.

beauty of love and its intriguing tenderness, but humorously realises that the catch is that beautiful ladies demand love in return.¹ Stock is more practical in his approach and looks forward to the time when he will be married and his wife will mend his trousers and darn his socks, regarding him as her one and only concern in life. Characteristically, his preference is 'Brod' and not 'Limonade'.¹ His expressions reflect the French influence on the libretti of the Singspiel, but are only used in characterisation,² and do not recall Weisse's borrowings from French originals.

'Die Tyranten' is, stylistically and morally, reminiscent of the Baroque era, but the originality of its inherent 'Deutschtum' remains clearly in the ascendancy on account of Schikaneder's great sense of theatrical purpose,³ which is all the more to be admired as this was his first work for the stage. In an arresting manner the plot moves at varying speeds towards its conclusion.

Whilst there is some truth in the assertion that Schikaneder, in this instance, does not indulge in 'Schmeichelei der Obrigkeit',⁴ absolute veracity is arguable as the ultimate reconciliation between father, Baron Sillberg, and son, Vogel, is assuredly a similar show of respect towards a governing authority. Both Weisse⁵ and Schikaneder, as near contemporaries of the German Wanderbühne, were well aware, whatever their personal beliefs, that flattery often provided a company with a much-needed patron.

Without question the final act of clemency, by which Vogel is forgiven his previous misdemeanours,⁶ is rooted in the same inheritance, which moved Mozart to revise the original ending of 'Entführung' and substitute a similar reconciliation.⁶ That 'Die Tyranten' had a direct bearing

96(a)

1. ES. pp. 84, 85.
2. *ibid.* pp. 86, 87. fn.
3. AM. Ms.
4. ES. pp. 90-91.
5. cf., DL. pp. 91-96.
ID. pp. 82-85.
Th. pp. 67-68.
RS. pp. 102-105.
RV. pp. 106-110. etc.

on Mozart's decision, can unfortunately only be surmised. The particular solution to the problem of 'Die Tyranten', where in the custom of the Volksstück of the Wanderbühne, a happy couple provides the ultimate expression of joy, contains this additional reconciliation between father and son. The act of forgiveness increases the sense of happy relief, so that it is, at present, technically possible to attribute this accessory to Schikaneder's interpretation of the traditional, popular finale.

Baron Joseph Maximilian Lütgendorf's projected balloon-flight, which had been arranged to begin in Augsburg on the 24th August, 1786,¹ was eventually revealed as a hoax, when, after several postponements, it was admitted on 4th September that a mechanical problem had not been overcome.¹ Nevertheless the citizens of Augsburg had profited financially, and Schikaneder too was on the verge of so doing.¹ A Singspiel, which posterity has acknowledged as the work of Schikaneder,² was created and intended for performance in celebration of the triumphant flight.¹ As was his custom, Schikaneder seized upon a topical issue, but, unfortunately, the product of his inspiration was never performed. All that remains to posterity are the arias from 'Der Luftballon'.³

The plot, in which the hero and heroine undergo a period of trial and are ultimately rewarded, has been used as evidence to prove Schikaneder's sole authorship of 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁴ Admittedly, the content of the arias tends to justify such an assertion, but the manifold appearance of similar plots on the Wanderbühne would seem to diminish its importance.⁵ The widespread use of the finale as an ultimate lauding of a worthy couple suggests that the moral extends beyond the narrower confines of masonic conception, in which Komorzynski wished to believe. Rather

1. Not the least of the peasant's anxieties was the threat of having to spend the rest of their lives in the army, of which Joseph II was so proud.
JJT. p. 28.
2. cf., DW. V2. p. 785.
"Des Iaster im Glück, die Tugend im Unglück wurden zuletzt durch die poetische Gerechtigkeit wieder ins Gleichgewicht gebracht."
3. RE. p. 10. Introduction.
"Emotionally he was driven to improve the lot of the common people. In reality, absolute monarchy for which he stood automatically spelt misery for the masses."
"It was unjust, he insisted, that those who worked had to pay the taxes, while aristocratic idlers were loaded with privileges and did nothing for the state." p.36.
Obeying the impulse of his sentiments, Joseph opened the 'Augarten' and 'Prater' parks, which had hitherto been solely for the enjoyment of the aristocracy, to the public. p. 65.
4. Der Luftballon (LB) AM. No.13. Quartetto.
5. ibid.
cf., BWAM. M-IM 1781.
"It is his heart which ennobles a man. I may not be a Count, but I have more honour within myself than many a Count."
JJT. p. 12.
6. LB. AM. No. 19. Schiffskapitän.

is the expression of this morality, where endurance is rewarded, the escapist philosophy of a persecuted populace.¹ Injustice in reality is reflected inversely as justice on the stage.² Since goodness is not always rewarded in life, it must be acknowledged in the theatre.² The origins of this are the old, church morality plays, but the conviction of the message stems from the feeling of injustice before the French Revolution. Even Joseph II's attempts to alleviate the hardship of the peasant and lower class population did not have a noticeable effect; only negatively did he acknowledge the peasant's position by also taxing the nobility and depriving them of what unmerited privileges he could.³ To a great extent this accounts for the popular appeal of the German Wanderbühne.

Coupled with the sense of rational justice and the approaching age of enlightenment was the demand for the practice of reason in all things. Thus Leblanc, the hero, appeals to the ship's captain: 'Gib doch der Vernunft Gehör'.⁴ As the populace becomes more aware of the presence of its 'enlightened despot', so does the Volksstück grow more conscious of class, and its constitution. Breeding and reason should make the divisions, not wealth. Leblanc upbraids the captain accordingly:

"Bootsknecht geht hin und lerne
Erst Vernunft und Lebensart."⁵

Neither Leblanc nor Sophie is concerned with financial matters; their companions are restricted to a lower standing by their subservience to wealth. The captain believes it is sufficient to offer Sophie all his worldly possessions and cannot understand her rejection of him:

"Mit Perlen, Gold und Blankgestein
Kind! sollst du überschüttet sein,
Und stolz mit Kutsch und Pferden fahren.
Der Blitz! an dir würd ich nichts sparen."⁶

98(a)

1. LB. AM. No. 20. Sophie.

2. cf., pp. 70, 71.

3. RE. pp. 75-77.

also p. 84.

"He knew as well as any man, that the position and privileges of the nobility and clergy depended entirely upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses.....Hence his constant cry for more light."

4. LB. AM. No. 26. Sophie, LeBlanc.

5. ibid. No. 3. Duetto. Leblanc, Sophie.

6. ibid. No. 27. Schluss-Chor.

In response to the popular concept behind this appeal, Sophie, as the embodiment of moral purity, can only seek to enlighten the captain.

"Die Freiheit und die reine Liebe,
Dies nur sind seiner Wünsche Triebe."¹

Perhaps Schikaneder's proximity to Joseph in Pressburg² and later in Vienna rubbed some gold from the royal cause on to his own sleeve. Certainly Joseph lifted the censorship on the theatre in Vienna and encouraged freedom of speech,³ so that Schikaneder had reason to be grateful for the present sanctity of the theatre:

"Heil, dem Staat! der sich zum Ruhme,
Edle Künste, schützt und nährt;
Und in Musenheiligthume,
Ihnen süßen Lohn gewährt".⁴

As a portent of the age of enlightenment and a development of the final picture of the Volksstück, the ordeal must be shared by man and woman together:

"Lass uns dann die Ehre teilen,
Theilen auch Gefahr und Glück:
Und zum Ziel der Wünsche eilen
Wir dann Hand in Hand zurück".⁵

Paradise cannot be offered to Leblanc and Sophie until the ordeal of their flight has been successfully overcome. Leblanc is still the dominant partner, although woman's position is somewhat exalted. It is the sharing of the ordeal, which puts the two souls in harmony, so that all further hardships can be overcome by this same antibody:

"Geld zeigt die wahre Liebe nie,
Ihr Quell ist Seelenharmonie".⁶

As Weisse before him had sought to provide each character with vocabulary appropriate to his class, so did Schikaneder now adopt the same principles. Thus the captain's servant not only represents the popular appeal in his

99(a)

1. LB. AM. No. 18. Bedienter des Schiffskapitain.
2. BWAM. V2. 160. p. 36. M-IM 3rd January, 1781.
cf., p. 68.
3. LB. AM. No. 12. Wirtin.
cf., No. 10. Wirtin.
"Frau Wirtin nennt man nicht,
Madam heisst es alsdann,
Die Nachbarn stehn um mich her,
Und sehen mich neidisch an,
Und rausch ich stolz im Modekleid,
so bückt man sich vor mir
In tiefster Untertänigkeit
Nach feiner Hofmanier."
4. LB. AM. No. 24. Belcour.

distrust of all women, but expresses that distrust in terms becoming his station:

"Drum wer den Mädchen zu viel traut,
Ist wohl ein dummer Teufel
Der hat sein Haus auf Sand gebaut,
Und blüsst es sonder Zweifel." ¹

It would not be asking too much to expect any playwright of quality to pay such attention to his text, yet Mozart had reason to complain of this neglect in one of his own librettists in 1781. ²

The outspokenness of popular terminology is used as a means for humorous portrayal of character. The Wirthin, who is attempting to exceed her social standing, cannot but revert to her nature, when she loses her temper with the captain:

"Sind das nicht hässliche Schiffermanieren,
Was da der Grobian plappert und tut?
Heisst das nicht sich wie ein Bootsknecht
aufführen,
Himmel und Hölle!. ich berste vor Wut:
Sich in das Frazengesicht zu vergaffen;
Mich zu verachten, ist das wohl erlaubt?
Dürft ich ihn würgen den kindischen Affen;
Himmel! ich bin fast der Sinne beraubt." ³

In direct contrast to this Leblanc and Sophie maintain the moral dignity of their position and recall the ideology of the Baroque era, at the same time remaining within the confines of their character:

"Wann gute Herzen leiden,
Was gleichtet ihrer Qual?
Und, ach! der Lebensreuden,
Sind stets in kleiner Zahl.
Sie, die im Kummer bluten,
Bringt Schwermut tief hinab.
Es sehnen sich die Guten
Allein nach Tod und Grab." ⁴

In the personages of the captain and Leblanc 'Der Luftballon' embodies the beliefs of an old and a new philosophy. The captain in the storm struggles for his

1. LB. No. 16 Schiffskapitain.
"Der Donner rasselt Schlag auf Schlag,
Verderben saust ihm glühend nach,
Und splittert einen Mast in Stücken.
Das Schiffsvolk bett, flucht und heult,
Und Höllenangst malt sich in allen Blicken
Bis sich der Donnersturm zerteilt."
2. cf., pp. 68, 69.
3. LB. AM. No. 14. LeBlanc.
"Wenn ich zum Sitz der Wolken fliege,
Gefahr und Wind mit Mut besiege,
Welch hohe Majestät und Fracht,
Wird mein beraushtes Aug entzücken:
Wenn unter meinen freien Blicken,
Die unermessne Fläche lacht,
Mir wird bis an den Wolkenhimmel
Des Volkes jauchzendes Getümmel
Noch dringen, und man flicht
Mir Lorbeerkränze: jauchzend bricht,
Der Jubel aus, komm ich hernieder,
Und es beginnt der Chor der Ruhmes Lieder."
4. The inherent dangers of the flight are mentioned only 'en passant'. cf., 100(a). 3. 98(a). 5.

own preservation against the element of water but his attitude is soon one of resignation, as he surrenders to the forces of fate. All that man can accomplish in a storm is to 'pray, curse and howl'.¹ Without the pathos this is reminiscent of the libretto of 'Idomeneo'.²

Leblanc, on the other hand, deliberately sets out to overcome the element of air. His awareness of the beauty, which his element has to offer, affirms the belief that man's physical limitations will be transcended by human endeavour.³ Leblanc, however, remains to a degree fatalistically inclined, but his outlook is confident.⁴ Through him man will learn to free himself from the shackles of fate. The glorification of man and the application of reason are about to replace fear of the hereafter.

c.

SCHIKANEDER AS A DRAMATIST OF THE WANDERBUHNE["]

102(a)

10. cf., pp. 33-54.

11. cf., pp. 33-54.

12. cf., p. 102(a). 7.

13. Kupferkopf at times uses vocabulary better suited to a popularly conceived Odoardo:

"Budel:

Einem recht herrlichen Magenswein hat er, unser Herr Wirth.

Kupferkopf:

Ich werde dir einen Frügelwein geben, wenn du nicht das Maul hältst." RS. 11,iv.

1. ÖN. Ts. 'Ein Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen.'
2. ES. p. 61.
3. cf., p. 85(a). 1.
4. BWAM. V4. No. 14. pp. 369-375. MM-M 30th November, 1780.
"....den 26ten die 42te comedie. burlins faschings begebenheiten. diese farce hast du schon beym böhm gesehen...."
5. ibid.
6. WHTA. p. 89ff.
7. ES. p. 61.
8. RS. ÖN. Ts. 1,i.
"Kupferkopf:
Was für eine herrliche Sache das Geld ist! das beste Gewürze von der Welt. (Er legt die Säcke vollends in die Koffers: Er küsst einige, so oft er sie hineinlegt) O ihr lieben Säcke! Ihr wohlthütende Klingler! Ihr sollt Euch in Bälde noch um so viel vermehren. Wenn ich nur schon in Wien wäre, denn da giebts Leute, hat man mir gesagt, dass sie, wenn sie Geld brauchen, Cento pro cento des Jahrs hindurch gegeben. O' wie werd ich meine Küsten füllen. Und hernach in der Fastnacht wirft so der halbe Theil der Menschen das Geld schier mit Gewalt auf die Gasse; was werd ich da nicht auf Pfände auszuleihen bekommen, wo sie viel lüderliches Gesinde ist; und wo man alles auf Fressen, Saufen und Komödien verwendet, was werd ich da nicht für Uhren, Ringe und dergleichen Sachen mehr um das halbe Geld bekommen; und dann wenn ich meine Tochter werde verheurathet haben, setze ich mich mit meinem Gelde nach Ungarn, dort bin ich ein König. Man lebt auch wohlfeiler als bey mir zu Hause."
9. RS. III,x.
"Kupferkopf:
Nu reuten sie mir nur nicht gar zu viel. (zu seiner Tochter) Dass musst du ihm gleich verbiethen, sonst kommt er dir einmal mit krummen Gliedern nach Hause, dann wärst du übler dran, als ich heute mit meinem Gelde."

Schikaneder's first work for the non-musical theatre of the Wanderbühne was a comedy, 'Das Regenspurger Schiff',¹ which was performed in Salzburg on 1st October, 1780.² Although Schikaneder's company did not produce any works by Hafner until 26th October,³ the latter playwright was not unknown in Salzburg, as Schikaneder's predecessor, Johannes Böhm, was accredited with one such performance.⁴ If 'Lisuart und Dariolette' could pass from the Viennese stage in 1767 to the Wanderbühne by 1777, it is not impossible that the works of Hafner, which were produced in the years 1763 and 1764, should succeed to Salzburg by 1780.⁵ By that time Böhm had made his acquaintance with Vienna.⁶

'Das Regenspurger Schiff' did not enjoy the same prominence on the Wanderbühne as did Schikaneder's first Singspiel 'Die Tyranten'. According to Komorzynski, the plays of the classical stage, which were often performed by Schikaneder's company, in particular Lessing's 'Minna von Barnhelm', exerted some influence on Schikaneder's first comedy? Certainly the presence of the dashing captain, Rittmeister, and his companion, Budel, would help to establish such a link with Lessing's play. Other features, such as the caricature of the miserly father in Kupferkopf,⁷ and his ultimate temperance by a whimsical observation of his own shortcomings,⁸ reflect both Hafner's early, uncompromising attitude towards Odoardo's traditional aspect, as inherited from the commedia dell'arte,¹⁰ and his later concessional move to humanize the former, paternal tyrant.¹¹ Schikaneder has endowed Kupferkopf with an intensity of local colour,¹² nevertheless his position as a miser who seeks to gain from a financial arrangement in the marriage of his daughter, discloses his origins.¹³ Remaining thus within

Schifmann: fort fort!

(Das Bret wird weggezogen, das Schif fährt, die Weiber raufen, die Affen klauben die Aepfel auf, die Musikanten auf dem Schif machen einen Marsch, die Bärnmusik geht zugleich mit die Weiber schreyen darunter, und so schliesst der Akt.)"

5. RS. 11,xv.
6. ES. p. 61.
"Im Dunkel der Nacht verkleiden sich der Rittmeister und der Sergeant als Zigeuner, bedrohen den erschreckten Alten an der Spitze einer als türkische Musikanten verummten Schar und zwingen ihm das schriftliche Versprechen ab, die Liebenden zu vereinigen."
7. RS. 11,xv. & 1.x.
8. His role is that of Kupferkopf's servant and Rittmeister's companion, rather than that of first comedian. As all other characters of the play, he is subjected to its overall aesthetic demands and does not become the usurper of the stage.
cf., pp. 33-54; 82-88.
9. The play appeared on the Wanderbühne for the first time in 1776.
ES. p. 35. also pp. 45, 65, 82, 111.
10. ibid. pp. 59, 60, 141-142.
11. ÖN. Ts. 'Ein Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen'. The play first appeared in 1781, and was printed in 1792.
12. ES. pp. 141-142.
HL. tp. 'Nach einem alten Volksmärchen bearbeitet'.
13. ES. pp. 119-121. HD. cf., pp. 116-119.
14. ibid. p. 70. 'Kinder, reizet eure Eltern, und Eltern, reizet eure Kinder nicht.' cf., p. 70.
15. ibid. pp. 83-90. LB. cf., pp. 96-100.
'Attila oder: Die Hexe von Augsburg'. p. 137.

1. ES. P. 61.

2. RS. 111,x.

".....

Bleibst du aber noch der Geizhals her,
Deine Mädels kommen dir nicht mehr,
So gewiss ich bin dein Knecht,
Bist du angeführt fein recht.

Mola mola mola maia,

Gitschi, gitschi, britschi gritschi.

Pitschi pitschi, mitschi mitschi

Putschi putschi, patschi patschi

Du bleibst halt unser alter Patschi."

3. ES. p. 61.

4. RS. 11,xv.

".....

Budel: (dem die Weiber immer Aepfel in den Rock
gezählt sagt:) Nu itzt krieg ich noch um einen
Gröschén.

1. Weib: Der Herr hat schon vor einen Gulden.

2. Weib: Lass sich der Herr nicht betrügen.

3. Weib: Sie machts allen Leuten so.

1. Weib: Könnt ihr von mir was schlechtes sagen?

Kupferkopf:

Stille, stille! gebt mir auch für einen
Kreuzer Aepfel. (Die Weiber reißen ihm
den Kreuzer aus der Hand.)

1. Weib: Ich bin die Erste.

2. Weib: Nein, ich bins.

1. Weib: Itzt schau mir einer nur die Rippen.

3. Weib: Du Zaunstecken! schau, was willst den
du sagen?

4. Weib: O du Heugabel!

1. Weib: Was? ich schlag dir den Korb um den
Kopf.

(Sie fangen an zu raufen, stossen den Kupferkopf
und den Budel hin und her.)

Kupferkopf:

Um Himmels willen Weiber lasst mich nur
los.

1. Weib: Schau nur, willst du das Maul halten.

(Sie schreyen, jede nach Belieben, was sich auf
dem Theater sagen lässt untereinander, Budel hezt
sie wie die Hunde, läuft um ihnen herum;

Kupferkopf verliehrt seine Perücke, die Weiber
werfen ihm Aepfel auf den Buckel; Budel läuft
zum Schiff, Kupferkopf ihm nach, die Weiber
rufen, bezahl mich der Herr! Bezahl mich der
Herr!

the wider scheme of the Volksstück, a conciliatory end is inevitable, only the details of the dénouement remaining withheld from the audience. During the course of the action Rittmeister is given occasion to prove his bravery, which he does nobly,¹ and it is his resource, which contrives the deception in which Kupferkopf is beset by various Turkish phantasmagoria,¹ and an aria by Budel,² and persuaded, through fear, of the error of his miserly ways.³ Betterment of character remains the moral burden of the Volksstück.

In an attempt to create realistic environment, Schikaneder introduces local colour in detailed stage-setting and costumery. The realism thus depicted constitutes part of the play's popular appeal and scenes such as the ship's departure from Regensburg,⁴ and that of the querulous fruit-sellers,⁴ in which Kupferkopf is relieved of some of his money, are distinguished by the lively sincerity of the dramatist's own convictions.⁴ Further popular spice is provided by performing animals,⁵ disguises,⁶ fist-cuffs,⁵ song² and the use of music for theatrical effect,⁷ and is embodied in the lively Budel, who remains, however, more reminiscent of the Wanderbühne of Weisse and Schiebeler, than of the Viennese comedy of Prehauser.⁸ In these items, local colour and popular appeal almost become synonymous.

In 1781, possibly encouraged by his successful productions of Möller's 'Graf Walltron'⁹ and Törring's 'Agnes Bernauer',¹⁰ Schikaneder wrote a play in four acts entitled 'Herzog Ludwig von Steyermark: oder Sarmäts Feuerbär'.¹¹ Based on an old Volksmärchen¹² it was intended to stimulate public interest in the theatre¹² and thus reveals Schikaneder's theatrical policy as a manager who must fill his theatre in order to feed his company. Similar local interest maintained in works which he produced in Regensburg,¹³ Pressburg¹⁴ and Augsburg.¹⁵

104(a)

1. ES. p. 142.
2. HL. IV.v.
3. ibid. 11,i.
4. cf., pp. 2,3.
5. cf., pp. 87,88.
6. HL. 11,i.
"Au weh! Kommts mir zu Hülff! kommts mir zu
Hülff! der Teufel will mich fressen. - ..."
cf., pp. 36-58. Hafner's popular comedian
makes a better show of bravery.
7. LD. cf., pp. 82-85.
8. HL. 11,i.
9. cf., pp. 6-10.
10. cf., pp. 82-88.
11. cf., pp. 10, 33-54.
12. cf., pp. 96-97.
13. HL. 11,i.

Between them, Sarmät, the enchanter, and Mathies, the amusing peasant, intimate the Papageno of 1791. The former, as the representative of magic, is an 'Elementargeist' and 'Naturmensch'. He is hung with skins and wears over his head the head of a tiger, which is wound with snakes.¹ As the embodiment of the popular element, Mathies readily conforms to the fashionable desire to commit suicide.² His concealment on stage³ recalls both 'Pickelhering in der Kiste'⁴ and 'Der Dorfbalbirer'⁵ and his cowardice⁶ is part of the same tradition of the Wanderbühne⁷. His individuality stems from his situation rather than from his actions and he, accordingly, serves his theatrical purpose as a commentary on the age and locality.⁸ This and the vitality with which Schikaneder has endowed him, relate Mathies more closely with the early Hans Wurst of Stranitzky⁹ and the simple peasant of the Wanderbühne,¹⁰ than the sprightly and ephemeral but, at times, brave Hannswurst of Prehauser and the Wiener Volkstheater of the 1760's.¹¹

Further items of local, and even of national interest occur in a patriotic appeal to a sense of nobility, and this itself implies a social criticism of the ruling class.¹² Schikaneder, however, does not openly preach revolution, but strives to maintain a sense of proportion by proudly upholding Germany and its Princes. Sarmät discloses nevertheless that all is not well with the nation, and rhetoric uplifts his message:

"(Sarmät to Karlmann)

Wahnsinnig? - Ha, Wahnsinn wäre das von mir, wenn ich von Pflicht und Ehre spreche?
 - Wahnsinn, wenn ich euch um Gerechtigkeit anflehe? - Wahnsinn wäre das, wenn ich knieend flehe, dass ihr möget zurück kehren auf den Weg der Tugend? - Ists Wahnsinn, wenn ich von Unterdrückung spreche?"¹³

Longingly Sarmät recalls the glorious past of Germany,

106(a)

1. HL. lll,xxi.
2. ibid. lll,xx.
3. ES. p. 141.
4. HL. lV,xxii.
5. cf., pp. 39-43.
6. 8N. Ts. also ES. p. 68ff.
7. RV. tp.

when princes knew how to rule:

"In diesem Lande leb und sterb ich. In diesem Lande sah ich Fürsten, die ihre Unterthanen wie ihre Kinder liebten. - In diesem Lande sah ich Stände laut sprechen, wenn der Geist der Zwietracht sich einschleichen wollte. - Aber wie stumm sind die jetzt, diese Stände?"¹

Duke Ernst fortunately has not lost that true German nobility:

"Karlmann! sieh mich hier meine Hand zum Himmel empor heben: noch eh ich bey dem allesichtenden Thron Gottes stehe, bist du von deinem Thron herab gestürzt - Unwürdiger Fürst! Ich weiss besser zu sterben, als du zu regieren."²

Conviction is lent to the various aspirations of the characters, as the play contains potential tragedy. Ominously the end approaches with Ludwig old and insane, Ernst under sentence of death, and the Duchess having already been led away. The detailed stage-setting is clearly an attempt by Schikaneder to make the melodramatic situation with its extravagances of magic more credible to the audience.

Ernst is to be boiled in oil⁴ and the scene of his execution is elaborately described.⁴ Violence and magic are represented in the finale, as the Banherr is hanged,⁴ and Sarmät turns Karlmann insane by tapping him on the head with a hammer.⁴ After human endeavour has done its utmost, and been shown lacking, magic weakly offers the solution in the tradition of the Zauberstück of the Alt-Wiener Volkstheater.⁵

As Ritterstück, Schikaneder's five act play 'Die Raubvögel',⁶ which was printed in 1782 in Salzburg by Johann Joseph Mayres,⁷ has a greater intensity of moral tone than that which epitomized the Volksstück in general. The Oberlieutenant is thus conscious of a dichotomous morality, which shows him the conflicting obligations

107(a)

sey der Augenblick verflucht, da ich das Licht der Welt erblickte - die Stunde, als mich ein Teufel verblendete, Karten in die Hand zu nehmen - verflucht jede Stunde, die ich noch zu leben übrig habe, wenn ein unschuldig treuer Mann durch mich schrecklicher Gedanke! - vielleicht gar sein Leben verlieren sollte...."

1. RV. ll,xviii.
2. cf., pp. 58-61.
3. cf., p. 108.
4. In the play there is one main plot, which occurs in the same building, within the passage of twenty-four hours.
5. Komorzynski mentions Lessing's 'Minna von Barnhelm' as Schikaneder's model. ES. p. 68.
6. No magic is present, and comedy is only that of character, not situation.
7. RV. ll,vii.
"Spielfeld:
 Gut also! was meynst du, was die erste Frage nach meiner Anklage ist? Das erste wird seyn, woher ich käme? wer ich sey? was für Absichten ich hier habe? - O bey Gott! ich würde vor Scham vergehen. - Weisst du, was ich am Ende zu erwarten hätte? Spott und Verachtung. - Wie Madame! würde man sagen; sie haben also keinen Freund? - keinen Vater? - keinen Bruder, noch Gatten hier im Lager? ihre Absicht also war blos Geld zu gewinnen?"
8. *ibid.* ll,vii.
"Spielfeld:
 Sey nicht betrübt, gutes Mädchen! das, was mit mir geschieht, musste so seyn - war Bestimmung - Mir ist jetzt alles schon gleich - giltig, dass nichts auf der Welt mich mehr erschüttern wird. Es ist wahr, ich habe gefehlt, sehr gefehlt, dass ich mich mit dem Laster der Spielsucht bekannt machte. Anfangs betrachtete ich es als eine Zerstreung - Gewinn, Verdruss, am öftern aber Verlust, machten es mir zur Leidenschaft. - Ich geizte nach Reichtum, und sieh! dieses ist die Quelle meines Elendes."
9. cf., pp. 50-51.
10. cf., pp. 51-53.
11. RV. lll,x.
"Spielfeld:
Ist der Unglückliche durch mich unglücklich, so

of husband and soldier.¹ Although such a demanding, and potentially heroic situation does not receive sufficient dramatic emphasis to range the work alongside the classical productions of Schikaneder's repertoire,² the rules of that theatre, such as subservience to the unities of action, time and place, and an acknowledgement of the need for 'vraisemblance',³ are of greater relevance in 'Die Raubvögel'⁴ than the pastoral insipidity of the true Volksstück of the Wanderbühne.⁵ At the same time there is comparatively little comedy, and the usual adornments of the popular stage are clearly lacking.⁶ In lieu of this the moral problem is deepened and the Oberlieutnant's awareness of his predicament is suitably contrasted with the shallow amorality of the card-sharpers Renke and Schalk, whose profession allows them no such profundity of character. The Oberlieutnant's wife, under the pseudonym Spielfeld, becomes their victim and she is forced to put herself entirely at their disposal, which implies complete degradation of a once noble character.⁷

Spielfeld's passion for gambling is depicted as an ailment, of which her husband had believed her cured. She acknowledges her weakness, and her inability to overcome it, morally and physically,⁸ places her within the sphere of Hafner's Burlin,⁹ or even more aptly of Frau Redlichinn in 'Die bürgerliche Dame'.¹⁰ Only the ultimate realisation that her 'Spielsucht' might cause her husband's death, brings her to her senses.¹¹ Finally then, the moral regeneration of character remains a reflection of the popular stage.

Accidentally the Oberlieutnant recognizes his wife's watch, when he stops at the inn, but the pathos of the situation is somewhat belittled by the innkeeper's humorous misinterpretation of it:

1. RV. 11,xviii.

2. *ibid.* 11,i. Wirth.

"(bey einem Nudelbret; den Rok ausgezogen, die Hemdermel hinauf geschoben, ist beschäftigt, Nudeln auf einem Bret auszuwälchern, die Tabaksbuchse auf der Seite, wo er wechselsweise schnupft, und sodann wieder Nudeln walcht).

Wirt:

Man vermisst doch die Weiber nicht eher als zur Mittagsstunde. - Die Arbeit passiert endlich noch; wenn ich nur wüsste wie lange sie sieden müssen. Ich lasse sich so lange sieden bis zu pfeifen anfangen. - (schnupft Tabak) Poz alle Wetter! Jetzt weis ich nicht mehr, müssen die Nudeln oder das Wasser zuvor aufsieden? - Ich glaube die Nudeln (fängt an zu schneiden) Wenn sie nur schon trocken wären! (nimmt ein ausgewalchtes Blat, hängt es über seine Schlafhaube übern Kopf.)"

3. *ibid.* 1,i.

" Oberlieutnant

Gott sie ists! - Es ist mein Weib.

Wirth (lässt den Kleinen aus, der abläuft)
Wer ist sie?

Oberlieutnant

Ein Weib ist sie.

Wirth

Ein Weib? (für sich) freilich kein Pantofel.

Oberlieutnant

Dieses zu erleben! mir die Wunde wieder aufzureissen, die ich schon zu heilen glaubte".¹

An element of comedy is present in the character of the Wirth, who like Renke and Schalk, has, in fact, little depth. His depiction is, however, brightly coloured and he exudes humour rather than being a victim of it.² His way of life is typified by the unhygienic manner in which he prepares noodles,² namely between alternate pinches of snuff.² The innkeeper's dishonesty is inferred by the detailed description of his untidy and unclean abode, which serves as the opening scene of the play:

"(Das Theater ist ein schlecht meubliertes Zimmer, auf der Erde liegen einige zerstreute Karten, zween Tische, worauf viele Gläser, Krüge, Tabakspfeifen, hölzerne Teller, und ebenfalls Karten liegen; noch ein grosser Tisch, auf welchen der Wirth ohne Rok, doch ganz angezogen schläft. - Nach einer Pause kommt der Kutscher in seinem Stallrock, einen Zaun in der Hand haltend.)"³

Upon hearing of his wife's surrender to the two card-sharpers, the Oberlieutnant rushes off to commit murder. Acting on instinct he unfortunately utters the thoughts

109(a)

1. RV. 11,xvix.
2. RV. 11,xx.
3. ibid. 1,v.
4. ibid. 11,viii.
5. cf., 107(a). 8.
6. In a way the Oberst recalls Lottchen's (IH. pp. 85-87) wholesale condemnation of life at court, in what, it may be suspected, was intended as a gibe at the French 'modus vivendi'.
RV. 1V,i.
"Oberster:
Ich bedaure nur die, welche von mir bedauert zu werden verdienen: die offenherzig mit mir reden, so wie ich aus meiner Seele rede, nicht in dem verblühten Hofton mit Verzierungen, und ausgedrechselten Worten, deren wir genug bey der Armee haben; solche Leute hätten Advokaten, und keine Krieger werden sollen. Also offenherzig."

of a thinking man, when he laments in so doing: "Gott! vergieb mirs, wenn ich unrecht handle".¹ This sudden attack of conscience before the deed, serves to make him aware that self-righteous indignation cannot provide as satisfactory a solution to the problem as might self-sacrifice. Accordingly the Oberlieutenant robs the army to pay his wife's debts, fully aware of the nature of his punishment, if he is not treated with some mercy. Perhaps something of a reluctant hero, the Oberlieutenant acts according to a sense of duty and a cold morality rather than from any affection he might have for his wife. It is not love which motivates his sacrifice:

"Ja ich werde sie retten, es ist Pflicht! - Aber auf was Art wirst du das Geld wieder ersetzen, das man dir anvertraute, und welches schon so viele Monat sorgfältigst; es gehört nicht dein - du hast kein Recht darauf; man wird Rechenschaft von dir fordern.- Hast du denn auch einen Freund bey dem Regiment, dem du dich anvertrauen kannst - der du auf Abzug deiner halben Gage dir soviel verschösse, damit du doch ein ehrlicher Kerl bleibst? Ich denke ja! O ja! ich werde es wagen, und unterstütz mich Niemand - Kann mein Unglück keinen Menschen bewegen, so sey es - ich will die Strafe dulden - die auf solche Verbrechen gesetzt sind - Ich rette ja mein Weib, meine schwache Gattin, die von Gott mir bestimmt war. (ab.)."²

All characters of the play are motivated differently.

The card-sharpers are spurred on by the desire for money,³ the servant by affection for the family for whom he works,⁴ the Oberlieutenant by a profound sense of honour,² his wife by her weakness for gambling,⁵ and the Oberst by sincere affection for the Oberlieutenant. The former⁶ displays a human understanding similar to the omniscience of Sarastro, and the whimsical remark with which the Oberst closes the play and recalls its moral

1. RV. 1V,xx.
2. ÖN. Ts. cf., ES. pp. 69-70.
3. cf., pp. 6-10.
4. ES. p. 69.
On this occasion Komorzynski maintains that Lessing's 'Emilia Galotti' served as the source of Schikaneder's inspiration.
5. AM. p. 222ff. Endrös's conclusions are too general as he describes the Schikaneder of 1780.
"Dass der später an Schikaneder teils gerühmte, teils gefürchtete Hang zu riesigen "Spektakelvorstellungen" unter Zuhilfenahme von grossartigen technischen Neuerungen auf der Bühne bereits in Augsburg seine tollen Blüten trieb, davon legen diese weiteren Überreste seines hiesigen Wirkens eindrucksvolles Zeugnis ab."

burden, gives him individuality as a soldier:

"Nochmal in meine Arme, junger Mann! gleich solst du morgen eine schriftliche Versicherung meines halben Vermögens von mir haben.- Dich schätze ich jetzt doppelt werth, du bist der einzige Mann in der Art, den ich kenne; denn ich glaube, eine verschwenderische Frau wieder auf rechten Weg zu bringen, ist weit härter als eine Bataille zu gewinnen, oder eine Festung einzunehmen."¹

In 1783 appeared Schikaneder's 'Das Laster kömmt an Tage'² which apart from a vague recollection of the Haupt- und Staatsaktion,³ enjoyed greater affinities with the classical stage of the Wanderbühne than with the popular theatre.⁴ The character of Gräfin Sturz is not dissimilar to that of Lady Macbeth, Fleckkugel recalls Lessing's Just, and like Agnes Bernauer, Amalie becomes the innocent victim of cruel circumstance.

The play is clearly construed as drama in which aesthetic demands have as much sway as popular appeal. The same moral appeasement of the latter maintains as Gräfin Sturz is diverted from her foul intent to be revealed ultimately as little more than a jealous woman, in the same way as was Weisse's Emilie in 'Lottchen am Hofe'. Schikaneder pays his by now customary attention to details of production but, as in the majority of his dramas for the Wanderbühne, the superficial and technical trickery of the Viennese popular stage is completely lacking.⁵

Early in the play Gräfin Sturz is depicted as a sadist determined to gain her own selfish ends, a woman who will thoroughly enjoy the practice of evil in their realisation:

" Gräfin Sturz (allein)

.....Ha! wie will ich mich laben, an ihrem Trauerblick mich weiden, wenn diese

111(a)

1. DIF. 1,xiii.

zusammenbrennenden Herzen getrennt, und wenigstens eines davon durch meine List zernichtet wird. Ha! wie die Rache mir schon entgegen schreit! Ich höre schon des Prinzen wehmüthiges Trauerlied, die Leichenmusik, die er anstimmt, soll für mein Ohr so freudig lieblich klingen, wie der Trompeten Schall, den man dem Sänger entgegen tönt! Ha! wie mein Blut wallt— doch ruhig, ruhig, Gräfin. — Jetzt eine lächelnde Miene angenommen! Du gehst ja nach Hofe (ab.) " 1

Her disposition to murder and her fanatic desire to spoil the happy union between the prince and Amalie assume such proportions that she even appears slightly insane. Schikaneder depicts her in a giddy Shakespearean madness. After having persuaded the rather pliable Fleckkugel to procure the poison for her, Gräfin Sturz's murderous intent is fortunately discovered before she has opportunity to take advantage of that possession. Ultimately she is so emotionally bewildered by Amalie's plea for mercy and charity, that a sincere repentance and profound sense of shame pour from her:

" Gräfin Sturz

Erschrecken Sie nicht, Gräfin! Sie erblicken an mir eine Sünderin, die in diesem Augenblick das erstemal fühlt, dass sie eine Sünderin ist. — Das Beyspiel ihrer Güte hat an meinem Herzen das gethan, was die Moral der Philosophen und Prediger nie gethan hätte. O Gott! wie muss ich mich vor meinem eigenen Anblicke schämen! wie sehr empfinde ich die Hässlichkeit meiner Handlungen, und die Niedrigkeit meiner Seele! — Hier, hier, Gräfin! lassen Sie mich zu Ihren Füßen meine Rede ausweinen! Die Thränen, die mir meine Empfindung auspresst, rollen nicht, um Mitleiden zu erflehen, über diese meine Wangen herab; denn die Strafe, die ich zu erwarten habe, ist mir gleichgültig, seitdem ich fühle, dass ich sie verdiene.

112(a)

1. DIT. IV.,xxix.
2. cf., p. 74(a).8.
ES. p. 34.
WAM. p. 754.
3. DLT. 11,x.

Meine Thränen enthalten nichts, als Dank für
Ihr edles grosses Herz, das mich empfinden
gelehrt hat; dass dort oben ein Richter
ist, der die Bosheit in den innersten
Falten des Herzens aufsucht, um sie zur
Strafe zu ziehen. - Wenn mir eine
Erinnerung noch bitter ist, so ist's
diese, dass ich die verabscheuungswürdige
Ursache Ihres Leidens gewesen bin! Ihre
Hand - Gräfin! - und Ihre Vergebung -
zum letztenmal! " 1

Gräfin Sturz's contrition is well motivated but sudden, and the manner of its execution, whilst convincing, infers that Schikaneder is merely conforming to the inherent belief of the 'Volksstück' that 'Versöhnung' is more sublime than 'Rache'.² Gräfin Sturz is punished by exile but the spirit of the final dénouement is one of touching, human reconciliation, wherein the Baroque extravaganza of moral condemnation and sentence, of which the title might even make the play prematurely suspect, is tempered by the charitable forgiveness of a civilized humanity.²

Amalie, pictured in the midst of life at court, represents the ideal of motherhood in her scenes with the young prince and princess,³ and her natural and easy simplicity make her an effective contrast to the harsher character of Gräfin Sturz. After having been suspected of attempted murder, Amalie steps forward at the end of the play, and pleads that mercy should be shown to the person who was almost successful in bringing her own life to an end:

"

Amalie

O Prinz, wenn es so ist: so verdient sie
Mitleid (kniet nieder) Euer Durchlucht.
Prinz! Die Erste Gnade, die ich von
Ihnen erflehe, versagen Sie mir sie
nicht, schenken Sie Gräfin Sturz ihre
Freyheit. Ich würde Zeit Lebens keine
ruhige Stunde mehr haben, so oft ich mich
erinnerte, dass ich die Ursache ihres

113(a)

1. DLT. IV,xxviii.
2. ES. p. 142.
The above authority remarks that the play was written "vor 1785".
3. 8N. Ts.
4. ES. p. 142.
5. ibid. pp. 35, 45, 65, 82, 111.
6. G. 8N, Ve.
7. ibid. 11,vi.

Unterganges wäre. O es ist Unglück für
 sie genug, dass sie einen Mann liebte,
 den Gott nicht für sie schuf." ¹

The tolerant understanding of Gräfin Sturz's predicament adds depth to Amalie's character. Her final sentence in the above quotation reveals her innate modesty and yet true appraisal of the situation just as it proves that Schikaneder was not without a certain skill in the dramatic shading of verbal expression.

Written as early as 1784,² Schikaneder's military play 'Der Grandprofos' did not appear in print until 1787 in Regensburg.³ A tragedy of army life, 'Der Grandprofos' is modelled on the spectacle of Möller's 'Graf Walltron',⁴ which Schikaneder performed with great success during his years on the Wanderbühne.⁵ Deliberately Schikaneder intended to make his play entirely credible to the minds of his audience, as he referred to the 'Täuschungsvermögen' in the preface:

"Um diesem Trauerspiel alles mögliche
 Täuschungsvermögen zu geben, ist nötig;
 dass alles mit grösster militairischer
 Genauigkeit begleitet werde."⁶

The severity of army life and laws is cruelly and convincingly portrayed, as military order demands that people should be hanged for petty thefts. Very dramatically, the picture of universal suffering under such conditions is rendered personal, when the Feldwäbel is informed that his wife has been found guilty of stealing a chicken and within a short space of time has been sentenced to death. Blissfully unaware of this Feldwäbel had shown a stoic acceptance of the imposed severity of military laws, but on hearing of his wife's misfortune, he collapses.⁷ In rather a defeatist and unheroic frame of mind, the Feldwäbel goes into battle intent on being killed as he tries

114(a)

1. G. 111,xii.

2. G. 1V,xv.

"Obrister:

Unglücklicher Freund!

Feldwäbel:

Nicht unglücklich*, denn ohne meiner Gattinn
fühl ich kein Glück mehr in dieser Welt.
Nur noch eine Bitte an Sie, Herr Obrister.
Ich kenne die Gesetze; weiss auch, dass Sie
mich zum Tode verdammen müssen. Ich warte
meinen Tod standhaft ab. - Aber nur noch
diese einzige Bitte, dass ich an die Stätte
meiner Gemahlinn begraben werde. Wo sind
meine Kinder?..."

3. cf., p. 112(a). 2.

4. G. 1V,xv.

* as in text.

to defend his king.¹ From the point of view of theatre, if not of character, such a move is understandable, as it emphasises the rigidity of army law and the impotence of a mere Feldwäbel in the face of such. As a soldier he must continue to fight despite the tragic situation of his wife. Unfortunately his elevated sense of nobility is not effectively produced and the Feldwäbel's flight into battle serves only to reveal in him an emotional immaturity.¹ The Feldwäbel succeeds in saving the life of both his king and himself and he throws himself upon the king's mercy after he has killed the Grandprofos, who refuses to allow his wife any concession. Voluntarily the Feldwäbel offers himself as a victim of army law and he and his wife are finally sacrificed for its good.² Schikaneder's dramatic habit of 'Versöhnung', which was virtually a necessity for the popular stage,³ a condescension to the public,³ is not offered here. 'Der Grandprofos' remains tragedy, although a secondary reconciliation occurs between the father, Alter Knall, and Feldwäbel, his son. Fährdrich Knall, the latter's evil brother, also undergoes a certain sublimation through the realisation of his brother's tragedy.⁴

In the preface, Schikaneder speaks of the harvest of tears, which he reaps with the performance of the play. This gives him his reward and satisfaction. To a great extent the suffering of Feldwäbel's family is responsible for the effect. The family is penniless, Feldwäbel has to entertain fellow officers, but there is insufficient money with which to buy food for the children. Feldwäbel refuses to report his pecuniary circumstances to his commander, as he will not have people say to him, that a soldier should not marry. Feldwäbel can receive nothing from his father, as, by the intrigues of his own brother, he has been disinherited. Under sentence of death the Feldwäbel's wife is brought from her prison to meet her executioner and the

115(a)

1. MS. 111,i. pp. 87-89.
2. G. 111,ii.

ensuing scene portends a similar scene in Schiller's 'Maria Stuart' of 1801.¹

" Frau

Ha! Wie erquickend Gottes freye Luft ist,
und mir wird der Genuss derselben so
früh versagt.....

Scharfrichter (tritt vor)

Frau

Wer sind Sie, mein Herr?

Scharfrichter

Feind, und Freund von allen armen
Geschöpfen, die in meine Hände fallen.
Geb Sie mir Ihre Hand.

Frau (Reicht sie ihm zitternd dar)

Scharfrichter

Josepha heisst sie, nicht wahr?

Frau (bejaht es mit dem Kopf)

Scharfrichter

Nun, also, liebe Josepha! bey diesem
Handschlag bitt' ich Sie, mit keinem
Groll gegen mich in die andere Welt
zu gehen..

Frau

Mann! ich kenn euch nicht. Habt ihr
mich jemals gekannt, oder beleidigt?
von mir sey euch vergeben. "2

The demands of this scene, as far as the tear-harvest is concerned, are modest enough, but in others the sentiment is too sweet.. Tear follows upon tear as the brave woman is confronted by her children, as they bring her flowers, by a peasant and his daughter, and eventually by Feldwäbel. The suffering is protracted and distended beyond its natural confines, but as a new phenomenon in the theatre it undoubtedly had its effect, as the preface remarks:

116(a)

1. G. Ve.
also ES. pp. 143-144.
2. ÖN. Ts. cf., ES. pp. 144-145.
The play was successfully performed in Vienna
in the "Freihaustheater auf der Wieden".
'Hanns Dollinger', 'Philipine Welserin'
"haben die Schaulust befriedigt und die
Thrännendrüsen geöffnet."
M. V.l. 'Das Freihaustheater auf der Wieden.'

"...Das Bauernmädchen, ein Mädchen von zehn Jahren (nur nicht älter) that erstaunliche Wirkung. Ich wünsche jedem Direktor Herrn Rousseau's eltere zehnjährige Demoiselle Tochter, von welcher wir die erste Probe unter uns nicht ohne Thränen aushalten konnten, und welche bey der wirklichen Aufführung des Stückes das Erstaunen aller Zuschauer und den lautesten Beyfall erregte.

Geschrieben zu Regensburg.
den 8. April 1787.

Emanuel Schikaneder.
Deutscher Schauspieldirektor." 1

Whilst director of the Hoftheater in Regensburg, Schikaneder continued in the way of Möller's 'Graf Walltron' and his own 'Der Grandprofos' by producing a further Ritterstück in 1787, entitled 'Hanns Dollinger oder das Heimliche Blutgericht'.² The play not only contains an appraisal of the ideals of knighthood, but also a disparaging criticism of German knighthood in particular. Very loyally the play upholds the truth and justice, for which the nebulous Kaiser Heinrich should in fact stand, and the superstitious, and cowardly German knights are finally shamed by Dollinger's brave fight against the heathen, Krako. Dollinger is deeply conscious that he is on the side of justice and that, in this, he has a moral superiority over a man who has allied himself with the devil, as has Krako. Also incorporated in the play is Schikaneder's own German pride, and he intentionally appeals to that same patriotism in his audience:

" Dollinger

...Dollinger sey der erste Kämpfer; falle ich, so kampf wacker drauf los, und wenn ers bis zum dritten bringt, so will ich nicht Hanns Dollinger seyn, wenn er nicht todt gestreckt unter seinem Pferde liegt;

117(a)

1. ED. 111,xvi.
2. *ibid.* 111,xix.

aber ich sage, er solls nicht bis zum
zweiten bringen - Wir sind ja Deutsche!
(will ab.)

Erster Ritter

Ritter Dollinger! Ich sag Euch, er ist
von einer ungeheuren Grösse und Stärke.

Dollinger

Wisst Ihr die Geschichte vom David und
dem Riesen Goliath nicht mehr? Seht,
Ritter!. ein gutes Gewissen macht Mut
und Stärke, und schafft uns unsere Feinde
vom Hals. - Religion ist die Schutzwehre
unserer Seele, und peitscht die Teufel
von uns her. (ab.)¹

The knight Dollinger preaches Christian dogma rather than overdramatising the importance of individual action, although the latter is of no slight consequence in the outcome of the play. Dollinger is the representative of Christianity and must ultimately be victorious over the devil's associate, Krako. Even the mention of God's name causes the heathen to wince.² In order to retain its proper perspective, the characterisation of Dollinger appears at times a little contrived. Thus in order that he might be arrested, suspected of attempting to murder the emperor, he assumes a role which is more typical of Krako than of himself. In the early scenes under great duress, Dollinger keeps a masterly control of his emotions, but suddenly at court, without much motive, he allows his bitterness to conquer.

Dollinger serves a threefold purpose. He is the representative of individual manliness, and of Christianity. Moreover, he appears to become the popular critic of the court at Regensburg. In the latter capacity, it is inferred that Dollinger expresses Schikaneder's sentiments, at a time when intrigue in the court against Schikaneder's German company eventually succeeded in ousting both him

118(a)

1. ES. pp. 98-137.
2. ibid.
3. cf., p. 75.
4. HD. 11,v. cf., LH. pp. 85,86.
cf., p. 75.
5. HD. 111,xvi.
"Kaiser Heinrich:
Ritter Hanns Dollinger, Euer Kaiser bittet Euch,
seinen schnellen Urteilsspruch zu vergessen! -
Ich ward leider hintergegangen, betrogen;
von nun an will ich alles mit eigenen Augen
untersuchen, ehe ich Jemanden zum Tod
verdamme...."

and his successor in favour of Italian and French opera companies.¹ It has been ascertained, however, that Schikaneder himself was not entirely without blame as far as the original causes and opportunities for intrigue were concerned.² The play abounds with the wickedness of such intrigue. The meeting of the Blutgericht is depicted as one of the most flagrant injustices of the time despite its solemn ritual, and Hanns Dollinger utters his opinions in such violent terms that the play must have bordered on treason:³

" Dollinger

Verdamptes Hofgesind! In der Hölle kann man nicht böshafter handeln, als in diesem Hofe. Dollinger den Weg zu sperren! Mir den Weg zum Kaiser zu sperren! Wer ist der Kaiser? Ein Mensch, wie ich. - Er ist Kaiser des Reichs, und ich Ritter des Reichs.....siehe da, Dornbusch! - Hört, Vetter! Obschon Ihr auch am Hofe seyd, so muss ichs Euch dennoch ins Gesicht sagen: Eure Leute am Hofe sind wie die Bauernhunde am Thore angeschmiedet, nur ist der Unterschied der, dass der Hauspummer seine Kette fühlt, mit der er angeschmiedet ist, Ihr aber prahlt mit Euern Ketten, und seyd doch weit bissiger als solche Hunde."⁴

It is rumour which condemns Dollinger to the Blutgericht, just as rumour unsettled Schikaneder as manager of the Hoftheater. The above outburst is not in the character of the early Dollinger in the play, so that the association of it with Schikaneder's own feelings is more readily acceptable.

The emperor is initially portrayed as a weak and trusting, religiously fanatic ruler, but after the gross miscarriage of justice on Dollinger, he promises to be personally responsible for the administration of justice in his lands.⁵ By the imposed stress of the action the

119(a)

1. cf., 118(a). 5.
2. HD. 111,xx.
3. ES. p. 119.
4. cf., pp. 81-119.

emperor is brought to a better appreciation of the demands of kingship, and it is inferred that his rule improves accordingly.¹

The play contains its horrors, which are perpetrated under the rule of the cruel Ritter Harz, but for the most part these are related. Even the final battle-scene is reported as Dollinger is unseated from his horse,² but the hand-to-hand combat is witnessed by the audience. The action progresses speedily and is further spiced with local interest by the inclusion in the production of a 'Zunft der Meistersinger'.³ With this play Schikaneder continues to pursue his normal policy of tickling the local palate.⁴ It was a policy, which did not necessarily override aesthetic demand, as it did especially in the early Alt-Wiener Volkstheater, and it was similarly reflected in the libretti of his Singspiel⁴ and the majority of his dramatic works for the Wanderbühne.⁴