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

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EMANUEL SCHIKANEDER IN VIENNA

(1789-1812)

a.

MUSIC IN THE FREIHAUSTHEATER AND

THE THEATER AN DER WIEN

ERRATA

- p. 129. For 'Two hundred' read 'two hundred', etc...
p. 132. For 'Forty-four' read 'forty-four'.
p. 204. For 'durchgestriebenen' read 'durchgetriebenen'

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1. ES. p. 72.
2. ibid. pp. 146-151. Das Freihaustheater.
3. cf., pp. 57-119.
4. cf., WTA. 1794. p. 174.
"Wie hier eine Oper, entweder auf den Hoftheatern,
oder auf dem Marinellischen und Schikaneder'schen
Theater, welche beyde ihr Aufkommen hauptsächlich
den Opern zu danken haben,..."
5. ZT. öN. Ts.
6. ES. p. 150.
AWVK. p. 498.
7. ES. p. 167.
TW. Vor- und Baugeschichte.
8. July 12th. 'Der dumme Gärtner aus dem
Gebirge oder Die zween Anton.' k.O.
July 25th. 'Jakob und Nannerl oder Der
angenehme Traum'. O.
September 26th. 'Die verdeckten Sachen (2. Teil
der zween Anton)'. k.O.
ZT. 1789.
9. ES. pp. 152-153.

After having been summoned to Vienna by Joseph II in 1785 in order that his company might perform Singspiele in the Kärntnertortheater,¹ Schikaneder visited Vienna on the second occasion in 1789, to assist his wife in the management of the Freihaustheater.² Under these circumstances Schikaneder was under no direct obligation to the emperor to be responsible for the maintenance of that genre in the repertoire of the German theatre. By the time he arrived in the city, however, Schikaneder had already proved on the Wanderbühne his fondness for Singspiel and music had even then assumed a certain prominence in his theatrical productions.³ In Vienna the Singspiel flourished under him and came to form the greater part of the repertoire of the Freihaustheater.⁴

Professor Deutsch's table of first performances in Schikaneder's theatre in 1789 notes eight new, musical items: four komische Opern, two Singspiele, one Oper and one romantisch-komische Oper.⁵ It was not until April that Schikaneder assumed management of the theatre with Bauernfeld,⁶ the Royal Imperial Privilege being conferred upon the theatre on June 21st, 1790.⁷ Nevertheless, in this short space of time Schikaneder was responsible for the production of eight new Singspiele, three of which were his own.⁸ Two of the latter were a great success in the same year, whilst the first, 'Der dumme Gärtner', was produced on thirty-two occasions before the end of 1789.⁹

By continuing to pursue a theatrical policy founded on an awareness of popular appeal, Schikaneder managed to keep his audience favourably disposed towards the Singspiel

Komorzynski can find no evidence for such a condemnation of Schikaneder's circumstances. Nevertheless, Bauer also remarks that Schikaneder was declared bankrupt, but only later in 1792, ('Vor- und Baugeschichte'.), at a time when surely the previous year's success with the 'Zauberflöte' must have eased financial pressure on the theatre. Of the same period Rommel remarks that Schikaneder was soon able to manage without the services of his rich companion and patron, Josef von Bauernfeld. AWK. p. 498.

10. cf., pp. 57-119.
11. ES. pp. 151-152. 'Wiedersehen in Wien'.
12. BWAM. V2. pp. 308-316. 29th December, 1789 - 14th August, 1790. M-Michael Puchberg. In these letters Mozart continually begs for money.
13. cf., pp. 72-75.

1. ES. pp. 356-357. This index reveals the variety of Schikaneder's theatrical offerings. cf., also DDS. p. 159.
"Die bisherige knappe Form dehnt sich aus, die Benennungen Singspiel und Operette verschwinden, die grossen romantischen, lyrischen, komischen Opern treten an ihre Stelle".
2. cf., pp. 144-147.
3. ZT. 1790. 18th May.
Schikaneder also performed Hiller's Singspiel 'Der lustige Schuster' (ZT. 15th August. ES. p. 166) and his own 'Die Tyranten' (ZT. 7th February) in the Freihaustheater in 1790, two musical works which had been prominent in his repertoire of the Wanderbühne.
4. WTA. 1803. 'Neuerbautes'.
"Die gute und prompte Bezahlung der Dichter, denen das Stück gleich nach der Annahme, nicht erst bey oder nach der Vorstellung bezahlt wird, lässt dieses Theater nie an Stücken darben; und daher hat die Direction nebst den Arbeiten des Herrn Schikaneder, und mehrerer Mitglieder, von einigen der besseren Köpfe des In- und Auslandes Arbeiten zu hoffen, worunter ich Herrn. Richter (Verfasser der Eipeldauer Briefe, und Oesterreichs Rabelais) Herrn Gwey den Verfasser der Modesitten (denen bald ein zweyter Theil folgt, und dessen seltner Prozess so sehr gefiel,) mit allem Rechte zähle."
5. TK. 1778. p. 78.
6. ZT.
ES. p. 165ff. "Sorgen und Mühen, Freuden und Erfolge."
7. cf., p. 123(a).4.
M.VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
WTA. 1803. 'Neuerbautes'.
8. ZT. 1791, 1792.
9. Dr. Carl Krebs' 'Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven' (Berlin, 1805), referring to Jahn's biography, states, wrongly, maintains Komorzynski, that Schikaneder was penniless when he approached Mozart in 1791.
ES. pp. 171-172.

and its various manifestations in the classical, romantic, heroic, epic, historic, allegoric, comic, magic and military world of the theatre.¹ His musical programme thus ranged from the light and humorous 'Der dumme Anton' and its six sequels on the one hand,² to the more sublime melodrama of Brandes's 'Ariadne auf Naxos'³ on the other. As an enticement for playwrights and musicians to produce new material, Schikaneder later offered payment on receipt of any work for his theatre.⁴ This gave greater incentive to aspiring writers than did the earlier offer of the Hof- und Nationaltheater, where the poet received nothing until the work had been given its third performance.⁵ As a result of this names appear on the programme of performances for 1790, which were little known even in Vienna. In a similar way the appearance of a number of works was very brief.⁶

The majority of musical works performed at Schikaneder's Freihaustheater were of German origin. Without imperial directive Schikaneder was always sufficiently patriotic not to neglect the offerings of his native theatre, where they were forthcoming. Schikaneder further encouraged the musicians of his company to compose for the theatre.⁷ He produced the attractive and popular Singspiele of Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf,⁸ and he continued to write himself. By 1791 productions of inferior quality, such as works and adaptations by Karl Ludwig Giesecke, had become more noticeable in the Freihaustheater.⁸ Schikaneder was certainly not bankrupt at this time,⁹ but it might well have been financial considerations, as it might have been his desire to contribute to the German theatre,¹⁰ to renew an old association,¹¹ to assist a financially embarrassed friend,¹² to advertise that friend's talent, where intrigue had effectively limited his fame in Vienna,¹³ which caused him to approach Mozart about his writing for the

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14. AWVK. p. 438. Few 'Zauberstücke' were performed.

15. *ibid.* pp. 441-442ff.

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1. 7th March, 1791. ES. p. 176.
ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper'. p.V.
2. ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper'. p.IV.
3. ZT.
4. WTA. 1794. p. 172.
'Mein Bester!
Sie verlangen von mir, dass ich Sie mit dem Stande der Musik in Wien bekannt mache? - Das ist ein schweres Stück Arbeit. Ich möchte wohl Ihren Auftrag vollziehen, aber ich werde es kaum im Stande seyn, und zwar aus einem Grunde, der den Wienern sehr zu Ehre gereicht, denn die Compositoren und Virtuosen sind hier in so grosser Menge, dass es beynahe unmöglich ist, sie alle zu kennen."
5. cf., p. 79(a). 10.
ES. pp. 156-157.
6. ES. p. 155.
7. cf., pp. 76, 77, 79(a). 10.
Schack & Gerl wrote the music to Schikaneder's Anton series. cf., pp. 122, 123, 144-147.
8. ES. p. 72.
9. AWWK. p. 432.
"Seine Stimme war stark und seinen Gegnern klang sie "versoffen". Seinen Coupletgesang fand Castelli, der ihn allerdings nur in seinen allerletzten Lebensjahren gehört haben kann, "entsetzlich"."
10. ibid. p. 417.
11. ibid. pp. 431-439.
"In der Livrei von jedem andern Charakter ist er nicht zu sehen, und alles was in das feinere geht, ist ausser seine* Sphäre*". DSB. p.129 fn.
12. Apart from the years 1772-1776, Laroche's reign in Vienna was unbroken from 1769-1806.
ibid. p. 431.
13. ES. p. 152.

* As in Text.

Freihaustheater.¹ The forthcoming opera, 'Die Zauberflöte', was first performed on September 30th, 1791.²

Works by foreign musicians and authors continued to appear in Schikaneder's theatre, but they remained in the minority.³ Whilst German librettists did not seem common in Vienna, German musicians of quality were increasing in number by 1794.⁴ As early as 1792 Schikaneder could perform in his theatre the works of Dittersdorf,³ Mozart,³ Franz Xaver Süssmayer,³ Joseph Haydn,³ and of his own Hauskomponisten, Thaddäus Gerl⁵ and Benedikt Schäck,⁶ whose own local reputations were not slight.⁷

The rival suburban theatre, the Leopoldstadttheater, which had been opened on 20th October, 1781, by Karl

Marinelli and Menninger, was somewhat handicapped in its alleged dedication to the cause of Singspiel. Johann Laroche, the extremely talented Kasperl comedian, had a very raucous voice,⁹ which did not encourage him to take a serious part in musical productions.

Additional limitations were necessarily imposed by the fact that, although the Leopoldstadttheater soon possessed Charakterkomiker in Johann Sartory and the rest of his family, who came to the theatre in 1782,¹⁰ and Anton Baumann,¹⁰ who came in 1786 after the theatre in Brunn had burnt down,¹⁰ Kasperl himself never had the ability for character-acting.¹¹ As a comedian he was undisputed master,¹² apart from the temporary opposition offered by Schikaneder's 'dummer Anton',¹³ but Laroche was neither a singer nor an actor.¹¹ In such circumstances it would seem that Kasperl's most effective sphere was the Zauberstück, but even here the quick scene-changes limited his naturalness.¹⁴ Nor did the greater rigidity of the Lokalstück offer him an easier environ.¹⁵ As Kasperl was the main attraction for the audience of the Leopoldstadttheater, the Singspiel under Marinelli could develop only with difficulty beyond

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13. WTA. 1794. p. 185.

14. TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.
cf., p. 23ff, 72ff.

1. AWVK. p. 432.
2. ibid. pp. 431-439.
3. cf., p. 74(a). 3.
4. cf., p. 124.
5. AWTL.E. pp. XVIII-XXI.
AWVK. p. 441.

In 1786 Wenzel Müller was engaged as 'Kapellmeister und Kompositeur' and Hensler joined him as 'Theaterdichter'. The latter also combined with Perinet to give Schikaneder even more competition.

ES. p. 166.

6. AWVK. pp. 544-552.
7. ibid. pp. 546-550.
8. AWTL.E. p. XVI.ff.
ZT.
M. VI. Das Freihaustheater auf der Wieden.
WTA. 1794. p. 185.
9. ZT.
10. TA. 1794. p. 185.
"...Obschon diese drey Opern von den Kennern eben so sehr bewundert wurden, als jene, die auf dem Marinellischen Theater aufgeführt worden waren, so konnten sie doch nicht so viel Beyfall erhalten. Das ist ein hinlänglicher Beweis, dass die Schuld nicht an dem Componisten, sondern an den Schauspielern liegt. Man will überhaupt - ich sage nicht, mit wie viel Grund oder Ungrunde bemerken, dass Herr Schikaneder alle Opern, von welchen er nicht wenigstens den Text verfertigt hat, seiner Aufmerksamkeit nicht würdig halte und sie daher, wie man sich auszudrücken pflegt, fallen lasse..."
11. AWVK. pp. 544-552.
WTA. 1794. p. 174.
12. ibid. p. 172. cf., p. 124(a). 4.

its unrealistic and fairy-tale confines. Where the Singspiel did seek to go further, as in Perinet's adaptations, it was performed virtually without Kasperl's assistance.¹ Kasperliaden and burlesques retained their prominence in the theatre.² It is plain from Schink's interpretation of the device of the safety-curtain,³ if not from the theatre's designation as the 'Kasperltheater', that its initial allegiance was not to the cause of the Singspiel.

As Iaroche grew older, however, Singspiel did become popular in the Leopoldstadttheater. The conflagration in Brunn not only provided the theatre with 'Karakterkomiker' of quality,⁴ but also with a talented composer of popular melodies, Wenzel Müller.⁵ Together with Joachim Perinet,⁶ Müller was responsible for a whole series of Singspiele, some of them adaptations from Hafner,⁷ around the turn of the century. The musical works of Dittersdorf and Schenk were also performed in both the Freihaus- and Leopoldstadttheater.⁸

Although Schikaneder's theatre enjoyed the privilege of performing works by musicians of the quality of Mozart, Haydn and Süßmayer,⁹ the actual productions of Singspiele were not always as attractive as in the rival theatre, according to the Theateralmanach of 1794.¹⁰ The existence of two rival theatres in the suburbs of Vienna, however, gave rise to an increased popularity of the Singspiel.¹¹ In conjunction with this virtuosi and composers became more numerous in the city.¹² There was an upsurge of texts in German.¹³ As the suburban theatres had to entertain a German audience of mixed social standing, as opposed to the better educated audience of the more expensive Hof- und Nationaltheater,¹⁴ where the works of foreign playwrights were preferred,¹⁴ the products of these theatres were, almost without

1. ZT. Even Mozart's Italian libretti were translated into German. cf., p. 127.
M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden. According to this authority, it appeared to be an accepted policy of Schikaneder's theatre, that foreign texts were translated into German. (v. under Sebastian Meyer).
2. AWVK. p. 432.
"Kasperl sprach selbstverständlich den "gemeinen", also den vorstädtischen und dem Stadtwiener um 1800 schon bäuerisch klingenden Wiener Dialekt." (M. VI. p. 275 ff).
DSB. 4. Brief. 22nd March, 1783. p. 123.
3. ES. p. 311.
"Durch die Einführung eines schwäbischen Schustergesellen als komische Figur hat Schikaneder eine alte Tradition gefestigt. Schon bei Kurz treffen wir einen schwäbischen Schneckenhändler, bei Hafner eine schwäbelnde Köchin...aber seit Schikaneders "Schneckenhändler aus Schwaben" und "Abgebranntem Haus" wird der Schwabe ständig."
4. cf., p. 7.
5. cf., p. 126(a). 3.
cf., TWst, FW, FB. pp. 171-174, 185-187.
Eipeldauer remarks on the use of Swabian in Schikaneder's 'Tyroler Wastel', part 2.
EDB. 31. Heft. 1. Brief. p. 4ff.
6. TA. 1796. p. XLIII. 'Personalstand des Marinellischen Theaters'.
7. ibid. p. XLVI. 'Personalstand des Schikanederischen Theaters'.
8. ZT.
9. WTA. 1794. p. 186.
10. ES. pp. 154, 180.
11. ES. p. 180. cf., p. 154.
12. BWAM. V2. No. 350. p. 351. M-MmM. 7/8th October, 1791.
M. VI.

exception, in the vernacular.¹ At its lowest level this consisted of to the Viennese dialect,² which was well suited to the exponents and exposition of comedy, and the dialects of Swabia³ and Salzburg.⁴ Later dialect was more commonly adapted in the suburban theatres to portray character⁵ and Schikaneder was one of the persons responsible for an attempt to elevate the dramatic content of the popular theatre in this way.⁵ Unlike the Kasperliaden of the Leopoldstadttheater, the majority of Schikaneder's works, whether Singspiel or drama, enjoyed the privilege of more or less standard German, probably a result of his experience of the classical drama of the Wanderbühne.

In musical achievement Schikaneder managed to surpass Marinelli. The Wiener Theater Almanach of 1796 adds to its list of actors and actresses in the Leopoldstadttheater a number of male and female singers 'aus der Singschule' and mentions an orchestra of thirty musicians.⁶ By this time, however, Schikaneder has begun to develop the original conception of Singspiel, so that in the same almanach his theatre is headed 'Deutsche Oper'⁷ and first consideration is given by the editor to Schikaneder's 'Sänger' and 'Sängerinnen'.⁷ As a significant token of this development the designation 'Choristen'⁷ appears after the listed membership of actors and actresses.

Schikaneder's programme from 1789 to 1801 maintained an unusual standard of musical quality and variety.⁸ In 1789 he commissioned Paul Wranitzky, 'Hofkapellmeister'⁹ of the reputedly good orchestra at the Hof- und Nationaltheater, to write a romantic-comic opera, which resulted in 'Oberon, König der Elfen'¹⁰ with a libretto adapted from Christoph Martin Wieland by Karl Ludwig Giesecke.¹¹ This was already a departure from the original simplicity of the Singspiel. Mozart was a frequent visitor to the theatre,¹² but, unfortunately, his association with

1. Der heimliche Botschafter: Exemplar 8N.(series nova 58-60)p.20. 16th December, 1791.
 "Alles wetteifert um Mozarts hinterlassene Wittwe, ihren Verlust einigermaßen zu ersetzen, und sie zu trösten. So hat der verdienstvolle Freyherr von Swieten den Knaben, welcher schon vortreflich Klavier spielt, und die Gräfinn von Thun das Mädchen an Kindesstatt angenommen. Herr Schikaneder hat für den verstorbenen die Exequien halten lassen, wobey das Requiem welches er in seiner letzten Krankheit komponirt hatte, exequirt wurde. Zum besten der Wittwe wird Herr Schikaneder dieser Tage eine Vorstellung der Zauberflöte geben."
2. ZT.
3. BWAM. V2. No. 195. p. 121. M-IM. 26th September, 1781.
 IMF. V3. fn. 3. p. 418. M-IM. 1st August, 1781.
 "Gottlieb Stephanie, chiefly at Mozart's instigation made considerable alterations and additions to this text."
4. BWAM. V2. No.195. p. 121. M-IM 26th September, 1781.
 " - mehr kann ich aber nicht davon machen - weil izt* die ganze geschichte* umgestürzt wird - und zwar auf mein verlangen.*"
5. cf., p. 162(a).9.
6. ZT.
 ES. pp. 154,243.

Schikaneder bore no further issue beyond 'Die Zauberflöte', as Mozart died in December, 1791. After his death Schikaneder continued to acknowledge Mozart as a musician and friend, not only by giving Mozart's widow financial assistance,¹ but by producing other works by Mozart in the Freihaustheater. Although he recognized the inviolability of Mozart's music, Schikaneder could not afford his libretti the same privilege. 'Don Juan' was performed on 5th November, 1792, and Daponte's Italian text was adapted in German by Christian Heinrich Spiess.² Daponte suffered a similar humiliation on August 19th 1794, when the comic opera 'Die Schule der Liebe oder So machen sie's alle' appeared as an adaptation by Karl Ludwig Giesecke.² The latter was followed on 6th September by 'Die Entführung aus dem Serail' with the original text by Christoph Friedrich Bretzner,² no mention at all being made of Mozart's librettist Stephanie der Jüngere. In the light of Mozart's insistence that Stephanie should alter Bretzner's text considerably,³ the wisdom of Schikaneder's decision in the latter case must be doubted, although even Mozart was prompted on occasion to persuade Stephanie to revise his work.⁴ Other works by Mozart, which Schikaneder produced in his theatre, were 'Der Schauspieldirektor', which appeared July 15th, 1797,² and in which the names of Schikaneder and Mozart have since been placed in the dramatis personae as the leading characters, 'La Clemenza di Tito',² which was performed September 4th 1798, and 'Eine kleine Freimaurer-Kantate' (K.623), probably with words by Schikaneder.⁵

Apart from the various productions of Singspiel and opera, Professor Deutsch's programme of performances in the Freihaustheater reveals a number of orchestral and instrumental concerts, and mention is also made of the occasional 'Singabend'.⁶ Thus, in addition to 'Der Ritter Roland', a heroic-comic opera adapted from the Italian of

1. ZT.
2. ES. p. 154.
3. ibid. p. 323.
4. IMF. V3. p. 1172. fn. M-IM. 22nd December, 1781.
"Peter von Winter (1754-1825), born in Mannheim, joined the Mannheim orchestra as violinist in 1775. In 1794 he became Vice-Kapellmeister to the Munich court orchestra, and in 1798 Kapellmeister. From 1793 to 1797 he had nine operas performed at the Burgtheater and Schikaneder's theatre in Vienna. He also composed a great deal of church music..."
5. D. 'Ignaz von Seyfried'.
6. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.
7. ZT.
TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien.'
8. ZT.
WTA. 1794. p. 188.
"Bey den sechs Theilen der 'beyden Anton' oder des 'dummen Gärtners', die jeder für sich einen besondern Titel führen, bey der 'Schellenkappe' oder dem "Derwisch" und bey dem "Stein der Weisen" componirten mehrere zugleich; man arbeitete an diesen Operetten wie an einem Hause, und es ist nicht zu läugnen, dass diese Manier die allerbeste ist; wenn eine Oper bald zu Stande gebracht seyn soll."
9. WTA. 1794. p. 188.
10. ES. p. 168. SW.
cf., p. 73(a).9.
11. WTA. 1794. Sonnleithner's criticism is inferred.
p. 188. cf., p. 128(a). 8.

Munziato Porta by Gierschek,¹ which was given on the 9th January, 1792, Joseph Haydn was represented by one of his London symphonies in 1796, which was played between the two acts of Süssmayer's 'Moses', and by a new 'Volks-hymne' called 'Lied an den Kaiser', which was sung by the audience on 12th February, 1797, prior to the evening performance, to celebrate the birthday of Franz II.¹ Gluck also maintained his place in Schikaneder's repertoire. One of the many concerts given was by the Israeli
musicians.¹ Other contemporary musicians such as Henneberg,² Teyber,³ Peter von Winter⁴ and Seyfried⁵ received encouragement from Schikaneder and his singers too were rewarded for their efforts by financial benefits from the occasional performance.⁶ One notable concert contained the works of Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn. It took place on the 27th October, 1798 and on that occasion the 'Grosse Musikalische Akademie' offered four arias by Mozart, one of them 'In diesen heil'gen Hallen' from 'Die Zauberflöte'¹, sung by Karl Ludwig Fischer, Royal Prussian Kammersänger and former Viennese Royal Opera singer; the overture to 'Die Zauberflöte';¹ a piano concerto by Beethoven, played by the composer;¹ and 'Die Beliebte Sinfonie' by Haydn as the finale.¹

Throughout this period there was a constant need for Schikaneder to exhort his own people to write and compose for the theatre, and as a result numerous works appeared, which bore his name or that of other members of the company?⁷ On occasions the pressure of work demanded that the music be handed out to more than one composer.⁸ Thus, for one work, two composers are named, sometimes even three.⁹ On one occasion Mozart's name was one of the three.¹⁰ The practice invited criticism¹¹ but it was a reflection of Schikaneder's true appreciation of the Sing-spiel's original form, that such measures were executed

1. cf., LD. pp.82-85.
LH. pp.85-87.
DB. pp.87-89.
2. ZT: 'Die zwölf grössten Erfolge'.
3. ES. p. 265. The request on this occasion
was made to Kaiser Franz, in April, 1800.
4. ibid. p. 266.
AWVK. pp. 521-522.
5. cf., p. 76.
6. ES. p. 265.
7. ibid. p. 265.

successfully. Different styles of music did not in themselves detract from the performance of Singspiel, as it was initially the plot which provided the unity. In 'Die Zauberflöte' Mozart proved what a master might make of Singspiel, but in doing so, he inevitably moved, beyond its originally naive musical conception.¹

In terms of quantity of performances Schikaneder ranked as the most successful librettist in Vienna. During his residence in the Freihaustheater the twelve most notable successes included eight of his own works.² 'Die Zauberflöte' achieved two hundred and twenty-three performances since it was given for the first time in 1791;² then followed 'Der Tyroler Wastel' with one hundred and eighteen performances from 1796;² 'Der Spiegel von Arkadien' with ninety-eight performances from 1794; 'Die Waldmänner' with ninety-six performances from 1793; 'Babylons Pyramiden' with sixty-four performances from 1797;² 'Das Labyrinth' with thirty-four performances in the year 1798;² 'Der Königssohn aus Ithaka' with twenty-nine performances in the year 1795;² and 'Der Wundermann am Rheinfall' with twenty-six performances since 1799.² This record did not necessarily vouch for the quality of Schikaneder's writing, but it did speak for the success of his campaign to consider the tastes, musically and otherwise, of the Viennese audience.

After offering for more than a decade a programme of unusual musical variety, Schikaneder applied to the Emperor for permission to make use of the royal privilege,³ which had been granted him in 1786 by Joseph II,⁴ but of which he had then been unable to take advantage.⁵ Schikaneder's intention was to build a new theatre on a different site on the other side of the river Wien.⁶ His application was granted in the terms of the original agreement,⁷ whereupon

1. PFW. 'Das Freihaus-Theater spielt Opern'. p.37ff.
ES. pp. 266, 267.
2. *ibid.* p. 266.
Braun's legal argument was that the permission granted to Schikaneder, "laufe dem mit dem Allerhöchsten Hofe zu errichtenden Theaterpachtvertrag zuwider, in dem es heisse, dass niemandem für das Künftige weder die Errichtung eines neuen Theaters in der Stadt oder in den Vorstädten, ausser den schon bestehenden, noch wenn ein der dermal bestehenden eingehen sollte, dessen Übernehmung durch einen neuen Entrepreneur gestattet werden solle, auch keines der jetzt bestehenden von seinem Standort versetzt werden dürfe."
The court discounted this argument as the 'Theaterpachtvertrag' dated from only 1794, Schikaneder's 'Privilegium' from 1786.
ibid. p. 266.
3. TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.
"...dass er sehr viele, dermal im Fache des Theaters und der Musik brotlose Menschen in den Nahrungsstand versetzen könnte und such eifrigst bestreben werde, mit den von ihm aufzuführenden Theaterstücken die sittlichen Unterhaltungen der Kaiserstadt nicht nur vermehren, sondern auch bei seiner Truppe alle mögliche Ordnung und Wohlanständigkeit auf das genaueste zu beachten."
(Sond: 'Zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens.' 1.Bd. (1801-1820) Sonderabdruck aus dem Jahrbuch der Grillparzergesellschaft 25.Jahrg. s.273. 3rd November, 1901.)
4. ES. cf., p. 269ff.
5. T. öN. Ts.
6. ES. pp. 266, 267.
7. *ibid.*
8. cf., 117-119.

Freiherr von Braun,¹ Schikaneder's arch-enemy¹ and director of the Hof- und Nationaltheater, sought to upset his plans, thereby insinuating that Vienna could not support another theatre without taking some of its custom away from his own establishment.² Perhaps Schikaneder's initial insistence that the construction of a new theatre would bring employment to a number of people³ helped to persuade the court,³ certainly he was finally allowed to continue when it was argued that lack of such a theatre would bring discontent to the lower class.²

If certain insinuations in 'Thespi's'⁴ the Gelegenheitsstück with which Schikaneder closed the Freihaustheater on 12th June, 1801⁵ had any foundation in fact, a threat to the continued existence of the Freihaustheater must have made itself felt, before Schikaneder decided to build.⁶ Certainly Freiherr von Braun strove to discredit Schikaneder in the eyes of the Viennese public and of the Austrian Emperor.⁷ In so far as any such attempt was of topical interest, Schikaneder was never slow to spring to his own defence in realizing the conflict in terms of theatrical representation, so that ultimately the situation was resolved, at the very least, in terms of popular appeal and good box-office.⁸

Kalistenes, in the play a member of the senate, is a character moved by avarice. Although it is no personal dislike, but merely his desire for financial gain, which prompts him to eject Thespi's, that is, Schikaneder, from the theatre and from the city, he is suddenly shaken from his impersonal nonchalance when Schikaneder, after most proper and circumspect enquiries, agrees to engage Pistenes, unknown to him the son of Kalistenes, in his company. Further unsavoury facts about Kalistenes are divulged which enflame the situation. Eventually Thespi's and his followers have no choice. They must cross the river and head for Athens, that is, their new site on the

1. ES. p. 320.
TW. 'Vor= und Baugeschichte'.
2. T. 1,xxii.
cf., ES. pp. 269-272.
3. PFW. 'Das Freihaus Theater spielt Opern'. p.37ff.
4. TW. 'Vor= und Baugeschichte'.
5. ES. p. 265.
WTA. 1803. 'Neuerbautes'. p. 66ff.
TW. 'Vor= und Baugeschichte'.
6. Bauer's attitude is not one of credibility on this matter. TW. 'Vor= und Baugeschichte'.
7. TT. I,iii. cf., p. 132(a). 2.
8. WTA. 1803. 'Neuerbautes'. p. 66ff.
"...wozu er von mehreren guten Freunden, am meisten durch Herrn Zitterbarth unterstützt und aufgemuntert wurde..."
9. ES. p. 326.
On the opening night Bäuerle reported ('Memoiren' p. 117). that Schikaneder and Zitterbarth had a violent argument, and after similar occurrences Schikaneder and his wife left Vienna from 8th August until 4th December, when Schikaneder returned as sole director of the theatre. Disagreements arose probably as a result of Zitterbarth's ignorance in theatrical matters. (ES. p. 326. TW. 'Vor= und Baugeschichte') Schikaneder was of a friendly disposition. (M.VI. cf., p. 136(a).6.)
AWVK. p. 522.
10. TT. ÖN. Ts.

other bank of the Wien, although evil rumours already precede them there. The final quartet which was sung by members of the company on the last night of the Freihaus-theater's existence, thanks the audience for its support. At the same time it advertises the opening of the Theater an der Wien on the following day, 13th June, 1801,¹ and exhorts the 'Wiedner' to patronize the new building:

"Der Weg ist nicht zu weit,
Der Fluss auch gar nicht breit,
Ein Sprung und Ihr seyd da!"²

The day, on which the new theatre opened, Schikaneder remained in the role of Thespis and travelled in the 'Thespiskarren' towards his next abode.³

The dedication of the Theater an der Wien, in the form of a design on the curtain, depicted Tamino fleeing before the serpent.⁴ This has been interpreted to represent Schikaneder fleeing from his generous and rich patron, Zitterbarth,⁴ without whose financial assistance, the construction of the theatre would have been impossible.⁵ Apart from the fact that discord in the management of a theatre is not the appropriate advertisement for its future prosperity, other evidence would refute such an interpretation.⁶ In 'Thespis Traum' Schikaneder admitted his friendship with Zitterbarth,⁷ whilst Perinet also listed the latter amongst Schikaneder's friends.⁸ Moreover disagreements which did arise between the two, occurred only after the safety curtain had been hung.⁹ In view of the import of 'Thespis' it is more than likely that the serpent symbolized the vindictive Freiherr von Braun. The tableau, the opening picture of 'Die Zauberflöte', recalled Schikaneder's greatest success and marked the musical dedication of the 'Theater an der Wien'.

'Thespis Traum'¹⁰ provided a theatrical link between

wovon drei vor dem Triumphwagen angespannt waren, welcher rückwärts umstürzte und die Sängerin Campi und den Sänger Simoni herauswarf, alles dies liess nicht einmal glauben, dass noch am selben Tage die Vorstellung stattfinden werde."

7. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
Castelli criticizes the vowel sequence 'Du o Alexander' as being an enticement to yawn.
cf., p. 157.
Komorzynski describes the text as 'plump'.
ES. pp. 323, 324.
8. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.
TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.
9. Komorzynski acknowledges this.
"Die Handlung hat eigentlich einen schönen und fesselnden Grundgedanken." ES. p. 324.
10. AWVK. p. 527.
11. ES. p. 324. A.
Ridoli is 'Aufseher der Affen und Papageien'
Makuro sings 'die übliche Arie des Weiberfreundes'.
12. TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien'.
13. ES. p. 328.
14. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.

1. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.

2. TT. 1,iii.

"Schikaneder:

Wo war ich? Wo bin ich? Wahrlich, das war mein schwerster Traum, aber auch mein herrlichstes Erwachen meiner ganzen Lebenszeit. (Deutet auf die Busten). Diese drey Denkmahle trug ich längst schon in meinem Herzen, und sollen ewig unauslöschlich in meiner dankbaren Seele wohnen. Nehmet meinen Dank, Ihr Grössten, Ihr Gütigsten auf dieser Erde! - Ohne Euch, - wo wäre ich nun? - Auch Euch, Ihr Grossen, die Ihr am Ruder des Staates waltet, - Euch unbestechbaren Richtern, dank' ich demuthsvoll für Eure Huld, - für Eure Gnade, - Für Euren gerechten Ausspruch. - Dank dem ganzen verehrungswürdigen Publicum, für ihre Unterstützung, - für ihre Theilnahme meines Schicksals. Dank' dem Freunde, den ich aus Bescheidenheit nicht nennen kann, nicht nennen darf - der mir bisher seine kühlfreiche Hand both. - Seit ich Thaliens rauhe Bahn betrat, fand ich manchen rechtschaffenen Biedermann, aber, der so was Grösseres für einen Freund wagt, muss ein edles Herz besitzen. - Also, meinen öffentlichen Dank auch ihm! - O dass es mir; - dass es uns allen gelingen möchte, Vergnügen und Freuden Euch zu bringen, Ihre hohen Gönner! Dies ist das Schönste, was wir wünschen können, - wenn der Mann nach seinen Berufsgeschäften uns erheitert; - Wir wollen ja gerne, - ich verspreche es hier feyerlich, - wenn wirs vermögen, Euch nach Möglichkeit zerstreuen. - Haben wir diesen Zweck erreicht, dann ist dieser Tempel - mein Glück - auf Felsen gebaut."

3. ES. p. 323.

A. 8N. Ts.

WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.

TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.

4. cf., p. 125.

5. ES. p. 323. fn.

Mederitsch was also Grillparzer's piano-teacher.

6. PFW. 'Das Operntheater an der Wien.

Rosenbaum, secretary of the 'Theaterliebhaber, reports in his diaries!

"Die Konfusion, das Probieren und Arrangieren eines Marsches und der drei und zwanzig Pferde,

the closing of the Freihaustheater and the opening of the Theater an der Wien.¹ Thespis was revealed on stage as Schikaneder, the impresario,² who then alluded to the various obstacles which had confronted him, and thanked the court for surmounting them.² The same evening an heroic opera 'Alexander' was performed.³ The libretto was by Schikaneder and the music by Franz Teyber, who, with Johann Schenk⁴ and Gallus Mederitsch,⁵ had been a pupil of Wagenseil.³ Originally Schikaneder had besought Beethoven to compose the music, but, after beginning some of the work, the latter eventually declined. It has been held that this was on account of the poor quality of the text,³ although a composer of Beethoven's discernment, upon realising this, would surely never have deigned to begin. More probably, Beethoven declined as a result of his lack of enthusiasm for operatic composition.³ Despite the report of a fiasco at the last rehearsal,⁶ and Castelli's overindulgent criticism of the sequence of three vowels,⁷ the opera was a success.⁸ While it remained German in the fabrication of its Singspiel form, its heroic content was not unrelated to the tone of opera seria.⁹ The condemnation of its theme as 'ideenlos' is ill-founded.¹⁰ As an opera which contained only the minimum attractions of popular comedy,¹¹ but which did take advantage in its production of the technical innovations in the new theatre, 'Alexander' achieved no mean feat by recording forty-four performances.¹²

Schikaneder did not long remain the legal proprietor of the Theater an der Wien, for he was bought out according to the terms of the original agreement, by Zitterbarth, who assumed control of the theatre on the 1st July, 1802,¹³ after it had completed a very successful year, both musically and financially.¹⁴ From that time until the 14th February, 1804, Schikaneder retained his authority as

133(a)

13. ES. p. 342.
TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis'.
First performance 6th February, 1802.
- 14.* ES. p. 305.
First performance 31st January, 1801.
TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis'.
First performance 20th February, 1802.
Repeated four times until 24th February, 1802.
- 15.* ES. p. 306.
First performance 23rd February, 1801.
TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis'.
First performance 2nd April, 1802.
Performed once only.

* In the light of the recent accumulation of material in Vienna since Komorzynski's research, Bauer's dates are more acceptable.

1. ES. p. 328.
2. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.
Komorzynski does not note that the payment of 50 Gulden applied to Schikaneder and his wife. (ES. p. 328).
The same twofold payment is reflected in Schikaneder's song as Papageno, "Ich weiss, was zweymal fünfzig sey".
This was a second version by Schikaneder to celebrate the anniversary of the opening of the Theater an der Wien and was sung by him in a performance of 'Die Zauberflöte' given on 13th June, 1802.
WTA. 1803. p. 105.
3. TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien'.
4. ES. p. 334.
5. ibid. pp. 334, 335, 336, 337.
6. TW.
7. ES. pp. 303-305.
8. ibid. p. 332.
9. ZB2. p. 180.
10. ES. p. 331.
pp. 232-243.
11. ibid. pp. 321, 317.
Nevertheless it only achieved 18 performances between the years 1801 and 1837, (TW, 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien.) and was whistled off the stage even in Schikaneder's life-time. (ES. p. 335).
12. TW. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien'.
WR. achieved seven performances from the 18th August, 1801 to the 4th March, 1803.
BP. achieved ten performances from the 1st September, 1801 to the 2nd February, 1805.
ES. BP. pp. 295-302.

director of the theatre.¹ For further services to the theatre he was well rewarded. In addition to his being paid 100,000² Gulden by Zitterbarth for his shares in May, Schikaneder received a further 400 Gulden for an opera and 200 Gulden for a comedy.² Both he and his wife were paid 50 Gulden each time they appeared on stage.² The rate of Schikaneder's payment reflected the continued musical trend of the theatre's programme.³ Freiherr von Braun, who assumed management of the theatre from 15th February, 1804,⁴ until 13th December, 1806,⁴ had in that time to suffer the humiliation of recalling Schikaneder to save the theatre from bankruptcy.⁴ Following Sonnleithner, from September 1st, 1804,⁵ until the 31st December, 1806,⁵ Schikaneder assisted his former enemy.⁵

Bauer's 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen im Theater an der Wien' reveals a preponderance of works by Schikaneder, amongst them an increasing number of Lokalstücke.⁶ Schikaneder persevered too with comic opera. The production of the second part of 'Die Zauberflöte', entitled 'Das Labyrinth',⁷ was so successful in its splendour,⁸ that the first opera had to be re-staged to avoid its being set at a disadvantage.⁹ The success of 'Die Zauberflöte' continued and it was frequently, though not always with the same effect, produced outside Vienna.¹⁰ 'Der Tyroler Wastel',¹¹ maintained its popularity, whilst 'Der Wundermann am Rheinfluss',¹² and 'Babylons Pyramiden',¹² enjoyed only a degree of success. With a similar effect Schikaneder performed in 1802 a further four musical items of his own. These were 'Tsching! Tsching!',¹³ a Singspiel in three acts with music by Haibel,¹³ 'Proteus und Arabiens Söhne',¹⁴ with music by Seyfried and Stegmayer; 'Konrad Langbart von Friedburg',¹⁵ a 'ritterliches Singspiel',¹⁵ in three acts with music by Henneberg; and, a relic of 1794, 'Der

genug bearbeitet ist. - Die Handlung beginnt in den Wäldern von Libanon, im zweyten Akt sind wir zu Bagdad, im dritten zu Tunis. Hätten doch alle Dichter so einen Deum ex machina! - Oberon hat wenig in dieser Oper zu handeln. - Die Spässe eines Sherasmin sind eckelhaft - die Musik ist alt, und nicht angenehm: das Ganze wird durch eine Gemeinheit gefährdet, die in der Dichtung und dem Gange der Oper zu Hause ist. Das einzige was hier Erwähnung verdient, ist die Vorstellung und der schöne Palmenhain, vortrefflich gemahlen von Herrn Czermack einem Schüler des beliebten Gail...." 1st August, 1806.

12. ES. p. 335.
13. ES. p. 335.
14. ibid. pp. 334-335.
'Der Freimdtige'. 1804. Nr. 99.
"Das Publikum hat seine Neigung für die Zauberopern ganz verloren."
15. These were often adaptations of Hafner.
AWVK. pp. 546-550.
16. ibid. pp. 541-572.
'Die neue Zauberkomödie: Perinets Singspiel-Kasperliaden und Henslers romantisch-komische Volksmärchen.'

1. **ÖN. Ts.**
ES. pp. 281-287.
 First performance 14th November, 1794.
TV. 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis'.
 Performed on thirteen occasions between April
 22nd, 1802 and May 10th, 1804.
2. **ES. pp. 286-287.**
3. **ibid. p. 325ff.**
4. Beethoven complained of the slackness at re-
 hearsals but Komorzynski would maintain that
 things of greater historical import were at
 that time making themselves felt in Vienna.
 News of Napoleon's crushing victory over
 General Mack at Ulm reached Vienna on October
 20th, 1805, which is ample cause for Vienna's
 indifference towards Beethoven.
ibid. pp. 339-340.
 The 1799 publication the Bipeldauer letters
 reflects the city's apprehension
 concerning the French advance: The French
 have crossed the Rhine (5. Heft. 4. Brief. p.48)
 "Alles plaudert französisch" (6 Heft. 1. Brief.
 p. 7), news of the horrors perpetrated by the
 French in Tyrol has reached Vienna (7 Heft.
 3. Brief. p. 27). Schikaneder's performance of
 'Scharfschützen in Tyrol' donates 500 Fl. to
 the unfortunate Tyroleans. (10 Heft. 3. Brief.
 p. 23).
5. **AWVK. p. 522.**
6. **ES. p. 430.**
 By this time Braun had succeeded Schikaneder at
 the theatre.
AWVK. p. 522.
7. **ES. pp. 340-341.**
VWV. p. 56.
8. **ES. pp. 340-341.**
9. **PFW. 'Das Operntheater an der Wien'.**
10. **ES. p. 341.**
11. **WTZ. 1806. ÖN. Bolthart:**
 "In allen ausländischen und inländischen
 Journalen ist es wohl schon hinlänglich
 worden, dass Wielands Meisterwerk erbärmlich

Spiegel von Arkadien',¹ an heroic-comic opera in two acts with music by Süssmayer.² Other comic operas continued to appear until 1806, but Schikaneder's popularity was declining.³ Brave, but not very successful attempts were made to maintain the high musical attainment of the theatre.⁴ Some of Beethoven's works were performed in the theatre during this period,⁴ including the first performance of his oratorio 'Christus am Ölberg' on the 5th April, 1805,⁵ and of 'Fidelio' on the 5th November⁶ of the same year. The latter was judged a failure.⁷ The 'Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung' which now condemned Beethoven, had earlier condemned Schikaneder, and the latter was to be criticised again later by the same journal.⁸

In the next decade of the nineteenth century, Franz Schubert's opera 'Die Zauberharfe' had an unsuccessful première⁹ on the 9th August, 1820. Beethoven's violin concerto in D Major, op. 61., was performed on the 23rd December, 1806.¹⁰

Schikaneder's lack of inspired success in 1806 was perhaps most appropriately reflected, and perhaps in part explained, by the reaction to a new adaptation, in the Leopoldstadttheater, of the once popular 'Oberon, König der Elfen', which, after the première on the 26th August, was produced only eight times.¹¹ Schikaneder's very successful Singspiel 'Der Tyroler Wastel' was whistled off the stage.¹² 'Swetard's Zaubertal' managed to impress theatrically, but the libretto was described as nonsense.¹³ Apart from the apparent exhaustion of Schikaneder's originality, several other factors contributed to his downfall. [redacted]. In accordance with the recorded opinions of the Viennese theatre audience,¹⁴ it now appeared that the latter still pursued its desire to see something new.¹⁴ Schikaneder was no longer new. The recent sudden upsurge of extremely popular comic operetta¹⁵ by Hensler and Perinet¹⁶ in the Leopoldstadt-

1. AWVK. pp. 541-572.
2. ES. pp. 336-337.
As early as November 21st, 1795, criticisms became audible, which would indicate a certain unsoundness of mind. Thus, on that date, the 'Rheinische Musen' (5,295) condemned the first performance of Schikaneder's "Der Hölleberg oder: Prüfung und Lohn" music by J. Wölfl, as 'eine Zusammensetzung des abenteuerlichsten Wirrwarrs, der such denken lässt.' *ibid.* pp. 294-295.
3. *ibid.* p. 347.
4. *ibid.* p. 345.
cf., p. 134(a)4.
5. *ibid.* pp. 154-164. 'Das Ensemble des Freihaustheaters'.
6. cf., pp. 57, 150, 151.
7. cf., pp. 57-119.
8. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
"Schikaneder war ein herzensguter Mann, der.... zwar keine grosse Gagen bezahlte, aber....."
EDB. 28. Heft. 2. Brief. p. 16ff.
9. Madame Campi, Herr Simoni. ES. p. 325.
Madame Hofer was engaged by Schikaneder on the 9th October, 1790 and had previously been a member of the Hoftheater.
ES. p. 159.
AMF. p. 128.
10. Perinet's name appeared in the case of Schikaneder's 'Thespis', which was performed on the last night of the Freihaustheater's existence in 1801.
ÖN. Ts. tp.
The famous 'Charakterkomiker', Anton Hasenhut, was engaged by Schikaneder on the 23rd April, 1803, after the former had left the 'Leopoldstadttheater'.
WVW. p. 56.
11. ES. p. 154.

theater had, moreover, taken some of the freshness from Schikaneder's musical and local appeal, appearing as they did shortly before Schikaneder's occupation of the Theater an der Wien.¹ It might even be mooted that the extreme lavishness of his later productions² reflected already the approaching insanity, in which he finally died, on the 21st September, 1812.³ As early as 1810, paying fitting homage to Napoleon's recent advance towards Vienna, which was accompanied by the pillaging of, symbolically, Nussdorf,⁴ where Schikaneder had his private home and possessions,⁴ French opera was again firmly established in the Austrian capital, on this occasion, in the Theater an der Wien,⁴ The success of German Singspiel and opera had not been a lasting one.

One of Schikaneder's undisputed talents was his ability to recognize musicianship.⁵ In conjunction with his own musical gifts,⁶ it was his manipulation of the talents of others, which contributed to his success in the production of Singspiele. Even in the early Wanderjahre, Schikaneder proved his skill as the manager of a company,⁷ and his experience did not fail him in Vienna.

The talent of Schikaneder, the impresario, for enlisting musicians of quality, was reflected not only by the high standards of his singers, but also by the true musicianship of his orchestra and its leaders. Quite remarkably, singers and musicians from the Hof- und Nationaltheater, which paid its employees far more than Schikaneder did,⁸ moved to the Freihaustheater⁹ and Theater an der Wien,⁹ as did artists from the Leopoldstadttheater.¹⁰ One authority has elaborated on the high standard and size of Schikaneder's orchestra in the Freihaustheater.¹¹

1. ES. p. 224.
2. cf., *ibid.* p. 154.
3. *ibid.* p. 222.
4. *ibid.* pp. 222-223;
WAM. p. 755.
"Wenn wir ein Malheur haben, so kann ich nichts dazu, denn eine Zauberoper habe ich noch nicht komponiert."
5. cf., pp. 64(a). 5; 64(a). 6; 127(a). 3.
6. M. VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
"...daher sah er auch vor Allem darauf, bei seinem Theater schöne Schauspielerinnen zu haben, und fragte wenig darnach, ob sie auch gute waren. Er verstand es, selbst Mädchen, die er aus dem bürgerlichen Leben herausnahm und auf die Bühne brachte, so zu verwenden, und ihnen meist selbst solche Rollen zu schreiben, dass sie dem Publicum sehr bald gefielen und am Ende sogar Lieblinge desselben wurden..."
"...ein herzenguter Mann, der....besonders junge Anfänger zu poussiren verstand. Körperliche Wohlgestalt galt ihm vor Allem als Grund zur Aufnahme bei seinem Theater...."
7. EDB. 1796. 25 Heft. 3. Brief. p. 22ff.
8. ES. p. 11. "Deutsches Theater und deutsche Schauspielkunst im achtzehnten Jahrhundert."
9. *ibid.* p. 151.
PFW. 'Das Operntheater an der Wien'.
It is alleged that Schikaneder composed the following ode to himself:
"Millionenfach geseget sei Dein Los,
Du Mensch, als Mime wie als Dichter gross,
Du Mensch, der Vater Deiner Schar,
Sei glücklich viel lange Jahr'!"
10. ES. pp. 162-164.
11. *ibid.* p. 164.
12. *ibid.* p. 163.

A similar confidence in Schikaneder's reliability made itself manifest during rehearsals for the first performance of 'Die Zauberflöte'. From the middle of August until the middle of September Mozart was away from Vienna preparing his 'La clemenza di Tito';¹ and Schikaneder arranged for Henneberg² to conduct the orchestra during his absence. Mozart composed the overture as late as 28th September, two days before the opera's first performance.³ To begin with, the opera was certainly not wildly acclaimed, but no criticism was raised concerning the quality of Schikaneder's orchestra, nor of its particular rendering of the surely under-rehearsed overture.⁴ Nor did Mozart complain about Schikaneder's libretto, as he did about the material for his earlier operas.⁵ His anxiety on the evening of 'Die Zauberflöte's' first performance was not prompted by doubts regarding the proficiency of any part of Schikaneder's company, or of his orchestra, nor by doubts of the latter's mastery of his music. His concern was for the actual genre 'Zauberoper'.⁴

Good looks influenced Schikaneder to a large extent in his selection of new members,⁶ which undoubtedly reflected a true assessment of the Viennese audience's theatrical ideals.⁷ Castelli, who reported this habit in his mémoires, appears to disapprove.⁶ Youth was an advantage so that the pupil might remain pliable for the master. The economic demands of his profession⁸ required Schikaneder, at the same time, to consider the actors and singers at his disposal and write parts to suit their individual needs.⁶

Often described as the father of his company,⁹ Schikaneder was strict in the application of rules of conduct for each member of his theatre,¹⁰ including the orchestra.¹¹ Fines in forms of salary deductions were imposed and after two fines an offender would be dismissed from the theatre.¹² Although Madame Hofer was Mozart's

10. Madame Hofer signed the contract to join the Freihaustheater on 9th October, 1790. It was a written agreement between herself, Schikaneder and Bauernfeld. AMF. p. 12'.
Mozart describes her as 'eine faule, grobe, falsche Person, die es dick hinter den Ohren hat'. ES. p. 158.
11. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden. She won fame as a 'Koloratursopranin'. Es. p.159.
12. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
"...und da sie besonders im Staccato in den höchsten Chorden excellirte, so hat er auch für die Königin der Nacht geschrieben und darum in den beiden Arien die Staccato=Passagen angewendet."
13. ES. p. 158. cf., p. 70.
14. In the first performance of Schikaneder's 'Die Zauberflöte', he appeared as Papageno, his elder brother played the first priest, and Castelli adds to this the name of 'Nanny Schikaneder', taking the small part of the first genie.
ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper'. p. IV.
M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
cf., p. 70.
15. AMF. p. 128.
16. Joseph Haibel, tenor and composer, husband of Mozart's youngest sister-in-law, Sophie, was also engaged by Schikaneder.
ES. p. 159.

1. AMF. p. 128.
2. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
 "...ein herzensguter Mann, der.....immer offene
 Tafel hielt...."
 WAM. p. 759. Schikaneder invited Mozart
 to several parties: "mit denen der Textdichter
 seinen Komponisten bei guter Laune zu erhalten
 suchte. Da mochte es wohl ziemlich frei
 zugegangen sein, und Mozart war, wenn auch
 sicher mehr in Worten als in Taten, kein
 Spielverderber."
3. WTA. 1803. 'Neuerbautes'. p. 66ff.
 "Die Vorliebe der Mitglieder für ihren Leiter,
 und für die Kunst, zeigte sich an diesem Tage
 wo der Bau bogann; denn alle vom Kleinsten
 bis zum Grössten legten, unter Harmonie, und
 Trompeten und Pauken, Hand an das Werk, und
 gruben die ersten Schaufeln Erde, zur
 Gründung ihres neuen schönen Tempels aus, wobey
 es an Zusehern keineswegs mangelte."
4. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
 "Schikaneder war ein herzensguter Mann...."
 KWM.p.21.
 "Auch Schikaneder, der Director, ein wenig "angetrunken";
 war innig, herzlich, offen, gesprächig, liebenswürdig."
5. cf., p. 136. ES. p. 48.
 "Herr Direktor Emanuel Schikaneder ist in der
 Wahl seiner Stücke nicht nur sehr sorgfältig,
 sondern weiss auch jeden seiner Akteurs durch
 seine gehörige Rolle in sein wahres Licht zu
 stellen und hat sich also als Direktor eben das
 Lob schon erworben, das er sich schon längstens als
 Schauspieler erworben hat."
 ('Theaterjournal für Deutschland'. Gotha 1780. p.134.
6. ibid. pp. 154-164. 'Das Ensemble des Freihaus-
 theaters'.
7. ibid. pp. 155-156.
 cf. pp. 76-77.
 WAM. 'Die Zauberflöte entsteht'. p. 754.
8. ES. pp. 156-157.
 cf., pp. 79,80.
9. ES. pp. 155-157.

sister-in-law, the same law applied to her as to Schikaneder's brother.¹ Even Schikaneder appears to have behaved very discreetly in Vienna and apart from his sociable fondness for parties² little has been laid against him. As a mark of the successful management of the company and the prevailing good will, Schikaneder's employees willingly participated in his scheme of propaganda and did their own share of digging at the foundations of the Theater an der Wien.³

Schikaneder's nature has been described as

that of a generous and kind-hearted man.⁴ From the point of view of his craft he knew how to recognize talent, acquire it and develop it according to his own ideals.⁵ Consequently, Schikaneder attracted a diversity of singers, actors and instrumentalists to his theatre.⁶ The musical side alone reflects Schikaneder's ability in this.⁶ Benedikt Schack,⁷ the original Tamino, tenor, flautist, and close friend of the Mozart family,⁷ and Thaddäus Gerl,⁸ the original Sarastro, earned themselves a name also as composers.⁹ Madame Hofer,¹⁰ who eventually married Sebastian Mayer,¹¹ another member of the company, is described as 'Bravoursängerin',¹¹ which would commit her to the intricacies of Italian opera, rather than to the naive limitations of Singspiel. She excelled in staccato singing in the high register.¹² Despite appearances to the contrary, possibly arising from the portrayal of Schikaneder's character as drawn by Stephanie der Jüngere in the libretto of Mozart's 'Der Schauspieldirektor', the history of membership of Schikaneder's companies, and this is also characteristic of the companies of the German Wanderbühne, reveals that Schikaneder did not believe the ties of love and family to be incompatible with a theatrical calling and dedication. Schikaneder's brother¹³ and niece,¹⁴ Mozart's sister-in-law,¹⁵ numerous married couples,¹⁶

1. cf., pp. 62, 70, 74.
M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
2. ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper'. p. IV.
M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
3. ES. pp. 243, 244.
4. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
"erste Sangerin".
5. WAM. p. 772.
ES. p. 159.
6. ES. pp. 243, 159.
7. ES. p. 159.
3. ibid. p. 244.
9. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
TWst. 8N. Ts.
ES. p. 159.
10. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
11. ibid.
12. ES. p. 154.
13. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
D. p. 5.
14. D. p. 5. However, Mozart died in 1791 and Seyfried was then only 15 years old. ANVK. pp. 981-983.
15. IBID.
16. ibid. p. 8.
17. ibid. pp. 5, 6.

appeared on the list of Schikaneder's personnel, as, of course, did his own wife.¹ Gerl's wife played the part of Papagena.² Fräulein Anna Gottlieb, of whose tragic life Komorzynski gives a detailed account,³ was for a short time the 'prima donna' of the Freihaustheater,⁴

Before coming to the theatre she had sung Mozart's Barbarina in 'Le Nozze di Figaro' at the age of twelve,⁵ Princess Amande in Wranitzky's 'Oberon' at the age of fifteen,⁶ and then as a member of the 'Freihaustheater' Pamiria

in 'Die Zauberflöte' at the age of seventeen.⁵ She was Mozart's favourite pupil³ and was so attached to her teacher, that she foreswore singing after his death in 1791.⁷ In 1792 Anna Gottlieb left Schikaneder's theatre to join the Leopoldstadttheater as an actress only.⁸

Herr Haibel⁹ sang small parts in Singspiel and composed the music to Schikaneder's successful Lokalstück, 'Der Tyroler Wastel'.⁹ Herr Stegmayer achieved moderate success as a composer and librettist, but is extolled by Castelli for his later influence on, for instance, Nestroy's 'Eulenspiegel'.¹⁰ His text 'Wladimir von Nowgorod' was set to music by Biercy. The two Kapellmeister at the theatre were Henneberg,¹¹ who rehearsed 'Die Zauberflöte',¹² and Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried,¹³ who composed church music¹³ and was an excellent teacher of composition.¹³ He was a pupil of Mozart's and, according to one authority,¹⁴ knew his works well. Generally, Seyfried's works for the theatre were very successful,¹⁵ although it is reported that his magic opera 'Untreue aus Liebe' failed in 1805 because of Schikaneder's libretto.¹⁶ Earlier, in 1797, Seyfried composed the music to Schikaneder's 'Der Löwenbrunn',¹⁷ but 1799 was a better year for him, when he recalled how delighted he was to be brought on stage by Schikaneder:¹⁷

"Schikaneder als Verfasser des Textes führte mich persönlich vor, sprach in meinem Namen herzliche Worte des Dankes

139(a).

1. D. pp. 5, 6.
2. Libretto by Giesecke.
AWVK. pp. 519, 988.
3. Libretto by Hensler.
ibid. p. 489.
4. Libretto by Schikaneder.
ibid. p. 469. ES. p. 357.
5. Libretto by Schikaneder.
ES. p. 357.
6. Libretto by Stegmayer.
AWVK. p. 528.
7. ES. p. 357.
It was on account of the success of this opera,
that Seyfried was summoned before the audience.
cf., 138(a). 17.
8. D. p. 9.
9. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
10. Simoni, a Czech, was employed at the Hoftheater
until 1801, alongside Madame Campi, who was
sometimes called Polish, sometimes German. They
were both bad at German.
ES. p. 325.
cf., p. 135(a). 9.
Braun's insipid attempt to produce 'Die Zauber-
flöte' on January 4th, 1801, included Simoni as
'Tamino', and Madame Campi as 'Königin der Nacht'.
ES. p. 326.
11. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.

und empfahl den jungen Anfänger der ermunternden Huld des Publikums. Ich fühlte mich unendlich glücklich."¹

'Der Löwenbrunn' was praised musically¹ and Seyfried became quite prolific in 1799,¹ composing the music to the operas 'Die Pfaueninsel',² 'Amorsflügel', 'Rinaldo Rinaldini',³ 'Der Kirchtag zu Mosbrunn', 'Die Ostindier vom Spittelberg',⁴ 'Mina und Peru',⁵ 'Der rote Geist im Donnergebirge',⁶ and the opera for which he received the above distinction, 'Der Wundermann am Rheinflall'.⁷ In the spring of 1806 Seyfried provided the music to the opera 'Die Samaritanerinnen' which became a 'Cassastück'.⁸ Seyfried's Singspiel 'Zum goldenen Löwen' was written in the same year and retained on the programme of the theatre for more than two decades.⁸

The Italian tenor with the 'powerful voice', Herr Simoni, who sang the title role in Schikaneder's 'Alexander', is chastised by Castelli for his acting and his torturing of the German language, but praised for his musical tricks.⁹ Simoni's usefulness in Schikaneder's theatre appears to have been somewhat restricted.⁹ He was not suited to French opera, and, as the German he uttered was incomprehensible,⁹ the Singspiel and its various progressions, in which understanding of the spoken word was vital, could offer him little solace.

Herr Simoni and Madame Campi were both originally employees of the Hof- und Nationaltheater.¹⁰ The latter, an Italian coloratura soprano,¹¹ was reputedly a brilliant singer.¹¹ She had an 'etwas spitze Kopfstimme' and masterly 'Kehlgeläufigkeit',¹¹ and her singing was praised by Castelli as 'das musikalische Feuerwerk',¹¹ qualities which enabled her to sing the part of 'Königin der Nacht' in its original key.¹¹ Her singing in that role reminded Castelli of 'springende Perlen'.¹¹ If Mozart's satire of Italian

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1. cf., p. 147ff.
2. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
3. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
"Dritter Genius Herr Meurer
(nachher berühmter Bassist)"
4. ibid.
5. D. cf., pp. 138, 139.
6. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.

bravura singing was deliberate in his conception of the musical part,¹ then Madame Campi provided him with an admirable exponent. In addition Madame Campi sang the parts of Donna Anna in 'Don Juan' and Constanze in 'Die Entführung aus dem Serail'.² Castelli notes the limitations of her acting.²

The third 'Genius' of the original cast of 'Die Zauberflöte', Herr Maurer, eventually won fame as a bass singer.³ Sebastian Meyer, not very significant as a bass singer, was a good actor and very influential as director of the opera at Schikaneder's theatre.⁴ Castelli regards the recent improvement in Viennese musical taste as being entirely due to the efforts of this man:

"Niemand hat in Wien für die Verbesserung des Geschmacks in musikalischer Hinsicht so Bedeutendes gewirkt als er".⁴

Partly as a result of Meyer's devotion to the service of music and the theatre, the Freihaustheater even surpassed the 'Hofoper'.⁴ By his efforts French opera was brought before the Viennese audience in German form.⁴ As 'Opernregisseur' he gathered his own assistants around him. Castelli and Joseph von Seyfried translated the French libretti into German,⁴ whilst Ignaz von Seyfried,⁵ who had a reputation as a contrapunctalist,⁴ often orchestrated or composed single items for him.⁶ In this manner the works of Cherubini, Catel, Dalleyrac, Méhul, Boieldieu and Isouard appeared at the Freihaustheater. 'Iodoiska', 'Semiramis', 'Der Bernhardsberg', 'Der Thurm von Gothenburg', 'Johann von Paris', 'Aschenbrödl', 'Die beiden Füchse', 'Johanna' and 'Die vornehmen Wirthe' were directed by Meyer and the productions were noted for the success of their singing.⁶ Castelli vouches for Meyer's sincere musicianship and an enthusiasm for work which compared well with Schikaneder's own.⁶ With Meyer as 'Opernregisseur',

9. PFW. Das Operntheater an der Wien.
"Begrifflicherweise hatte der Erbauer dies Theater auch mit seinen aus praktischen Erfahrungen neu konstruierten technischen Tricks ausgestattet: die 18 Kulissen wurden nicht, wie bisher zur Seite geschoben, sondern sie kamen aus dem hohen Schnürboden herunter, zu dem sie dann rasch hinaufgezogen werden konnten. Mit Flugwerken zum Schnürboden und Versenkungen zur Unterbühne, die als Depot diente, war nicht gespart worden. Bisher wurden die Vorderkurtinen (die vorderen Vorhänge), so berichte Buerle, um mit dem üblichen Ausdruck zu reden, 'gesprungen', das heisst, zwei bis drei Kerles packten den Strick, der zum Emporziehen deselben nothwendig war, und sprangen damit von dem Schnürboden auf das Podium, wodurch ihre Last die Leinwandfläche emporrollte. Hier vertrat ein Flaschenzug geräusch-, und was noch mehr ist, gefahrlos dieselben Dienste."

1. M. Vl. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
2. cf., p. 136.
3. M. Vl. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
4. Schikaneder became manager of the Brünner Stadttheater from March 22nd, 1807, until Easter, 1809.
ES. pp. 343-345.
5. cf., pp. 122-177.
6. Komorzynski places Schikaneder's last works for the stage in the year 1808.
ES. p. 357.
7. PFW. Das Operntheater an der Wien.
"2200 Menschen fasste er, 700 Sitzplätze in bequemen Fauteuils und fast doppelt so viel Stehplätze, die in der abgetheilten Hälfte des Parterres und in den vier Galerien Platz fanden."
The depth of the stage measured 13 metres, but this could be extended to include a further 10.5 metres. (ibid.; cf. TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.) Even then the rear doors could be opened to include the street ('die Dreihufeisengasse') in certain 'Massenszenen'. The stage could hold 500 players. (ibid.)
In depth the stage of the Leopoldstadttheater measured 10 metres, that of the Freihaustheater 12 metres, and that of the Josephstadttheater only 6 metres. (TW. 'Vor- und Baugeschichte'.)
8. PFW. 'Das Operntheater an der Wien'.
"In Kaiserblau, Silber und Gold war das ganze Haus, waren die Brüstungen, die Karyatiden, Plafond und Proszenium gediegen, ausstaffiert; schwerseidene Vorhänge mit Bordüren a la grece drapierten sich in den Logen, besonders reichlich in den von Doppeladlern bekrönten Hoflogen, Medaillons zierten die Parapette, Akustik und Optik waren an allen Plätzen als besonders hervorragend genannt, die vielen Kerzen des Kronleuchters, der Armleuchter und Kandelaber sollen den weiten Raum fast taghell erleuchtet haben."

the Theater an der Wien became the most popular theatre in Vienna.¹

Like Schikaneder,² Meyer understood how to place the right person in the right part.¹ In this way, Fräulein Buchwieser, only a moderate singer, gained a great degree of popularity in the part of the princess in 'Johann von Paris'.¹ Similarly, Herren Caché, Schmittmann and Scholz, although not primarily singers, were used by Meyer very effectively in comic operas, in which he knew the ability to act was more important than the ability to sing. Scholz was even known to crow.¹

Lesser known names in Schikaneder's theatre were Herr and Frau Forti, 'ein liebliches Sängerpaa'r'.¹ Madame Forti was very successful in the part of Cherubino in Mozart's 'Figaro' and of the cheeky page in 'Johann von Paris'.¹ Herr Forti had a pleasing bass voice and excelled in the part of the Count in 'Figaro'.¹ The Denner family provided Schikaneder with a certain quality of singing and acting. Of the two brothers one sang in the Theater an der Wien, the other in the Hofoper.¹ In his own theatre each played the seneschal in 'Johann von Paris'.³ Of the three daughters, Josepha was a good actress and singer and distinguished herself in the part of 'Aschenbrödl' in Isouard's opera of that name, when she was only sixteen years old.³

From 1789 until 1806⁴ Schikaneder had given to Vienna large quantities of German Singspiel in a variety of new guises.⁵ He had played his own part in the creation and production of immortal works,⁶ partly by providing artists of the theatre with a new building of comparatively large proportions,⁷ brilliant décor⁸ and sensible technical innovations, partly by impressing his theatrical ideals on the members of his company, so that they might offer of their best in the field of music, in both composition

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1. cf., pp. 78(a). 3. 78(a)4.

and execution. Where only moderate talents were available, Schikaneder, and under him Sebastian Meyer, used those talents to the full, educating them in the ways of the theatre as they did so. Upon the advent of Singspiel in the repertoire of the German Wanderbühne, the actor had, of necessity, been made more conscious of music. Now, in Vienna, musicians of note were being made aware of the opportunities, which an adventurous theatre, and its enterprising director, could offer them, so that the conception of opera as a fusion of music and drama and theatre¹ was at least no longer an impossibility.

b.

SCHIKANEDER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SINGSPIEL

1. WTA. 1805. p. 64.
 "Ein Beweis, wie sehr das, so oft mit Unrecht verschriene Wienerpublikum, Recht und Unrecht, auf dem Theater unterscheidet, dient folgende Thatsache. Das Stück eines Autors missfiel gänzlich, und ward total ausgepocht, obschon man den Schauspielern bey der Aufführung Gerechtigkeit widerfahren liess. Um aber auch ganz darzuthun, dass diese Beschimpfung nur dem Autor, nicht den Spielenden galt, so empfing man Tags darauf, in einem anderen Stücke, alle Schauspieler, die in dem verunglückten Stücke zu thun hatten, mit widerhohltm Händeklatschen. Eine Behandlung, die Wiens Gerechtigkeit und Delikatesse Ehre macht."
2. ES. p. 166.
 In 1790 Schikaneder performed Hiller's 'Der lustige Schuster' and his own 'Die Tyranten'.
 ibid.
3. LH. 8N. Ts.
 cf., pp. 85-87.
4. cf., pp. 96-100.
5. ES. p. 166.
 ZT.
6. ES. pp. 152, 166.
 AWVK. p. 464.
 VWV. p. 51. 'Im Freihausa und an der Wien.'
7. ES. p. 152.
8. ibid. pp. 152-154.
 ZT.
9. ES. p. 152.
10. AWVK. p. 464.
 This authority maintains that by 1795 the theatre no longer had any 'Antonsstücke' on the programme. The seventh was performed only twice, so that Rommel concludes that they were a failure.

In Vienna Schikaneder had to cater for the tastes of a more particular audience¹ than the one with which he had been familiar as manager of a touring company of the Wanderbühne. Accordingly the naivety of the series of Singspiele by Hiller prevented their lasting inclusion in the repertoire of either of Schikaneder's two theatres.² The sheer rusticity of the affair between, for instance, Lottchen and Gürge,³ would not readily conform to the demands of 'Stadttheater'. Even Schikaneder's own Singspiele, 'Die Lyranten' and 'Der Luftballon', are almost entirely excluded from the programme of the Freihaustheater.² Quite reasonably, if it is recalled that it was, in fact a Gelegenheitsstück,⁴ the latter did not appear at all in Vienna, whilst, as far as is known, the former was performed only once at the beginning of Schikaneder's residence in the Freihaustheater.⁵

From the outset Schikaneder offered Kasperl, the extremely successful, popular comedian of the Leopoldstadttheater, serious opposition.⁶ This was effected by the creation of his own popular figure, Anton, whose part he played himself.⁷ The impact of Schikaneder's Anton on the Viennese audience was such that, in all, seven 'Antonstücke' were produced between the years 1789 and 1795.⁸ The first of these was the most successful and had its première on the 12th July, 1789.⁹ The rest of the series were not particularly impressive.¹⁰ The 'Antonstücke' included: 'Der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebirge oder Die zween Anton'; 'Die verdeckten Sachen', first performed on the 26th September, 1789; 'Was macht der Anton im Winter?', first performed on the 6th January, 1790;

8. DG.

" Arie des Gartner Redlich

Einst verliebte sich ein Jüngling
 Kaum noch zwanzig Jahre alt
 In ein Mädchen, das vorbeiging
 Zart und reizend von Gestalt.
 Liebchen! rief er, ach verweile,
 Nimm mein Herz, ich schenk er dir,
 Mach mich glücklich, Mädchen eile!
 Dich beschied das Schicksal mir.

Wohl, ich traue deinen Worten
 Redlich, sprach sie, ist dein Blick,
 Ja, dir folg' ich aller Orten,
 Nimm dein Wort nicht mehr zurück.
 Was geschah? Sie sind verbunden
 Durch des Priesters Seegenhand,
 Doch die Liebe war verschwunden,
 Als man sich in Armut fand...."

9. DG.

Ein Junker von gar altem Haus,
 An Mitteln arm, doch reich an Muth,
 Ritt unverzagt auf Thaten aus,
 Zu sammeln Ehr und Gut.
 Und als in seinem Vaterland
 Dann über eine kurze Zeit
 Gros' Hader, Zank und Krieg entstand,
 Ward dem sein Arm geweih't,
 Es kam zur Schlacht,
 Der Donner kracht,
 Er kam ins tiefste Schlachtgewühl,
 Er schlug darein, und was er traf,
 Ross oder Mann, das fiel.

Der Junker stand, und wich nicht einen Schritt,
 Ihr Brüder! wagt es noch einmal,
 Ihr Brüder! kommt zurück.
 Aus vielen Wunden floss sein Blut,
 Man weiss, was Neid und Missgunst kann,
 Sein Feldherr war ihm nie recht gut,
 Er unterdrückt' den Mann.
 Der Junker sagte öffentlich,
 Dass man ihm grobes Unrecht that;
 Er gieng nach Hof, beklagte sich,
 Die Klage fand nicht statt.
 Und damit war's noch nicht gescheh'n,
 Man trieb die Rache weiter fort,
 Der Junker musste fliehen
 Nach seines Feindes Ort.
 Mit seinen Kindern an der Hand
 Begiebt der arme Flüchtling sich
 Dann endlich in ein fremdes Land
 Und dieser, seht! bin ich."

1. AWVK. p. 454.
2. ibid. p. 464. Rommel insists, wrongly, that all the manuscripts are lost.
3. ibid. p. 464. Rommel notes a French origin.
4. DG. 1,i.
" Chor.
O Morgen! lieblich zum Entzücken
Du holde Sonne, welche Pracht
Mahlst du mit Gold, und Purpurblicken
Auf unserer Gärten bunte Tracht.
O Morgen! x....

Sparst den Fleiss bey Arbeit nicht
Lasst uns froh bey Tánzen seyn
Sorgenlos bey gutem Wein
Troeknen wird das Angesicht."

cf., LH. 1,i.
5. DG. 1,i.
" Arie des Gartner Redlich
Beschreib ihm meine Schmerzen
Das Vateraug' voll Zähren
Dann wird er zu mir kehren
Mein Anton wieder seyn.

Doch geht's ihm nicht zu Herzen
Wird er an Leidenschaften
Mehr als ein Vater haften
So mag ihm Gott verzeih'n."
6. cf., pp. 51-53.
For further comparisons between Hafner and Schikaneder. cf., AWVK. pp. 465-466.
7. DG.
" Arie der Gräfin Josepha
Auch im Schlummer seh' ich dich
Trauber Jüngling noch vor mir
Anton! ganz umschwebst du mich
Meine Seele spricht mir dir.

Nannt' dich mein, auf ewig mein;
Aber da erwach' ich kaum,
O so seh' ich leider ein;
Ich besass dich nur im Traum.

Wie verhasst ist mir mein Stand,
Der dich mir auf immer raubt,
Der die hochgebohrne Hand
Meines Gleichen mir entwandt."

'Der Frühling oder Anton ist noch nicht tot', first performed on the 18th June, 1790; 'Anton bei Hofe oder das Namensfest', first performed on the 4th June, 1791; 'Der Renegat oder Anton in der Türkei', first performed on the 15th September, 1792; and 'Das Haus im Walde oder Antons Reise nach seinem Geburtsort', first performed on the 6th January, 1795.¹

Most of the above manuscripts are lost,² but the 'Theatersammlung' of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna has in its possession the arias from the first three 'Antonstücke', which are of a certain significance in that they illuminate Schikaneder's indebtedness to the various branches of the German theatre.³ Thus in the first act of 'Der dumme Gärtner' dawn breaks, combining its effect with the music from the chorus of 'Bauern' and 'Bäuerinnen',⁴ which immediately recalls the pastoral seclusion of the same act of Hiller's and Weisse's 'Lottchen am Hofe'.⁴ At the same time Schikaneder provides the first scene with a Gräfin Josepha, who is slumbering in a summer-house, which is not a far call from the nobler proportions of Mozart's 'Die Hochzeit des Figaro'. Anton's father, Redlich, moralizes against the dangers of passion,⁵ and in doing so repeats a similar function to Hafner's Herr Redlich in 'Die bürgerliche Dame',⁶ whose name he has possibly taken. In the spirit of the age of enlightenment, Josepha bemoans her high-born standing, from whence, despite her love, she cannot offer the lowly Anton her hand.⁷ Only the dream can realise her wishes.⁷ However, two songs by Redlich reveal that his son's origins are, in fact, not too humble after all. In content and theatrical purpose both show a probable indebtedness to Hafner, whilst the stories relate to 'Lisuart und Dariolette', particularly to the ballad, in the first instance,⁸ and to 'Thamos' in the second.⁹ Anton, as a popular comedian, is more

1. DG.

" Arie des Gärtner Sohns

O Nacht! viel schwärzer als die Hölle
 Tod und Verzweiflung wüthet hier,
 Kein Lichtstrahl dämmert durch die Hölle
 Das aufgetürmten Grams in mir.

Ich bin das Opfer meiner Liebe.
 Mich foltert unnenbarer Schmerz,
 O fühltest du doch meine Triebe!
 Vergebens fühlet sie mein Herz.

Es ist kein Rath, ich bin verloren,
 Verloren ist schon mein Verstand,
 Zum Jammer war ich stets geboren,
 Willkommner Tod! gieb mir die Hand.

Hinab zum Bach bebend,
 Dass kein Gehirn ins Wasser spritzet;
 So hat dein Leid ein End.

Fort! Anton fort! wanke nimmer,
 Was nützt mein banges Zaudern,
 Was nützt das Klagen mir,
 Josepha! Vater! lebet wohl!"

2. cf., p. 42.

3. VS.

4. ibid. Arie des Gärtner Antons
 "...Ich will mich zu Tode fressen...."

5. ibid.

6. cf., DL. pp. 91-95.
 ES. p. 32.

closely related to the naive peasant in the Singspiele of the Wanderbühne, than to the Hans Wurst of the old Viennese popular theatre. Like Gurge, and even Barthel, Anton is subjected to the powers of love,¹ where both Stranitzky and Prehauser would have kept themselves far removed from it, merely treating a third person's experience of it as a further opportunity for comedy. Only with Prehauser did Hans Wurst begin to be associated with Colombine, the latter's female counterpart, and even that was largely a case of comic convenience rather than the expression of sincere affection for each other.¹ Anton succumbs to his emotion, his love for Josepha.¹ Through his suffering Anton is driven to suicide, a recurring leitmotiv of the old Viennese popular theatre,² but the treatment differs, as Anton's despair is sincerely founded.¹ It almost appears that a popular comedian is striving for heroic recognition.¹

In 'Die verdeckten Sachen', however, Anton renounces those claims and resumes completely his popular role. He becomes more of a farcical figure and voices conceptions which place him between the Viennese Hans Wurst and the later Papageno:

"Wie oft locken Weiber die Männer in d'Falle,
Belügen, betrügen, das können sie alle....." ³

Having attempted to break the bounds of class and abduct Josepha, Anton declares, as he fails in the attempt,³ that he will eat himself to death.⁴ Further proof that Anton is no longer a sentimentalist, but merely a popular fool, is afforded by the Mozart aria 'Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding auf der Welt',⁵ which no doubt had its origins in the song 'Ein Weibsbild ist ein närrisch Ding' from 'Die Tyranten'.⁶ Revealing that he is, to some extent, still shackled by the rustic naivety of the 'Volksstück' of the Wanderbühne, Schikaneder has presented

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1. AWVK. p. 464.
This authority notes that popular comedians cannot be forced.
2. cf., p. 145(a). 8.
3. VS.
"Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding auf der Welt...
Wers lügnet...
(Als der Kourier wegen dem Sieg des Prinzen von Koburg einritte).
Man hört ja fast täglich was Neu's in der Welt
Besonders von unsern Soldaten im Feld
Nächst hab' ich, wie ich in die Stadt wollte geh'n
In schön rothen Janckerln viel Reuter geseh'n,
Die machten treng, teng, teng, und schnalzten
brav drein
Da fragt' ich den einen, wozu soll diess seyn?
Der sagte, dass Koburg der mächtige Held
Dem Türken geschlagen, dass die Goschen ihm
schwellt."
4. AW. ÖN: Ts.
5. cf., p. 9(a). 4.
6. cf., pp. 42(a). 13., 45(a). 3.
7. AW.
8. AW.
" Schluss-Chor.
Lasst uns nun in Ruhe leben
Lasst uns in Ruhe leben
Mann und Weib, Weib und Mann
Lasst uns zur Tafel geh'n,
Gnädige Gönner wollet ihr!
Unser Gastmahl nicht verschmäh'n
O so bleibet bei uns hier
So bleibet bei uns hier."
9. VWV. p. 52.
10. MR. p. 141.

Vienna with a comic peasant without local roots, and it is perhaps in recognition of this failing¹ that Anton in part I is provided with a nobler heritage², and that part 2 contains the beginnings of local colour in a topical reference to the Austrian army and General Koburg.³ The commodity, however, remains sparse.

In part 3 'Was macht der Anton im Winter?', except for his earlier sobering experience of it, Anton strongly recalls the attitudes of the comedians of the Old Viennese Popular Theatre towards the married state. Even more obviously Anton has distanced himself from the pseudo-heroic figure in part 1:

"Sie sind vorbei die guten Zeiten
 Als ich noch frey und ledig war
 Da durft' ich nur für mich arbeiten
 Jetzt schreyt mir bald die kleine Waar
 Und bald das Weib die Ohren voll
 Beym Sapperment, das ist zu toll'.⁴...

Actual marriage reflects the theatre of the Wanderbühne, but the decrying of that state is in harmony with a tradition first established by Stranitzky,⁵ which was upheld by Hafner until 1764.⁶ Hafner found the presentation of marriage as a happy solution of the dénouement entirely incompatible with the demands of vraisemblance and was obstinate in his avoidance of it.⁶ Following Anton's example Graf Dorn relapses into the popular idiom and speaks of 'Mäulchen' instead of 'Küsse', and probably as in Hafner, with a view to its comic effect.⁷ The recurrent theme of the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne is repeated here as part 3 is closed with a happy union and chorus 'Mann und Weib'.⁸

The music of 'Die Zauberflöte', which Schikaneder asked Mozart to compose,⁹ is remarkable for its homogeneity in the presence of different styles.¹⁰ The latter

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9. This is strongly inferred by Mörke in his 'Novelle' 'Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag'. p. 12.
10. cf., pp. 70-73.
11. cf., pp. 21, 128-129.

1. cf., pp. 64, 65.
2. WAM. VI. pp. 240, 247ff, 259. 'Die Opera seria'. 'Ihre Grundlage das Recitativ'.
Recitative had to be sung. In 'Singspiel' where all characters had been essentially actors, recitative could not be used. It was replaced by dialogue. cf., Gds. 'Die Oper'. p. 155.
3. ZB. 1., Nr. 7. Duett. Pamina and Papageno. p. 58.
4. ibid. 1., Nr. 4. 'O zittre nicht mein lieber Sohn'. pp. 33-37.
11., Nr. 14. 'Der Hölle Rache kocht in meinem Herzen.' pp. 106-109.
5. M. VI. Das Theater auf der Wieden.
6. OD. p. 20ff.
"...Man setzte und sang damals Triller und rapide Läufer in chromatischer und diatonischer Tonreihe, nur um Kehlfertigkeit zu zeigen, um Sechzehnthelnoten zu singen, um Kunststücke zu produciren, - nicht um die Empfindung zu potenziiren. Wer die staunenswerthesten Kunststücke machen konnte, der war der grösste Sänger, der wurde am meisten beklatscht. Interessant war es mir von der Etatsrätthin Nissen (Wittve Mozarts) 1822, wo sie bei mir wohnte, selbst zu vernehmen, wie sich Mozart über diese Ab- und Unart im Gesange lustig gemacht habe, und aus spasshaftem Uebermuth gegen Martin und seine Vergötterer die Arie der Constanze und Königin der Nacht (beide für Wien und "damit seine Schwägerin Hofer geb. Weber eben so Furore machen soll.") auch so einrichtete; freilich mit etwas mehr Wahrheit, als der seichte Martin. Sie wiederholte mir öfter, dass Mozart immer im Sinne gehabt habe, später diese Musikstücke zu ändern."
BWS. 3. Schreiben. 5th January. p. 39.
As early as 1768 Sonnenfels condemned Italian bravura as being untheatrical, and a way of turning the actors and the action cold.
7. ZF.
WTA. 1794. p. 181.
8. OD. p. 20ff.

consist of the so-called 'popular style'. []¹

reminiscent in its simplicity of the moderate musical demands of the Singspiel, the Singspiel form of dialogue and song, the brilliance of Italian bravura, and the use of recitative to portray some action of the plot, the latter being essentially a facet of Italian Grand Opera.² Amidst all this the music of 'Die Zauberflöte' has an overall unity.

Apart from the occasional florid passage in the musical part of Pamina³ the bravura is restricted to the two arias by the Königin der Nacht.⁴ It has been maintained that Mozart wrote intentionally in this vein, recalling as he did so the particular qualities of Madame Hofer's voice.⁵ Another source affords evidence that Mozart was thereby satirizing the music of bravura, which in Vienna characterized the extremely popular, but not very aesthetic, works of Vicente Martin y Soler. The latter's 'Cosa Rara' was several times performed successfully in both the Leopoldstadt- and Freihaustheater.⁷ Soler was a Spaniard, who had studied music in Italy and in that country discovered the art of arranging music so that it tickled the palate.⁸ [] This he did successfully in Vienna and thus stole what might otherwise have been some of Mozart's popularity.⁹ Perhaps Mozart too was not far from interpreting the Königin der Nacht as the embodiment of all that was indifferent to the cause of German opera, and all that encouraged, on the other hand, the flatulent nobles and representatives of Italian and French opera at court.¹⁰

It would appear, however, that it was Mozart's Italian schooling, which stimulated musical unity in 'Die Zauberflöte'. The music of the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne was naively conceived as consisting of songs, which were not normally related in style to each other.¹¹ In its

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1. KO. Vb.
2. *ibid.*
3. Komorzynski mentions the composers Mozart, Schack, Gerl and others. ES.p.168.
cf., p.167.
4. cf., pp.82-100, 129.
5. ZB. 1., Nr.2. Arie. pp.26-28.
6. cf., pp.21, 93-94.
7. cf., pp.93,94.
8. cf., pp.148,149.
ZB: Nr.2. Arie. Papageno. pp. 26-28.
Nr.7. Duett. Pamina and Papageno. 'Bei
Männern, welche Liebe fühlen'.
pp. 56-58.
Nr.20. Arie. Papageno. 'Ein Mädchen oder
Weibchen wünscht Papageno sich.'
pp. 125-133.
9. cf., pp.89,90.
10. cf., pp.64,65.
11. KWM. p.21.

manifestations the song usually expressed 'eine blosse Empfindung'.¹ Such lack of musical continuity was not in itself, however, detrimental to the original conception of 'Singspiel', as the music was not seen as an organic growth, but as an accessory with which to attract an audience.² Thus Schikaneder's 'Der Stein der Weisen', for which three different composers, Mozart, Schack and Seyfried wrote the music, reflects something of his interpretation of Singspiel, as he first witnessed it on the Wanderbühne.³ The Rollenlied of the popular theatre in Vienna suffered the same sense of musical detachment⁴ and its form reappears in 'Die Zauberflöte' in Papageno's song 'Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja!'⁵ although in this instance, on the occasions when Papageno later reappears on stage, Mozart has supplied music which recalls the popular gaiety of his first song. The 'Stimmungslied'⁶ of the popular theatre began to merge with the tone set by the libretto even before Mozart, and instances of this also occurred in Schikaneder's 'Die Lyranten' of 1776.⁷ This sign of the increasing importance of music in the theatre heralded its further development by Mozart in 1791.

The occasional appearance of popular style in 'Die Zauberflöte'⁸ reveals its musical indebtedness to the Singspiel, as originally conceived by Hiller.⁹ It is the same style which Leopold Mozart recommended to his son whilst the latter was composing for 'Idomeneo' in Munich.¹⁰ Although it is doubtful what this opera seria contained for the musically 'long-eared',¹⁰ Schikaneder was insistent upon its inclusion in his 'fairy-opera'.¹¹ In this light

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"Hilber Wolfgang. Derweil schicke ich dir dein Pa Pa Pa zurückh, das mir ziemlich recht ist. Es wird's schon thun. Abends sehen wir uns bei den bewussten Krippen." (cf., Komorzynski. op.cit., p. 192).

AWK. fn. 49. p. 513.

A letter from Sebastian Mayer, second husband of Mozart's sister-in-law, Madame Hofer, to be found in Castelli's Memoiren. 1. p.236., reports the following episode. During rehearsals, Schikaneder shouted down to the orchestra: "Du Mozart! Das ist nichts, da muss die Musik mehr Staunen ausdrücken, beide müssen sich erst stumm anblicken, dann muss Papageno zu stottern anfangen: Pa - pa pa pa- pa; Papageno muss dies wiederholen, bis endlich beide den ganzen Namen aussprechen."

Rommel remarks of the same:

"Das Geschichtchen ist interessant, weil es aus dem Kreise der Schikaneder im allgemeinen nicht wohlgesinnten Familie über stammt."

10. H.VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
"Vorher als im zweiten Acte die Priester sich versammeln, geschah dies bei der Generalprobe ohne Musikbegleitung, Schikaneder aber verlangte, dass ein pathetischer Marsch dazu componirt werde. Da soll Mozart zu den Musikern gesagt haben: "Gebt her eure Kaszetteln!" und in die Stimmen sogleich diesen prächtigen Marsch hineingeschrieben haben."

"Das Duett," erklärte Schikaneder, "ist von mir."
 "(Nicht minder sind auch die meisten Papagenolieder
 von ihm)..."

M. Vl. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
 TGAS. pp. 5-7.

"Mozart:

Ich bekenne, meine Musik hat mir g'rathen,
 Wir wussten, alle zwey, was wir thaten:
 Du hast mir manche Melodey vorharmonirt -
 Freylich hab' ich's hernach erst aufgeföhrt;
 Aber du hast mich zu einer Zeit erwöhlt,
 Wo mich so mancher Charlatan hat geschnellt,
 Du hast verstanden, was ich kann, und vermag.
 Und warst ein Freund vom ächten Schlag'.
 Du gabst mir Gelegenheit mich zu zeigen
 Und ich machte deinen Plan mir eigen.
 Lache dazu, wenn man jetzt schimpft, oder flucht,
 Ich war ja zu haben, warum hab'n's mich nicht
 g'sucht?

Du hast mich gesucht, und ich hab' dich gefunden,
 Wir lieferten was Grosses, mitsammen verbunden:
 Da standen sie um mit offenen Maulern und Nasen,
 Und wollten am End' ihr Gift auf dich blasen.
 Du warst HIER der Erste, keiner früher,
 Du warst der Vater, ich der Erzieher;
 Hätte der Vater kein Kind gemacht,
 Hätt's auch mit der Erziehung gute Nacht."

6. HGS. V3. pp. 110-111 cf., p. 49(a). 8.
 BWAM. V2. 240. p. 201. M-IM. 28th December, 1782.
 "...um Beyfall zu erhalten muss man sachen
 schreiben, die so verständlich sind, dass es ein
 fiacre nachsingen könnte..."
7. AWWK. p. 512.
 "Auch Seyfried hält es in seinem Briefe für
 wichtig, aufmerksam zu machen, dass Mozart und
 Schikaneder sorgfältig darauf bedacht waren, Text
 und Musik aufeinander abzustimmen."
8. KWM. p. 21.
 "Wie er mit dem Text fertig (und das war er
 fruchtbar, leicht arbeitend, bald), redet er
 darüber mit Freund Mozart, fragt ihn: "Willst
 du die Musik dazu machen?"
9. AWWK. p. 513.
 According to this authority, the only remaining
 evidence of Schikaneder's and Mozart's collabora-
 tion, is the following note:

1. M. VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
 "Lächerlich ist, was Schikaneder einem Freunde, der ihm nach der ersten Aufführung der Zauberflöte Lobsprüche über sein Werk machte, geantwortet haben soll. Er soll gesagt haben: Ja, die Oper hat gefallen, aber sie würde noch mehr gefallen haben, wenn mir Mozart nicht soviel daran verdorben hätte."
2. ES. p. 238.
 ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper'. pp. V-VI.
 "'Der Deutsche kann die Erscheinung dieses Werkes gar nicht erschöpfend genug würdigen," sagt Richard Wagner. "Bis dahin hatte die deutsche Oper so gut wie gar nicht existiert; mit diesem Werk war sie erschaffen...Welcher göttliche Zauber weht vom populärsten Liede bis zum erhabensten Hymnus in diesem Werke! Welche Vielseitigkeit, welche Mannigfaltigkeit! Die Quintessenz aller edelsten Blüten der Kunst scheint hier zu einer einzigen Blume vereinigt und verschmolzen zu sein. Welche ungezwungene und zugleich edle Popularität in jeder Melodie, von der einfachsten zur gewaltigsten!..."
3. AMF. p. 119.
4. ES. pp. 223-224.
5. The three songs in question are those given above, 149(a).10., namely those in which Papageno in particular figures. More than one source gives evidence of Schikaneder's demands.
 KWM. p. 21.
 "...Mit Manchen war er unzufrieden, ein scharfer Censor, aber ein practischer Kopf, der sein Publicum kannte. Hundert Mahl schärfte dieser practische Kopf Mozart dem Genie ein: Nicht so gelehrt, Freund, das ist zu hoch für die Leute; das musst Du einfacher, natürlicher machen, und das Genie machte es, wie der Herr Director und der Herr Bruder es verlangte. Das Duett: Bey Männern, welche Liebe fühlen etc., musste ihm Mozart nicht weniger als vier Mahl abändern, ganz wenden und stürzen, und dennoch war es dem rigorösen Tactmenschen noch nicht recht. Das ist Alles zu gelehrt, entschied er; so will ich es haben, und sang ihm das Duett vor wie er es wollte und brauchte, und - wie Mozart es auch wirklich adoptirte und componirte, so also, wie wir es haben.

Schikaneder's later complaint that Mozart's music almost ruined 'Die Zauberflöte' by its learnedness, can be better understood, as not necessarily a lack of appreciation for Mozart.¹ Schikaneder, after all, was concerned with the reaction of a popular audience.

The easy attraction of melody consequently forms an integral part of the music of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Wagner later praised the simple melodic content of the opera,² whilst Blümmel admired the 'leicht ins Ohr fallende Mozartsche Weisen'.³ In fact, the simple melodies to three of the songs⁴ were a result of Schikaneder's efforts rather than Mozart's.⁵ Schikaneder, as the librettist, knew exactly the demands he wished to make on the Viennese audience. They derived great enjoyment from the music of an attractive melody⁶ and this is what Schikaneder intended them to have. To do this he had to enlighten Mozart as to his requirements and that it was done without any ill-feeling, reflects not only a deep friendship on both sides but also an appreciation of, and sympathy for, each other's art.⁷ On the other hand, Mozart's influence on the moral issues of the plot should not be exaggerated, as Schikaneder only offered him the text after its completion.⁸

Schikaneder, accordingly, could reprove Mozart for his first draft of the meeting between Papageno and Papagena: 'Du Mozart! Das ist nichts!' Schikaneder required the music to express more astonishment and, subsequently, Mozart's music expressed astonishment.⁹ The existence of the Priestermarsch at the beginning of the second act is due to Schikaneder's insistence.¹⁰ The priests' entry had, in the first instance, no musical accompaniment.¹⁰ The 'Theatermann' immediately realised the theatrical awkwardness of such an entry and demanded music, which Mozart wrote on the spot.¹⁰ In other instances Schikaneder was more specific in his requirements and

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1. cf., p. 150(a). 5.
2. ES. p. 224.
'Ein Vogelfänger bin ich ja' has been related by the above authority to Christian Friedrich Schubart's 'Lied eines Vogelstellers'. (1782).
MR. pp. 141-163. The Melodic Sources and Affinities of 'Die Zauberflöte'.
'Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen' has close similarities with a Chorale in 2/2 time by Scandello (1517-1580), and Haydn's 'Il Mondo della luna'.
3. cf., p. 134.
4. WAM. p. 772.
"Nach dem zweiten Akt soll Mozart verstört und blass auf die Bühne gekommen, und von Schikaneder getröstet worden sein. Doch in der Folge fing das Publikum Feuer und rief am Schluss den Komponisten, der aber nur mühsam zum Erscheinen vor dem Vorhang zu bewegen war..."
5. KWM. p. 21.
6. BWAM. V2. no. 350, p. 351.
M - (an die Gattin in Baden bei Wien).
7th and 8th October, 1791.
"Eben komme ich von der Oper; - Sie war eben so voll wie allzeit. - Das Duetto Mann und Weib etc; und das Glöckchen Spiel im ersten Actt wurde wie gewöhnlich wiederhollet - auch im 2. Actt das Knaben Terzett - was mich aber am meisten freuet, ist der stille beifall! man sieht recht wie sehr und immer mehr diese Oper steigt. Nun meinen lebenslauf; - gleich nach Deiner Abseglung spielte ich mit Hr: von Mozart (der die Oper beim Schickaneder geschrieben hat."
7. ES. pp. 170-181. 'Die Zauberflöte. Entstehung.'
8. MD. p. 158.
9. MR. pp. 141-164. The Melodic Sources and Affinities of 'Die Zauberflöte'.
10. ibid.
cf., pp. 150(a). 5., 49(a). 8.

actually whistled or sang the melody he had in mind.¹ Such was the case with the tunes for three items: 'Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja', 'Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen',¹ both sung by the popular figure Papageno, and 'Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen', the duet between Pamina and Papageno.¹ By imposing popular melody on the popular comedian Schikaneder played his own part in the musical characterisation of 'Die Zauberflöte'. As a necessary limitation of Schikaneder's musical gifts, however, it must be realised that the tunes, which he wanted to hear in the opera, were not necessarily his own invention.² Nevertheless, the reception of the opera in Vienna, the same city in which in the next decade Beethoven's 'Fidelio' was regarded as a failure,³ fully justified Schikaneder's beliefs that Mozart must not forget to write for his popular as well as his educated audience. The first act did not win immediate approval on the first night. Mozart was upset as a result of this and in the interval expressed his anxiety for the 'Zauberoper' to Schikaneder.⁴ The latter calmed Mozart with: 'Ich kenne die Wiener besser'⁵ and the subsequent act justified the impresario's confidence. One of the popular melodies, at least, became a regular encore,⁶ which marked the satisfaction of contemporary Vienna, but Mozart's sense of gratification from the 'silent approval' reflects the deeper musical value of his gift to posterity.⁶

Only too readily has Schikaneder been reproved for incorporating the works of others in his own.⁷ In condemning Schikaneder it has been convenient to ignore the fact that the period as a whole was one of widespread adaptation.⁸ Mozart himself was a child of the age, as King's work has shown.⁹ His themes and figures, as, of course, Schikaneder's popular melodies, were culled, subconsciously or otherwise, from a variety of sources.¹⁰ King, for instance, provides three possible sources for

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1. MR. p. 143.
2. cf., pp. 150(a).5., 49(a). 8.
3. ZB. 11. Nr. 9. p. 90. Marsch der Priester.
cf., p. 150.
4. cf., pp. 102-119.
5. cf., p. 150.
ZB. 11,xxix. Papageno. p. 166.
6. ZB. 1. Introduktion. Tamino und die drei Damen: pp. 17-25.
7. ibid. 11,xxvii. pp. 137-144.
8. ibid. 11,xxvii. pp. 142-144.

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1. ZB. Ouverture. p. 7.
2. ibid. II., Nr.9a. Der dreimalige Akkord. p.90.
3. ES. pp. 200, 203-210, 222-223.
4. NWAM. p. 153.
TT. I,i.
"Das Theater stellt ein Chaos vor. Die drey
Accorde aus Mozarts Zauberflöte in der
Entfernung, worunter ein Donner rollt...)"
5. GBS. p. 93.
NWAM. p. 153.
It recurred later in 1796 in Hensler's 'Der
unruhige Wanderer'.
DUW. I,iii.
"(Zum drittenmal Posaunen-Akkord verbunden mit
einem schrecklichen Donnerschlag. Das vorige
Felsenstück theilt sich, und Chara kommt heraus,
als altes, zitterndes Mütterchen, an einem Stab
daherwankend, eben so gekleidet wie Kasperl, er
stürzt vor Angst zu Boden.)" cf., ZB.I,v. p.32.
6. ES. p. 262.
Text by Schikaneder, music by Peter von Winter.
First performance 12th June, 1798. Produced
with success 34 times in that year.
7. MR. p. 143.
8. ES. p. 223.
ZB. II,xxviii. pp. 153-154.
9. cf., pp. 3(a).7., 119,189.
10. cf., pp. 89,90.
11. cf., pp. 82-100.
12. cf., pp. 18, 19ff.
MWdS. p. 54ff.
13. MD. p. 131.fn. 'Die Zauberflöte' Solved - 1.
14. ES. pp. 170-181.
AWVK. pp. 979-991. "Zur Frage des "Zauberflöten"
Textes: Schikaneder oder Giesecke".
15. OD. p.22ff. 'a. Von deutschen Componisten und
Dichtern'.

'Der dreimalige Akkord',¹ which opens Mozart's overture, and is also used in Act II to signify the priests' acceptance of Tamino as a worthy person² has been said to represent the triple knock given by freemasons before they can gain admittance to the lodge.³ This would afford music the attribute of symbolic appeal, of which Schikaneder took advantage later in his 'Thespis Traum'⁴ and 'Das Labyrinth',⁵ the latter being part two of 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁶ This particular chord, at least, something very similar, had however been used before Mozart in Holzbauer's 'Günther von Schwarzburg', which Mozart saw in Mannheim in 1777,⁷ and Mozart had included it in the first entr'acte of his music to 'Thamos'.⁷ The descriptive form of the musical accompaniment to the ordeals of fire and water is a masterly adaptation of music to the demands of theatre,⁸ whose beginnings Schikaneder himself might have suspected judging from his earlier use of music for theatrical effect.⁹ Descriptive music was more complex than the original piano-accompaniment of the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne,¹⁰ especially as the latter never, as far as is known, reflected frightening or tragic situations.¹¹ But in the tradition of the Viennese popular theatre the association between Haydn and Kurz,¹² which produced 'Der Neue Krumme Teufel', implied that music was already beginning to be regarded as an organic part of theatrical writing. In providing situations which the Italian libretti did not provide, Schikaneder had a further share in the foundation of German opera.

Despite Brophy's academically naive assertions to the contrary,¹³ it has recently been accepted by at least two authorities,¹⁴ that Schikaneder was the sole librettist of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Karl Ludwig Giesecke, whose share in its creation has been mooted by Cornet,¹⁵ has been

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1. AAVK. pp. 985-990.
2. ÖN. Ts.
3. 'nach Wielands Oberon'
This edition was printed as late as 1806, but judging from its title-page, Giesecke intended the work to be performed not at Schikaneder's theatre but at the Leopoldstadttheater.
4. ÖN. Ts.
Seyler's 'Oberon' was first performed in July, 1788.
AAVK. p. 985.
Giesecke's 'Oberon' was not performed until November 7th, 1789. ES. p. 180.
5. ES. p. 180.
6. AAVK. pp. 981-983. 'Ist Cornets Bericht glaubwürdig?'
ES. p. 178.
7. ES. pp. 184-187.
8. Giesecke's acknowledgement of Wieland's 'Oberon' on the title-page of his own version, proves neither that he knew Wieland, because his work was, after all a plagiarism of Seyler's, nor that he suggested Wieland to Schikaneder. Certainly it would appear from Komorzynski's comparisons, that Schikaneder knew Wieland's 'Dschinnistan'.* Komorzynski thus believes the latter work to be the inspiration for Schikaneder's 'Der Stein der Weisen oder: die Zauberinsel' (ES. p. 176), whilst Bauer (ZB. 2. p. 181) seconds Komorzynski's view (ES. p.302ff.) that the sequel to 'Die Zauberflöte' was from the same source.
9. AAVK. p. 990 Ergebnis. 3.c.
Seyfried was also present at the meeting with Giesecke. OD. p.22ff.
10. OD. p.22ff. 'a. Von deutschen Componisten und Dichtern.'

* a collection of fairy-tales edited by Wieland.

revealed as a scoundrel¹, who gave to the theatre little more than pirated editions and adaptations.¹ Giesecke's 'Oberon, König der Elfen',² which acknowledges a source in Wieland,³ fails to mention the earlier 'Oberon' by Sophie Seyler,⁴ from which Giesecke copied word for word twelve of the twenty-six arias.⁵ Giesecke's assertion that he was the author of 'Die Zauberflöte', and that Schikaneder was responsible only for the creation of Papageno and Papagena, tends now to be dismissed on the grounds that there is no other evidence to support it,⁶ and that it was reported by an unreliable source.⁶ Furthermore, Cornet did not commit Giesecke's assertion to writing until as late as 1849, thirty-one years after it had been uttered, and fifty-eight years after the first performance of 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁶

The assumption that Giesecke suggested Wieland to Schikaneder as a possible source for a Zauberoper⁷ is far more credible,⁸ and at the same time gives further proof of Schikaneder's authorship. If this assumption is accepted, and Seyfried's evidence, in fact, confirms it,⁹ then the tradition of misconception concerning the authorship of 'Die Zauberflöte' is revealed as being founded on Cornet's misinterpretation of Giesecke's original assertions. Thus, Giesecke's remark that he was 'der eigentliche Verfasser',¹⁰ would indicate that he was the true author, because he suggested to Schikaneder that he should use Wieland. His complementary assertion that Schikaneder was responsible for the figures of Papageno and Papagena alone,¹⁰ would affirm this, as these are the only two main parts added to the traditional story. Hence, Wieland, via Giesecke, was responsible for 'Die Zauberflöte', and Schikaneder for the invention of two popular characters. This interpretation of the circumstances, which Cornet reported only after thirty-one years had elapsed,¹¹ and of

1. ES. p. 333. In the event of Wieland's dying before Schikaneder, the money was to further Schiller's career.
2. GdL. p. 163.
3. OW. 'An den Leser'.
4. ZB. 11,xxx. pp. 172ff.
"Sarastro
Die Strahlen der Sonne vertreiben die Nacht,
zernichten der Heuchler erschlichene Macht."
ibid. p. 177.
5. cf., pp. 39-43.
6. cf., pp. 39-43.
7. cf., pp. 82-85.
8. cf., p. 82.
9. ID. 8N. tp.
"Der Inhalt dieses Stücks ist aus einer Erzählung des alten berühmten Chaucers genommen, die zum Titel hat: The Tale of the Wife of Bath, und unter Drydens Fabeln in die heutige englische Sprache übersetzt zu finden ist. Aus eben dieser Erzählung hat der Herr von Voltaire sein ce qui plait aux Dames entlehnt."

which the belated publication must support the inaccuracy of Cornet's assumptions, still allows room for the fact that Schikaneder wrote the libretto to 'Die Zauberflöte' and was its sole author. It neither proves or disproves that Schikaneder used Wieland as his source, nevertheless he acknowledged some indebtedness to 'Dschinnistan', when he left Wieland 300 Gulden in his last will and testament.¹

Wieland's original 'Oberon' which appeared in 1780,² acknowledged earlier sources, the old Ritterbuch by Graf von Tressan³ entitled 'Huon de Bordeaux',³ which was widely known,³ Chaucer's Merchant's Tale³ and Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream.³ Wieland admits that his 'Oberon' is formed from three main plots; the first consists of Huon's adventure,³ which he has promised the emperor he will undertake,³ the second consists of the love-relationship between Huon and Rezia,³ and the third of the reconciliation between Oberon and Titania.³ The ultimate agreement between the two magical powers does not occur in 'Die Zauberflöte',⁴ although the other two parallels exist. On the other hand Hafner's 'Megära' in the 1760's,⁵ apart from Hafner's characteristic rallentando in the love-affair,⁶ follows exactly the above outline of Wieland's 'Oberon'. 'Lisuart und Dariolette',⁷ which was performed by the popular theatre in Vienna in 1767,⁸ thirteen years before Wieland's publication and a work with which Schikaneder was intimately acquainted, has, however, closer ties with 'Die Zauberflöte' as it contains the same tripartite arrangement of the hero's adventures, his love for the heroine, and the final banishment of the evil power. Chaucer is mentioned in the acknowledgements of both Schiebeler⁹ and Wieland³. It would thus appear that Wieland's work was, to a degree, a product of the same tradition, which produced 'Die Zauberflöte'.

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10. WTA. 1803. . p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.

11. M.VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.

1. cf., p. 125.
2. AWWK. pp. 546-550.
3. ES. p. 263.
4. Perinet was with Schikaneder in Brünn in 1807.
ES. p. 343.
5. *ibid.* p. 166.
AWVK. pp. 541-572.
6. öN. Ts.
7. WTA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.
Perinet does not mention 'Die Zauberflöte' by name, but the inferences are obvious.
It was probably the same rumour to which Castelli refers in more detail. M.VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
"Es ging zu jener Zeit im Publicum das Gerücht: Ein Geistlicher, ein Freund Schikaneders, verfasse ihm die Stücke, die er dann unter seinem Namen erscheinen lasse. Hierüber weiss ich Folgendes als Gewissheit zu sagen: Es lebte damals auf der Chur zu St. Stephan ein Geistlicher mit Namen Wüst, welcher auch in dem Hause meiner Grossmutter aus und ein ging, und da "Herr Vetter" genannt wurde. Der Mann befasste sich mit dramatischen Arbeiten, vorzüglich mit Zauberspielen, wozu er gewöhnlich auch die Modelle zu den Maschinen verfertigte. Ich weiss, dass Wüst mit Schikaneder bekannt war und auch oft zu ihm kam; aber so viel ich Wüst kannte, so war er wohl ein Mann, der über Scenerie Rath ertheilen und dabei Hilfe leisten konnte; aber Phantasie und Erfindungsgabe habe ich nie bei ihm bemerkt."

These rumours appear to date from about 1801, at the time of Braun's enmity with Schikaneder.
cf., p. 129ff.

8. ES. pp. 267-268.
9. Winter was a member of the company of the Freihaustheater in 1791, the year in which 'Die Zauberflöte' was first produced. ES. p. 242. The WTA of 1794 lists him as "Winter: gesetzte Rollen", whilst the WTA of 1796 does not mention him at all. Apart from Perinet's specific reference to him, the WTA of 1803 describes him as 'Inspicient' of the theatre. (Theater an der Wien).

Two of Schikaneder's contemporaries, Joachim Perinet and an actor, Winter, afford further evidence of Schikaneder's sole responsibility for the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Perinet, creator of a large number of Singspiele in the Leopoldstadttheater,¹ some of them adaptations of Hafner's plays,² was active in Schikaneder's company from 1798³ to 1803⁴. Although he could still be accounted a rival of Schikaneder's in 1791,⁵ Perinet does not doubt the intimate friendship which existed between Mozart and Schikaneder.⁶ In his 'Theatralische Gespräche',⁶ however, Perinet admirably portrays their individual differences in taste.⁶ As editor of the Wiener Theater Almanach of 1803, Perinet does not fail to mention that already, fifteen years before Giesecke had returned to Vienna and forty-four years before his assertions had been made known, rumour maintained that Schikaneder was not the librettist of 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁷ Such rumour had doubtless been encouraged by Freiherr von Braun's omission of Schikaneder's name, when he gave an unfortunate performance of 'Die Zauberflöte' in the Burgtheater.⁸ Perinet springs to Schikaneder's defence:

"...Es ist erwiesen, dass Plan und Dialogisirung sein eigen sind, und Hr. Winter,⁹ der zugleich Inspizient dieses Theaters ist, wird es attestiren: denn nur er und vielleicht er nur allein, kann Schikaneders absichtliche Hieroglyphen lesen, die er immer an ersten zu copiren bekommt..."¹⁰

The nature of the evidence is, of course, not conclusive, but it is an indicator of the truth. Apart from Cornet's report, no evidence supports Giesecke's claim. In terms of character Giesecke has been proved a rogue, whilst Schikaneder's greatest failing was that he appears to have been 'ein ausserordentlicher Lebemann'.¹¹ There is

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1. ES. pp. 258-260.
AWVK: p.981.
2. It has been supposed that the Queen of Night and Sarastro undergo a sudden and unmotivated change of character from good to evil and vice-versa. WAMj. Vol.4. p.602ff.
cf., also 'Die Entstehung der Zauberflöte' in 'Monatschrift für Theater und Musik' p.444ff. (Wallishauser'sche Buchhandlung, Wien 1857).
cf., also MD. p.144ff.
AWVK, pp.980-981. 'Die zeitgeschichtlichen Wurzeln der Lehre vom 'Bruche' in der Konzeption der 'Zauberflöte'.
cf., p.158ff.
Castelli criticises Schikaneder's incorrect use of grammar. cf., p.157(a)5.
3. BWAM. V2. no.197. p.127. M-LM. 13th October, 1781.
cf., p.66(a)3.
4. cf., p.64(a)5, 6. 127(a)3, 4. Da Ponte appears to have been an exception.
5. M.VI. 'Das Freihaustheater auf der Wieden'.
6. ES. pp.251-261.
7. ibid. p.239.
8. cf., pp.82-85.
9. ZB. 11, xxviii. p.153.

nothing to show that Schikaneder indulged in the piracy of which Giesecke has been found guilty.

The libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte' is the product of a self-educated man¹ and has been criticised for its inconsistencies.² Certainly it contains impurities of rhyme, although Mozart stated his preference for a librettist who could write in verse rather than in rhyme.³ In the light of Mozart's impatience with some of his other librettists,⁴ Schikaneder compares favourably. Castelli is too fastidious and narrow in his criticism of points arising in the libretti of 'Alexander' and 'Die Zauberflöte'.⁵ In the former Schikaneder will, supposedly, make his audience yawn with such vowel series as 'Du o Alexander'⁵ and, according to his grammatical expression, Schikaneder has wrongly inferred that Pamina is a wild beast:

"Holde Flöte, durch dein Spielen
Selbst wilde Thiere Freude fühlen,
Nur Pamina bleibt davon." s

This, of course, is the work of a critic, who, even at the expense of reason and theatrical perspective, is out to criticise. Theatrically, neither of Castelli's comments is valid. Neither Vulpius's⁶ revised version nor Goethe's sequel⁷ could successfully compete with the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte'. The former made it far worse, as Schikaneder has shown.⁶

Developing beyond 'Lisuart und Dariolette', in which magic played a prominent part in the solution of the human problem,⁸ 'Die Zauberflöte' indicates very clearly that magic is an accessory and not an integral part of the plot. Tamino's acquired maturity is responsible for the eventual reconciliation with Pamina and their endurance of the trials although the flute is played as they journey through these latter.⁹ 'Die Zauberflöte' almost satirizes the popular tradition of 'Zauberoper', a tendency to which

8. *ibid.* 1,xv. p. 60.
The boys themselves symbolise wisdom. Wise
is a common epithet in their description.

"Tamino:

Die Weisheitslehre dieser Knaben
Sei ewig mir ins Herz gegraben."

1. cf., pp. 40,41.
2. ZB. 11,xxv. p. 133.
3. ibid. 11,viii. pp. 105-106.
"Königin:
 Schutz? Liebes Kind, deine Mutter kann dich nicht mehr schützen. - Mit deines Vaters Tod ging meine Macht zu Grabe.
Pamina:
 Mein Vater....
Königin:
 ...übergab freiwillig den siebenfachen "Sonnenkreis den Eingeweihten; diesen mächtigen Sonnenkreis trägt Sarastro auf seiner Brust. - Als ich ihn darüber beredete, so sprach er mit gefalteter Stirn: "Weib! meine letzte Stunde ist da - alle Schätze, so ich allein besass, sind dein und deiner Tochter." - Der alles verzehrende Sonnenkreis... fiel ich ihm hastig in die Rede.... ist den Geweihten bestimmt," antwortete er. - "Sarastro wird ihn so männlich verwalten, wie ich bisher. - Und nun kein Wort weiter; forsche nicht nach Wesen, die dem weiblichen Geiste unbegreiflich sind. - Deine Pflicht ist, dich und deine Tochter der Führung weiser Männer zu überlassen." "
4. ibid. 1,xv. p. 69.
5. ibid. 1,viii. pp. 42-43.
 "Hiemit kannst du allmächtig handeln, der Menschen Leidenschaft verwandeln..."
6. ibid. 1,xvii. pp. 75-76.
7. ibid. 1,viii. p. 50.
 It is important to note that the three boys are not expressly under the authority of the Königin der Nacht. It is probably a failure to understand this point accurately, which has led to some of the prevailing misconceptions concerning the alleged 'change' of plot.
"Die drei Damen:
 Drei Knäbchen, jung, schön, hold und weise,
 Umschweben euch auf eurer Reise;
 Sie werden eure Führer sein,
 Folgt ihrem Rate ganz allein."

Hafner earlier inclined.¹ The naive Papageno becomes the tool for satire, when he shows his determination to save Pamina:

"Eh' ich mich zurückziehe, soll die
Erde mich verschlingen. (Er sinkt
hinab.) O ihr Götter!"²

The main representative of magic, which, in this respect, is synonymous with evil, is the Königin der Nacht. Sarastro possesses only the magic of human wisdom. Even 'der siebenfache Sonnenkreis', which he inherited from the Queen's late husband, must be wielded properly, if it is to exercise any power.³ It is the symbol of Sarastro's authority and not the magic wand, in which the Königin der Nacht would believe.³ As a sign of its limitations the magic flute, of which Tamino has sole charge, has only the power to attract animals and birds, both of which disperse at its silence.⁴ It might indeed have possessed the power to transform passions, but never does Tamino take advantage of this knowledge, which the three ladies-in-waiting have imparted.⁵ Tamino is his own preservation. On the other hand the Zauberglöckchen, being the property of a less worthy person in Papageno, are used, and repel Monostatos and the slaves by forcing them to dance and march off the stage.⁶ The three boys are supposed to guide Papageno and Tamino to Sarastro's temple.⁷ They neglect their duty as far as Papageno is concerned but ensure that Tamino arrives at his destination. Although the opinion has been voiced that the three boys, who originally serve the Königin der Nacht, suddenly appear on the side of Sarastro, their true significance can only be realised in terms of their relationship with Tamino, the seeker of wisdom.⁸ Their unswerving loyalty to his cause not only contradicts such criticism, but also serves as the justification of Tamino's course, as he is gradually and arduously

1. cf., pp. 148, 158, 161-162.
2. ZB. 1,xv. p. 58.
"Verwandlung.
 Das Theater verwandelt sich in einen Hain. Ganz im Grunde der Bühne ist ein schöner Tempel, worauf diese Worte stehen; "Tempel der Weisheit". Dieser Tempel führt mit Säulen zu zwei anderen Tempeln, rechts auf dem einen steht: "Tempel der Vernunft", links steht: "Tempel der Natur".
3. ibid. 1,v. p. 52.
"Tamino:
 Kommt, Mädchen, führt mich! - Pamina sei gerettet! -(Der Bösewicht falle von meinem Arm; das schwöre ich bei meiner Liebe, bei meinem Herzen! ..."
 1, xv. p. 63.
"Priester:
 Wo willst du, kühner Fremdling hin?
 Was suchst du hier im Heiligtum?
Tamino:
 Der Lieb und Tugend Eigentum.
Priester:
 Die Worte sind von hohem Sinn!
 Allein, wie willst du diese finden?
 Dich leitet Lieb und Tugend nicht,
 Weil Tod und Rache dich entzünden."
 Rommel remarks of Schikaneder's hero in his later 'Singspiel' 'Der Hölleberg oder Prüfung und Lohn', "Aber erst, als sich zeigt, dass sein Herz frei von Rachsucht ist, gelangt Nermenos in die 'Pyramide der Ruhe und des ewigen Friedens", um mit Weib und Kindern vereinigt zu werden."
 AWVK. pp. 525, 526.
 cf., SHB. pp. 187-191.
4. ibid. 1,v. pp. 63-67.
5. ZB. 11,xxx. p. 177.
"Sarastro:
 Die Strahlen der Sonne vertreiben die Nacht,
 zernichten der Heuchler erschlichene Macht."
6. ibid. Nr. 18. Chor der Priester. pp. 118-119.
7. cf., pp. 82-100, 101-119.
8. ZB. 1,xv. pp. 65-68.

enlightened. These are the good fairies of the opera.

The Königin der Nacht symbolizes the passing age of superstition and magic, as it struggles vainly against the gathering forces of the age of enlightenment.¹ The latter is embodied in the figure of Sarastro, who provides the light of reason. The three temples also play an important role in this symbolism.² Nature and Reason form the two aspects of Wisdom, the centre temple into which Tamino is led.² Nature, or the emotional reactions, such as are witnessed when Tamino desires revenge for the abduction of Pamina,³ must be controlled by Reason, as provided and practised by the priesthood,⁴ before man can attain to Wisdom. In the face of wisdom the Königin der Nacht is powerless, which is finally the case towards the end of act 2, when she is dispersed in the face of Sarastro.⁵ The allegory is further maintained with dawn gradually breaking throughout the initiation ceremony.⁶ The symbolism itself is a relic of the Baroque theatre, although the path to enlightenment, which has been depicted in earlier works by Schikaneder,⁷ is a backward child of the eighteenth century. Through suffering the individual achieves knowledge and condemns the age of superstition.

The symbolic struggle between the two ages is humanly related by Tamino's experience. At first Tamino remarks that he is puzzled to discover that the Königin der Nacht is not a good power.⁸ The naive, moral concepts, which hitherto have served him well, are suddenly and inevitably shaken. At this juncture the thought of Pamina and her possible distress is only secondary:

"

Tamino

Erklär dies Rätsel, täusch mich nicht!

Priester

Die Zunge bindet Eid und Pflicht.

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1. ZB. 1,xv. pp. 66-67.
2. AWVK. pp. 980-981, 496.
3. ibid. p. 495ff.
4. Mozart did not recommend the opera.
BWAM. V2. no.335. p. 336. M-(An die Gattin
in Baden bei Wien)., June 12th, 1791.
" - ich gieng dann um mich aufzuheitern zum
Kasperl in die neue Oper der Fagottist, die
so viel Lärm macht - aber gar nichts daran ist.-"
5. AWVK. p. 496.
6. ZB. 1,xv. p. 64.
"Priester:
Erklär dich näher mir,
dich täuschet ein Betrug."
7. WTA. 1804.

Tamino

Wann also wird die Decke schwinden?

Priester

Sobald dich führt der Freundschaft Hand,
ins Heiligtum zum ew'gen Band. (Geht ab.)

Tamino

O ew'ge Nacht! Wann wirst du schwinden?
wann wird das Licht mein Auge finden? " "

The libretto has been further criticised on account of the change of character, which the Königin der Nacht and Sarastro appear to undergo.² With little sound evidence it is assumed that this change occurred as a result of the production of a Singspiel with a similar plot in the Kasperltheater.³ Such a Singspiel, 'Kaspar der Fagottist' by Perinet and Müller,⁴ was, in fact, given its first performance in that theatre on the 8th June, 1791.⁵ It resembled the plot of 'Die Zauberflöte' in some things, but only revealed that both operas were part of the same tradition. The libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte' contains no evidence of such a flaw in its construction. The Königin der Nacht is only conceived as good by one person, Tamino. Later his somewhat premature and gullible way of thinking is condemned by the priest as 'Betrug',⁶ and his choice is then to believe either in the Königin der Nacht or in Sarastro. Only when the relevant pages are omitted, does a 'break' appear, as it did at the re-opening of the Leipzig theatre on April 12th, 1803.

" Die Plötzliche Versöhnung

Warum wurde so schnell hier Rache in Freundschaft
verwandelt?

Weil - so spricht der Souffleur, weil man drey
Seiten vergass.⁷ " "

Nor is it impossible that such an accident could give rise to a whole era of misunderstanding concerning the 'break' in Schikaneder's text.

The dramatic use of revelation or recognition was

8. ZB. 11,viii. p. 106.

"Königin:

Was hör ich? - Du, meine Tochter, könntest die schändlichen Gründe dieser Barbaren verteidigen? - So einen Mann lieben, der mit meinem Todfeinde verbunden, mit jedem Augenblicke nur meinen Sturz bereiten würde? - Siehst du hier diesen Stahl? - Er ist für Sarastro geschliffen. Du wirst ihm töten, und den mächtigen Sonnenkreis mir überliefern..."

1. cf., 'Der Grandprofos'. pp. 113-116.
'Der redliche Landmann'. pp. 179-183.
'Die getreuen Unterthanen oder der ehrliche Bandit'. 8N. Ts.
'Der wohltätige Derwisch'. pp. 167-169.
2. cf., pp. 48(a).4. 33-54.
3. cf., pp. 82-100, 101-119.
4. cf., pp. 82-85.
5. cf., p. 148.
6. BWAM. V2. no.195. p. 121. M-IM 26th September, 1781.
"Der Janitscharen Chor ist für einen Janitscharen Chor alles was man verlangen kann. - kurz und lustig; - und ganz für die wiener geschrieben. - Die aria von der konstanze habe ich ein wenig der geläufigen gurgel der Madelle Cavallieri aufgeopfert. - Trennung war mein banges loos und nun schwimmt mein aug in Tränen - habe ich, so viel es eine wälsche Bravour aria zulässt, auszudrücken gesucht. - "
7. ZB. 1,vi. Nr.4. Arie. pp. 33-37.
"...Zum Leiden bin ich auserkoren,
denn meine Tochter fehlet mir,
durch sie ging all mein Glück verloren,
durch sie ging all mein Glück verloren:
ein Bösewicht, ein Bösewicht entfloh mit ihr.
Noch seh ich ihr Zittern mit bängem Erschüttern,
ihr ängstliches Beben, ihr schüchternes Streben.
Ich musste sie mir rauben sehen:
"Ach helft! ach helft!" war alles, was sie sprach;
allein vergebens war ihr Flehen,
denn meine Hilfe war zu schwach,(cf.,p.158(a).3.)
denn meine Hilfe war zu schwach.
Du, du, du wirst sie zu befreien gehen,
du wirst der Tochter Retter sein,
ja, du wirst der Tochter Retter sein..."
This compares favourably with Sarastro's opinion of her as a proud woman:
ibid. 11,i. p. 91.
"...Pamina, das sanfte, tugendhafte Mädchen, haben die Götter dem holden Jüngling bestimmt, dies ist der Grundstein, warum ich sie der stolzen Mutter entriss. - "

common in Schikaneder's other works for the Viennese stage¹ and is clearly a related theme. As such it is inherited from the Viennese popular theatre under Hafner, who was himself conscious of 'Theatraldunst'² and the manipulation of 'Betrug'² and who, eventually, like Schikaneder, strove for the dramatic ideal of betterment of character.³ Schiebeler, whose 'Lisuart und Dariolette' first appeared on the Viennese stage in 1767, reflected similar views in the characterisation of his hero.⁴

Mozart appears to have been in agreement with the interpretation of the Königin der Nacht as good only in Tamino's eyes. This concurrence is reflected best in the tone of the music which dominates her two arias.⁵ Mozart had earlier condemned bravura as artificial and superficial music,⁶ so that there is in 'Die Zauberflöte' not only a textual representation of 'Betrug', but also a musical one. The Königin der Nacht stands condemned by her bravura.

Apart from her symbolic value the Königin der Nacht is motivated in human terms. Primarily as a widow, who dotes on Pamina, the only remaining member of her family, and then as a distraught mother, whose daughter has been snatched from her, she is depicted in an almost feline way, as a frustrated woman determined to have her own wishes fulfilled.⁷ The main cause for the mother's distress is that her daughter has left her alone.⁷ No mention does she make of her anxiety for the horrors, which her daughter might be undergoing.⁷ This is either a callous mother, or one who knows that Sarastro is not an evil force. The suffering of the Königin der Nacht is self-pity.⁷ Continually thwarted she has recourse to try and murder Sarastro.⁸ In this attempt she shows little appreciation of moral values, nor does she reveal any real, maternal feelings for her daughter, as it is Pamina, to whom she entrusts the murder.⁸ Her actions would thus indicate that she was

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1. ES. pp. 203-212.
2. NWAM. p.147ff.
3. ES. p. 91. Mozart became a brother of the Lodge 'Zur Wohltätigkeit' on 14th December, 1784.
4. ibid. pp. 117, 126, 127.
5. ibid.
6. MWL. p. 33.
7. NWAM. p. 149.
8. ZB. 1. p. 111. Den 12ten März, 1801. Wien: gedruckt mit Jahnischen Schriften.
v.3. "Dass Mozart hier mein Bruder war, Weiss ja die ganze Priesterschaft..."
9. ES. p. 91.
10. ibid. p. 203ff.
11. cf., pp. 33-54, 78, 79, 91-100.
Nettl maintains that 'Die Zauberflöte. P.2.' also embodies a specific reference to free-masonry, as it contains " "Bund", "Brüder", the Probations, the Egyptian milieu and primarily the three-group rhythm of the overture".
GBS. p. 95.

aware of the dangers of Sarastro's 'indoctrination'.

There are grounds for the belief that the priesthood in 'Die Zauberflöte' is a deliberate reflection of freemasonry. Certainly the ritual of the initiation ceremony and the hero's probations would appear to be closely associated with freemasonry.¹ Both Leopold Mozart² and Wolfgang Mozart³ were

freemasons in Vienna. Schikaneder had belonged to a lodge in Regensburg,⁴ but had been suspended for six months,⁵ an unusual procedure in freemasonry. One reliable authority denies that Schikaneder was ever allowed to attend meetings again and insists that he was not a Brother of the Lodge 'Zur Neugekrönten Hoffnung' as was supposed.⁶ Another source maintains further 'Der Wiener Loge hat er nicht gehört'.⁷ A new verse to Papageno's song, first heard in 1801, infers however that Schikaneder and Mozart were both members of a Lodge.⁸ It is quite certain, whatever the issue of the above, that Schikaneder was acquainted with freemasonry and its members,⁹ and Komorzynski is very persuasive when he argues that only actual freemasons may compose or write for a lodge, which, apparently both Schikaneder and Mozart did.⁹

Evidence of Schikaneder's actual membership is not to be found in his works, but there is proof of his related interest.¹⁰ His vocabulary alone utilises, almost synonymously, as did Hafner, the Old Viennese Popular Theatre and the Wanderbühne before him, terms such as 'Bruder', 'Freund', 'Bund' and 'Freundschaft'.¹¹ A recurrent theme in his plots, both musical and otherwise, is the attainment of happiness through suffering and hardship. There is no easy road to happiness. In addition 'Die Zauberflöte' offers the rituals associated with a priesthood.

The symbolism and form of freemasonry is, moreover, to be found in the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte', as well as in Mozart's mystical opening to the overture. Of the numbers 3, 5 and 7 which play a part in the ritual of

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12. cf., pp. 126-129.

13. NWAM. p. 150.

14. Both Maria Theresia and Leopold II opposed freemasonry. At first, Joseph supported it, but eventually became suspicious of its power.

ES. p. 210.

RE. p. 364ff.

15.

ZB. 1,xix. pp. 85-86.

1. NWAM. p. 152.
2. Mk. Bt. 1. p. 66.
3. ZB. 11,xiii. pp. 105-106.
4. ibid. 1,xix. pp. 85-86.
5. ibid. 11,xxviii. p. 144.
"...Zwei schwarz geharnischte Männer führen Tamino herein..."
6. ibid. 11,xxviii. p. 145.
"Der, welcher wandert diese Strasse voll Beschwerden, wird rein durch Feuer, Wasser, Luft und Erden."
7. MD. pp. 148-151. (iv.) 'Who was the original Queen?'
8. ZBp. pp. 10-11.
"Eines muss ihm zugebilligt werden: er war ein Meister der Inszenierung allerersten Ranges. Er ist der Reinhardt seiner Epoche, der in Regensburg vor einem Freilichttheater der Dreitausend spielt, der aus Schillers Räubern ein grosses Frunk- und Kriegsspiel macht und, ein wienerischer Ahnherr Rostands, in Pressburg eine Hühnerkomödie veranstaltet, wofür in den so beliebten Tierhetzen schon eine bodenständige Tradition vorlag, in der auch Papageno zu verankern ist.."
Eipeldauer reports that the settings alone were applauded by the Viennese. EDB. 28 Heft. 4. Brief. p. 31.
cf., pp. 112-129, 155-188, 192-205.
9. For further instances cf., NWAM. pp. 150-154.
10. GBS. pp. 88,89.
11. RE. p. 264ff. "'The Freemasons', says the contemporary Caroline Pichler, 'carried on with almost ridiculous openness and ostentation. Masonic Songs were published, set to music, and sung; Masonic sings were worn as joujoux on watches, ladies received white gloves from apprentices and journeymen, and many fashionable articles - such as white satin muffs bordered with blue - were named à la francmaçon.!'"

freemasonry, 3 appears frequently,¹ as it has done throughout the works of the Viennese popular theatre.² However, its origins in the latter instance, appeared to be mystical rather than masonic and would stem from the Baroque figure of the Holy Trinity. The number 7 attains a degree of importance by its inclusion as the ultimate symbol of wisdom in 'der siebenfache Sonnenkreis'.³ Monostatos is punished by 'siebenundsiebzig Sohlenstreiche'.⁴ In freemasonry two or three helpers are used to conduct the uninitiated through the strange ceremony. Tamino enjoys the privilege of similar assistance.⁵ He also undergoes the elemental ordeals of fire and water.⁶ The sun is a symbol of enlightenment to the initiated, whilst the masonic moon, the symbol of neither darkness nor evil, despite Brophy's allegations to the contrary,⁷ is not unrelated to the Königin der Nacht. The progression through the various masonic orders is reputedly spectacular, a particular quality of almost all Schikaneder's works for the theatre.⁸ Music is included in masonic ceremonies, much in the form of a church service, which, after all, has its parallel in the Singspiel. The temple affords a further association.⁹ Goethe firmly believed that Schikaneder's work deliberately sustained the beliefs and practices of freemasonry.¹⁰

Certainly it was in accordance with Schikaneder's earlier policy as manager of a theatre to lard his plot with topical interest,¹¹ as his 'Hanns Dollinger' showed.¹² Shortly before 1791 freemasonry was banned in Vienna, by Leopold II,¹³ and what could attract an audience better than the representation of a society which had recently been forced to meet in secret.¹⁴ Charity, however, one of the main principles of the brotherhood, is not practised in the case of the Königin der Nacht; nor in the case of Monostatos's first transgression.¹⁵ Representing

1. ZB. 11,xxx. pp. 175-176.
"Zerschmettert, zernichtet ist unsere Macht,
wir alle gestürzt in ewige Nacht! "
2. ES. pp. 170-181. "Die Zauberflöte". Entstehung."
3. *ibid.* p. 195.
"Auch Mozart und Schikaneder kannten Terrassons
Roman, sie fanden ihn in der Loge".
4. *cf.*, pp. 96-98.
5. *cf.*, p. 89ff.
6. *cf.*, p. 49(a). 8.
7. AWTL.E. pp.XVIII-XXII.
8. HGS. V3. pp. 110-111. *cf.*, p. 49.
"...Der Wiener behält sehr leicht Melodien im
Ohr, er hört sie oft im Theater, und jede gefällige
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im Prater und in allen Gasthöfen und Bierschenken
so oft wiederhohlt, dass er sie nicht vergessen
kann, und der Gassenlieder nicht mehr bedarf."
EDB. 1796. 32.Heft.(1797). 6 Brief. p. 50.
"Aber der Compositori vor der Musik hats fast
noch harter als der Autori. Weil jetzt z'Wien
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auch alle Musikkenner und Kennerinnen seyn, und
verlegn sich also aufs Kritesirn; aber freylich
urtheilen s'manigsmal, wie der Blinde von der
Farb.
Einmal sind d'Wiener z'frieden gwesen, wern s'ineiner
Opra nur ein Arie gfunden habn, die ihnen gfallen
hat, und wenn ein schöns Duett drin war, so ist
d'Opra in ihrn Augn schon ein Masterstuck gwesen..."
9. ES. pp. 170-200.
10. *cf.*, p. 151(a). 8.

the force of evil the Königin der Nacht must be hurled into eternal night.¹ Her human motivation does not excuse her crime, the abuse of the gift of motherhood. The relationship between mother and daughter, gradually and unnoticeably, ceases to exist.

Many inaccurate observations have been made concerning the creation and content of the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte'.² To a great extent the cause of this inaccuracy has been due to the failure to comprehend 'Die Zauberflöte' as part of a tradition. Literary material has come to light, which is similar to some part of the content of Schikaneder's text, and deductions have readily been made.² It is not sufficient, for instance, to state that Mozart, Schikaneder and Gebler knew Abbé Terrasson's essay on the Egyptian mysteries, even though 'Thamos' and 'Die Zauberflöte' have certain things in common.³ The reflection of this theatrical and popular tradition is that a particular terminology and related themes tended to recur again and again, so that the only true originality was the librettist's treatment and method of production.⁴ The simple and attractive music of the Singspiel is, by its nature, an important part of the same tradition. Its music is also popular.⁵ It might originate in the street or on the stage, its melody might be the inspiration of the 'Donauweiber',⁶ the 'Bänkelsänger',⁷ or of Mozart, Haydn, or of the other several musicians in the city. Evidence recurs again and again to show this perpetual link between the theatre and the street. Thus the tradition is characterized as Volkstheater.⁸ Both Schikaneder and Mozart figure in its development and decease.

The sheer quantity of mooted sources⁹ for the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte' makes the hypothesis of deliberate piracy appear very unrealistic.¹⁰ The following works,

"Ja, heilig sei uns diese Pflicht,
Die uns so hohen Lohn verspricht.
Wir wollen uns der Menschheit weihn,
Ja - ja - wir wollen Menschen seyn."
ZBp. pp. 45-46.

17. DDS. p. 124.
"Die Gegensätze der Charaktere vermögen in einer andern Oper kaum so herauszutreten als hier. Ein liebender und zärtlicher Ritter und Held, ein drolliger Knappe, eine hingebende Fee und ein finsterer Zauberer, Chöre der Geister und Chöre der Bauern oder Burgleute und die musikalische Begleitung all des Spuckes, der sich durch das ganze Stück hinzieht, alles das kann der Phantasic des Tonsetzers wenn er seine Aufgabe nur zu begreifen und auch poetisch zu bewältigen weiss, hinreichende Nahrung geben".
18. Schikaneder's first Zauberoper 'Der Stein der Weisen oder die Zauberinsel' has been shown by Komorzynski to be the forerunner of 'Die Zauberflöte' ES. pp. 168, 272.
19. ES. p. 356.
20. AFWK. p. 462. First performed 14th October, 1793.
21. Music by Schack, Gerl and others.
ES. p. 273.

1. OW. 'An den Leser'.
2. cf., pp. 89-91.
3. cf., pp. 90-91.
4. cf., p. 164(a). 3.
 TzB. p. 7.
 "Ein unumstößlicher Beweis, dass das Werk Terrassons und zwar in der Übersetzung des Mathias Claudius für die "Zauberflöte" benützt wurde, ergibt sich schon bei Vergleichung der folgenden Überschrift über dem Prüfungstempel mit den Worten der zwei geharnischten Männer vor Beginn der Feuer- und Wasserprobe..."
 Even this evidence and other scenic parallels which the same authority offers, are a little too fragmentary to be entirely conclusive as proof of deliberate and conscious borrowing.
5. cf., pp. 13-14.
6. cf., pp. 39-43.
7. cf., pp. 82-85.
8. cf., pp. 85-91.
9. ES. pp. 193-196.
10. cf., pp. 154-155.
 ES. pp. 184-187.
11. ibid. pp. 187-193.
 cf., pp. 154-155.
12. ibid. pp. 72ff.
 ES. pp. 73, 75, 215.
13. AWWK. p. 500ff.
14. cf., p. 160.
15. ES. pp. 181-184.
16. ÜN. Ts.
 AWWK. p. 554ff.
 The 'Menschheitsthema' of 'Die Zauberflöte' recurs in Hensler's 'Kasperl, der unruhige Wanderer' in the duet between the priest Sambukko and Gargantos:

which are all related to the tradition, and which exclude Schikaneder's own, have all some bearing on, or relationship with, the textual content of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Many of them are products of the same tradition, which produced 'Die Zauberflöte': 'Huon von Bordeaux' by Graf Tressan,¹ Chaucer's Merchant's Tale¹ and The Tale of the Wife of Bath,¹⁰ 'The Beggars' Opera' by Gay,² 'The Devil to Pay' by Coffey,³ Abbé Terrasson's essay on the Egyptian mysteries,⁴ the Teutsche Arien,⁵ 'Megära, die fürchterliche Hexe'⁶ by Hafner, and, in fact, most of his other plays for the popular theatre, 'Lisuart und Dariolette'⁷ by Schiebeler and Hiller, the later Singspiele of Hiller and Weisse,⁸ 'Thamos, König in Ägypten' by Gebler,⁹ 'Oberon' by Wieland,¹⁰ 'Oberon, oder König der Elfen' by Seyler,¹¹ and 'Oberon, König der Elfen' by Giesecke,¹¹ Mozart's 'Die Entführung',¹² 'Handeln macht der Mann, oder der Freimaurer' by Hensler,¹³ 'Kaspar der Fagottist' by Perinet and Hensler,¹⁴ 'Das Sonnenfest der Brahminen' by Hensler,¹⁵ and after the appearance of 'Die Zauberflöte' in 1791, 'Der unruhige Wanderer oder Kasperls letzter Tag' by Hensler.¹⁶ The list is not exhaustive, but it contains sufficient material which is specifically Viennese popular theatre to show that it is at least feasible for Schikaneder to have created the libretto to 'Die Zauberflöte' without necessarily having recourse to material foreign to his theatrical experience and inheritance. As further proof of a traditional inheritance, Schletterer's reconstruction of what, in his opinion, constitutes a typical 'Singspiel' plot, hardly differs at all from the course of events in 'Die Zauberflöte'.¹⁷

Two further Zauberoperen by Schikaneder,¹⁸ 'Der Zauberpfeil oder Das Kabinett der Wahrheit'¹⁹ and 'Die Waldmänner'²⁰ appeared in 1793 and achieved a moderate success. 'Der wohlthätige Derwisch'²¹ continues in the same tradition but there appears to be some doubt whether

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1. "ÖN. Ts. Edition printed in 1791.
2. Komorzynski places the first performance in 1793, on the 10th September, and believes that it was printed in the same year.
ES. p. 273.
3. DUW. ÖN. Ts. 1,vi.
cf., p. 153(a). 5.
4. ES. op. cit. pp. 273-281.
Komorzynski gives a detailed plan of the text.
5. ibid.
cf., pp. 33-54, 160-161.
6. cf., pp. 82-85.
7. WD. "ÖN. Ts. pp. 3-4.
" Arie des Sofrano:
Welche nie empfundenne Freude
Lieb und Reichthum krönt mich heute
Mich beglückt bey Gut und Geld
Das schonste Mädchen auf der Welt.
Lieb und Geld, und Geld und Liebe
Sind der Menschen höchste Triebe:
Wahrlich ich bin ausser mir
Geld und Liebe lächelt mir."
8. ES. p. 274.
9. ibid.
"Sofrano, mein Sohn! Dein Vater spricht mit dir, dein weibisches Betragen wird erwogen und alle Hilfe dir dadurch entzogen, doch willst du siegen, wohl! so sei ein Mann und dring auf deinen Feind mit Allmacht an, ist er der Kraft durch deinen Arm beraubt, dann wind' ich selbst den Lorbeer um dein Haupt.'" (er verschwindet unter Donner und Blitz, die Säule steht wieder wie zuvor.)"
10. ibid. p. 280.
11. cf., pp. 159-161.

it was first known in 1791¹ or 1793². Its sub-title 'Die Schellenkappe' was later included at the Leopoldstadttheater in 'Der unruhige Wanderer oder: Kasperls letzter Tag' by Hensler, in which Kasperl is persistently reminded by a cap of bells that he is placing himself in moral danger.³ In this way, the practice of free adaptation continues as a part of the tradition of the Viennese popular theatre. Schikaneder did not complain that others adapted his works, nor did any of the contemporary almanachs deign to comment in any detail on this custom of theatrical life.

In the tradition of the Wiener Volksstück the hero of 'Der wohltätige Derwisch',⁴ Sofrano, is depicted on his quest for the heroine, Zenomide.⁴ The princess is initially false at heart. The Dervish, unknown to Sofrano, is his father, again laying the foundations for a typically popular revelation scene,⁵ and is being persecuted by Abakuf, the Shiek of Basora.⁴ The Dervish places his treasure in the hands of his hitherto immature⁶ son, and the latter foolishly believes that it will buy him the love of the princess.⁷ The Dervish warns him that the gold will win her hand, but not her heart.⁸

When Sofrano, after much typical meandering, and after effective comic scenes by the popular figures, Mandalino and Mandalina, acknowledges his wrong, the Dervish reappears and warns him that if he now acts like a man and robs Abakuf of his powers, he himself will set the garland on his head.⁹ From this point the plot runs its expected course and Zenomide is ultimately transformed into a good person who glows 'in flammender Liebe'.¹⁰ Both hero and heroine experience the popular betterment of character, as did Tamino and Pamina before them.¹¹

The arrangement of the conflicting parties compares

1. ES. pp. 272-305. 'Schikaneders Wiener Dichtung. Opern.'
2. ibid. p. 273.
3. ibid. p. 272.
4. ibid. p. 281.
5. ÖN. Ts.
6. ES. p. 272.
7. ibid. pp. 273-281.
8. cf., pp. 67-68.
Th. Osiris and Isis are godheads of the priesthood. cf., pp. 67-78.
Sethos, 'Oberpriester des Sonnentempels', is ultimately revealed as the father of Tharsis, alias Sais. Even Light and Darkness suffer a similar symbolic treatment to that of 'Die Zauberflöte'. A closer comparison between the libretti of 'Thamos' and 'Die Zauberflöte' would in all probability sustain the belief that the latter owed more to the former than to Terrasson's essay on the Egyptian mysteries. cf., p. 165(a). 4. ES. pp. 193-196.
9. EB. V7. p. 279.
"Dervish in the middle east is a member of a Muslim religious fraternity, whether mendicant or not, resembling in some respects a Christian monastic order. The fraternities arose within Sufism, which is in origin religion at an individual level, the single soul seeking its own salvation; occasionally such an individual would gather round himself a band of devotees under instruction, who shared his life and religious practices...."

with that in 'Die Zauberflöte' and so remains in the tradition of Viennese Zauberoperen.¹ The music to the opera was composed by Gerl and Schack and others.² Its source has been mooted as two legends from Wieland's 'Dschinnistan', 'Die Prinzessin mit der langen Nase' and 'Der eiserne Armleuchter'. Schikaneder's ability to seize inspiration from another source has been noted by the same authority.² The work was first performed on September 11th, 1793,³ and has been described as the forerunner of Raimund's 'Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel'.⁴

The library edition of 'Der wohltätige Derwisch' bears the date 1791,⁵ which places its creation in the same year as 'Die Zauberflöte'. It does not preclude the possibility that it was in fact written in its libretto form before this opera⁶ as was 'Der Stein der Weisen'.⁵ Whatever the date of its exact origination, it is undoubtedly related very closely to 'Die Zauberflöte' in addition to the general arrangement of its plot and figures.⁷ The Dervish, for instance, represents a religious order, the fact of a dedicated priest being ultimately revealed as the father of the hero or heroine, relating the libretto even to the 'Thamos' of Gebler.⁸ This order is a fraternity. Almost realistically, Schikaneder presents the main devotional exercise of the Dervish, 'Dhikr (zikr)' or 'remembering',⁹ and portrays it truthfully as a mendicant order:⁹

" Derwisch

Hier müssen wir uns beide trennen
Hier ist die Grenze schon.

Sofrano

Du solltest mich verlassen können
Ziehst ohne mir davon?

Derwisch

Das Schicksal wills, du musst dich fassen.

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1. ED. 1., Duett. cf., ES. p. 273.
2. ibid. cf., ES. p. 274.
3. ES. p. 275ff.
4. ibid.
5. ES. p. 275.

Sofrano

Von Freund und Aeltern ganz verlassen
Ist niemand der mich trösten kann.

Derwisch

Entfernung kann zwar Freunde trennen,
Doch Dankbarkeit wird stets erkennen
Was du mir Armen guts gethan.
Als Bettler nahmst du mich zu dir."¹

The same morality, whose tone pervaded the priesthood of 'Die Zauberflöte', predominates here also, and the terminology is virtually the same:

" Sofrano

Diess lehrt der Menschheit heil'ge Pflicht.

Derwisch

Du reichtest Trank und Speise mir.

Sofrano

Diess war als Mensch, ja meine Pflicht.

Derwisch

Du wichst von mir in Krankheit nicht.

Sofrano

Diess lehrt der Menschheit heil'ge Pflicht.

Derwisch

Hier lohnet Menschenliebe schon,
Und dörten krönt sie höchster Lohn. " 2

Coupled with the religious timbre of the work is the customary popular appeal for the 'long-eared' members of Schikaneder's audience. This is the attraction of Mandalino and Mandalina,³ the theatrical offspring of Papageno and Papagena.³ He manages to give a new filip to an old practice of the Wiener Volksstück where husband and wife came to blows.⁴ In Schikaneder the late eighteenth century is moving towards emancipation of woman and, in so doing, the latter enjoys her prerogative of beating the husband.⁵

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1. ES. p. 275.
WD. 1., Duett. pp. 5-6.
2. WD. 1., Duett. pp. 5-6.
3. cf., ES. p. 272.
4. ibid. p. 281.
5. GddL. p. 161.
6. ES. pp. 286-287.
7. ibid. p. 281. SA. ŪN. Ts.
8. ES. pp. 281-287.
9. cf., pp. 32-35, 39-43.
10. SA. ŪN. Ts. ES. pp. 281-286.
11. cf., pp. 39-43.

After a violent encounter, in which Mandalina beats Mandalino for indiscretions outside his marital status,¹ the chorus ironically summarizes the episode:

"So einig wie wir beide
Sind selten Mann und Weib
Wir leben wie die Kinder
Und sind ein Seel' und Leib."²

This relationship between 'Die Zauberflöte' and 'Der wohltätige Derwisch' offers further evidence for Schikaneder's sole responsibility for the libretto of the former.³ It further ensconces that libretto in the tradition of the Viennese popular theatre, so that it cannot, mistakenly, be regarded as the pure and original creation of one man's conscious thought.

'Der Spiegel von Arkadien' was first performed on the 14th November, 1794,⁴ and also enjoyed a moderate success. Its source might again be presumed to be Wieland's 'Der goldene Spiegel', which appeared in 1772.⁵ Even more obvious is its relationship with 'Die Zauberflöte', as its composer was Süßmayer,⁶ Mozart's former pupil and the man who successfully completed Mozart's Requiem after the latter's death.⁶ In doing this he copied Mozart's style as closely as he could and employed the same method in composing for 'Der Spiegel von Arkadien'.⁶

The work, ineptly called a heroic-comic opera,⁷ for it contained little that was truly heroic, had the same embodiment of good and evil powers,⁸ which were characteristic of the Zauberoper since 'Lisuart und Dariolette'.⁹ Similarly, the moral conflict consists of the struggle of good against evil and the former's final triumph.¹⁰ Intermingled in this magic brawling, is the suggestion that man, by his own mortal and unmagical efforts, might be, at least, partly responsible for his own fate, a blend which recalls Hafner's proportioning of magic.¹¹ Human cognizance

1. SA. 1,i. Arie. Ballamo.
2. ibid. 11., p. 21. Jupiter, Juno.
3. ES. pp. 284-285ff.
4. ibid. pp. 283, 284.
5. ZB. 11,xxix. p. 162.
6. SA. Arie. Tarkeleon. p. 6.
 "Der Tag der Rache ist erschienen,
 Zu quälen diese Menschenbrut.
 Ihr Gram soll mir zum Spotte dienen;
 Ich dürste nur nach Tod und Blut
 Der Höllen Qual soll sie ereilen
 Mit tausendfacher Todespein.
 Sie mögen flehen, winseln, heulen,
 Triumph wird mir ihr Jammer seyn.
 Diess hoffen - ist mir Labsal schon;
 So nur rächt sich Tarkeleon."
7. ibid. tp. Personen.
 "Metallo, ein Vipernfänger.
 Giganie, sein Weib."
8. ibid. p. 22. Philanie.
 "Zum Laster mich zu bringen,
 Hast du schon triumphirt;
 Doch spott' ich deinem Schlingen,
 Weil mich die Tugend führt."
9. ES. pp. 272-305.
10. cf., p. 158.

forms an essential part of the conflict and, after praying that he might have a wife, Ballamo is warned in a tone which re-echoes the religious admonitions of the Baroque stage and, at the same time, the portents of enlightenment:

"Doch lerne erst dich selber kennen,
Wenn du durch sie willst glücklich seyn,
Sonst möchtest du den Wunsch bereu'n."¹

Schikaneder's moral of reconciliation, which he inherited from the popular stage, recurs here. The Gods overcome Ballamo's doubts about the fidelity of his Philanie:

"Glaub' uns, ihr werdet beyde
Euch lieben und verzeih'n.
Belohnt durch Liebes Freude
Versöhnt und glücklich seyn."²

Further connections with 'Die Zauberflöte' occur in abundance,³ so that the opera fulfils the same function as 'Der wohlthätige Derwisch'. Two boys guide the right cause along the right path. They help Ballamo and Philanie to choose not the basket of gold, but the basket of seed,⁴ from which will grow a race of men,⁴ an arrangement convenient for the development of a musical chorus.⁴ As the three boys in 'Die Zauberflöte' prevented Papageno from committing suicide,⁵ the two boys warn Ballamo about the poisoned wine.⁴ Tarkeleon's anger is expressed in an aria resembling closely that of the Königin der Nacht,⁶ and Metallio and Giganie replace Papageno and Pagagena, this time as snake-catchers for the evil spirit.⁷ Like Pamina, Philanie is guided by virtue and knows that this is the right path.⁸

The quantity of Zauberopern after 'Die Zauberflöte'⁹ does not speak for the sincerity of Papageno's satire of the genre.¹⁰ It afforded the Baroque 'Maschinist' boundless opportunity for the display of his craft, besides forming an essential part of the philosophy of a man, who wished

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1. cf., p. 141(a). 9.
2. EDB. 1799. Heft 7. Brief 5. p. 41ff.
"...Aber nichts hat mir besser gefallen, als die geschwinden Verwandlungen. Das geht wie der Blitz, und in der schönsten Ordnung. Da sieht man kein Zimmer davon spaziern, und da bleibt kein Kortin henken, oder in Wald ein Sessel oder ein halbe Zimmerwand stehn, wie ichs auf mein Ausländerreisen z'Baden und z'Presburg gsehn hab.
Aufn Wiednertheater verschwinden die Vorstellungen, als wenn s' wegzaubert wärn."
Eipeldauer could write this even before Schikaneder had moved into his new theatre.
3. ES. pp. 282, 283.
4. cf., pp. 39-43.
5. ES. p. 281.
6. ES. p. 276.
7. cf., p. 18(a). 7.
8. The same opera was later condemned by the "Zeitung für die elegante Welt" (1801., p. 794)
"Die Intrigue ist platt ersonnen und höchst armselig ausgeführt...der Dialog ist schlecht."
ES. p. 317.
cf., p. 143, 144.
9. ES. p. 312.
10. cf., p. 10.

to appeal in the production of his works to the 'Schaulust', as well as the 'Iachlust', of his Viennese audience. When he moved into his new theatre in 1801, Schikaneder ensured that certain technical innovations in the theatre's machinery would facilitate the difficult scene-changes, which he, as producer, demanded.¹ The technique, which gave added speed to changes, which bewildered Eipeldauer even in the Freihaustheater,² was that of flying the battens upwards and then below ground for storage.¹ The opening of the initial curtain was also facilitated by moving it upwards and sideways at the same time.¹ Hitherto the practice of drawing the curtains had been quite dangerous.¹ The Zauberoper necessitated the employment of magic, which, of course, to a modern mind, is initially an unrealistic and therefore, incredible concept. The smoothness in execution, of apparently impossible theatrical situations and scene-changes, was the phenomenon, which rendered an audience credulous.² Thus, in the Zauberoper, seeds grow into a race of men³ and provide not only musical opportunity, but opportunity for scenic display, as did the 'Wolkenmaschinen' of the early Viennese popular theatre.⁴ Music is used to entrance Tarkeleon's victims, whom he sees approaching through the magic mirror,⁵ which overlooks twelve rivers. Sofrano's creation of a fully-manned ship⁶ provides the producer of 'Der wohltätige Derwisch' with a similar opportunity for causing his audience wonderment.⁷

One of Schikaneder's most effective contributions to the Singspiel was the comic opera 'Der Tyroler Wastel',⁸ which was first produced in the Freihaustheater on the 14th May, 1796,⁹ and was printed two years later in 1798. It opposed the unreal absence of class distinction in the Zauberoper, which in its princely intrigues had perpetuated its ties with Stranitzky's Haupt- und Staatsaktion.¹⁰ It

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1. ZB. 11,xxx. pp. 175-176.
"Zerschmettert, zernichtet ist unsere Macht,
wir alle gestürzt in ewige Nacht! "
2. ES. pp. 170-181. "Die Zauberflöte". Entstehung."
3. *ibid.* p. 195.
"Auch Mozart und Schikaneder kannten Terrassons
Roman, sie fanden ihn in der Loge".
4. *cf.*, pp. 96-98.
5. *cf.*, p. 89ff.
6. *cf.*, p. 49(a). 8.
7. AWTL.E. pp.XVIII-XXII.
8. HGS. V3. pp. 110-111. *cf.*, p. 49.
"...Der Wiener behält sehr leicht Melodien im
Ohr, er hört sie oft im Theater, und jede gefällige
Melodie wird ihm von Hautboisten und Harfenisten
im Prater und in allen Gasthöfen und Bierschenken
so oft wiederhohlt, dass er sie nicht vergessen
kann, und der Gassenlieder nicht mehr bedarf."
EDB. 1796. 32.Heft.(1797). 6 Brief. p. 50.
"Aber der Compositori vor der Musik hats fast
noch harter als der Autori. Weil jetzt z'Wien
alles aufn Klavir herumtappt, so wolln jetzt
auch alle Musikkenner und Kennerinnen seyn, und
verlegn sich also aufs Kritesirn; aber freylich
urtheilen s'manigsmal, wie der Blinde von der
Farb.
Einmal sind d'Wiener z'frieden gwesen, wenn s'ineiner
Opra nur ein Arie gfunden habn, die ihnen gefallen
hat, und wenn ein schöns Duett drin war, so ist
d'Opra in ihrn Augn schon ein Masterstuck gwesen..."
9. ES. pp. 170-200.
10. *cf.*, p. 151(a). 8.

the force of evil the Königin der Nacht must be hurled into eternal night.¹ Her human motivation does not excuse her crime, the abuse of the gift of motherhood. The relationship between mother and daughter, gradually and unnoticeably, ceases to exist.

Many inaccurate observations have been made concerning the creation and content of the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte'.² To a great extent the cause of this inaccuracy has been due to the failure to comprehend 'Die Zauberflöte' as part of a tradition. Literary material has come to light, which is similar to some part of the content of Schikaneder's text, and deductions have readily been made.² It is not sufficient, for instance, to state that Mozart, Schikaneder and Gebler knew Abbé Terrasson's essay on the Egyptian mysteries, even though 'Thamos' and 'Die Zauberflöte' have certain things in common.³ The reflection of this theatrical and popular tradition is that a particular terminology and related themes tended to recur again and again, so that the only true originality was the librettist's treatment and method of production.⁴ The simple and attractive music of the Singspiel is, by its nature, an important part of the same tradition. Its music is also popular.⁵ It might originate in the street or on the stage, its melody might be the inspiration of the 'Donauweiber',⁶ the 'Bänkelsänger',⁷ or of Mozart, Haydn, or of the other several musicians in the city. Evidence recurs again and again to show this perpetual link between the theatre and the street. Thus the tradition is characterized as Volkstheater.⁸ Both Schikaneder and Mozart figure in its development and decease.

The sheer quantity of mooted sources⁹ for the libretto of 'Die Zauberflöte' makes the hypothesis of deliberate piracy appear very unrealistic.¹⁰ The following works,

"Ja, heilig sei uns diese Pflicht;
Die uns so hohen Lohn verspricht.
Wir wollen uns der Menschheit weihn,
Ja - ja - wir wollen Menschen seyn."
ZBp. pp. 45-46.

17. DDS. p. 124.
"Die Gegensätze der Charaktere vermögen in einer andern Oper kaum so herauszutreten als hier. Ein liebender und zärtlicher Ritter und Held, ein drolliger Knappe, eine hingebende Fee und ein finsterner Zauberer, Chöre der Geister und Chöre der Bauern oder Burgleute und die musikalische Begleitung all des Spuckes, der sich durch das ganze Stück hinzieht, alles das kann der Phantasic des Tonsetzers wenn er seine Aufgabe nur zu begreifen und auch poetisch zu bewältigen weiss, hinreichende Nahrung geben".
18. Schikaneder's first Zauberoper 'Der Stein der Weisen oder die Zauberinsel' has been shown by Komorzynski to be the forerunner of 'Die Zauberflöte' ES. pp. 168, 272.
19. ES. p. 356.
20. AFWK. p. 462. First performed 14th October, 1793.
21. Music by Schack, Gerl and others.
ES. p. 273.

1. OW. 'An den Leser'.
2. cf., pp. 89-91.
3. cf., pp. 90-91.
4. cf., p. 164(a). 3.
 TEB. p. 7.
 "Ein unumstößlicher Beweis, dass das Werk Terrassons und zwar in der Übersetzung des Mathias Claudius für die "Zauberflöte" benützt wurde, ergibt sich schon bei Vergleichung der folgenden Überschrift über dem Prüfungstempel mit den Worten der zwei geharnischten Männer vor Beginn der Feuer- und Wasserprobe..."
 Even this evidence and other scenic parallels which the same authority offers, are a little too fragmentary to be entirely conclusive as proof of deliberate and conscious borrowing.
5. cf., pp. 13-14.
6. cf., pp. 39-43.
7. cf., pp. 82-85.
8. cf., pp. 85-91.
9. ES. pp. 193-196.
10. cf., pp. 154-155.
 ES. pp. 184-187.
11. ibid. pp. 187-193.
 cf., pp. 154-155.
12. ibid. pp. 72ff.
 ES. pp. 73, 75, 215.
13. AWVK. p. 500ff.
14. cf., p. 160.
15. ES. pp. 181-184.
16. UN. Ts.
 AWVK. p. 554ff.
 The 'Menschheitsthema' of 'Die Zauberflöte' recurs in Hensler's 'Kasperl, der unruhige Wanderer' in the duet between the priest Sambukko and Gargantos:

which are all related to the tradition, and which exclude Schikaneder's own, have all some bearing on, or relationship with, the textual content of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Many of them are products of the same tradition, which produced 'Die Zauberflöte': 'Huon von Bordeaux' by Graf Tressan,¹ Chaucer's Merchant's Tale¹ and The Tale of the Wife of Bath,¹⁰ 'The Beggars' Opera' by Gay,² 'The Devil to Pay' by Coffey,³ Abbé Terrasson's essay on the Egyptian mysteries,⁴ the Teutsche Arien,⁵ 'Megära, die fürchterliche Hexe'⁶ by Hafner, and, in fact, most of his other plays for the popular theatre, 'Lisuart und Dariolette'⁷ by Schiebeler and Hiller, the later Singspiele of Hiller and Weisse,⁸ 'Thamos, König in Ägypten' by Gebler,⁹ 'Oberon' by Wieland,¹⁰ 'Oberon, oder König der Elfen' by Seyler,¹¹ and 'Oberon, König der Elfen' by Giesecke,¹¹ Mozart's 'Die Entführung',¹² 'Handeln macht der Mann, oder der Freimaurer' by Hensler,¹³ 'Kaspar der Fagottist' by Perinet and Hensler,¹⁴ 'Das Sonnenfest der Brahminen' by Hensler,¹⁵ and after the appearance of 'Die Zauberflöte' in 1791, 'Der unruhige Wanderer oder Kasperls letzter Tag' by Hensler.¹⁶ The list is not exhaustive, but it contains sufficient material which is specifically Viennese popular theatre to show that it is at least feasible for Schikaneder to have created the libretto to 'Die Zauberflöte' without necessarily having recourse to material foreign to his theatrical experience and inheritance. As further proof of a traditional inheritance, Schletterer's reconstruction of what, in his opinion, constitutes a typical 'Singspiel' plot, hardly differs at all from the course of events in 'Die Zauberflöte'.¹⁷

Two further Zauberopern by Schikaneder,¹⁸ 'Der Zauberpfeil oder Das Kabinett der Wahrheit'¹⁹ and 'Die Waldmänner'²⁰ appeared in 1793 and achieved a moderate success. 'Der wohlthätige Derwisch'²¹ continues in the same tradition but there appears to be some doubt whether

1. "ÖN. Ts. Edition printed in 1791.
2. Komorzynski places the first performance in 1793, on the 10th September, and believes that it was printed in the same year.
ES. p. 273.
3. DUW. ÖN. Ts. 1,vi.
cf., p. 153(a). 5.
4. ES. op. cit. pp. 273-281.
Komorzynski gives a detailed plan of the text.
5. ibid.
cf., pp. 33-54, 160-161.
6. cf., pp. 82-85.
7. WD. "ÖN. Ts. pp. 3-4.
" Arie des Sofrano:
Welche nie empfunden die Freude
Lieb und Reichthum krönt mich heute
Mich beglückt bey Gut und Geld
Das schönste Mädchen auf der Welt.
Lieb und Geld, und Geld und Liebe
Sind der Menschen höchste Triebe.
Wahrlich ich bin ausser mir
Geld und Liebe lächelt mir."
8. ES. p. 274.
9. ibid.
"Sofrano, mein Sohn! Dein Vater spricht mit dir, dein weibisches Betragen wird erwogen und alle Hilfe dir dadurch entzogen, doch willst du siegen, wohl! so sei ein Mann und dring auf deinen Feind mit Allmacht an, ist er der Kraft durch deinen Arm beraubt, dann wind' ich selbst den Lorbeer um dein Haupt.'" (er verschwindet unter Donner und Blitz, die Säule steht wieder wie zuvor.)"
10. ibid. p. 280.
11. cf., pp. 159-161.

it was first known in 1791¹ or 1793². Its sub-title 'Die Schellenkappe' was later included at the Leopoldstadttheater in 'Der unruhige Wanderer oder: Kasperls letzter Tag' by Hensler, in which Kasperl is persistently reminded by a cap of bells that he is placing himself in moral danger.³ In this way, the practice of free adaptation continues as a part of the tradition of the Viennese popular theatre. Schikaneder did not complain that others adapted his works, nor did any of the contemporary almanachs deign to comment in any detail on this custom of theatrical life.

In the tradition of the Wiener Volksstück the hero of 'Der wohltätige Derwisch',⁴ Sofrano, is depicted on his quest for the heroine, Zenomide.⁴ The princess is initially false at heart. The Dervish, unknown to Sofrano, is his father, again laying the foundations for a typically popular revelation scene,⁵ and is being persecuted by Abakuf, the Shiek of Basora.⁴ The Dervish places his treasure in the hands of his hitherto immature⁶ son, and the latter foolishly believes that it will buy him the love of the princess.⁷ The Dervish warns him that the gold will win her hand, but not her heart.⁸

When Sofrano, after much typical meandering, and after effective comic scenes by the popular figures, Mandalino and Mandalina, acknowledges his wrong, the Dervish reappears and warns him that if he now acts like a man and robs Abakuf of his powers, he himself will set the garland on his head.⁹ From this point the plot runs its expected course and Zenomide is ultimately transformed into a good person who glows 'in flammender Liebe'.¹⁰ Both hero and heroine experience the popular betterment of character, as did Tamino and Pamina before them.¹¹

The arrangement of the conflicting parties compares

statt backener Hähne, Kiniglhasen. Am ersten Tag hat er ihnen gar Katzen vorgsetzt; die werden aber jetzt vor lauter Mäusfangen kein Zeit zum Agirn habn. Hernach gibt er linen statt Rebhühnl, Rabn, und aus'n Savalatiwürstn weiss er ein Menge delicati Speiserln z'machen. Es gehn deswegn auch eine Menge Wirth und Wirthinen in d'Opera, damit s'die Pfiff recht lernen. Es ist nur Schad, Herr Vetter, dass d'Aktör kein Zeit ghabt habn, d'Rabn und d'Kiniglhasen all z'samm z'essen; denn es ist auf einmal ein Donnerwetter und ein Platzregn von Spagatschnürln kommen, und hat d'Gäst ausn Frater vertrieb."

Eipeldauer voices the rumour that Act II of 'Der Tyroler Wastel' was plundered from an opera which was to be given by the Nationaltheater, but discounts its veracity. *ibid.*

Alle:

Dort das Wetter!

Wirth:

Kann nit schaden.

Alle:

Nein! Nein! Nein! wir gehn von hier!

Eh wir noch Schaden haben.

Nein! Nein! Nein! wir gehn von hier!

Wirth:

Auweh! Auweh! meine Haasen

Auweh! - meine Raaben

Frist kein Teufel mehr von mir.

(a starker Donnerschlag, das Wetter wird heftiger).

Alle:

Es donnert, es blitzet, es regnet,
Fort lasst uns geschwinde nach Haus
Fort, dass uns kein Unglück begegnet,
Sonst wascht uns der Regen brav aus.
(ein heftiger Schlag).

Alle:

Oweh! fort! fort!

Von diesem Ort.

(Viele Fiacker kommen).

Fiacker:

Nun fahren wir in die Stadt Ihro Gnaden?

Es kostet ja nur zwei Dukaten.

Es donnert, es blitzet, es regnet,

Kommt, lasst uns geschwinde nach Haus,

Eh uns noch a Unglück begegnet

Sonst wascht uns der Regen brav aus.

(Viele Leute mit Regenschirmen, die übrigen mit
Schnupftüchern übern Kopf, alles läuft untereinander
dann ab. Der Wirth singt unter Tutty immer
allein darunter.)

Wirth:

O weh! meine Haasen und Raben,

Die frisst mir kein Teufel mehr auf,

Jezt nennen sie alle nach Haus."

9. cf., ES. p. 313.

10. EDB. 1796. 28 Heft. 2 Brief. p. 16.

"Da kommt unter andern spassigen Sachen auch ein
arenes Herz drin vor, und über das ist gar schreck-
lich glacet worden. Vielleicht wirds jetzt Modi,
dass man auch noch arene Köpfe aufs Theater bringt,
damit doch ein Kopf da ist, wenn's Stuck sonst
kein Kopf hat.

Nichts aber, Herr Vetter hat mir besser gefallen,
als der zweyte Aufzug. Da lernt man d'Wirthspiff
recht kennen. Da gibt der Wirth sein Gästen

1. cf., p. 85(a). 7.
2. cf., pp. 33-51.
3. cf., p. 39.
4. TWst. 1,i.
"Tulippan: (Den Hut in der Hand mit einen*
Bouquet an der Seite.)
 Eh' sich noch Aurora zeigte,
 Wählt ich diese Blumen aus,
 Und der Göttin, die mich beugte,
 Band ich diesen Blumenstrauss."
5. cf., pp. 185-186.
6. cf., p. 49(a). 6.
 cf., 314-315, 317.
7. TWst. 1,xvii. p. 42. Duett.
 "Die Tyroler sand often so lustig so froh,
 Sie trinken ihr Weinel und tanzen a so
 Fröh legt man sich nieder
 Fröh steht man dann auf
 Klopfts Madl aufs Mida
 Und arbeit brav drauf.
 Und kommt denn a Kirta, so schaut man zum Tanz,
 Der Jodel führt die Nannerl, die Gretel den Hans
 Da dreht sichs, denns Weibl, da dreht sich
 der Bau,
 Er nimmt sie beim Leibel und juchazt dazu."...
8. TWst. 11,xxvii. Finale.
"Wastel:
 Wie's brummt jetzt da oben im Himmel
 So brummts auch in Wagen bei mir.
 (Frau von Tiefsinn, Herr von Tulippan, Therese
 stehen ruckwärts, die andern vorwärts.)
Alle:
 Fort, lasst uns geschwinde nach Hause,
 Eh' uns noch das Wetter einholt
Wirth: (eilt herbei)
 Die Losung, die Tafel, die Taufe,
 Hat alles der Teufel geholt.
Alle:
 Lasst uns eilen.
Wirth:
 Ihr Gnaden!
Alle:
 Nicht mehr weilen.
Wirth:
 Da geblieben!

* As in Text.

offered the Viennese audience a mirror, in which they might perceive themselves. It upheld 'honest' 'Bürgertum' and in doing so, associated itself with the pastoral qualities of Weisse's Singspiele¹ and, at the same time, the bourgeois caricature of Hafner.²

The language of the songs offered a variety of styles. Herr von Tulippan, a development of Hafner's Chevalier Chemise,³ declares his intention to offer to his goddess a bunch of flowers which he culled before aurora approached.⁴ In contrast to this, the roguish landlord regales the audience with the ingredients and dubious art of the 'Wiener Küche',⁵ as Hafner had previously done,⁶ whilst Wastel and his wife Liesel continually show their robust Tyrolean health.⁷ This variety continues the tradition of the popular theatre.

The lack of magic having reduced drastically the occasions for scenic splendour to a minimum, Schikaneder continued in the way of his dramatic productions for the German Wanderbühne, and found in this middle-class opera a realistic expression for his theatrical sense. As the party assembles at the Prater for its meal, which is being courageously prepared by the landlord and his dishonest skivvies, it begins to rain. In one short scene,⁸ the finale to the second act, the thunder can be heard gradually growing louder, the Fiaker appear, people don headscarves and put up umbrellas,⁸ and the landlord continues to lament that all his efforts have been brought to nothing.⁸ The ensuing helter-skelter is further enhanced by the fact that it is sung to music, thus revealing an attempt to blend the naive form of Singspiel with the realism of local colour.⁹ In this attempt is Schikaneder's originality. Its effectiveness is recorded by Eipeldauer.¹⁰

In keeping with this experiment, the characters provide intensive local colour beyond the usual caricature found

173(a)

1. ANVK. p. 445.
2. cf., pp. 51-53. 'Die bürgerliche Dame'.
3. Mariandel is Tiefsinn's cook and Jodel is a baker's apprentice. TWst. Personen.
4. cf., pp. 33-54.
5. TWst. 11,xxx.
"Wastel:
.... (zu Tulippan). da hast du tausend Gulden!
bezahle deine Schulden, und lauf was du laufen
kannst, aber das sag i dir in das Haus komm
nimmer, sonst schlag ich dirs Kreuz ein."
cf., Komorzynski. op. cit. p. 313.
6. ES. p. 312.
7. ibid. pp. 315-317.
8. EDB. 1796. 28 Heft. 2 Brief. p. 16.
"Weil ich doch gar so viel von der Tyroler-
wastelopera hab reden ghört, die s'jetzt auf
der Wiedn aufführn, so hab ich doch auch sehn
wolln, wie das Thier ausschaut. Aber Herr Vetter,
das ist wieder wirklich ein Stück zum Kranklachen;
und der Herr Vetter würd schwörn drauf, dass ein
leibhafter kropfeter Tyrolerbaur aufn Theater steht;
so natürlich hat der Aktör sein Hals und sein ganze
Figur ausz' schoppen gwusst."
9. TWst. Personen.
'Ein Harfenist.
Ein Flautraverist.
Ein Musikus mit Viol d'Amour'.
10. cf., p. 91.
11. TWst. 11,vi. p. 61.
12. cf., p. 146.

in Hafner's works. Herr von Tulippan's position in the Tiefsinn household reflects the class of the 'Schnackerl-Noblesse', as Rommel designates it.¹ In this, Frau von Tiefsinn's crime is much the same as was Frau Redlichinn's in Hafner's 'Die bürgerliche Dame'.² Tulipann is a roguish opportunist, and, being in debt, is a leech for the rich man's ignorant wife. Both Tulipann and Frau von Tiefsinn are of lowly station originally, and show it by their behaviour. Schikaneder produces a comedy of manners, as Hafner

had done before him. Nor does the popular element retain the vagueness, which was its due in the Zauberoper. Jodel and Mariandel, as representatives of it, regain their footing by being apportioned to the servant- and trade-class,³ which formerly was embodied in Hannswurst and Colombine.⁴ Wastel, contrasting Jodel's Viennese dialect with his own Tyrolean forthrightness, receives individual and not representative characterisation. He it is, who ultimately dismisses Tulipann most benevolently, in the Schikaneder tradition of reconciliation, by tempting him away with a gift of 1,000 Gulden.⁵

The music was composed by Mozart's brother-in-law, Jakob Haibel (1761-1826).⁶ Its songs and duets were warmly received by the audience,⁷ of which Eipeldauer was a member.⁸ The most famous song of them all: 'Die Tyroler sand often so lustig, so froh...' was adapted as a political song in 1796, 1797, 1809 and 1812 and was still known as a Kinderlied in the nineteenth century.⁷ Within the plot, three musicians, the harpist, flautist and violist d'amour,⁹ recall two of Schikaneder's earlier Singspiele; 'Die Tyranten' by the tripartite arrangement of the musicians,¹⁰ and the third Antonstück, 'Die verdeckten Sachen', as the same song now appears¹¹ as was set to music by Mozart in 1789 'Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding auf der Welt'.¹² Herr von Tiefsinn reproves the musicians, as they are about

174(a)

1. Tst. 11,vi. p. 61.
2. ES. p. 317.
cf., p. 173(a). 8.
TWstR. p. 24.
3. cf., p. 173(a). 8.
4. TWst. Personen.
5. ibid. 111,xiv.
"Frau von Tiefsinn: Arie :
Alles will ich brechen, beugen,
Was ich wünsche, muss geschehn.
Alle Männer müssen schweigen,
Alle uns zu Diensten stehn.
Unsere Reize, unsere Blicke
Herrschen über sie allein,
Schüchtern beb't der Mann zurücke,
Wann wir Herr im Hause sein.
(will ab)".
6. M. VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
cf., p. 138.
7. ES. p. 317.
8. HGS. V2. 1,iv. p. 213ff.
11,iii. p. 235-240.
9. TWst. 1,ix. p. 28.
10. ibid. Personen.
11. ibid. 111,xxx.
12. cf., pp. 33-54.
13. cf., pp. 82-100.
14. TWst. 11,iv. & cf., p. 61ff.
15. cf., pp. 42, 48, 50(a).12., 54.
16. TWst. 11,iv & v. p. 61ff.
ZB. II. xxix. pp. 157-161.
17. ES.p p.272-305.

to sing the happy song to him.¹ His feelings at the moment are not favourably disposed towards the fair sex. Accordingly, in the same metre, and presumably also with Mozart's setting, they change their message to: 'Ihr Männer, nehmt euch mit den Weibern in acht'.¹ The existence of three musicians within a Viennese household is itself a reflection of the then 'Wiener Mode'.

Schikaneder played the part of Wastel² and was praised by Eipeldauer for his faithful reproduction of the Tyrolean dialect and for the effect of his comedy.³ Frau von Tiefsinn was played by Madame Hofer⁴ and it was perhaps, partly as a result of this, that her character has an affinity with that of the Königin der Nacht.⁵ Stegmayer, one of Schikaneder's composers,⁶ played the landlord.⁷

The letter tradition of the Viennese Volksstück,⁸ which doubtless originated from the commedia dell'arte, is continued here, when Frau von Tiefsinn discovers the letter by taking a bite from her sandwich.⁹ The manifold use of couples, Wastel and Liesel, Herr und Frau von Tiefsinn, Jodel and Mariandel, and Josef and Luise,¹⁰ stems from the same tradition, which insists that Frau von Tiefsinn's haughty ways and absolute dominion over her husband must suffer correction.¹¹ Potential tragedy tended to be fairly widespread in both the Wiener Volksstück¹² and the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne,¹³ and, being rooted in the same tradition, 'Der Tyroler Wastel' is no exception. It is manifest in Herr von Tiefsinn's utter dejection¹⁴ and, again in the tradition of the Viennese Volksstück,¹⁵ his suicidal frame of mind.¹⁴ It needs the pragmatistic ebullience of Wastel to dissuade him, which he does via the lively therapy of a Tyrolean dance.¹⁶

Schikaneder's rate of productivity had reached its peak between the years 1789 and 1800.¹⁷ After taking

175(a)

14. A.I.iv.

15. ES. p. 324.

16. *ibid.*

"Die Handlung hat eigentlich einen schönen und fesselnden Grundgedanken."

175(a)

1. cf., p. 132.
2. First performed January 31st, 1801. Music by Seyfried and Stegmayer.
ES. pp. 305, 357.
3. First performed February 6th, 1802.
ES. p. 342.
4. ibid. p. 342. Music by Teyber.
5. ibid. p. 341. Music by Fischer.
First performed July 8th, 1805.
6. ibid. p. 342. Music by J. Weigl.
First performed August 10th, 1805.
7. TW. 'Verzeichnis aller Aufführungen am Theater an der Wien'.
8. ES. pp. 323-325.
9. cf., p. 101-119.
10. ES. p. 323. fn.
11. ibid. p. 93.
12. Of Schikaneder's earlier Zauberoper 'Der Königssohn aus Ithaka', first performed on 27th June, 1795, Komorzynski remarks that the plot might well have been material for 'opera seria' and, moreover, that its development compares well with that of Grillparzer's 'Sappho'.
ES. p. 293.
13. A. ÖN. 1,i.
"Das Theater ist ein unterirdischer, indianischer Tempel; in der Mitte steht ein Opferthier auf einem Piedestal. Kopf, Brust und Hände gleichen einem Menschen, der untere Theil gleicht einem Drachenschweife; in der einen Hand hält das Opferthiere ein Schwert, und in der andern eine, Fackel. Beym Spruche des Orakels wird die ganze Figur, sammt Schwert und Fackel glühend. Rückwärts führt eine lange steinerne Treppe herab. Rechts ist ein Bogen, welcher zum Grabmahle der Könige führt, und mit Urnen verziert ist; links ist ein eisernes Thor, welches in noch tiefere Gewölber führt..."
cf., ES. p. 325.

possession of the Theater an der Wien in 1801, he produced only six new works. These were: 'Alexander' (1801),¹ 'Proteus und Arabiens Söhne',² a Zaubersingspiel (1801); 'Tsching, Tsching, Tsching',³ (1802), 'Pfändung und Personalarrest', a comic opera (1803),⁴ 'Swetards Zaubertal'⁵ and 'Vestas Feuer',⁶ two operas produced in 1805. Of these last works only 'Alexander' enjoyed a modicum of success.⁷

It is dismissed rather briefly by Komorzynski as reflecting a marked decline of Schikaneder's talent.⁸ Nevertheless it marks his infinite propensity for the presentation of the spectacular. 'Alexander' is essentially a combination of two elements: the tradition of Schikaneder's own productions of Ritterdrama on the Wanderbühne,⁹ and the music of Franz Teyber.¹⁰ The nearest Schikaneder had previously been to this was a heroic Singspiel entitled 'Balders Tod',¹¹ which he performed on the Wanderbühne, but which owed much to its original in Danish,¹¹ and 'Der Königssohn aus Ithaka' (1795).¹² As such the work has realism, and does not reflect the local colour of Vienna. The realism is portrayed in the extreme detail, which Schikaneder's visual imagination lends to the battle scenes, the triumphal marches and the opening scene in the Indian temple.¹³ The proscenium represented a tapestry, which was opened at Makuro's command in Act I sc. iv., ~~that~~ ^{and} in this way the audience was directly and consciously introduced to the theatrical world of 'Alexander'.¹⁴

As an attempt to win heroic proportions for the Singspiel, 'Alexander' is only partially successful, as the songs remain on the whole in their Singspiel tradition, as far as their contents are concerned.¹⁵ Indeed, only the overall content of the plot would lend itself to opera seria,¹² the music, if it is still Singspiel, must remain light, simple and attractive,¹⁶ so that the two elements of music and libretto would appear in 'Alexander' to be incompatible.

in the text 'ein Mohr' (cf., Monostatos.), and not initially 'Aufseher der Affen und Papageien'. (ES. p. 324.) (A. Personen.)

6. *ibid.* Personen.
7. P.F. 'Das Operntheater an der Wien'.
The majestic splendour of Schikaneder's theatre earned for it the title of 'Das Wunder an der Wien'.
Bauerle wrote in his memoires, "Hätten damals Schikaneder und Zitterbarth die Idee gehabt, Eintrittsgelder bloss für das Beschaun der Herrlichkeiten anzunehmen, Schikaneder hätte durch drei Monate, ohne eine Theatervorstellung zu geben, gewiss enorme Summen eingenommen."
ibid.
8. A. 11,xxii.
9. cf., ES. p. 325.
10. A. 1,ii.
"Kiasa:
Wer sprach den Nahmen Königinn?
Wer theilt den Schmerz mit ihr?
Wer stillt der Armen Angstgeschrey?
Wer rettet ihren Sohn?"
11. *ibid.* 1,xiv.
12. Makuro warns Alexander against looking at Kiasa, unveiled. 1,xiv.

1. A. 1,xiii.
 "Alexander: Arie,
 Nur der ist Held zu nenne,
 Der gross und edel denkt:
 Und nach vollbrachter Schlacht,
 Dem Feind sein Mitleid schenkt..."
2. ibid. 1,iv.
 "Makuro:
 Die Macht des Feindes ist allgewaltig - die
 Wagschale zu ungleich; ein Mann...Des Weibes
 Pflicht gebiethet, ohne lautes Wimmern, sich der
 drohenden Gefahr zu fügen. - Da, wo Verzweiflung
 herrscht, zertrümmert der edle Theil der Natur!..
 Nicht ein Blick von Furcht! Bist du nicht
 Makuros Gattin? Wenn wir Grosse zagen, so zittert
 das Volk, und der Feind hat gesiegt....Stähle dein
 Herz, und denke, dass List und Männergieist oft
 schon die mächtigsten Heere schlug..."
3. ibid. 1,xvii.
 "Alle drey:
 Dass doch diese Kette nie
 Ein Unfall trennen möge.
 Diess wär der schönste Brüderbund
 Der schönste Sieg auf Erden!
 Noch heute früh als Feinde,
 Verfolgten wir uns noch.
 Seht, Götter! uns als Freunde,
 O segnet diesen Bund."
4. ibid. 1,v.
 "Ridoll:
 Doch meine Königin will das nicht,
 Ihr Geist ist Göttern gleich;
 Selbst prüfen ihre erste Pflicht
 In ihrem ganzen Reich!
 Sie reicht dem Leidenden ihre Hand
 Ist Mutter ihrem Vaterland,
 Ihr Herz ist göttlich gross,
 Gerechtigkeit ihr Loos."
5. ibid. 1,v.
 "Ridoll:
 Mein kleiner Witz, und kurzes Leben sey dir und
 der Königin gewidmet; benützt es, so oft und
 viel ihr könnt, es ist euer!"
 This rather deepens the popular conception of
 Ridoll, in which Komorzynski would have us
 believe. ES. p. 324. In fact he is designated

Certainly, in the noble expression of Alexander¹ and Makuro²; in the almost masonic binding of Hephestion, the Crown Prince and Alexander,³ in Kiasa's deep sense of her duty as Queen of the Indians,⁴ even in the popular figure Ridoll's unfailing loyalty to Makuro,⁵ his master, heroic proportions are momentarily attained.

Visually Schikaneder strove for the same heroic ideal in his deployment of the three choruses: 'Griechische Heeresführer und Soldaten', 'Indianische Heeresführer und Soldaten' and 'Indianische Jäger und Mädchen, Hofdamen, Edelknaben, Volk.'⁶ As the opening show-piece for the Theater an der Wien on June 13th, 1801, 'Alexander' had to transfix the audience with the same wonderment, which they had experienced on first witnessing the interior decoration of the new building.⁷ But apart from the vastness of the enterprise, the motions of a busy chorus are brilliantly conceived, as, for instance, the Indian people rush about the stage, singing, and searching for Alexander and Kiasa.⁸ The chorus is becoming more malleable in the hands of an experienced producer. Now it actively participates in the plot, which it never did effectively in the earlier Singspiel, and it precipitates the musical action and the realism of it. The potential power of the chorus has, at last, been unleashed. It has a mobility which was lacking in the static priesthood of 'Die Zauberflöte', as its energy wins for it a necessary, dramatic and aesthetic function.⁹

Love again finds the solution to the dramatic problem. The elements of tragic possibility, straightway introduced by Kiasa's desperate plight in the first scene and her noble awareness of it,¹⁰ are further maintained when Makuro presents Alexander with Kiasa's portrait.¹¹ This is skilfully executed to ensure that Alexander, the barbarian, will look at it.¹² Ironically, his own portrait later betrays his

177(a)

1. A. 11,iii.
2. cf., pp. 43(a).3., 67(a).10.,
ZB. I,iv. No. 3. Arie. p. 30ff.
RL. IV,xviii. p. 120ff.
3. A. 11,xxvi.
"Chor:
Es erschalle durch die ganze Welt,
Unser Jubel! unsre Freude!

identity to Kiasa.¹ The use of the portrait alone betrays the heroic opera's indebtedness to the popular theatre.² The sense of tragedy is finally dispersed as the triumphal march in the last scene precludes all else in the happy light of yet another scene of reconciliation.³ Despite its ambitions the opera remains bound by its popular tradition.

c.

SCHIKANEDER AS A DRAMATIST

OF THE VIENNESE STAGE

179(a)

1. RL. 8N. Ts.
2. Komorzynski includes the work under the heading 'Lokalstück'. It was first performed on April 24th 1792 and was printed in the same year. Later it was produced again with Scholz as Frisch, and Hasenhuth as 'der dumme Liebhaber' in 1815. The journal 'Der Sammler'. (Nr. 105) praised it, the 'Theaterzeitung' (Nr.78) criticized it.
ES. p. 309.
3. RL. 11,vii. pp. 38-40.
4. *ibid.* 111,xviii. p. 86.
IV.vii. p. 99.
5. cf., p.3.
6. cf., pp. 33-54.
7. cf., pp. 33-58.
8. Kornet, Berger, Hannsel.

Three years after his arrival in Vienna there appeared in print Schikaneder's 'Der redliche Landmann',¹ a Familiengemälde, whose main character, Lorenzo Frisch, reveals an undoubted relationship with the paler figure of Anton's father, Redlich, and the more robust Wastel of 1796.² The beginning of the play passes as a light-hearted comedy, closely associated with its tricks to the Viennese popular theatre. Letters are mislaid and delivered to the wrong persons, who then have the letter in question read to them and comment on the insults in it, as it is being read.³ Characters remain in concealment on stage,⁴ providing the naive comedy of situation, which predominated in 'Pickelhering in der Kiste' in 1620,⁵ and which commonly recurred in the Wiener Volksstück.⁶ The closest link of all is that Lorenzo fulfils the same function as did Odoardo,⁷ and defends his daughter before the advances of three suitors.⁸

The pastoral calm of the early part of the play recalls in its simplicity the atmosphere of the Singspiel of the Wanderbühne, and yet is neither so naively, nor so awkwardly conceived. Gradually the whole atmosphere becomes pregnant with expectation as the two lovers are separated. Some dramatic scenes ensue, in which characters are cleverly compared and contrasted by their reactions to the stimulus of another person's words:

" Berger

Und dieses Glück?

Kornet

Ist eine Offiziers-Stelle.

Berger

Bey welchem Regimente?

Kornet

Bey einem Freykorps. - Der Chef davon ist mein guter Freund, sein Quartier ist 2 Stunden von hier in dem kleinen Städtchen.

Berger

Bey einem Freykorps?

Kornet

Sie treten als Lieutenant ein, und binnen 2 Monaten sind Sie Hauptmann.

Berger

So geschwind? Wie lange sind Sie schon Offizier?

Kornet

4 Jahre!

Berger

Und sind?

Kornet

Kornet!

Berger

Aber mich wundert sehr, dass Sie Herr Kornet, nicht statt meiner diesen Weg von Ruhm und Ehre betreten?

Kornet

Ich bin schon Offizier!

Berger

Aber in 2 Monaten Hauptmann zu werden.

Kornet

Ich könnte schon Major seyn, wenn mein Onkel der Obrist mich nicht zurückhielt. - Aber freuen würde es mich, der Grundstein Ihres Glückes zu seyn.

161(a)

1. RL. V,vi. p. 132.
2. cf., OLP. p. 27. 'Das 4. Capitel: Ein gewisser Kriegs-Officier rathet dem Fuchsmundi er solle sich zu einem Hauptmann im Krieg machen lassen so wurde er die Jungfrau Teresel gewiss zur Ehe bekommen'.
3. cf., pp. 103-119.
4. RL. V,xx. p. 148.

Berger

Herr Kornet, ich danke Ihnen für Ihre herzliche Theilnahme, ich kann aber Ihr Anerbieten auf keine Art benutzen; - erstens habe ich die nöthigen Kenntnisse nicht, was man eigentlich von einem Officier fordert.

Kornet

Das lernt sich.

Berger

Dann bin ich auch ein zu furchtsammer Bärenhäuter - ich glaub, ich bekäme die Kolik, wenss zu einer Bataille käme.

Kornet

Das war auf mich gemünzt, oder Harter hat mich verrathen."¹

Scenes similar to the above, which recalls one of Stranitzky's military sketches in 'Ollapatrida',² and which doubtless owes its authenticity to Schikaneder's frequent acquaintance on the Wanderbühne with military spectacle and his own 'Ritterdrama',³ alternate with more festive ones of the party at Lorenzo's house, until these too take on a sombre aspect:

" Lorenz

Ans Ziel? Wir sind schon am Ziel. Ihnen haben sie die Regimentskassa bestohlen, und mir haben sie meinen künftigen Schwiegersohn geraubt! - Ja, ja! - Herr Obrist, - ich hab es schon gesagt - ich nehm' mein Wort nicht mehr zurück. - Hätten sie sich nichts zu fürchten gehabt, so wären sie beim Tag in mein Haus kommen, und hätten mir wenigstens zuvor ein paar Worte gesagt, aber so mir nichts dir nichts fort mit ihm, eh er sich hat beurlauben können von mir und meiner Tochter - das ist ein wenig zu viel - zu viel."⁴

The play is not 'Lokalstück' and therefore does not attempt to give a realistic portrayal of a particular locality, but it does contain realism in a more general sense.

182(a)

1. RL. 11,vii. p. 44.
2. ibid. V,vi. p. 132ff.
3. ibid. 1,iii.
4. ibid. 11,vii. p. 38.
5. ibid. V,xxvii. p. 159.
6. ibid. 111,ii. p. 62.
7. ibid. IV,xviii. p. 120.
8. cf., pp. 33-54, 82-85.
9. RL. V.
10. cf., pp. 85-87.

realism. From the text the audience is always conscious of the surrounding countryside, and certain characters are unmistakably of that environ. Hafner gave his plays

local Viennese colour. Schikaneder, in this instance, provides realism and does so such items as Lorenz's references to his own wine,¹ Kornet's viciousness,² the description of the cow upsetting the lovers in the byre, after being milked,³ Hansel and other farm-workers, references to the village⁴ and the civil judge,⁵ the picture of the common, but indispensable, daily work of the kitchen⁶ and the necessity of tapping the wine-casks.⁷

A permanent feature of the Wiener Volksstück was that it reflected the eccentricities, or weaknesses of character, reproved them accordingly and then corrected them, initially by making the person in question aware of the error of his ways, and finally by either reconciling him with the happy end, or having him suffer some slight punishment for his indiscretions.⁸ All of this Schikaneder inherited from the popular theatre, but in 'Der redliche Landmann' he extends the practice to include Kätchen, the heroine, Berger, the hero, Kornet, a dangerous rival, and Lorenzo, the heroine's father.⁹

From the flippant and apparently heartless flirt, possible a derivative of Weisse's Lottchen,¹⁰ Kätchen grows into a character with depth and human understanding. Such maturity is caused by the realisation that she is in love with Berger:

" Kätchen

Meine Base hat mir gesagt: So lang du mit den Mannbildern noch scherzen, lachen, hüpfen, und plaudern kannst, so lang bist du nicht verliebt; aber wenn du einen sehen wirst, der dir gefällt, dass du ihm recht viel auf einmal sagen möchtest, und doch nichts an Markt bringst, nachher

183(a)

1. RL. IV,vii. p. 99.
2. *ibid.* V,viii. p. 38.
3. *ibid.* IV,vii. p. 99ff.
4. *ibid.* I,ii. p. 8.
5. *ibid.* I,ii.
Kätchen believes that it is her father, who has surprised her with Kornet, and reacts accordingly:
"Kätchen: (holt Athem)
Den Himmel sey Dank! Ich hab die Ruthe schon ordentlich pfeifen hören (ab)".
6. *ibid.* IV,xviii. p. 120ff.
7. *ibid.* V,xx. p. 148.
8. *ibid.* V,xxix. p. 160.
9. *cf.*, pp. 33-54.

glaub du mir, dass du recht verliebt bist. - Und schau er, just so ist mir jetzt bey ihm."¹

Berger does not undergo a true development of character, but his various situations and reactions to them, disclose it gradually. For a while he remains almost a stranger, who is suspected of being something of a philosopher and has deep convictions. As Kornet grows more jealous and enmeshes Berger in intrigue, the latter suddenly shows the deep internal fury, of which he had hitherto only been suspected, and takes up the sword to fight Kornet according to his beliefs.² Kornet too is, at first, the callous and irresponsible lover, as is Kätchen, until a rival appears on the scene.³ He laughs at Harter, who considers that he has a rival in Hannsel⁴ but cannot later laugh at his own similar predicament.³ Then he resorts to intrigue and violence in an attempt to gain his own ends, and is thus ultimately depicted as an unscrupulous rogue. Lorenz in the early part of the play remains true to his origins as a paternal tyrant.⁵ However, after he has realised that his daughter has made her choice, his personality becomes radiant and no man can outdo his happiness as a proud father.⁶ The threat that his daughter's happiness might be ruined, almost turns him insane.⁷ The final revelation that Berger is the son of an old friend of Lorenz's⁸ is fortunately delayed long enough for it to be established first, that his daughter's future happiness means more to him, than financial prospects.⁹

In the field of drama Schikaneder played a not inconsiderable role in the last five or six years of the eighteenth century. Apart from his musical projects at this time Schikaneder revived the earlier Lokalstück of Hafner and developed it with success. The following works for the stage were apparently strongly imbued with local colour;

3. Lustspiel in 1 Act. First performance August 23rd, 1792. Manuscript to be found in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek, as again the work was not printed. In the play Komorzynski related Schikaneder's cobbler to that of Weisse in his 'Der lustige Schuster'. In greater detail the same authority depicts the tradition of the Swabian cobbler in the 'Wiener Volkstheater'.
- ES. pp. 310, 311.
Schikaneder was commended for this work.
WTZ. 1806. 19th August.
4. "Die Handlung ist schablonenhaft: Herr von Springer wird von seiner Frau schrecklich gequält; er muss einkaufen, kochen und bei Tisch servieren, sie aber spielt die grosse Dame und verpfändet, um Geld zu schaffen, ihre Habseligkeiten. Bei ihr lebt die Tochter ihres Bruders, der in jungen Jahren - ein Taugenichts - in die weite Welt zog, ohne heimzukehren; ausserdem ihre Schwester, die mit einem Fleischhauer in Ödenburg verheiratet ist und ohne dessen Wissen in Wien die Vornehme spielt. Da kommt der Bruder als Millionär aus Ostindien zurück, gibt sich aber nicht zu erkennen, sein Freund Toms verliebt sich in die Nichte, die unter den Schikanen ihrer Tante viel zu leiden hat. Eben rüstet man sich zu einer Schlittenpartie, da kommt eine Schreckensnachricht: der Fleischhauer ist da. Er lässt sich auf keinerlei Art überlisten und verdammt erzürnt die grosstuerischen Weiber. Endlich erfolgt die Erkennung des Zurückgekehrten durch ein Poträt, man versöhnt sich und die Frauen geloben, nimmer über ihren Stand hinaus zu wollen. - Wieder sind es die typischen Figuren: das uneinige Ehepaar, der ehrliche, auf sein Handwerk stolze Biedermann, das sentimentale Liebespaar, der zurückgekehrte Verwandte."
- ES. p. 312.
The manuscript in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek is not reliable, believes Komorzynski. *ibid.*
5. *ibid.* p. 309.
Schikaneder was commended for this work.
WTZ. 1806. 19th August.
6. *cf.*, p. 49.
TWstR. p. 24.
7. WVV. p. 31.

1. 5 Act Lustspiel. First performance November 30th, 1792. The plot is recorded as follows:

"Der Held war ein Fiaker namens Rossschweif, grad und ehrlich nach Art des Postmeisters und des redlichen Landmanns, eine Paraderolle für Schikaneder. Dessen Frau (von Frau Schikaneder gespielt) ist hochmütig und will über ihren Stand hinaus. Das Liebespaar waren die Fiakerstochter Liesel und ein Beamter namens Grund. Komische Figuren waren die Knechte Rossschweifs, ein Tanzmeister, ein Gesanglehrer und ein Theaterdirektor. Der Wienerische Ton ist gewahrt bis in Einzelheiten wie episodische Auftritte eines Friseurs und zweier "Laternenbuben". Ebenso erfolgreich war der "Zweyte Teil" der "Fiaker"."
ES. pp. 309-310.

Schikaneder was commended for this work.

WTZ. 1806. 19th August.

"Als ein Vorbild für Localdichter stehen aber auch jetzt noch immer seine "Fiaker in Wien" und seine "bürgerlichen Brüder" da; das sind wirkliche Gemälde aus dem Wiener Leben, wirkliche Charakterstücke aus dem Volke".

M. VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden.'

2. Original-Lustspiel. First performed November 26th, 1793. The work was not printed, but the manuscript is to be found in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek. The plot is as follows:

"Hier spielt die Frau des Fiakers als "Baronesse von Rossschweif" in Baden die vornehme Dame und lässt sich von einem Schmarotzer, der sich für einen Lord ausgibt, betrügen. Der biedere Rossschweif überrascht seine Gattin in Baden und erst nach vielen Szenen des Sturms und der Verzweiflung kommt es zur Versöhnung. Der "Lord" aber wird durch den obligaten fluchenden Oberst als Dieb entlarvt. Die Dienerschaft tut sich mächtig hervor und die Expositionsszene in der Gesindestube zwischen dem Koch, dem Pagen, dem Jäger, dem Kutscher, dem Stubenmädchen und den Bedienten zeigt schon völlig den Ansatz zu den ständigen Bedientenszenen des späteren Wiener Lokalstücks bis zu Raimund und Nestroy. Auch der Fiaker (der schon bei Hafner einmal als Lohnkutscher" vorkommt) ist durch Schikaneder zur ständigen Figur bis zu Bäuerles "Fiaker als Marquis" (1823) geworden."

ES. p. 310.

'Die Fiaker in Wien',¹ parts one and two, 'Die Fiaker in Baden',² 'Das abgebrannte Haus',³ 'Der Fleischhauer von Ödenburg',⁴ and 'Die Waldmänner'.⁵ The idea of putting the Viennese cab-drivers on stage originated from Hafner,⁶ and Schikaneder saw in it a considerable appeal for the citizens of Vienna. Having deliberately larded his programme with spice for their 'Lachlust' and 'Schaulust', he emphasized even more the earlier practice of including things of topical interest in his plots by allowing the Viennese to see themselves in the world of the theatre. That Schikaneder⁷ well understood what it was that appealed to a Viennese audience is supported by several authorities, of which the following is perhaps the most apt:

"In Wien gab es heiteren Scherz, leichten Humor, wohlwollende Güte, herzliche Hilfsbereitschaft, aber keinen beissenden Witz, keine geistreiche Ironie, keine verwundende Satire. Es waren alle Elemente vorhanden, deren ein für Alle fassliches, Allen gefallendes Lustspiel bedarf, und diese Elemente wurden trefflich ausgenutzt. Dabei war die gemüthliche Kindlichkeit der Wiener leicht befriedigt. Man verlangte nicht nach fein gesponnenen Intriguen, fester Rundung der Erfindungen oder exacter Ausführung des Stoffes, der in dramatischem Rahmen vorgeführt wurde; es genügte, wenn eine Reihe von Scenen aus dem Wiener Leben dargeboten, oder wenn Bilder der weiten Welt mit dem Wiener Leben in Verbindung oder in Gegensatz gebracht wurden, falls sie nur den Satz bestätigen mochten, dass, wenn es in der Welt auch noch so bunt und lebendig, noch so schön und genussreich sei, es in Wien doch noch bunter und lebendiger, noch schöner und genussreicher zugehe, und nirgends besser sei, als zu Hause; hier aber nie so schlimm, wie da draussen im Reich oder weiter hinaus."⁷

In the Lokalstück 'Fiaker in Wien' Schikaneder is praised for his acting in the part of Rossschweif, the cab-driver, which called for a thorough assimilation of

185(a)

6. ES. pp. 68-70.
cf., pp. 110-113.
7. ES. pp. 312-319.
8. TWstB. p. 24.
9. TWst. 1,iii.
10. cf., pp. 46-48.
11. TWst. 1,ii.
"Den Gedanken hab ich schon als Mädel von zehn
Jahren gehabt. Wenn ich einmal heyrathe, dachte
ich mir, so muss mein Mann nicht nur wild,
sondern auch recht dumm sein..."

Arie

Doch fehlt dem Mann ein schön Gesicht
Hat er kein Hirn im Kopfe nicht,
So fischt das Weibchen um und um
Und führt ihn an der Nase h'rum,
Sie führt bei Zeit das Hausrecht ein
Bringt schöne Manner ins Haus hinein."

1. TWstR. p. 24.
2. cf., pp. 125, 126.
3. N.VI. 'Das Theater auf der Wieden'.
 "Schikaneder als Schauspieler betrachtet, war nur in Localstücken ein Characterdarsteller, und hierin gewann das Gemüth fast immer die Oberhand über die Komik. Den Fiaker in seinen "Fiakern in Wien" spielte er so wahr, so ganz aus dem Leben gegriffen, dass ich diese Rolle eine Meisterrolle nennen kann. Die Scene, in welcher er leichenbloss aus dem Cabinete stürzt, weil er sein närrisches Weib, da nichts mehr fruchtet, endlich wider seinen Willen und gegen sein Herz schlagen muss, wäre eines Iffland würdig gewesen. Als Komiker habe ich nie herzlich über ihn lachen können. Er schrieb sich seine meisten Rollen selbst, und schuf sich gewöhnlich eine Art Naturmenschen, wie Papageno in der "Zauberflöte"; er wollte für einen feinen Komiker gelten, und dadurch wurde seine Komik so superfein, dass man wenig davon merkte. Indessen weiss ich doch eine komische Rolle von ihm, die er eigenthümlich und echt komisch darstellte, und diese war der Dorfschuster in seiner Posse, "Das abgebrannte Haus". (cf., p. 126(a).3.) Da er, wie gesagt, sich seine Rollen meist selbst schrieb, so legte er in jede derselben eine Art Sonderbarkeit, wodurch sie ohne komisches Zuthun gefiel. So zum Beispiel machte das Federgewand Papagenos mehr Aufsehen als das was er sprach. So wirkten in dem Stücke "Lumpen und Fetzen" die absurden Eigenheiten eines Engländers, den er darstellte, das Meiste."
 ibid.
 "Herr Brenner war ein untergeordneter Schauspieler, aber gemeine Naturen stellte er mit seltener Wahrheit dar. Sehr komisch war seine Sprache, er stiess mit der Zunge an, dabei sprach er sehr schnell und überstürzte sich in Worten. In den "Fiakern in Wien" spielte er einen Fiakerknecht, der sich gegen einen angeschuldigten Diebstahl vertheidigt, mit so ausserordentlicher Wahrheit, dass er diese Scene jedesmal wiederholen musste."
4. ES. p. 310.
 cf., p. 49.
5. ES. p. 69.
 cf., pp. 107-110.

the Viennese dialect,¹ as the part of Wastel did of the Tyrolean.² Castelli extends such praise to include Schikaneder's part of the village-cobbler in 'Das abgebrannte Haus', but not without some qualification of his eulogy.³ Although the figure of the 'Fiaker' was first placed on the Viennese stage by Hafner,⁴ he is at the same time a natural development from Schikaneder's normally secondary, but very colourful characters of the Wanderbühne, such as the landlord in 'Die Raubvögel'⁵ and Fleckkugel in 'Das Laster kömmt an Tage'.⁶

The Lokalstück was not originally conceived with music, apart from an occasional 'Arie', but in 'Der Tyroler Wastel'⁷ Schikaneder combines successfully the form of the Singspiel with the 'Lokalkolorit', which Professor Rommel praises.⁸ This time Schikaneder's talent for producing local interest is again manifest in his minor characters. Jodel, a servant, has a particularly delightful scene with Mariane, a maid, in which he remains within the popular tradition of Hannswurst, and yet stamps his own individuality on that tradition. His comedy is inherited but he has a certain sense of poetry, which is his own. He adamantly refuses to accept a tip.⁹ Mariane conforms to contemporary Viennese society, which upholds conventions very similar to those of the fashionable ladies in Hafner's 'Dramatische Unterhaltungen',¹⁰ when she sings that she proposes to marry a weak man, who will, because of his weakness, allow her men!¹¹ Compared with this, the obviously sincere love of Louise for Joseph, the baker, appears almost insipid, though sublime.

The landlord and his companions provide intensive local colour. Their business is situated in the public park, the 'Prater', and sells meals in the open air. They show a roguish delight in misleading the customer, and the delicacies of the 'Wiener Küche' are catalogued as they

186(a)

1. cf., p. 49(a). 6.
Komorzyński describes in greater detail the
tradition of the 'Wiener Küche' in the
Volkstheater. MS. p. 318.
2. TWStR. 11,vi.
3. ibid. 11,vii.
4. ibid. 11,iii. & iv.

were in Hafner:¹

" Wirt

Schaffen Sie was Gut's, Ihr Gnaden,
Bin so frei, Sie einzuladen:
Schneckelsuppen, Kräutelsuppen,
Abgegossene Knochensuppen,
Schwarze Suppen, weisse Suppen,
Einbrennsuppen, Einmachsuppen,
Rindfleisch, Bohnen, Kälberfüsse
Und ein gutes Frikassee
Kaiserfleisch mit Zugemüse
Und Pasteten mit Haschee?

Linzen, Arbes', dünste Bohnen, Brockeln,
Kelch und abgetriebene Nockeln,
Fasanen und Kapäunerl
Oder Strudel in a Reindel,
Bachne Hänneln, Karmenadl,
Schaffen S' etwa Schweines Bratel,
A Polakel mit Salat?
Schaffen S' Brauner, Bisemberger,
Grimziger und Buttenberger.
Schaffen S' Ofner und Tokayer
Oder Ausbruch und Maleyer,
Schaffen S' Brot und Mandltorten,
Hollerhüpchen, Linzertorten,
Kipfeln, Zwiebach und Scheeler,
Funsch und Abees und Koffee?
(läuft ab.) "2

As an honest and outspoken Tyrolean peasant, albeit a rich one, Wastel criticises city life in violent, but humorous terms:

" Arie

Bei uns in Tirol und im Landel
Ist die Weibertreu' offen nit rar,
Dem Buben gibt's Dientel ihr Handel
Und hält ihr Versprechen aufs Haar,
Die Weiber sind a nit so g'naschi,
Sie bleiben getreu ihrem Mann,
Sie machen kan Wischi, kan Waschi
Und schau'n kan andern mehr an....."3

Wastel it is, who assists Herr von Tiefsinn to view life in its proper perspective, dissuading him thus from committing suicide.⁴ He insists that the woman of the house

1. StR. 11,vii.
2. ibid. 111,iv,v. & vi.
3. EDB. 1796. 31 Heft. 1 Brief. p. 4ff.
 'Der Tyroler Wastel' was received with such approbation, that part 2 was not long in following. Still, no doubt, recalling the success of part 1., the Viennese audience had filled the theatre by five o'clock. Eipeldauer describes the plot somewhat sketchily, in which Wastel has returned home from Vienna and relates what he has seen of the big city to his Tyrolean friends. The tradition of 'Versöhnung' manifests itself again, as the goose-thief is ultimately forgiven with a bounteous gift of 500 Fl. 'Foreign' and 'worldly' gentlemen praised "'s rare Stuck" and "d'schöne Musik".
4. ES. p. 343.
5. ibid. p. 345.
6. ibid. pp. 343-345. 'Direktion in Brünn'.
7. ibid. p. 344.
8. ibid. pp. 341-353.
9. ÖN. Ts.
10. ES. p. 344.
11. SHB. tp.
12. cf., pp. 113-119.
13. AWWK. pp. 444, 457; 489.
 OLP. Capitel. 3. p. 20.
14. KO. 'Die Verwandelten Weiber oder Der Teufel ist los' 'Der Lustige Schuster oder Der Zweyte Theil vom Teufel ist los.'

must keep her servile position by her husband's side, and should not lead him about by the nose.¹ This play does not take the trouble to satirise, but instead gives a daring and outspoken criticism of Viennese society.² Wastel's happy Tyrolean optimism and faith disperse the melancholy clouds of Tiefsinn's quandary. His practical sense recalls the similar quality in Hannswurst, but his boisterous, and healthy 'Weltanschauung', his human and sympathetic understanding, give him an individuality, which is Schikaneder's own creation.³

In 1807, towards the end of his life, Schikaneder assumed management of the Stadttheater in Brünn.⁴ During his stay in Brünn, which lasted until Easter 1809,⁵ Schikaneder produced and wrote plays, which continued to reflect his customary theatrical policy of combining the elements of popular appeal with his own aesthetic sense.⁶ Despite allegations that the standard of Schikaneder's work was now pitiful,⁷ and similar evidence of this in the contemporary 'Der Freimütige',⁸ his 'Schembera, Herr von Boskowitz' (1808),⁹ contains qualities, which carry it beyond the 'farbenprächtige Tableaux'¹⁰ and the finale of 'ein grosses Feuerwerk' of which it stands accused.

The play is 'ein allegorisches Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen fürs Freye bearbeitet von Emanuel Schikaneder'.¹¹ It was intended for performance 'im neu erbauten Amphitheater auf der Königswiese bey Kumrowitz ausser Brünn'.¹¹ As allegoric drama, 'Schembera' is related to the Rührstück and Ritterstück of the Wanderbühne.¹² The inclusion of a devil would indicate an association with the Baroque stage of Stranitzky¹³ as well as with the devils which are mentioned in Weisse.¹⁴ Thematically it reflects the influence of the Don Juan and Doktor Faustus tradition of the Viennese popular theatre, which stemmed from

1. AUVK. p. 211.
'Leben und todt Doctor Faustus'.
2. ibid. p. 211ff, 234.
3. ibid. p. 212.
4. ibid. pp. 211-212.
5. Stephanie der Jüngere's 'Macbeth oder Das neue steinernde Gastmahl' failed.
ibid. p. 212.
6. cf., p. 49ff.
7. SHB. 1,iii. p. 9.
8. cf., pp. 33-54.
9. cf., pp. 114-116.
10. SHB. 1,v. p. 14.
11. DJ. I,vii. p. 51ff.
12. SHB. 11,i.

"Jakob:

Nicht mehr frommt ihm mein Segen, nicht mehr vordien' ich Lieb; die Gattin muss mich hassen, mir sluchen wird mein Kind."

Despite this awareness of his wrong, Jakob's wife and child still love him faithfully.

11,ii.

"Ludmilla:

Wer kann, wer könnte doch zum Selbstmord führen, wenn ich dir an der Seite bin? Kein Dämon auf der Welt, ja selbst der Hölle Furien nicht, wenn mein Geschrey den Himmel weckt. Komm Jakob, holder Gatte! wirft dich an meine Brust...."

13. ibid. 111,vi.

Stranitzky's own 'Doktor Faustus'¹ and 'Das steinerne Gastmahl'² and was continued by Marinelli in 'Dom Juan oder: Der steinernde Gast'.³ The latter was popular in Vienna from 1783,⁴ the year of its creation, until 1821.⁴ Mozart's librettist was subject to the same influence.⁵ An even more closely related theme is provided by the degradation of Hafner's Burlin in 'Etwas zum Lachen in Fasching'.⁶

Jakob's companion Hassan is the Mephisto of the play, having paid Jakob 2,000 tons of gold for the purchase of his soul.⁷ Schikaneder situates the action of the play at that dramatic moment, when his time of freedom is almost over.⁷ No longer do the characters remain within the influential sphere of Zauberoper, where the hero guided and chastised the popular comedian.⁸ Rather are the positions reversed, and in keeping with the Faustian tradition, the devil continually seduces the hero from the path of virtue. Despite his moments of warm humanity and true penitence Jakob is not to be saved. Schikaneder's happy habit of a reconciliatory ending has almost entirely disappeared, probably as a sacrifice to the desired 'tear-harvest'.⁹

Hassan promises to procure for Jakob a bride at a wedding feast,¹⁰ a scene which had its parallel in Mozart's 'Don Giovanni'.¹¹ Jakob appears to have little awareness of the responsibilities of marriage, although throughout the play he is deeply moved by his family's sacrifices for him.¹² As a small measure of moral optimism Jakob manages ultimately to free himself from the devil, and, in so doing, reveals that, in spite of his evil crimes, his conscience is still active.¹² But tragically, he is poisoned by Hassan, and dies.¹³ This is a very satisfactory solution, from a moral point of view, as Jakob thus absolves his crimes against man, and at the same time

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1. SHB. III,vi.
2. ibid. III,vi. "(Die Felsen brennen gleich einem Vesuv, und der Pallast stürzt ein)".
cf., ZB. I,v. p. 32.

manages to save his soul:

"

Gesang

Die beyden Pilger und Erasmus:

"Kannst du vor Gott bestehen,
Lass alles untergehen;
Dort oben ist dein Reich,
Dort sind wir alle gleich.
Gott segne Jakob dich."¹

This is followed by the symbolic burning, or purging of the palace, after the stones have already begun to crack.²

Schikaneder continues to pursue his usual policy of endowing his characters with an intensity of life, which reveals their belief in themselves. Numerous tricks are used over and above the characters to further induce the audience to believe in them. In this instance, the speed of the action, moving exposition, and the realistic detail of the stage-setting, realise Schikaneder's aims:

"(Waldige Gegend, in der Ferne ein Häuschen mit Stroh bedeckt) (Man hört von allen Seiten Jagdhörner, Hundegebell, Jäger und Bauern sieht man zwischen den Bäumen laufen; im Hintergrunde sprengt Jakob zu Pferde, deren Hunden nach, ihm folgen viele Jäger ebenfalls beritten: Erasmus fällt in den Zaum von Jakobs Pferd.)

Recitativ

Erasmus

Du mächt'ger Herr von Schembras Feste,
Verweile noch und hör mich an
Willst du der schwarzen Hölle entgehen,
So weich zurück in deine Burg.

Jakob

Zurück. (stosst ihn zurück und sprengt ab.)

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1. SHB. 1,i.
2. cf., pp. 114-116.
3. SHB. 11,i.

Erasmus

Da zieht er hin, der arme Herr;
 Betäubt, und ohne Sinnen
 Wähnt nicht dass heut sein letzter Tag
 erschien,
 Und Ew'ge Nacht ihn deckt.
 (kniert nieder)
 Du grosser Gott im Himmel!
 Erbarme seiner dich;
 Ach schick ihm einen Jugendfreund,
 Der ihn zum Weg der Tugend führt,
 Erbarme seiner dich! " 1

Admittedly the play's sentimental appeal is on occasion too sweetly portrayed, but this is only in an attempt to captivate the audience. The following scene recalls Schikaneder's earlier reference to the 'Thränen ernte'² for which he worked on the Wanderbühne, and it is almost impossible to believe that a Viennese audience would not be susceptible to it:

"

Ludmilla

Wer kann, wer könnte dich zum Selbstmord
 führen, wenn ich dir an der Seite bin?
 Kein Dämon auf der Welt, ja selbst der
 Hölle Furien nicht, wenn mein Geschrey
 den Himmel weckt. Komm Jakob, holder
 Gatte! wirf dich an meine Brust! (fasst
 das Kind auf) Nimm hin den Segenszweig,
 der unsre Liebe gründet, so wollen wir
 Arm in Arm in die Kapelle eilen, und dort
 des Schöpfers Huld und Gnad erflern.

Jakob

(mit dem Kind am Arm)

Willst du mein Schutzgeist seyn, wenn
 ich in Todesnoth dir an der Seite bin?

Mauritz

Ja, guter Vater! Ja! " 3

Ludmilla is wholly given to the salvation of her husband, as is Erasmus. Hassan, on the other hand, is wholly given to the task of ensnaring Jakob's soul. Jakob,

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1. SFB. 1,iii.
2. cf., pp. 187, 188.
3. SFB. 111,vi.

however, differs from the majority of traditional heroes of the popular stage in that his one aim is neither the consummation of happy love, nor the pursuit of virtue.¹ At last Schikaneder has attempted to portray a man, within whom the opposing forces of good and evil are struggling for dominion, but a man, nevertheless, whose gradual story of degradation is rooted in the tradition of the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater'.² The horror of his final awareness is convincingly depicted:

"

Jakob

(wirft sich rückwärts auf die Erde)

O Gattin steh mir bey! bald ist mit mir
 geschehen! Erfleh', O Kind! von Gott
 des Himmels reinen Segen.

(Ludmilla und das Kind knien neben ihn). " 3

SCHIKANEDER'S IMMORTALITY

195(a)

1. KML. p. 21.
2. TGIS. p. 9ff.
3. cf., pp. 155, 156.
4. cf., p. 160.
5. cf., p. 155.

Mozart's fame has now far outshone that of his librettist, yet, in Vienna of the late eighteenth century, Schikaneder not only enjoyed the greater renown, but also provided the motivating power behind the creation of 'Die Zauberflöte'. Without him, as Gräffner implies¹ and Perinet acknowledges,² there would have been no such foundation stone for German Opera. Incidents, for which Schikaneder has been greatly maligned, have become slanderous bones of contention perhaps merely as a result of human fallibility in the case of Cornet,³ and theatrical accident in the case of the 'break' theory and the unfortunate omission on the 'Leipziger Bühne' in 1803.⁴ Even were the above conjectures entirely unacceptable, Schikaneder's sole authorship of the libretto to 'Die Zauberflöte' has already been proved beyond reasonable doubt by two notable specialists,⁵ E. Komorzynski, Schikaneder's only biographer, and O. Rommel, the literary-historian of the Old Viennese Popular Theatre. In general, their findings on this question have been accepted by a number of more recent authorities, amongst them O. E. Deutsch. Unfortunately, Schikaneder's path to immortality is made more difficult by the publication of such ill-formed books as Brigid Brophy's 'Mozart the Dramatist', which appeared as

194(a)

1. ND. p. 131. fn.
2. ES. pp. 169, 238, 436.
3. *ibid.* p. 13.
4. *ibid.* p. 238.
5. *ibid.* pp. 265, 311.
6. *ibid.* p. 350-351.
7. GBS. p. 87ff.
8. *ibid.* p. 92.
9. *ibid.* p. 89.
10. ES. p. 350.

recently as May, 1964, and in which little acknowledgement is made that the Old Viennese Popular Theatre ever existed. The authoress deigns to mention that there appears to be some doubt concerning the authorship of 'Die Zauberflöte'.¹

Schikaneder's real claim to immortality is not an obvious one, and is even less obvious outside Germany and Austria. Neither is it a single, linear claim, but one which is diffused and diversified among several channels of literary art. Some conception of its widespread dissemination can be gathered from the variety of names, more famous than his, with which Schikaneder and his works have been associated: Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Grillparzer, Shakespeare, Kotzebue,² Iffland,³ Raimund, Nestroy, Hoffmann,⁴ Wieland, Kringsteiner,⁵ Beethoven, Wagner, Weber, Strauss and Léhar.

Goethe suspected the true significance of the libretto to 'Die Zauberflöte' when he maintained: 'Es gehört mehr Bildung dazu, den Wert dieses Opernbuches abzuschätzen, als ihn abzuleugnen',⁶ and was sufficiently inspired by it to write a sequel.⁷ It has even been mooted that Schikaneder's prompt performance of 'Das Labyrinth', being the second part of 'Die Zauberflöte', was a bid to outmanoeuvre Goethe.⁸ Although Goethe's production of Mozart's opera in Weimar infused more Masonic thought into the libretto than was originally intended,⁹ he appreciated what Schikaneder had offered the composer, a libretto, which readily lent itself to visual and musical interpretation.

Goethe praised the art of the 'Theatermann',
'...durch Kontraste zu wirken und grosse theatralische Effekte herbeizuführen'.¹⁰ Schikaneder's influence on

195(a)

1. ES. p. 239.
2. Eipeldauerbriefe. op. cit.
3. WMA. 1803. p. 66ff. 'Neuerbautes'.
4. cf., p. 135(a). 2.
5. cf., p. 134(a). 4.
6. ES. pp. 93-95.

Goethe's 'Faust. 1 & 2', 'Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre' and 'Der Löwenstuhl' has already been noted.¹

Perhaps the greatest of Schikaneder's talents, about which detailed knowledge is unfortunately limited, was his ability to realise spectacle on stage. It is significant that Schikaneder's most vivid theatrical imagery was witnessed only in the suburban theatres of Vienna, by an audience for whom a spectacle, comedy and a pretty tune were the ideals of theatrical existence.² Like Mozart, he had to be paid. His duty as an impresario, as the manager of a theatre and 'father of his children', was to curry the favour of his audience, and in this he was eminently successful. It is ironical that the Viennese public, to whom he had given much pleasure, was eventually instrumental in his downfall, but [redacted]

[redacted] Schikaneder was by then a sick,³ and possibly insane man.⁴ The 'fruchtbare Phantasie', which Castelli extolled, ultimately lost its aesthetic sense. The few contemporary journals to report his decline give evidence of Schikaneder's theatrical degeneracy, although signs do indicate that such condemnation was not the result of impartial and objective criticism.⁵

Even in the face of this adversity, Schikaneder's [redacted] ideas of what 'opera' implied, in terms of music, dialogue and setting, [redacted] were to be developed later by Wagner.

[redacted] 'Balders Tod', Schikaneder's production of the heroic 'Singspiel' on the 'Wanderbühne' being the operatic treatment of Germanic legend,⁶ further maintains such a link, [redacted] as did his creation and development of Singspiel as a truly German form. What Mozart could not accomplish alone, Schikaneder and Mozart managed between them. They proved that they could work independently of French and Italian Opera and create as children of Germany. The musical culmination of Singspiel came with

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1. ANVK. pp. 974-975.
2. cf., p. 172.
3. ANVK. pp. 974-975.
4. ES. p. 238.
5. ZB. 'Zur Geschichte der Oper' pp. V,VI.
6. ES. p. 238.
7. ibid.

'Die Zauberflöte', but its textual development occurred later, as Schikaneder sought to combine the form of music and dialogue with Viennese local colour, realism and even satire.

The operettas of Strauss and Léhar towards the end of the nineteenth century readily allow themselves to be associated with Schikaneder's inheritance from the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater' and his own contributions to the same tradition.¹ They share the air of unreality, which pervaded Schikaneder's 'Zauberoper'n', they provide popular melodies and caricature, they contrast comedy with 'das Pathetische', they even, in the figure of Frosch, for instance, the comic jailer of Strauss's 'Die Fledermaus', provide the 'Lustigmacher' with opportunity for extemporization. They do not, however, offer Schikaneder's, not even Hafner's, intensity of local colour, such as is to be found in the Frater scenes of his 'Tyroler Wastel'.² The theatrical situations in Strauss and Léhar are universally, both possible and appealing,³ Schikaneder's wares on the other hand were manufactured with a Viennese audience in mind: hence the world-wide reputation of Strauss and Léhar, whilst Schikaneder's name, apart from its occasional revival on theatre programmes and its mention in academic discussion, sinks into oblivion.

The theatrical effusion of Schikaneder's operatic settings gave an initial impulse to the growth of 'musikalisches Drama',⁴ whilst 'Die Zauberflöte' has long since been acknowledged as the foundation-stone of German Opera,⁵ or, more specifically, German Romantic Opera.⁶ Beethoven regarded it as a master-piece,⁷ whilst Weber's 'Freischütz' and 'Oberon',⁷ Wagner's 'Parsival' and 'Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg'⁷ reveal an indebtedness not to the one opera alone, but to the whole theatrical tradition which Schikaneder embodied.

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1. cf., p. 102.
2. ~~MS.~~ p. 138.
3. AWK. p. 905.
4. *ibid.* p. 908.

The German Wanderbühne brought Schikaneder into close and constant contact with early German classical drama, and he did much, in a more modest way than the Schönemann and Neuber companies, to further its popularity. He also profited from the experience. His 'Das Regensburger Schiff' was to an extent influenced by Lessing's 'Minna von Barnhelm',¹ Schiller's 'Fiesco' inspired Schikaneder's 'Der Bucentaurus oder: Die Vermählung mit dem Meere in Venedig',² whilst Schikaneder's practice of contrasting comedy and tragedy, lightness and darkness, equates him as a theatrical craftsman with Shakespeare, of whose plays 'Macbeth', 'Hamlet', 'Romeo und Julia', 'Sommernachtstraum' and 'Sturm' he had an intimate and practical knowledge. Posterity has as yet seen little poetic value in his offerings, but at a time when German drama was struggling hard to begin its existence, these works should be accorded the relative merit they deserved. At the very least, Schikaneder's doctrine that drama must 'live' for the audience is a principle applicable to all theatres of the world.

On the Wanderbühne, as indeed later in Vienna, Schikaneder managed a company in such a way as to attract an audience; he managed a theatre which was successful financially. At that time this had to be the first premise of any theatrical undertaking. Before Schikaneder, the members of the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater', Stranitzky, Prehauser and Kurz, had directed their art with their stomachs in mind. The same necessity obtained later in 1821.³ That Schikaneder could obey this demand and at the same time offer German drama something of poetic and theatrical worth, developing German Singspiel as he did so, can only be laid to his credit.

To a theatre of this type Wieland's legends, and later those of 'Tausend und eine Nacht'⁴ could offer constant

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1. cf., pp. 101-119.
2. *id.* p. 239.
3. *ibid.* p. 306.
4. *ibid.* pp. 220, 239-240.

appeal. But Schikaneder offered to the theatre more than the mere inheritance of popular legend, when he voiced, for instance, the patriotic appeal of Hanns Dollinger, moved the audience to tears with the tragedy of 'Der Grandprofos', and caused them to laugh at the skilful caricature of the miser, Kupferkopf,

in 'Das Regensburger Schiff'. At this stage in Schikaneder's development, stage setting is not the wild product of a sick man's imagination;¹ but a necessary adjunct to literary drama, a means of making the audience believe in a problem, not by words alone, although these are at times very effective in themselves, but by surely the correct interpretation of the term 'theatre'. This and his fertile imagination gave German drama a wealth of legend and poetry, which would hardly have been available otherwise. Certainly he borrowed, he adapted, but the manner and effectiveness of his interpretation have the originality of creative genius.

As Schikaneder drew from the tradition of 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater', so did the greatest of Austrian dramatists, Franz Grillparzer, draw on Schikaneder. 'Sappho' is indebted to Schikaneder's 'Königssohn aus Ithaka';² 'Der Traum, ein Leben' and 'Weh dem, der lügt' have close scenic parallels with 'Die Zauberflöte',² the theatrical representation of magic and dream being no small part of the tradition; slightly less obvious is the relationship between Grillparzer's 'Ahnfrau'³ and Schikaneder's 'Konrad Langbart von Friedburg oder: Der Burggeist', which was still being performed in the Leopoldstadttheater in 1814.³

Raimund's 'Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs' and 'Der Verschwender' have grown from the same traditional roots as did 'Die Zauberflöte':⁴ Schikaneder's 'Der wohlthätige Derwisch oder: Die Schellenkappe' was the forerunner of

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1. EC. p. 231
2. *ibid.* p. 231.
3. *ibid.* p. 313.
4. *ibid.* p. 34.
5. ANVK. p. 957.
6. *ibid.* p. 924.

Raimund's 'Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel',¹ and, rather ironically, after the controversy which has raged around the authorship of 'Die Zauberflöte', it has even been inferred that Raimund's 'Barometermacher' was, in fact, the work of Schikaneder.² The latter's fondness for the theatrical presentation of 'Ensembleszenen' can be situated in the same context, such scenes recurring later in Raimund's 'Gefesselte Phantasie' and Nestroy's 'Einen Jux will er sich machen'.³ Schikaneder's 'Die Tyranten oder: Das lustige Elend', being the first German Singspiel of this era, was later performed in Vienna's 'Leopoldstadt-theater' under its new title 'Die Bettelstudenten' and was the forerunner and model for Nestroy's farce: 'Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus oder: Das liederliche Kleeblatt' (1833).^{4/5} A later association with Karl Millöcker's operetta 'Der Bettelstudent' may, at least, be suspected.

Nestroy's 'Lumpazivagabundus' is ultimately relieved by the 'Versöhnung' of the popular stage, although potentially it contains the tragedy witnessed in Schikaneder's

'Schembera, Herr von Boskowitz', being a plot unmistakably linked with the 'Don Juan' tradition of the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater'. The hero, Flottwell, in Raimund's 'Der Verschwender' descends a similar path, but, although he must inevitably fall, his salvation, as was Jakob's, and later Faust's, is in Heaven.⁶ In this one known instance in Schikaneder, and in Raimund, is thus to be found the prelude to Hebbel's tragic theory, that of 'Versöhnung im Sinne der Allgemeinheit'. The community and its welfare have begun to override the lesser significance of the individual.

The history of the 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater', from its establishment under Stranitzky to its end with the death of Nestroy, is unique. Its literary offerings are

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1. . p. 346.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. p. 347.

characterized in that they arise from the minds of men, who are initially actors, and not poets. To them, a playwright has a profession clearly distinguishable from that of the poet. His message is not one of didacticism, he does not seek to improve, but primarily to entertain. Nevertheless, with the entertainment comes the lesson, but the moralizing is made acceptable to the audience via the accessories of 'Alt-Wiener Volkstheater'. The theatre's literary claims, where they existed, were incidental.

When Schikaneder died in 1812, he was sick and insane.¹ He asked his visitors whether they had known Maria Theresia and then refused to communicate further.² He had allowed money to run through his fingers, his estate in Nussdorf had been ravaged by Napoleon's army, so that not insanity alone, but poverty too, beset him in the last years of his life. The inventory of his belongings after his death is pitiful in its brevity.³ His body was laid to rest in a communal grave, but as far as his name and his contribution to the German theatre are concerned, it is both cruel and unjust to state, as it has been stated, that, like the sparrow on the eagle's back, Emanuel Schikaneder was dragged to immortality only by the genius of Mozart.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A: 'Alexander' Grosse heroisch-komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Franz Teyber.
- AM: 'Augsburger Mozartbuch. Beiträge zur Mozartforschung'. 55. und 56. Band. ed. H. Endrös. J. A. Schlossersche Buchhandlung. (F. Schott). Augsburg 1942/43.
- AMF.GQ: 'Aus Mozart Freundes und Familienkreis'. Gratulatorisches Quodlibet. E.K. Blümmel. Verlag Ed-Strache. 1923.
- AVdC: 'Allgemeine Verwilderung der Comödiantentruppen'. cf., Gdds.
- AW: 'Was macht der Anton im Winter?' Komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Thaddäus Gerl & Benedikt Schack.
- AWTL.E: 'Altwiener Theaterlieder'. ed. R. Smekal. 'Einleitung'. Wiener Literarische Anstalt. Vienna, Berlin. 1920.
- AWVK: 'Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie'. O. Rommel. Verlag von Anton Schroll. Vienna. 1952.
- Bd: Barockdrama.
- BP: 'Babylons Pyramiden' Grosse heroische-komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Gallus Mederitsch & Peter de Winter.
- BÜWS: 'Briefe über die Wienerische Schaubühne' J. Sonnenfels. bey J. Kurtzböck. Vienna. 1768.
- BWAM: 'Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts und seiner Familie' 5 Bände. ed. L. Schiedermaier. bey G. Müller. Wiesbaden & Munich. 1914.
- CG: 'Comedy in Germany in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century'. B. Aikin-Sneath. Oxford Clarendon Press. 1936.
- CO: 'Composers of Operetta'. G. Hughes. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Great Britain. 1963.
- D: 'Denksteine' Dr. August. Schmidt. Verlegt von der Mechitaristen-Congregation. Vienna 1848.
- DB: 'Der Dorfbarbier' Singspiel. lib: C. F. Weisse. mus: J. A. Hiller. 1777.
- DDS: 'Das deutsche Singspiel' H. M. Schletterer. Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel. Leipzig & Augsburg. 1863.

DG - G

- DG: 'Der dumme Gärtner aus dem Gebirge' Singspiel.
lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Thaddäus
Gerl & Benedikt Schack. Vienna 1789.
- DJ: 'Don Juan' komisch-tragische Oper in zwei Akten.
Aus dem Italienischen ins Deutsche übertragen
nebst Bemerkungen über eine angemessene
Bühnen-Darstellung von Dr. W. Viol.
Verlag von F.E.C. Leuckart. Breslau 1858.
- DL: 'Die Tyranten' Komische Operette. lib: Emanuel
Schikaneder mus: Emanuel Schikaneder.
Bey J. T. Edden von Trattner. Innsbruck 1776.
- DLT: 'Das Laster kommt an Tage' Schauspiel. Emanuel
Schikaneder. publ. J. J. Mayres.
Salzburg 1783.
- DSB: 'Dramatische und andere Skizzen nebst Briefen über
das Theaterwesen zu Wien' ed. J. Schink.
Sonnleithnerische Buchhandlung. Vienna 1783.
- DUW: 'Der unruhige Wanderer' K. F. Hensler. Gedruckt
mit Schmidtischen Schriften. Vienna 1796.
- DV: 'Das deutsche Vaudeville' F. Liebstoekl.
- DW: 'Dichtung und Wahrheit' Goethe Werke. 2 vols. ed.
R. Friedenthal. Knauer Klassiker.
Droemersch Verlaganstalt. Munich 1953.
- EB: 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' Ed. in Ch: H.S. Ashmore.
William Benton. London, Chicago, Geneva,
Sydney, Toronto. 1963.
- EDB: 'Die Eipeldauerbriefe' J. Richter. Bey Peter
Rehm. 1785, 1799 & 1808.
- ES: 'Emanuel Schikaneder' E. Komorzynski. Verlag
Ludwig Doblinger. Wiesbaden & Vienna 1951.
- ESE: 'Entwicklung der Schauspielkunst aus den volkstüm-
lichen Elementen' cf., GdS.
- F: 'Der Fagottist' J. Perinet. mus: Wenzel Müller.
Gedruckt bey Mathias Andrias Schmidt.
Vienna 1791.
- FB: 'Fiaker in Baden' Lustspiel. Emanuel Schikaneder.
1793.
- FdB: 'Fortentwicklung durch die Berufsschauspieler'
cf., GdS.
- fn: footnote.
- FW: 'Fiaker in Wien' Lustspiel. Emanuel Schikaneder.
1793.
- G: 'Der Grandprofos' Trauerspiel. Emanuel
Schikaneder. In der Montagischen Buchhandlung.
Regensburg 1787.

- GBS: 'Goethe Bicentennial Studies' by Members of the Faculty of Indiana University. ed. H. J. Meesen. Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. 1950.
- GdL: 'Geschichte der deutschen Literatur' Grabert & Gulot. Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. Munich 1961.
- GdS: 'Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst' E. Devrient. Elsener. Berlin 1905.
- HD: 'Hanns Dollinger' Schauspiel. Emanuel Schikaneder. Regensburg 1878.
- HGS: 'Philipp Hainers gesammelte Schriften' ed. J. Sonnleithner. Im Verlage bey Johann Baptist Wallishauser. Vienna 1812.
- HL: 'Herzog Ludwig von Steyermark' Schauspiel. Emanuel Schikaneder. 1792.
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- K.O: 'komische Oper'
- KO.Vb: 'Komische Opern' Vorbericht. lib: C. F. Weisse. mus: J. A. Hiller. Im Verlage der Dykischen Buchhandlung. Leipzig 1777.
- KMM: 'Kleine Wiener Memoiren' 3. Theil. E. Gräffner. Fr. Becke Universitäts-Buchhandlung. Vienna 1845.
- LB: 'Der Luftballon' (See bibliography).
- L: 'Das Labyrinth' Grosse heroisch-komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Peter de Winter. 1798.
- LD: 'Misuart und Dariolette' Singspiel. lib: C. F. Weisse. mus: J. A. Hiller. 1766.
- LR: 'Lottchen am Hofe' Singspiel. lib: C. F. Weisse. mus: J. A. Hiller. 1767.
- lib: libretto.
- LM: Leopold Mozart.
- LMF: 'Letters of Mozart and his Family' ed. E. Anderson. Macmillan & Co. London 1938.
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- MM: Maria Anna Thekla Mozart.
- MmM: Madame Mozart.
- MO: 'Mozart's Operas' A Critical Study. E. J. Dent.
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- MR: 'Mozart in Retrospect'. A. Hyatt King. Oxford
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- MS: 'Maria Stuart' J. Schiller. Macmillan & Co.Ltd.
New York 1956.
- Ms: Musiksammlung. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.
Wien.
- mus: music.
- MVsK: 'Magister Velthen und seine Kunstepoche'
cf., GdS.
- MWdS: 'Die Musik in der Wiener deutschen Stegreifkomödie'
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Zwölftes Heft. Universal-Edition. A. G.
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Verlag der Freimaurer-Zeitung. Vienna 1932.
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- NWAM: 'W. A. Mozart' P. Nettel. Fischer-Bücherei.
Frankfurt a.M. Hamburg 1955.
- O: Oper.
- OD: 'Die Oper in Deutschland' J. Cornet. Meissner
& Schirges. Hamburg 1849.
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mus: P. Wranitzky. publ. Johann Baptist
Wallishauser. Vienna. 1806.
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J. A. Stranitzky. Vienna 1711 (ed. R. M.
Werner. Wiener Neudrucke X Vienne. 1886)
- ÖN: 'österreichische Nationalbibliothek'.
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- T: 'Thespis' Gelegenheitsstück. Emanuel Schikaneder. Vienna 1801.
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- TGVT: 'Theatralisches Gespräch zwischen Mozart und Schikaneder über den Verkauf des Theaters'. J. Perinet. Joseph Riedl. Vienna 1802.
- TK: Theaterkalender.
- Th.ZVB: 'Thamos'. Zum vorliegenden Band. 'W. A. Mozart. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie 11. Bühnenwerke. Werkgruppe 6. Bd.1.' ed. F. H. Neumann. Bärenreiter-Verlag. Kassel, Basle. 1957.
- TJ: 'Das Theater in der Josefstadt' A. Bauer. Manutiuspresse. Vienna & Munich 1957.
- tp: title-page.
- Ts: Theatersemlung. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.
- * As in text.

- TT:** 'Thespis Traum' Gelegenheitsstück. Emanuel Schikaneder. Vienna 1801.
TW: '150 Jahre Theater an der Wien' A. Bauer. Amalthea-Verlag. Zurich, Leipzig, Vienna 1952.
TWst: 'Der Tyroler Wastel' Komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Joseph Jakob Haibel. publ. August Geers. Leipzig 1798.
TWstR: 'Der Tyroler Wastel' Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. Bd.1. ed. O. Rommel. Sonderausgabe der Deutsch-Oesterreichischen Klassiker-Bibliothek. Teschen, Leipzig, Vienna. 1917.
TZB: 'Der Text zu Mozarts "Zauberflöte" und Johann Georg Karl Giesecke.' F. Grandaur. Seperat-Abdruck aus den "Bayerischen Literaturblättern". Vienna.
- v:** verse.
V.l: vol. 1. etc...
Ve: Vorerinnerung.
Vr: Vorrede.
VS: 'Die verdeckten Sachen' Komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Thaddäus Gerl & Benedikt Schack. 1789.
VWV: 'Vom Wiener Volkstheater' F. Schlögl. Wien & Teschen k. k. Hofbuchhandlung Karl Prochaska. Vienna 1883.
- WAM:** 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart' Eine Biographie. E. Schenk. Amalthea-Verlag. Zurich, Leipzig, Vienna, 1955.
WAMB: 'Mozart' E. Blom. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. London 1935.
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WD: 'Arien und Duetten aus dem wohlthätigen Derwisch' Zauberspiel mit Gesang. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: Thaddäus Gerl & Benedikt Schack & others. publ. Mathias Ludwig. Vienna 1791.
WHTA: Wienerhoftheateralmanach. 1804. p. 89ff. Geschichte der Wiener Schaubühne.
WO: 'World of Opera' Brockway & Weinstock. Methuen & Co. Ltd., Great Britain 1963.
WR: 'Der Wundermann am Rheinflall' Grosse komische Oper. lib: Emanuel Schikaneder. mus: J. Seyfried. Vienna 1799.
WSB: Wiener Stadtbibliothek.
WTA: Wiener Theateralmanach.
WTZ: Wiener Theaterzeitung.
WZ: Wort in der Zeit (See bibliography p.213)

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- ZB: 'Die Zauberflöte' ed. K. Soldan. C. F. Peters. Frankfurt, London, New York. 1932.
- ZB.1: 'Die Zauberflöte. Unbekannte Handschriften und seltene Drucke aus der Frühzeit von Mozarts Oper.' ed. Fritz Brukner. Verlag Gilhofer und Ranschburg. Vienna 1934.
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J. A. Stranitzky. Vienna 1711.
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