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POPULAR THEATRE IN EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA: STAGE CHARACTERS AND PERFORMANCE SITES VOLUME I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of Theatre

by

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December 1995
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While embarking on graduate studies in Salzburg, Austria, during the academic year 1989-1990, I discovered the jest and lampoon of Viennese popular stage comedy, and the pride that Austrians have of this performance tradition. I attended a series of richly learned lectures on the history of Austrian literature; Dr. Walter Weiss reserved his greatest praise and energy for his presentation of Wiener Komödie. Inspired by his university lectures, I attended my first Johann Nestroy piece, Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus, in Salzburg's Landestheater, with Fritz Muliar in the role of Knieriem, the part which Nestroy wrote for himself. Since this memorable encounter with Austrian theatre, I have had the pleasure to view several productions in the tradition of Wiener Komödie, including works by Philipp Hafner, Karl Meisl, Mozart, Ferdinand Raimund, Franz Grillparzer, Arthur Schnitzler, Ulrich Becher and Peter Prese, and Carl Laufs and Wilhelm Jacoby.

Several Austrians encouraged and supported my study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Viennese performance sites and comic characters. With a generous grant from the J. William Fulbright Commission between 1993 and 1994, I was able to conduct research in various archives and collections throughout Vienna. The Fulbright officers in Vienna, Executive Secretary Dr. Günther Frühwirth, Claudia Janka, and Günther Fassl, each welcomed me warmly and assisted me immeasurably. Dr. Otto Schindler and Dr. Johann Hüttnner of the Institut für Theaterwissenschaft showed great excitement about my work and provided me with valuable guidance and direction. Of my many
friends who were kind enough to listen to me talk of my theatre research, two of the dearest, Constanze Schuler and Cilgia Caratsch, frequently offered me their time and attention in matters of the theatre that extended beyond the playful Hanswurst to the more urgent themes in Kleist and Chekhov. I thank you both!

In the United States, several individuals were equally receptive to my interests in Viennese theatre. The Board of Regents at Louisiana State University supported my PhD candidacy, education and research, with a generous four-year fellowship. I warmly thank the faculty of LSU's Department of Theatre for providing a wonderful environment to work and grow. Dr. Bill Harbin, Dr. Les Wade, and Dr. Gresdna Doty, the advisor to my study, as well as the other faculty members, have continued to show me much kindness and support. I especially thank Dr. Ron Shields of Bowling Green State University for directing me to LSU's Department of Theatre.

My deepest gratitude, though, remains for my parents, Beverly and Robert, who are neither Germanists nor theatre scholars, yet they helped me with my work in ways that they will never know. Their visits to Baton Rouge and Vienna enriched my experiences, since I was able to share with them my maturity as a student and adult.

To these wonderful years and incredible individuals, I reply as did Raimund's character Julius von Flottwell: "Unter diesen Mauern hab ich einen kleinen Schatz gefunden, den mein Vater hier für mich bewahrte."
PREFACE

I wanted to write neither a dry, precise topography nor to give a complete, comprehensive description of the greatest, . . . richest city in Germany. To my knowledge there is no other city which has had so much ridiculous rubbish written about it as has Vienna in this century. . . . Apart from a few unsatisfactory descriptions, no book has been published which gives a philosophical and moral survey of Vienna for the unbiased German public.

Johann Pezzl, Sketch of Vienna, 1790

Johann Pezzl (1756-1812) found dissatisfaction in published descriptions of Vienna during the late-eighteenth century. A supporter of Habsburg Emperor Joseph II's reform policies during the 1770s and participating member within Mozart's masonic lodge, Pezzl attempted to correct the plethora of what he considered fraudulent images of Vienna by writing several "sketches," one hundred sixty-nine short sections, that illustrated various facets of Viennese life. And today, although contemporary publications and scholarship position Vienna as perhaps the most-frequently analysed city in German-speaking countries, some historical aspects, such as Vienna's grand theatre past, remain insufficiently considered, often erroneously presented, and even entirely neglected, outside the country of Austria.

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1 H.C. Robbins Landon, Mozart and Vienna, including selections from Johann Pezzl's 'Sketch of Vienna' (1786-90) (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991) 191.
2 Major contemporary studies in English that present German-language theatre history include Walter H. Bruford, Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany (London: Routledge & Paul, 1950), Marvin Carlson, Goethe and the Wiener Theatre (Ithaca,
When considering the collective theatrical history of Vienna, which includes medieval passion plays, baroque drama from the Society of Jesuits, court theatre of the Habsburg family, native and foreign actors in street performances, and opera, one recognizes Vienna as a city of performance and as a mecca for theatrical events. With its medieval, baroque, and suburban “scene changes” throughout history, the city of Vienna boasts a spectacular stage of diversity and eclecticism.

As a performance site, Vienna has assumed various shapes throughout history. The city’s “medieval arena” consisted of numerous platforms upon which artists constructed expressive works, both animate and inanimate. The gothic masterpiece of the St. Stephen’s Cathedral has watched over Vienna since the twelfth century; its south tower stands 448 feet high and the nave

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New York: Cornell UP, 1978), and Simon Williams, German Actors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Idealism, Romanticism, and Realism (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1985); these studies do not, however, concentrate on the theatre history of Austria. One important study on the history of Viennese theatre history is Franz Hadamowsky’s Wien: Theatergeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkriegs [Vienna: Theatre History: From the Beginnings to the End of World War I] (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1988), which also presents the history of Viennese popular comedy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A second valuable study that presents this tradition is Otto Rommel’s Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theaters bis zum Tode Nestroy [The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy] (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952). Unfortunately these two comprehensive works have not been translated from German.

3Several key dates mark Vienna as a “city,” or at least as a geographical location. Around 100 A.D., the Romans established a military camp called Vindobona along the Danube River as a border fortress on the northern frontier of the Roman Empire against Germanic tribes to the north. Archaeological excavations in the center of Vienna, specifically on what is today Michaelerplatz, revealed extant stones from this settlement. Documents from 881 in Salzburg contain the name Wenia as a designation for Vienna, the first mention of the city since Roman times. Under the reign of the Babenbergs between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, Vienna was first documented as a city (civitas) in 1137 and the Babenbergs located their court in Vienna in 1155. The Habsburgs rose to power during the late-thirteenth century and reigned until 1918.
measures 352 feet long and 128 feet high. The Church and Court of the Scots opened in 1155, when the Babenberg ruler Heinrich Jasomirgott (1141-1177) founded the monastery of the Scots. The oldest section of the Habsburg Imperial Palace, the Swiss Courtyard, dates to 1279. Within the walled city, several open market areas, such as the Hoher Markt, auf der Freyung, and Neuer Markt, developed as sites where local citizens engaged in small business and enjoyed open-air entertainment. The various religious, royal, and common locales within medieval Vienna functioned as performance sites that independently contributed to a steadily-growing city and emerging empire between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries.

At the close of the seventeenth century, Vienna consolidated the diversity of its medieval performance sites through unification under imperial and civic authority. The city magistrate and imperial officials reshaped Vienna into new splendor that has been identified as baroque. New construction and renovations of existing buildings, such as the Burgtheater, which was converted from a court tennis court in 1741, marked an unparalleled ascendancy in the city's appearance and transformed the former medieval fortress into Vienna gloriosa.4

During the eighteenth century, Vienna expanded its performance space to include the surrounding suburbs. Although

4Two studies present the transition of Vienna from a medieval city to a baroque showcase: Therese Schüssel, Kultur des Barock in Österreich [Culture of Baroque in Austria] (Graz, Austria: Stiaany Verlag, 1973) and Werner Hager, Die Bauten des deutschen Barock 1690-1770 [The Monuments of German Baroque, 1690-1770] (Jena, Germany: Diederichs, 1942).
the new “side stage” districts emerged initially as supports for the “mainstage” of Vienna’s core, the outlying environs eventually developed their autonomy and unique showcases. Significant social conflicts between common citizens and court nobility became apparent when the citizenry in the suburbs insisted on deviating, or “improvising,” from the court’s baroque “script” within Vienna proper. One notable example of Vienna’s suburban community departing from court practices is its development of improvisational acting within its newly-constructed theatres after the court banned the acting style from its own playhouses.

When “viewing” the city itself as a stage on which social and cultural events emerge and evolve, historians can observe the changes of Vienna’s main “stage action” throughout the ages as the “shape” of its performance sites change. During the Middle Ages, the most dominant feature that unified Vienna’s public facilities, such as churches, places of trade and business, and government seats, with private buildings, whether the Habsburg court palace or citizen homes, was the city’s peripheral stone wall. Whereas medieval sites within Vienna generally had functioned

5Roland Barthes, The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979). In his chapter “The Eiffel Tower,” Barthes analyses fin de siècle Paris by “reading” the city’s history as a literary text, his analysis utilizes literary tools such as similes, metaphors, satire, and rhyme to gain insight into the significance of select events. See 3-18. This study adopts Barthes’ critical approach of historical analysis, but departs from his work by utilizing “performative” rather than “literary” discourse in presenting Vienna’s history.
6Marvin Carlson, Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989) considers the contributions of physical space within theatrical performance. After analyzing the various performance venues in Vienna during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the many performances of Viennese popular comedy, the theoretical constructs within Carlson’s study that relate space and performance may assist in explaining the evolution of Viennese theatre history during this period.
independently from each other, the new-age Vienna during the reigns of Emperors Leopold I (1658-1705), Joseph I (1705-1711), and Charles VI (1711-1740) pronounced that individual units within the city would promote an artistic harmony, which later became known as unified baroque decor, and a glorified Habsburg hegemony.\(^7\)

In keeping with the transition in appearance and function of physical structures, certain public activities acceptable during medieval time became inappropriate reflections of the empire. Empress Maria Theresia (1740-1780) proclaimed in 1752 that one such activity, improvisational performance, a tradition born from itinerant theatre on open market squares, must cease in Vienna's theatres and that performances must follow scripted text.\(^8\) This proclamation supported Vienna's new image, which was redefined through elaborate architectural splendor, and forced individual components, such as popular comic actors, to alter their "performances."

Maria Theresia's decree was only one of several intermittent circumstances and conditions during the eighteenth and nineteenth century that reshaped Viennese theatre. This study explores additional changing social and culture conditions within Vienna during this period and their impact upon comic performance, specifically the changes in performance venues of Viennese popular

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\(^8\) Hadamowsky 211-214.
comedy and their relation to the depiction of the comic character within this tradition. Viennese popular comedy refers initially to German-language comedy that began in Vienna's outdoor market squares. Performing in booth theatres, itinerant actors offered performances that often featured the comic character Hanswurst. German actors later moved into purpose-built playhouses within Vienna to stage their comedies. Eventually performances moved into playhouses within Vienna's suburbs.

Just as the performance venue changed between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, so, too, did the depictions of the chief comic character in its traits and functions. From the performances of Josef Anton Stranitzky (1676-1726), who introduced Hanswurst as a stage character to the Viennese public, to those of Johann Nestroy (1801-1862), the comic character changed as the various Viennese venues evolved.

The geographical location as well as the physical site contribute, either obliquely or tangibly, to the overall or general performance of a particular event; the degree to which location and physical site can determine, direct, or dictate the depiction of one element of the event, such as the chief comic character, serves as a major focus of this study. Through presenting the changing locations, venues, and various comic characters from the Viennese

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9Between 1700 and 1850, Vienna offered numerous forms of popular entertainment, including comic performances from Italy, France, and Spain. Most studies in German use the term Wiener Komödie, translated literally as “Viennese comedies,” to designate German-language popular comedy, which frequently featured Hanswurst as the chief comic protagonist.
popular comic tradition, this study explores the relationship between site and character depiction.

This presentation of Viennese performance sites and stage characters ultimately explores the relationship between physical space (object of material culture) and theatrical performance (consciousness of place) and addresses such considerations as the following: 1) Do changes in theatrical venues and production facilities lead to changes in character representation on stage? 2) How do the locale and physicality of a site bear upon performance possibilities? Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to a general understanding of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Austrian theatre history, of dramatic literature and theory of staging practices.

This study presents the city of Vienna as a theatrical institution and ideological entity from the beginning of the eighteenth century into the mid-nineteenth century. Vienna's own "performance" during this period illuminates both opportunity and limitation relative to spatial considerations of various sorts. Space may dictate cultural works and ideologies, both manifest and latent.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME I

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** ........................................................................................................................... ii

**PREFACE** ................................................................................................................................................ iv

**LIST OF FIGURES** .................................................................................................................................... xiii

**NOTE ON AUSTRIAN CURRENCY AND MEASUREMENTS** ................................................................. xv

**ABSTRACT** ................................................................................................................................................... xvi

**CHAPTER ONE**  
HANSWURST IN EARLY-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA: THE STAGE IS SET .............................................. 1

**CHAPTER TWO**  
THE PERFORMANCE VENUES OF JOSEF ANTON STRANITZKY'S HANSWURST: FROM BOOTH PLATFORMS AND TENNIS COURTS TO MUNICIPAL THEATRE  
(1706-1726) ........................................................................................................................................... 20

**CHAPTER THREE**  
THE EVOLUTION OF THE KÄRNTNERTORTHEATER AS A COURT-CONTROLLED PLAYHOUSE (1726-1776) ................................................................. 66

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
THE KÄRNTNERTORTHEATER AND HANSWURST UNDER THE REFORMS OF PHILIPP HAFNER (1735-1764) ................................................................. 105

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
THEATER IN DER LEOPOLDSTADT: VIENNA'S FIRST SUBURBAN PLAYHOUSE .................................................. 120

**CHAPTER SIX**  
ALTERNATIVE VENUES IN THE SUBURBS: THE THEATER AUF DER WIEDEN AND THE THEATER AN DER WIEN  
(1787-1844) ........................................................................................................................................... 169

**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
VIENNA'S THIRD SUBURBAN PLAYHOUSE: THE THEATER IN DER JOSEFSTADT (1788-1834) ................................................................. 190
CHAPTER EIGHT
THE THEATRE OF FERDINAND RAIMUND (1790-1836),
JOHANN NESTROY (1801-1862), AND FRANZ
GRILLPARZER (1791-1872).................................................................201

CHAPTER NINE
FROM BOOTH THEATRES TO COURT PLAYHOUSES:
VIENNA'S EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY
FRAMES FOR THE FOOL .................................................................237

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................250

APPENDIX A
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER TWO ..............................................................269

APPENDIX B
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER THREE ..........................................................318

APPENDIX C
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER FOUR ............................................................325

APPENDIX D
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER FIVE ..............................................................349

APPENDIX E
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER EIGHT .........................................................376

APPENDIX F
SIZE AND ADMISSION CHARGES FOR VIENNA'S
THEATRES .........................................................................................384

VITA ..................................................................................................387
LIST OF FIGURES

1. The early-eighteenth-century Viennese Hanswurst.................2

2. The Kärntnertortheater, [before 1858].................................17

3. Map of Vienna, [c. 1700]....................................................37

4. Itinerant performance on Vienna's market auf der Freyung, [c. 1700]........................................................................39

5. Proposed playhouse auf der Freyung, [c. 1707]........................40

6. Proposed playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707]........................42

7. Modification of proposed playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707].........................................................................................43

8. Third proposal for playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707]........44

9. Exterior view of Kärntnertortheater, [c. 1724]..........................46

10. Table of social structure in Vienna, 1563 and 1730...........69

11. The Kärntnertortheater, floorplan, [c. 1748]........................63

12. The Kärntnertortheater, interior, [c. 1763]............................85

13. Table of repertoire in the Kärntnertortheater, 1747-1776.........101

14. Map of Vienna, with its suburban districts, [c. 1740]........123

15. Table of social structure of Vienna, 1822-1825..................127

16. The Czerninsche Gartenpalais in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1770].........................................................................................132

17. Exterior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1820]........135
18. Interior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1820]............................................................................................................136

19. Interior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt..............................140

20. The Freihaus auf der Wieden, overview, [c. 1770]..................173

21. The Freihaus auf der Wieden, overview, [c. 1797]..................174

22. Emanuel Schikaneder as Papageno, [c. 1791]..........................181

23. The Theater an der Wien, exterior, [c. 1801]............................184

24. The Theater an der Wien, interior, [c. 1850]..............................188

25. Interior view of the Theater in der Josefstadt, [c. 1814]..............196

26. Interior view of the Theater in der Josefstadt, [c. 1827]..........197

27. Interior view of the Theater in der Josefstadt, [c. 1822]..............199
NOTE ON AUSTRIAN CURRENCY AND MEASUREMENTS

The principal currency in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Vienna was *Gulden*, often abbreviated “fl.” or “F.” *Florian* was a term used interchangeably with *Gulden*. The smaller denomination was *Kreuzer*, often abbreviated “kr” or “xr.” During the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, 1 *Gulden* or *Florian* equalled 60 *Kreuzer*; however, during the mid-eighteenth century, the Habsburg Empire revalued the currency, with 1 *Gulden* equalling 24 *Kreuzer*. Another denomination in use was the *Dukat*, which equalled 4 1/8 *Gulden*. In 1776 20 *Kreuzer* represented a whole day’s wage for a worker in the city, such as a mason, and a whole week’s wage for a worker in the suburbs, such as a craftsman. 20 *Kreuzer* could provide two affluent individuals with a midday meal with several courses in a fine restaurant or the following list of groceries: 20 rolls, 1 pound of butter, 4.5 pounds of beef, a duck, and 3.5 litres of inexpensive wine. Since the least expensive fee into Vienna’s *Burgtheater* was 24 *Kreuzer*, a standing ticket in the rear parterre, workers in both the city and suburbs had to save a large portion of their income to visit the theatre.

Early eighteenth-century architecture plans use the measurement of *Wiener Klafter*, which equalled 1.9 metres. 1 *Schuh* equalled 0.32 metres.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation pursues a relationship between the changing venues of the Viennese popular theatrical tradition, or Wiener Komödie, and the evolution of the comic figure from the performances of Josef Anton Stranitzky (1676-1726) to Johann Nestroy (1801-1862). This study follows a procedure of reconstructing the major venues associated with the Viennese comic tradition and analyzing the changes in the depiction of the comic character as they relate to the changes in the venues.

This presentation of Viennese performance sites and stage characters ultimately explores the relationship between physical space (object of material culture, such as a purpose-built theatre) and theatrical performance (consciousness of place) and addresses such considerations as the following: 1) Do changes in theatrical venues and production facilities lead to changes in character representation on stage? 2) How do the locale and physicality of a site bear upon performance possibilities? 3) Is it possible for a place to exhibit, or give rise to, a particular form of consciousness (or ideology)? The study asks if a change in the Viennese performance site leads to a change in the depiction of the comic character.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century performance sites in Vienna experienced several significant changes with their locales, actors, directors, dramatists, leaseholders, and audiences as well as technical facilities. Seemingly, changes within these individual

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components of the performance site not only reshaped the
depiction of the leading comic character, but also established a
particular "identity" within each major venue of Viennese popular
comedy. The collective effort among the components of the
performance experience developed a cultural "consciousness" that
reflected the very society and culture from which it was a part.
Apparently, the embodiment of this "consciousness" may have been
the leading comic character of Viennese popular theatre.

The appendices provide detailed plot summaries for most of
the popular comedies discussed in this study, as well as various
physical dimensions and admission charges for venues of Viennese
popular comedy. Summaries of pieces translated into English, such
as four of Johann Nestroy's plays, are omitted.
A print from a copperplate engraving from the early eighteenth century depicts one of the most recognizable stage characters of Austrian theatre, Hanswurst (see fig. 1).\footnote{Otto Rommel, \textit{Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theater bis zum Tode Nestroy} [The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy] (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952) 346: "Josef Anton Stranitzky as Hanswurst." This engraving, which represents one of the oldest depictions of Hanswurst in Vienna, comes from the Brukner collection, apparently a copy of engraving plate 37. A similar depiction of Stranitzky as Hanwurst appears in Wilhelm Kisch, \textit{Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädten: Leopoldstadt} [The Old Streets and Sites of Vienna's Suburbs: Leopoldstadt] (Vienna, 1888) 34. Kisch writes: "Die Zeichnung ist nach einem Originalportrait copirt und trägt die Züge Anton Stranitzky's aus seiner Jugend; im vorgerückten Alter verlängerten sich seine Gesichtszüge, die Augenbrauen traten buschiger hervor, die Stirne verlängerte sich nach rückwärts wegen des Ausfalls der Haare und gab ihm ein sehr verändertes Aussehen." ["The illustration is a copy of an original portrait and depicts the features of Anton Stranitzky from his youth. His facial features became more pronounced later in life, his eyebrows protruded further, and his forehead became evident with a receding hairline, which all created a different appearance."]} Attired in a clown-like costume, Hanswurst recalls visually the appearance of similar comic characters from English and Dutch performance traditions during the late-seventeenth century as well as from Italian \textit{ commedia dell'arte} theatre.\footnote{Similar characters include Pickelherring, Stockfish, Johan Posset, Arlecchino, and Harlequin. Rommel also discusses and illustrates these figures.} Hanswurst wears a highly recognizable costume: red jacket, wide pantaloons, fool ruffles, a pointed green hat, short full beard, hair combed on top but tied in the back, a wooden sword-like object attached at his waist, and often the initials "HW" patched across his chest.

Fig. 1. The early-eighteenth-century Viennese Hanswurst.
Although dressed in simple garb, the servant Hanswurst is complex, often showing several contradictions. Exhibiting little motivation from other characters and circumstances, Hanswurst's actions present him as the mere personification of meager abilities. He is naive, but also shrewd, aggressive, boastful, rebellious, when it is safe to be so, yet timid, when threatened. He often confuses other characters, but is capable of clarifying any misunderstanding. He shows himself to be gluttonous, eager to drink, avaricious in financial matters, and greedy. Although he espouses to marry a beautiful, young maiden, he frequently offers fine ladies crude and blunt responses and repulses the advances of old, ugly women who pursue him as a potential spouse. Hanswurst's actions express clearly and concisely a uniquely roguish philosophy of life. He is not beyond playing with decapitated heads and avenging misfortune through slicing corpses. He exhibits loyalty to his master, but will immediately abandon him if it is profitable to do so. He occasionally delivers sound advice, but he will resort to silly naïveté. Among his peers he possesses an odious reputation: beast, villain, and monster are only a few of the epithets that other characters use to describe him.

In addition, Hanswurst pronounces judgement upon the nobility, and through the use of asides, he translates events of intrigue, all the time grumbling and cursing. With Hanswurst, only his view of privileged society matters, and this "objective" view advances an important structure of duality within the play's action:
Hanswurst's dialogue within the storyline and his asides that evaluate the action of the play.

In an attempt to understand Hanswurst's behavior, contemporary studies often analyze his actions in the few remaining plays and extant lazzis. As partially scripted action, lazzis refer to stage routines of stock characters, such as beatings, petty theft, and simple disguises. Although scholars struggle to understand completely the nature of Hanswurst's behavior, the extant lazzis reveal sufficient information to compare general features of eighteenth-century popular comedy with twentieth-century theatre. The relationship between stage character and "objective voice" reveals itself clearly in the works of Bertolt Brecht (1891-1956) and Thornton Wilder (1897-1975), who use characters to advance the exposition of the play as well as to offer commentary directly to the audience. The same could be said of Hanswurst during eighteenth-century performance. Hanswurst clearly provided unabashed comic entertainment in his

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3A recent comprehensive study is Hugo Aust, Peter Haida, and Jürgen Hein (eds.), Volksstück: Vom Hanswurstspiel zum sozialen Drama der Gegenwart [Folk Play: From Hanswurst Performance to Contemporary Social Drama] (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989). This study explores plays from the tradition of Viennese popular comedy as social critiques.

4Extant examples of Hanswurst plays include Ciceronis and Atalanta. In Ciceronis Hanswurst presents Cicero's daughter Tulia with the head of her father, who was decapitated by his enemies. After he requests payment for his deed, Hanswurst is rewarded with a beating from Tulia, who says this "payment" should last him a long time. The text states that "Hanswurst hat seine lazzii, sagt endlich, er glaube es gantz gern." ["Hanswurst executes his lazzis, and agrees that the payment will be felt for a long time."] The play Atalanta shows a thief duping Hanswurst from his pouch of money. As the thief, who is hiding in a wooden horse, steals the money, the text indicates that "Hw discurirt nach Belieben ohne auf das Pferd zu sehen." ["Hanswurst improvises dialogue as he wishes, without noticing the horse."] These texts appear in Rudolf Payer von Thurn, ed., Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen [Viennese Chief and State Plays] 2 vols. (Vienna: 1908, 1910).
stage behavior; however, his "objective voice" appears to separate
him from the other characters, elevating his address over that of
his superiors and peers. The content of Hanswurst's "message"
may reflect the views of theatre artists—whether actors,
directors, or dramatists—toward society and culture in Vienna.

Theatre historians credit the performer Josef Anton
Stranitzky (1676-1726) with introducing the peasant farmer
Hanswurst to the Viennese stages at the beginning of the
eighteenth century.\(^5\) Using his new stage character, Stranitzky
successfully entertained crowds with familiar plots from Italian
opera that included 1) crude physical humor, 2) knock-about antics,
and 3) ridicule of privileged society.

Hanswurst's successors, such as the comic characters in the
works of Johann Nestroy (1801-1862), also included farcical
behavior and social criticism. During the nineteenth century,
Hanswurst characters assumed a variety of occupational roles,
including beggar and hand worker. The new form of the comic
character amused theatre patrons with elaborate and spectacular
stagecraft, parody, and satire, revealing a communicative voice
which demonstrated an omniscient, even omnipotent position
within a given ordinary circumstance.\(^6\)

ersten Weltkriegs* [Vienna: Theatre History: From the Beginnings to the End of World

\(^6\)The mentioned characteristics of Hanwurst come from the following sources: Aust
50-56 and Helmut G. Asper, *Hanswurst: Studien zum Lustigmacher auf der
Berufsschauspielerbühne in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* [Hanswurst:
Studies of the Comedian on the Professional Theatre Stages in Germany During the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries] (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1980) 34-49.
Contradiction was not restricted to the behavior and activities of Hanswurst; the audience frequently offered a mixed reception over the character's actions. The longevity of his character and financial profit from his appearances testify to his popularity; however, mid-eighteenth century court members sought to expel Hanswurst from the stage because of the uncouth language and antics. Certainly Hanswurst's behavior did not always meet with approval. For instance, after witnessing a performance on 14 September 1716, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1696-1762) chastised the player's use of profane language and coarse behavior in breeches scenes.7 Her letter indicates that she held some reservations about the player's performance, possibly Stranitzky's, as she reported it to be both offensive and entertaining.

Hanswurst's domain is not the stages of any other European city; rather, his home is Vienna, the imperial capital of the Habsburg family. How and why did Hanswurst claim Vienna as his personal theatrical arena? What elements of Viennese society and culture enabled Stranitzky to establish a theatre, with a central stage character both "offensive and entertaining," in the heart of the Habsburg Empire?

Imperialism and Multiculturalism: Vienna as Cultural Mecca

One of the most populated cities in early eighteenth-century Europe, Vienna benefitted from a unique combination of a dynamic economy and imperial wealth.8 Vienna's geographical location

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8 Tertius Chandler, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth: an Historical Census*. (Lewiston, New York: St. David's UP, 1987). In 1683 Vienna had a population of
positioned the city as a multicultural intersection for trade between the east and west, north and south. As a center of commerce, the city enjoyed an active exchange of goods and ideas among people from several different nations, an exchange that kindled diversity in practical matters. The capital of the Habsburg Empire (1278-1918), Vienna was a fortified medieval city that protected the acquired treasures of the Empire. Successive emperors transferred treasures from dominions throughout Europe to their palaces in Vienna in order to display the glory and grandeur of their rule. The acquisition of diverse regional treasures suggests that the Habsburg "ideal" consisted of diverse histories and cultures. All things diverse and glorious were Habsburg.

The year 1683 marks an important transitional year for Vienna and the Habsburg Empire. Before this year, the Turkish nation threatened western society and culture, above all, Christianity. With the defeat of invading Turkish forces in 1683

90,000; in 1700 105,000; and in 1710 113,000. In 1700 Vienna ranked 31st in the world with Madrid in population, behind other European cities London, Paris, Amsterdam, Naples, Lisbon, Venice, Rome, Moscow, and Milan. See 212.

9 For a list of the geographic locations throughout Europe and the various ethnic groups within the Habsburg Empire, see Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) Chapter 4, "Late Renaissance and Baroque Age in the Habsburg Lands (1526-1740)" 102-155. This study surveys the Habsburg Empire as a multinational entity; Kann presents Vienna as one important center within the Empire rather than as the sole site of political, social, and cultural activity.

10 Examples of the many secular and ecclesiastical treasures include the Imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, crafted around 962; the crown of the Austrian Empire (or before 1804 the family crown of the Habsburgs), dated 1602; the Burgundian treasure for the fifteenth century; and the treasures of the Order of the Golden Fleece. These treasures remain in Vienna's Weltliche und Geistliche Schatzkammer [Secular and Ecclesiastical Treasuries].

11 The extent to which Habsburg rulers actively sought to promote the cultural diversity of their empire remains at issue.
and peace established with the Ottoman Empire in 1699, the Habsburg Empire successfully consolidated its forces for the first time in Vienna. Vienna’s government, consisting of the city magistrate and local aristocracy, developed a relationship with the Empire to support issues important to both groups. Under its banner of absolutism, the Imperial Court displayed its majesty, splendor and radiance. An unprecedented migration from both the neighboring regions of Hungary, former Czechoslovakia, and former Yugoslavia and distant European countries swelled the city’s population, contributing to the city’s international tableau.

Responding to a growing population, the bureaucratic apparatus of the city magistrate and imperial state drew sharp lines between status groups, such as through the implementation of a quartering system that allowed nobility to occupy the homes of common citizens. By separating the populace into divisions of nobility, common citizens and servants, the city magistrate and imperial court perpetuated a form of feudalism that had existed since the Middle Ages. Privileged groups possessed the power to grant lower status groups select opportunities, such as permission to conduct business or perform theatre. Common citizens in Vienna’s growing lower classes eventually established new performance traditions that challenged those of the court.

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13 Kann 117-125.

14 Kann 144-151.
As governing powers in Vienna, the city magistrate and the Habsburg court could designate the conditions under which booth theatres could operate in marketplaces. City officials' main concern was with maintaining order within Vienna's fortified walls, while the court sought to appear supportive equally to various national groups. To keep the Empire's multicultural conglomerate intact, the Emperor needed to maintain harmony among ethnic groups.\(^\text{15}\)

German-speaking commoners comprised a large portion of Vienna's population;\(^\text{16}\) consequently, the German cultural activities of the Habsburg constituency were significant. A major cultural development during the early eighteenth century was the emergence of popular comic performance. Although popular street theatre had existed for several centuries in Vienna, medieval pageant processions and passion plays, wandering troupes with acrobats and dancing bears, improvisational companies, and itinerant performers were only a few of the many kinds of popular theatrical activities.\(^\text{17}\) During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a specific form of street theatre, Viennese popular comedy, emerged featuring the comic character Hanswurst on booth stages for the first time. He continued to be a recognizable figure over the next one hundred-fifty years.

\(^{15}\)According to some historians, nationalism played an important role among some national groups during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries as they conducted relations with the empire. See Kann 291.

\(^{16}\)Since official statistics of the Habsburg Empire, including nationality statistics, came into existence during the reign of Maria Theresia (1740-1780), the percentage of German-speaking commoners in Vienna during the beginning of the eighteenth century is not known. See Kann 603.

\(^{17}\)Hadamowsky 97-122.
Although this form of theatre includes the term "popular," with reference to its appeal to the working class audiences, individuals from wealthier ranks frequently attended performances. Even court members, who customarily viewed Italian comic performances in their private theatres, comprised a portion of the popular comedy audience.

Court members soon recognized Viennese popular comedy as legitimate theatre, granting Stranitzky a lease to perform in the Kärntnertortheater. Although the court preferred foreign language performances, the court permitted Viennese popular comedy to grace the stage of the city's first purpose-built theatre in 1709.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Intellectual Growth Stifled}

During the seventeenth century, intellectual growth in Vienna remained stagnant in the face of a changing hegemonic order, whether rule shifted from Catholicism to Reformation to Counter Reformation. This century witnessed a bitter battle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, with the former triumphing over the latter in Vienna and throughout most of Europe. With ruling orders engaged in constant war, intellectual matters received no impetus for growth. The ruling order supported the sciences and humanities to the extent that they promoted that order. Individuals who contributed to intellectual ferment found no

haven of sanctuary at the universities or at court if their ideology challenged current leaders.19

If ruling orders often perceived intellectual innovations as potentially threatening, they viewed the mundane popular comic theatre as harmless and, at most, unsavory or disrespectful. The Viennese city magistrate controlled popular comedy by issuing licenses to perform, a device designed to collect revenue primarily rather than to censor. Although the Habsburg Empire squelched intellectual advancements that potentially threatened its rule, it provided a haven within which "anti-intellectual" comedies grew and found a permanent home at the turn of the eighteenth century.20

Viennese Identity through German Language

During the seventeenth century, the establishment and promotion of the German language over Latin in official matters provided the foundation from which Vienna developed the popular theatre of Hanswurst a century later. This cultural evolution encouraged the use of German as an official language and secular concerns as legitimate dramatic themes.21 Confined earlier to the spoken vernacular, the German language developed a foothold in formal education, such as in Jesuit schools.22 School systems of both the Reformation and Counter Reformation practiced German in

19Before the mid-eighteenth century, conditions for the rise of scholarship in the Habsburg lands were unfavorable. Not until the Age of Enlightenment later during the eighteenth century did the Habsburgs promote intellectual creativity. See Kann 143.
21Kann 144-145.
22During this period, the "form" of Jesuit education became more secular. See Kann 138. In summarizing the change in education, he argues that a hegemonic order, in this case Jesuit ideology, strove to maintain its position of authority, but at the same time was willing to include instruction in the German language as well as in Latin.
the classroom. During the mid-sixteenth century, when Martin Luther (1483-1546) translated the Bible into German for the first time, he promoted the German language in his assault on Roman Catholic hierarchy and as a vehicle to reach mass populations in German-speaking countries. The resulting use of German among educated elite and the general populace ushered in discussion of secular, even vulgar topics that deviated from the conventionally dogmatic agenda of Christianity and divine servitude. Everyday concerns of commoners, such as working, eating, and drinking, became as important in discussion as devotion to the Church. By the close of the seventeenth century, German-speaking actors presented secular concerns in their own language from the stages of booth theatres.23

German actors of street theatre depended upon and incorporated past performance conventions. In appearing as Hanswurst on outdoor stages, Stranitzky acknowledged a traditional cultural figure of late medieval origin. He did not invent Hanswurst. Hanswurst appeared in medieval literature as early as 1494 in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, in Martin Luther's essays and chastisements written between 1530 and 1541, and in a few German comedies dating from 1553, 1573, and 1652.24 In these works, Hanswurst emerged as an awkward, clumsy, and blunt farmer in contrast to fashionable social figures; the juxtaposition of the coarse comic fool with privileged, aristocratic figures is a major source of humor. Consistent with the medieval tradition,

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23Spielman 201.
24Kisch 35.
Stranitzky depicted Hanswurst as a Salzburg farmer, a shrewd peasant type, who grows cabbage and butchers pigs and frequently resorts to child-like naiveté when it works to his advantage.

Owing to essentially poor and unlearned working class citizens in the audience and to the various native languages of Viennese citizens and visitors, Stranitzky's performances understandably emphasized overt physical behavior, with beatings serving as typical sources of humor. Albeit crude initially in both content and presentation, outdoor German-language theatre in late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Vienna developed significantly within the capital of the Habsburg Empire. Vienna already showcased French, Italian, and Spanish performances as private court entertainment and open-air itinerant street theatre; but, for the first time, the German-speaking populace confirmed its own language on booth stages. By delivering performances in German and by catering to popular tastes, Viennese popular theatre confirmed another cultural presence within the multicultural empire of the Habsburgs.

Haven in visual arts

In spite of intellectual expression being suppressed in seventeenth-century Vienna, the visual arts appeared to flourish. After the Habsburg peace with the Ottoman Empire in 1699, architects and sculptors transformed Vienna into an imperial capital of monumental splendor.26

25Spielman 201-202; Hadamowsky 105-122.
26Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918 64. Several baroque monuments stand today. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) designed Vienna's Karlskirche (The Church of St. Charles Borromeo), which his son Joseph
Visual splendor could be seen not only in Vienna's buildings, but also the scenic designs of court performances, such as the spectacular work of Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636-1707), who designed the set for Marc Antonio Cesti's opera *Il pomo d'oro* [*The Golden Apple*] at a Viennese court theatre in 1668. Notable examples of flourishing Viennese scene design were in the productions of Jesuit theatre as well as lavish court entertainments and opera. In both content and production, Jesuit performances forwarded an obvious purpose, submission to church and state, Catholicism and Habsburg. The Viennese rulers applauded Jesuit theatre as a vehicle to forward their doctrine. Their subsequent support and finances fueled further advancements in theatre technology and stagecraft.

Emanuel completed between 1723 and 1739. Fischer von Erlach also began construction of the Imperial summer palace Schönbrunn in 1696. Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (1668-1745) designed and built the Belvedere Palace between 1714 and 1722 for Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736).

27James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 69-73, 84-89. Melton advances that 1) Viennese popular comedy, as institution and practice, originally served the interests of dominant groups, such as the Jesuits, but became dialectically transformed into instruments that provided subordinate groups a measure of cultural autonomy; and 2) Austrians who followed the theories of Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), such as Josef von Sonnenfels (1733-1817), emphasized scripted text over improvisation to preserve control over the stage.

28Hadamowsky 61-75. The main period of Jesuit theatre in Europe was between 1540 and 1773. In 1540 Pope Paul III founded the Society of Jesus. Originally the Jesuits were connected with the Pope, later with the Emperor and other officials. In 1551 the Jesuits came to Vienna. In 1552 Petrus Canisius held sermons in German and Italian, taught at the university, and assembled his cathecism, which after one-hundred-thirty years had reached almost four-hundred editions. During the mid-sixteenth century, Vienna was almost totally protestant, but in 1553 the Jesuit schools opened and after one year they had three hundred students and at the end of the century one thousand. The Jesuits founded a university in the second Habsburg capital, Prague, in 1556. Maria Theresia severed the connection of the Jesuits with Rome. In 1773 Pope Clemens XIV cancelled the Society of Jesus.
"simultaneous duality," whereby a metaphor paired an historical event with a sacred allegory.\textsuperscript{29} This duality linked everyday events with an authoritative, often religious, message. Stranitzky's performances paralleled this tradition by positioning Hanswurst's actions alongside supreme or supernatural powers within material often borrowed from Italian opera.

**Backdrop in Vienna**

The emergence and development of German-language popular comedy within the multicultural framework of the Habsburg Empire illustrate Vienna's potential as a crucible of creativity. All of the mentioned features of the Viennese cultural evolution—coexistence of imperialism and multiculturalism, stagnation of intellectual growth, legitimization of the German language, expansion of visual arts through monumental architecture—provide a matrix for analyzing and understanding the evolution of Hanswurst. As a product of cultural expression, Viennese popular comedy presents distinct values and images that either reaffirm or challenge the mentioned features in Vienna's social evolution.

One tangible determinant a society provides popular theatre is a designated site for performance. Early-eighteenth-century Viennese popular comedy occurred in several locations, each site varying in size and shape. Ruling groups exercised various motivations for allowing sites to comic performers. The designated performance sites, in turn, shaped intentionally or

\textsuperscript{29}For additional information on Jesuit theatre in Vienna, see Rommel 108-153.
unintentionally, fully or peripherally the evolution of the Hanswurst figure over a period of one-hundred-fifty years.

Although Stranitzky retired from the stage in 1725, Viennese popular comedy continued to find new performers who perpetuated the Hanswurst tradition by creating new forms of the leading comic character. Sharing the stage with Italian commedia dell'arte characters, the Hanswurst of Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769) behaved in a playful manner similar to Stranitzky's Hanswurst, but appeared as a hard-working citizen rather than a peasant farmer and servant. Johann Josef Felix von Kurz (1717-1783) expanded the tradition with his character Bernardon in Maschinenkomödien, visual and circus-like entertainment. Philipp Hafner (1731-1764) created a Hanswurst inspired by acceptable French models; his plays appeared as Lustspiele, comedies of manners, rather than as those of boisterous banter. All of these clown-like characters found their domain in the Kärntnertortheater (see fig. 2), the first purpose-built public theatre in Vienna and the major theatrical venue for Viennese popular comedy during the eighteenth century.

Following Hafner's contribution to Viennese popular comedy during the mid- and late-eighteenth century, the tradition found new performance venues in the Viennese suburbs: Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Theater auf der Wieden, Theater an der Wien, and Theater in der Josefstadt. Johann la Roche (1745-1806) created

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30For illustrations of these new characters, see Rommel.
The illustration shows the front facade of the Kärntnertortheater. Since the city wall is evident along the side of the playhouse, this illustration depicts the theatre before the demolition of Vienna's peripheral wall, which occurred during the mid-nineteenth century. Print from "Wiens letzte große Theaterzeit" ["Vienna's Last Great Period of Theatre"], in Denkmaler der Theaters: Inszenierung, Dekoration, Kostum des Theaters und der großen Feste aller Zeit: Nach Originalen der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek, der Albertina und verwandter Sammlungen, Wien, eds., Direktion der Nationalbibliothek mit Unterstützung der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Denkmaler des Theaters. vol. 12 (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1930).

Fig. 2. The Kärntnertortheater, [before 1858].
another form of Hanswurst, Kasperl, who initially delivered improvisation, but later performed from scripted texts. Anton Hasenhut (1766-1841) departed from traditional depictions of comic characters when performing Thaddädl, a character whose actions followed from a particular circumstance rather than random buffoonery. On the other hand, Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812) played in Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* the famous role of Papageno, an innocent figure who acts on basic instincts; he wishes simply to eat, drink, and find a wife. Adolf Bäuerle (1796-1859) drew another descendent of Hanswurst in his middle-class merchant Staberl, a staple character of the suburban stages.

The contributions from each of these suburban characters played a role in the fruition of Viennese popular comedy, namely in the works of Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) and Johann Nestroy (1801-1862). Raimund placed his comic characters in realistic settings, where supernatural powers assisted in reforming the characters. In Nestroy’s satirical and cynical works, his characters entrenched themselves in circumstances from which no escape is evident.

Along with the suburban audiences, Viennese popular comedy directly reached the elite court audience through the plays *W e h
dem, der lügt* [*Woe to Him Who Lies*] and *Ein Leben, ein Traum* [*A Life, A Dream*] by Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872). By the third-quarter of the eighteenth century, the popular comedy venue no longer remained restricted to the Viennese suburbs, but included the court arena of Vienna’s centrally-located *Burgtheater.*
Thus, the evolution of the chief comic character, beginning with Stranitzky's Hanswurst, occurred within a variety of performance venues. This study explores the history of Viennese popular comedy performance sites as they relate to the evolution of the Hanswurst tradition. Ultimately, this study aims to determine if a change in performance venues meets with a change in depiction of the traditional comic figure.

31 This study is less concerned with developing a comprehensive history of the chief comic character; several sources already provide detailed analyses. See the works of Aust and Asper.
CHAPTER TWO
THE PERFORMANCE VENUES OF JOSEF ANTON STRANITZKY'S HANSWURST: FROM BOOTH PLATFORMS AND TENNIS COURTS TO MUNICIPAL THEATRE (1706-1726)

Having failed at establishing a new comic theatre troupe in the city in 1646, a young artist left with a group of actors to seek better fortunes in the provinces. The troupe reshuffled its organization; and during the next twelve years, the young leader emerged as a skillful performer and dramatist. To the troupe's good fortune, a member of the royalty witnessed the performances and invited the actors to perform at court in 1658. This invitation followed with a stream of steady support from royal patronage.

With the presentation of a new play in 1659, the troupe found a second audience, common citizens crowded to see the performance. The guarantee of a theatre and the support from both the court and general public encouraged the young artist to continue developing his theatre company. He expanded his repertoire, a body of work that included farces in the manner of commedia dell'arte, "comedy ballets," spectacular "machine plays," and comedies of character and manners. Adapting to various spaces and expectations of different audiences, the dramatist became financially successful. With his development from writing crude, provincial stage pieces to larger productions within purpose-built theatres, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (1622-1673), more commonly known as Molière, fused together audiences.
of the court and general public and established French comedy as a successful theatrical art form, not only in Paris, but throughout Europe and the world.

Whereas the contributions of Molière are well documented, the efforts of another enterprising performer from early-eighteenth-century Vienna remain scantily researched and almost non-existent in the English language. Josef Anton Stranitzky facilitated a significant transition in popular theatrical entertainment, a shift in Vienna from outdoor marketplace venues to a purpose-built theatre. In a manner similar to Molière's performances, Stranitzky combined in his performances 1) the improvisation and physical stage behavior, such as beatings, of wandering commedia dell'arte troupes from Italy and comic itinerant performers from England; 2) the convention of a dual plotline from Jesuit theatre; and 3) the motif of the Salzburg peasant Hanswurst. Few theatre artists, Molière excluded, involved in similar transitions throughout their careers enjoyed the popular and financial success that Stranitzky realized.

Stranitzky's Early Biography

Although he is consistently identified as the first individual who introduced Hanswurst to the stages of Vienna, no definitive narrative of Stranitzky's early biography exists.¹ Contemporary

¹A comprehensive study that presents the early history of Viennese popular comedy is Helmut G. Asper, Hanswurst: Studien zum Lustigmacher auf der Berufsschauspielerbühne in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert [Hanswurst: Studies of the Comedian on the Professional Theatre Stages in Germany During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries] (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1980). Asper's work explores the history of wandering troupes, images of comic stage characters, and products of iconography, primarily pictorial illustrations and copper etchings. His study is one of the few to discuss recent Stranitzky scholarship.
studies present their findings generally from four primary accounts; understandably, the primary accounts contain discrepancies in presenting Strantzky's biography.

Friedrich Nicolai's Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781 [A Description of a Trip Through Germany and Switzerland in 1781] offered the first published account of Strantzky's life. According to Nicolai, Strantzky was born in 1676 in Schweidnitz, a town in Silesia (Poland), and studied at a Protestant elementary school in Breslau, but he also became exposed to the theatrical practices of the Jesuits. The school's director Gottlob Krantz encouraged Strantzky to attend the University of Leipzig, where he joined Johannes Velten (1640-1695) and his acting troupe, a company skilled in adapting the plays of Corneille and Molière. Strantzky's parents convinced him to leave the organization, though, and he next served as an attendant to a Silesian count on a trip, when he learned Italian and was exposed to the theatre of the commedia dell'arte troupes. After this experience, he formed his own company and visited Salzburg and Vienna, where he took up residence. In Vienna he created his Hanswurst character, a farmer from Salzburg, and exhibited his knowledge of commedia dell'arte theatrical practice. The Viennese received him warmly, and in order to remain in Vienna Strantzky converted to Catholicism.

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2Friedrich Nicolai, Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschlands und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781 [A Description of a Trip Through Germany and Switzerland in 1781] (Berlin, 1784) 566-570. Nicolai refers to the name Kirschhoff as the source of his information.
One hundred years after the publication of Beschreibung, Richard Maria Werner made six challenges to Nicolai's narrative in his introduction to the anonymous 1711 work Ollapotrida des durchgetriebenen Fuchsmundi [The Foul-Smelling Pot of the Sly Fox-Mouth].

First, no record exists of a baptism in Schweidnitz under the name "Stranitzky" between 1670 and 1680. Second, records from the elementary school Magdalenaeum in Breslau do not mention a student named "Stranitzky;" however, Werner located the name "Johannes Christianus Sternitzky Vratislaviensis" from student registers dated 1702 and 1710, but the age of this student does not match the age of Stranitzky. Third, the student registers between 1681 and 1714 at the University of Leipzig show no "Strantizky" enrolled. Fourth, the records from Velten's troupes indicate no member under the name "Stranitzky." Fifth, no evidence exists of a trip to Italy. Sixth, no evidence of Stranitzky in Salzburg exists.

The work itself, Ollapotrida des durchgetriebenen Fuchsmundi, remains a point of contention in the scholarship of Viennese theatre history. This collection of sixty-four "scenes," a group of selected travels and adventures of the comic character

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4Werner found that neither the Protestant Friedenskirche nor other Catholic churches in Schweidnitz indicated a baptism under the name "Stranitzky" during this period.

5Werner found that Gottlob Krantz served as teacher at the school beginning 1 November 1681 and as director between 1701 and 1733. Although the school registers from the last third of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century are missing, a list shows a student under the name "Johannes Christianus Sternitzky Vratislaviensis" from the register "Schüler V. Ordinis" in 1702 and "Schüler I. Ordinis" in 1710; however, the age of this student is younger than Stranitzky.
Fuchsmundi, presents the character Fuchsmundi much in the same light as Hanswurst. Scholars attempt to discern if the author of these scenes is the same author of the extant Hanswurst plays, *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* [Viennese Chief and State Play]. Sixteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars, such as Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) and Werner, generally accepted that Stranitzky authored *Ollapotrida*. During the twentieth century, however, scholars a generation after Werner questioned whether Stranitzky wrote the *Ollapotrida* by differentiating the features of Fuchsmundi and Hanswurst. Theatre historian Alexander von Weilen concluded that Fuchsmundi, possibly played by actor Jakob Hirschaak, could have been a rival stage character to Hanswurst; however, Hans Trutter maintained that Fuchsmundi and Hanswurst were different names for the same stage character. Werner concludes that Fuchsmundi was a general name for the comic character, whereas Hanswurst was a specific stage figure.

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6 Rudolf Payer von Thurn, ed., *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* [Viennese Chief and State Plays], 2 vols. (Vienna: Schriften des Literarischen Vereins in Wien, 1908, 1910). Payer von Thurn argues in his preface that the Hanswurst actor, in this case Stranitzky, must also be the author. However, Hermann Heppenheimer disagrees with Payer von Thurn's claim in this work “J.A. Stranitzkys Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen und die Ollapotrida des durchgetriebenen Fuchsmundf” [“J.A. Stranitzky's Viennese Chief and State Plays and the Foul-Smelling Pot of the Sly Fox-Mouth"], diss., University of Vienna, 1935. Based on differences between the texts, he argues that Stranitzky probably did not author both works.

7 Heppenheimer provides the historiography of *Ollapotrida* scholarship in his introduction.

The most recent analysis of the *Ollapotrida* authorship comes from Hermann Heppenheimer. Through analysis of language, references to Vienna, the theatricality of the comic character, the role of the character and the relationship of character to plot, and general "aesthetic," he concluded that the same author probably did not write both *Ollapotrida* and the Hanswurst plays in the *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*.

In 1892, Karl Glossy presented new theories that advanced Stranitzky scholarship. Glossy contends that Stranitzky was born in Prague, studied medicine at the University of Vienna, but after the death of his father, gave up his medical studies and joined the theatre. A university register from 1707 indicates a student enrolled under the name "Stranitzky," but this entry does not support Glossy's contention that Stranitzky was born in Prague. Since students often recorded their birthplaces while registering, the entry of the Austrian province "Styrus," or Styria, suggests that this "Stranitzky" was not born in Prague.

Another scholar, Rudolf Payer von Thurn, seemed to confirm Glossy's argument nearly fifteen years later that Stranitzky may have been born in the area near Prague. He argues that Stranitzky's parents originated from the Czechoslovakian city of Stranitz and

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10 *Wiener Theaterzeitung* [Vienna's Theatre Journal], no. 64, 1820.

11 The entry reads: "Josephus Antonius Stranitzky Styrus" ["Josephus Antonius Stranitzky Styria"].
documents their presence at this location during the 1670s. Since Stranitzky was fifty when he died in 1726, a birthdate around 1676 would suggest that he most likely was born outside the Austrian province of Styria, the site indicated in the university student register from 1707.

**Stranitzky in Vienna**

Although not complete, historical records document the story of Stranitzky's early performances and activity in troupes between 1699 and 1712 more fully than his early biography. Accounts suggest that both Habsburg authority and the Viennese city magistrate encouraged Stranitzky to perform the comic character Hanswurst on the temporary wooden stages along Viennese market squares *am Neuen Markt* and *auf der Freyung*. These records also reveal how popular comedy emerged as an established theatrical form in Vienna.

Since the Middle Ages, itinerant troupes performed in Vienna at certain times during the year, always with the proper approval provided by official licensing. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a period of mourning following the death of Emperor Leopold I on 5 May 1705 prohibited theatrical performances, known

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12 Payer von Thum xv.
13 J.E. Schlager, *Wiener Theaterskizzen aus dem Mittelalter [Viennese Theatre History from the Middle Ages]* (Vienna, 1839). Schlager indicates that Stranitzky performed *am Neuen Markt* for 67 days in 1706. Although he does not indicate that Stranitzky also performed *auf der Freyung*, Schlager mentions similar theatrical activity occurred at this location. Schlager also includes a brief biography of Stranitzky; this biography is filled with erroneous information, such as Stranitzky's year of death (Schlager records the year 1727). See 260.
as *Freudenspiele* [delightful pieces], in the outdoor market squares for one year. During the following year, Stranitzky began performing in Vienna with two of his friends, actors Johann Baptist Hilverdig (?-1721) and Jakob Naafzer (?-1706). On 12 June 1706, an imperial decree allowed Stranitzky to perform *am Neuen Markt*, the general site for itinerant troupes.\(^{15}\) Although the city magistrate ordered Stranitzky to leave the *Neuen Markt* in December, he granted him an extension through Lent 1707 to cover contractual expenses with his actors.\(^{16}\)

The rise in popularity of wandering troupes in Vienna during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries encouraged the city magistrate to consider permanent facilities for performance.\(^{17}\) However, itinerant theatre failed to enamour all city officials, some of whom preferred to eliminate street performances altogether. Opponents of popular theatre complained of "threatening conditions" associated with wandering troupes, such as fire hazards, crowded streets, and general destructive behavior.\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\)Asper 38; Schlager 262.
\(^{16}\)Hadamowsky 169; Schlager 262.
\(^{17}\)Verena Keil-Budischowsky, *Die Theater Wiens [Theatres of Vienna]* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1983). Keil-Budischowsky argues that demand for theatrical entertainment among the general populace and the court was so great that this spirit fueled the decision to build a permanent theatre; she does not suggest any prospect of financial gain for the Lower Austrian government or the city magistrate, although the profits earned by Stranitzky indicate that the theatre was potentially a lucrative enterprise. She adds that the court preferred Italian entertainment while the populace, *Bevölkerung*, favored Stranitzky. See 83. Schlager suggests that the city government recognized the need to provide a site, other than the open markets, for performance. See 261.
\(^{18}\)Keil-Budischowsky 81; Hadamowsky 130.
With frequent closings of theatre by the government, the addition and depletion of actors within a troupe, and the uncertainty of a guaranteed performance space, Stranitzky and other actors often relied on a second source of income. For instance, in September 1707, Stranitzky obtained certification as a “tooth drawer” from the University of Vienna. He also received income as a wine merchant, earning enough, in fact, to purchase a house in 1714. The closing of the performance site am Neuen Markt during December 1706 may have motivated Stranitzky and Hilverdig to pursue additional means of earning money; in 1707 Hilverdig left Vienna to tour central Europe, not returning to perform with Stranitzky until 1717.

On 17 December 1707 the city magistrate addressed the concerns of street performance by identifying the space next to the southern city gate, the Kärntnertor, as the best available site to build a theatre. Construction of public facilities within Vienna also required imperial approval, which the city government officially requested from Emperor Joseph I on 3 May 1708. Recognizing the needs of the various “national” wandering troupes, Italian- and German-language performers, the Emperor inquired whether the city would be willing to finance two projects rather

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19“Josephus Antonius Stranitzky Styria von der medicinischen Facultät examinirter Zahn vnd Mundarczt” ["Josephus Antonius Stranitzky Styria of the Medical Faculty of Examining Tooth and Mouth Doctors"]. Keil-Budischowsky 86; Schlager 287.

20Payer von Thun states that Stranitzky purchased a house in 1714 for 400 Gulden; owned two residences in 1717 that valued 19,000 Gulden; and was worth 46,725 Gulden, plus an additional 10,000 Gulden with his wine assets, when he died in 1726. See xxxii-xxxiii.

21The road exiting through the gate lead southwest to the province of Carinthia, hence the name Kärntnertor [Carinthian gate].
than exclude one group from performing in a purpose-built facility. His request not only distanced him from exhibiting a preference, but also opened the possibility of having a purpose-built theatre at the court’s disposal; both the court and Emperor preferred Italian entertainment and the theatre project became a means of having the city finance construction of a second space for Italians.

The city magistrate responded nine days later that construction of two theatres would be too costly, but conceded to the Emperor’s suggestion by offering the location auf der Freyung as a possible site for a second permanent theatre. The Emperor designated the site at the Kärntnertor as a gift to Italian theatre Intendant Francesco Maria Conte Pecori, leaving Stranitzky and other German-speaking performers to the proposed theatre auf der Freyung. In order to insure performance revenue for the city, the city magistrate requested from the Emperor authorization to control who would perform in the city, a request that created a monopoly for the city magistrate over theatrical entertainment in Vienna. Formerly, the Habsburg court had controlled the licensing of troupes; the new request, however, granted the Viennese

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22 The Emperor’s reply contains the phrase “ob die Stadt gewillt sei,” or “whether the city would be willing,” a phrase that relegated the responsibilities of financing and constructing two theatres to Vienna’s city officials. See Hadamowsky 173.

23 Hadamowsky 170.

24 Oskar Teuber, Das K.K. Hofburgtheater seit seiner Begründung [The Imperial-Royal Court Theatre Since its Inception], vol. 2, part 1, (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1897) 21. With this authorization from the Emperor, the city could control which actors would perform in Vienna.
magistrate power to regulate performers in the Kärntnertortheater or auf der Freyung.25

Continuing to exercise influence, the Emperor reminded the city magistrate that the court and city agreed to provide two houses, one for the German troupes and one for the Italian troupes. The purpose of this reminder remained ambiguous: it is not clear whether the court attempted to create fair opportunities for both German and Italian performers or whether the court opportunistically seized a public performance space for its preferred entertainments. Even though the city agreed to build the two houses and on 27 August collected 1,000 Gulden from the court treasury to construct the Kärntnertortheater, the feasibility of building a theatre auf der Freyung remained distant.26

The construction of the Kärntnertortheater met mounting opposition from city officials, including the city magistrate, worried about financing the second theatre. Since the financing of the “Italian site” was more secure, the foreigner Conte Pecori, “a clever Italian,” had, in fact, out-maneuvered the city magistrate by guaranteeing himself a performance space.27 The second space, auf der Freyung, had neither enough financial support nor the support of

25Hadamowsky 171.
26Eleonore Schenk, “Die Anfänge des Wiener Kärntnertortheaters, 1710 bis 1748” ("The Beginnings of Vienna's Kärntnertortheater, 1710 until 1748"), diss., University of Vienna, 1969, 30. The main contention of Schenk's study is that the general public is an important factor in shaping theatrical performances. Gustav Zechmeister, Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnertor von 1747 bis 1776 [Vienna's Theatre of the Court and next to the Carinthian Gate] (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1971) 19. Vienna's Verwaltungsarchiv [City Archives] has a plan for the foundation of a theatre auf der Freyung. The original estimated costs for building the Kärntnertortheater alone was 35,417 Gulden, 23 Kreuzer.
27Teuber 22.
the neighboring church, the Schottenkirche. The city magistrate had no official reason to oppose the privilege of Pecori, however; the city proceeded during May with the construction of the Kärntner Tortheater.

Soon, a series of events escalated into a virtual "tug-of-war" between the city and the court. In May 1708, Pecori submitted a plan for the construction of the Kärntner Tortheater to the city magistrate.28 This plan positioned the theatre directly adjacent to the city wall. The Lower Austrian government complained that such a building would create congestion.29 Pecori then modified the plan by moving the theatre away from the wall, an adjustment necessitating the purchase of neighboring houses, thereby increasing the construction costs. The city responded by citing that the rising costs and changes of construction showed Pecori's plan to be ill-conceived.30

The city magistrate maintained that the project brought complaints from neighbors, the destruction of a beautiful space, and insufficient space to maneuver carriages around the gate or the cannons along the fortress.31 The city officials also voiced concerns that Pecori would fail to abide by contractual obligations

28Hadamowsky 171-173.
29Hadamowsky 171.
30Hadamowsky 173-176.
to the local taverns and poor house. The project seemed to attract an endless number of challenges.

On 11 October 1708 Emperor Joseph I attempted to squelch the city complaints by insisting on the completion of the project, but failed to address the specific concerns surrounding Pecori's contract with the local poor house and for payment of 5% of total construction costs. In December the city magistrate and the Lower Austrian government approached the court and requested that the court either force Pecori to meet his contract or allow the city to find a new lessee.

To insure that the court would enforce one of these two conditions, the Lower Austrian government and city magistrate mounted a propaganda campaign, through written correspondence to the Emperor and Viennese citizens, that directly attacked the Italian theatre and indirectly the court. By introducing the term Gemeidwesen ["of the community"], the two groups suggested to the Viennese citizens that the Kärntnertortheater was intended to be a privileged enterprise not open to the general public. Both local governments praised Stranitzky's performances and

32Schenk 38. Pirchan writes that Pecori was contracted to pay 25 Gulden weekly to the poor house in the Leopoldstadt, a district north of central Vienna; Pecori failed to keep this commitment. See 32.
33Pirchan 32.
34Alexander von Wellen, Geschichte des Wiener Theaterwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Anfängen der Hoftheater [History of Viennese Theatre from the Oldest Times to the Inception of the Court Theatre] (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1899) 124. Teuber also identifies the city magistrate's concerns and adds that Pecori had given private performances, without paying the city magistrate the contracted percentage of revenues, during the construction of the Kärntnertortheater. See 21.
35As they realized the possibility of acquiring no performance venue, German popular comic actors incited common citizens against the empire. See Teuber 24.
reliability for prompt payment, and suggested that the proposed German theatre auf der Freyung might not become realized because two city theatres would be too costly. Finally, Emperor Joseph I announced on 22 October 1709 that he would pay Pecori’s debts.

During debate between the city and court, theatrical activity did not cease. Between 1707 and 1709, German acting companies, most likely including Stranitzky, performed in the Ballhaus in der Teinfaltstraße, a tennis court, approximately one-hundred meters west of the market place auf der Freyung. A decree from 1707 had forced actors for the first time from market street theatre to an indoor space for German-language theatre. The actors performed here for nearly two years, although not without harassment: the neighbors complained that the actors created a loud atmosphere and that the tennis court remained a constant fire hazard. On 12 December 1707, a government decree ordered the actors from this location; however, after hearing their pleas for a performance venue, the city magistrate allowed the actors to remain in the Ballhaus until the completion of the Kärntnertortheater.

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37 It is unclear whether the Emperor responded to Pecori’s failure to pay his contract or to the local government’s propaganda.

38 Asper 38.

39 Eduard Devrient, Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst [History of German Acting] (1867; Berlin: Elster, 1921) 73.

40 Complaints by the aristocracy to the city magistrate about the loud conditions created by German comic actors forced the city magistrate to find an acceptable location for the German performers. See Hadamowsky 129.
Unexpectedly, on 9 November 1709 the Emperor included Stranitzky and his troupe as performers in the new theatre, the Kärntnertortheater, which the city completed on 23 November. The reasons behind Stranitzky's admittance to the new space are not clear: perhaps the Emperor offered Stranitzky the theatre through 1) protests against Italian performers by a populace interested in German-language theatre, 2) the inability of the Italians to finance their contractual obligation, 3) sufficient pressure from the city magistrate and Lower Austrian government on the Emperor, or 4) a combination of reasons. Whatever the primary motivation, the Kärntnertortheater, a structure built to alleviate the threat of fires from temporary stages and wooden tennis courts, housed a comic tradition different from that of the original intent of the Habsburg Emperor who preferred the Italians assigned to the space. The Emperor's order allowed Stranitzky's performers to share the space with Pecori.

On 30 November 1709 the Kärntnertortheater opened. Count Pecori served as the theatre's director only until 4 March 1710; his tenure was short because he could not pay for the construction of the playhouse. The Lower Austrian government and city magistrate seized the opportunity to support Stranitzky as the sole leaseholder and chief director, and the Emperor conceded by

41Keil-Budischowsky 85. In discussing the Italians' interest for a performance site, Pirchan places the performances of Haupt-und Staatsaktionen as an evolutionary step toward the foundation of opera in Vienna. See 31-36 and 129-151.
42The imperial theatre engineer from Bologna, Antonio Peduzzi, commented that the new facility included machinery and the space possessed a "special splendor." See Teuber 25, who quotes from the Wienerisches Diarium [Viennese Diary], no. 661, November 1709.
43Pirchan 129.
granting Stranitzky permission to assume the lease after Pecori’s brief service.\textsuperscript{44}

The dispute over the theatre diminished thereafter because a plague forced the cancellation of most theatre activity after 11 September 1710. Although the theatre reopened in 1711, the Lenten season closed the theatre again between 16 February and 12 April, and the death of Emperor Joseph I on 17 April cancelled most of the performances during the rest of the year. During these months of sporadic theatre activity, the Italian and German troupes shared the performance space.\textsuperscript{45}

After returning from performances in southern Germany in 1712, Stranitzky requested from Emperor Charles VI the necessary certification to perform in the Kärntnertortheater. With much praise and recognition, the Emperor presented Stranitzky on 23 April 1712 an official license to perform in the theatre. This license provided a permanent theatre space within the city of Vienna for the German acting troupe and a home for the subsequent tradition of Viennese popular comedy.\textsuperscript{46} Among the principals with whom Stranitzky shared his license were his companion Johann Hilverdig, between 1717 and 1721, and the Italian director Ferdinando Danese (Zoccagnino Neapolitano), between 1718 and 1722. Under Danese’s leadership Italian opera became financially

\textsuperscript{44}Hadamowsky 178-179.

\textsuperscript{45}According to Hadamowsky, the early years of the Kärntnertortheater were met with many long interruptions, such as long periods of mourning for deaths in the royal family. See Hadamowsky 179.

\textsuperscript{46}Rommel 204; Keil-Budischowsky 85-86, who is perhaps overly zealous in her commentary that Stranitzky performed almost daily.
successful and popular among Vienna’s citizens as well as the court.47

From Outdoor to Indoor Theatre: Strantzky’s Performance Sites

The establishment of a public, purpose-built theatre in Vienna marked a transition from outdoor to indoor spaces, a change that reshaped the spatial parameters of theatre as an institution. Performers and audience who were accustomed to participating in an outdoor theatrical event experienced a new, more intimate performance environment. The performance site not only became a permanent location, but the building’s identifiable exterior and utilization of interior space and decor contributed to theatrical events in ways that temporary wooden stages built on outdoor market squares could not. The new physical parameters challenged the traditional relationships between artist and patron and encouraged new expression in and reaction to performance.

The temporary outdoor stages am Neuen Markt and auf der Freyung that had served within the city as the earliest sites for German comedy were located off major arteries.48 The Neue Markt lies nearly 200 metres from the major southwest gate of the city, the Kärntnerstor, along the major thoroughfare, the Kärntnerstraße (see fig. 3). The market auf der Freyung also was nearly 200

47 Italian opera reached new heights of stage design and popularity during the reign of Emperor Charles VI. See Wenzel Josef Lembert, Historische Skizze der k.k. Hoftheater in Wien, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Schauspiels [History of the Imperial-Royal Court Theatre in Vienna, with Special Attention to German Performances] (Vienna: Verlag von Franz Lendler, 1833) 5.

48 Two city maps of Vienna between the years 1683 and 1710 show easy access to the markets, with their positions off major streets within the city. Both maps are located in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [History Museum of the City of Vienna]. The 1710 plan, a nine piece map which measures 3 metres x 3 metres, was drawn by the official court mapmaker Steinhausen.
This map includes the market squares am Neuen Markt (1) and auf der Freyung (2), which is located next to the Schottenkloster [Monastery of the Scots]. Stranitzky performed in booth theatres at these outdoor locations. His first indoor facility (3) was the Ballhaus in der Teinfeldstraße [c. 1707-1709], located between the Schottenkloster and the city wall. The first purpose-built theatre was the Kärntnertortheater (4), where Stranitzky began performing in 1709. Print from John P. Spielman, The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740 (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 1993) x-xi.

Fig. 3. Map of Vienna, [c. 1700].
metres from a major city entrance, the Schottentor, at the northwest corner of the city, along the road Schottengasse. The Neue Markt was rectangular in shape, nearly 200 metres long and 80 metres wide, while the market auf der Freyung was triangular, with an area of nearly 15,000 square metres. The two spaces were nearly the same size. A frequently-cited copper engraving depicts a booth stage at the market auf der Freyung (see fig. 4), with a performer entertaining a small crowd.

The decision to banish performances from both market sites and to relegate them to the Ballhaus in der Teinfaltstraße seemed to address the city magistrate's concern of markets as potential fire hazards, since the new site was a single, isolated indoor facility nearer to the city wall, the city's exterior. According to the two city maps, the new space was nearly 60 metres long and 15 metres wide, much smaller than the outdoor markets.

Architectural plans from the early-eighteenth century provide illustrations of two proposed playhouses am Kärntner Tor and auf der Freyung, the second of which was never built (see fig. 5). The plan for the Kärntnertortheater shows the necessity of purchasing buildings immediately west of the proposed site.

Fig. 5 represents a proposed plan to build a theatre on the market auf der Freyung. In addition to depicting a rectangular-shaped facility, the significance of this print lies in the commentary to the lower right, which states that although the dimensions of the space are not yet determined, the market provides enough space to construct a suitable theatre. The absence of specific measurements suggests that the city perhaps did not seriously consider building a second theatre.

Fig. 4. Itinerant performance on Vienna's market auf der Freyung [c. 1700].

Fig. 5. Proposed playhouse auf der Freyung, [c. 1707].
buildings owned by private citizens (see figures 6-8). The purchase of these buildings added to the project's total cost. Since the local magistrate encouraged citizens to possess homes and businesses within the city's gates, the displacement of dwellings undoubtedly created animosity from citizens against the theatre and its operators.

Early accounts describe the performance space and activity within the Kärntnertortheater. The smaller room was used for festive scenes and Italian drama during carnival; the larger room, adorned with beautiful decorations, served as the Court Opera. The decorations of the amphitheatre alone reputedly cost more than 100,000 Guilden. A decree from 22 September 1712 suggests that

50 Schenk 31-36. Actually the plan for the Kärntnertortheater consists of three drawings that collectively illustrate alterations to Pecor's original proposal, changes necessitated perhaps by complaints from government officials. An inscription on the earliest plan (fig. 6) reveals a concern that a facility directly against the wall would create congestion for travelers and visitors to the theatre as well as a hinderance in times of battle: "Wann man das Comoedl Haus anhero baun thette, würe ein grosser Plaz zu..." ["If one were to build the theatre facility here, a large open area would..."]. The second plan (fig. 7) shows a narrow street between the theatre and the wall, representing an attempt to address the concern of congestion: "Gassen zwischen Hauß, undt Pastei gegen den Kärn..." ["Alleys between the facility and bastion along the Kärn..."].
In addition to showing the eventual theatre, the third plan (fig. 8) shows that the city must purchase two buildings from Johann Praun and Johann Schmidt, who owned the local Stadl [stable], a purchase that increased construction costs. The plans come from the Vienna City Archives.

51 Die rote Linie bedeut das Stökhli so sollte per 12000 m erkauf werden. Die rote Linie... Schmidt per 5000 m erkauf." ["The red line indicates that Stökhli's space will be purchased for 12,000 Guilden (?) and Schmidt's for 5,000."].

52 Lembert 4.
Italian intendant Francesco Maria Conte Pecori’s initial proposal for the Kärntertortheater, [c. 1707]. This plan positions the theatre directly adjacent to the city wall. Print from Eleonore Schenk, “Die Anfänge des Wiener Kärntnertortheaters, 1710 bis 1748” ["The Beginnings of Vienna’s Kärntnertortheater, 1710 until 1748"], diss., University of Vienna, 1969, 32.

Fig. 6. Proposed playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707].
Pecori modified his initial plan by moving the dig approximately two metres away from the city wall, marked by the caption: "Gassen zwischen . . . Hauß, undt Pastei gegen den Kärn. . . ." Print from Eleonore Schenk, "Die Anfänge des Wiener Kärntnertortheaters, 1710 bis 1748" ["The Beginnings of Vienna's Kärntnertortheater, 1710 until 1748"], diss., University of Vienna, 1969, 33.

Fig. 7. Modification of proposed playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707].
This illustration depicts Pecori's third proposal for construction of the Karntner tortheater, which construction crews followed. Print from Eleonore Schenk, "Die Anfänge des Wiener Kärntnertortheaters, 1710 bis 1748" ["The Beginnings of Vienna's Kärntner theater, 1710 until 1748"], diss., University of Vienna, 1969, 36.

Fig. 8. Third proposal for a playhouse am Kärntnertor, [c. 1707].
the government needed ordinances to combat brawls, annoying cries, and heckling as well as thievery in the theatre.  

Although the actors had to contend with enclosed rowdy performance conditions, they gained the advantage of consistently regulating and collecting admission fees.  

Whereas admission fees into the converted "tennis courts" cost between 2 and 4 Kreuzer, the charges of the Kärntnertortheater appeared to be much more expensive, with Lady Montagu reputedly paying 1 Dukat, or nearly 250 Kreuzer, for a loge in 1712.  

Performances, by candlelight, occurred between 4:00 pm and 7:00 pm.  

An exterior depiction from 1724 of the Kärntnertortheater, designed by Antonio Peduzzi, reveals a structure with the front part of the building three stories high, one story higher than the rest of the building (see fig. 9).  

Within a possible six-year span of time Stranitzky transformed his performance situation from playing before various sized crowds in market squares to proscribed numbers in an  

53 Reggsdekret [government decree]. "Issue 22" from 22 September 1712, recorded in Schlager's Chapter "Wiener Theater-Administrations-Aktenauszug samt Beilagen von achtzehnten Jahrhundert" ["Viennese Theatre, Administration, and Records from the Eighteenth Century"]: "Da in dem Komödienhaus, bei Exibirung der deutschen Komödien, Raufhändel, verdrüssliches Geschrei, und Pfeifen statt finden, so wird die Erlassung eines Ruffes anbefohlen, dass die Betretern in Arrest genommen, und sohin mit Geld oder Diabesstrafe belegt worden würden." See 259-272.  

54 In his Chapter "Theaterzeit und Eintrittspreise" ["Theatre Hours and Admission Charges"], Schlager provides several informative antecdotes on theatre activity at several venues, including at the Kärntnertortheater. Schlager states that definitive records of admission fees are lost. See 246-248.  

55 Lady Montagu's high fee could represent the total charge for the court loge. Other records state that ground floor loges cost 1 Kreuzer, with fine ladies and cavaliers paying twice as much.  

56 Weilen finds that the theatre's exterior was not particularly beautiful. See Alexander von Weilen, Das Theater, 1529-1740 [The Theatre, 1529-1740], vol. 4 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältige Kunst, 1918) 422.
This illustration depicts the main entrance into the Kärntnertortheater. Print taken from Margret Dietrich, ed., *Hanswurst Lebt Noch [Hanswurst Still Lives]* (Salzburg; Stuttgart: Verlag das Bergland-Buch, 1965) 16.

Fig. 9. Exterior view of Kärntnertortheater, [c. 1724].
enclosed and more intimate actor-audience relationship. From the new conditions, which also allowed for more complex staging, Viennese popular comedy could develop in ways different from traditional market square performances.

**Hanswurst in the Kärntnertortheater**

Several extant performance “texts” from the early eighteenth century reveal Stranitzky’s Hanswurst as a major stage character. The term “texts” is ambiguous because performances were highly improvisational and actors did not publish such stage work. The “texts” combine some scripted dialogue and general descriptions of *lazzi*, or pantomimic stage business, such as pilfering coins from one another, sword fights, and disguisings. Popular actors, including Stranitzky, became noted for the execution of certain *lazzi*. Although actors from the late-seventeenth century did not publish their performances as scripts, the *lazzi* became a form of recorded “scripted” performance.

A total of fifteen Hanswurst “texts,” which are frequently attributed to Stranitzky, are extant. One may have been performed as early as 1715.⁵⁷ The other fourteen “texts” may have been published as early as 1724.⁵⁸

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⁵⁷Josef Anton Stranitzky, *Türkisch-bestraffter Hochmuth oder das Año 1683. von denen Türccken belagerte und von denen Christen entsetzte Wienn und Hans Wurst die kurzweilige Salve-Garde des Frauen-Zimmers, lächerlicher Spion, und zum Tode verdamter Mißthäther* [Punished Turkish Arrogance or the Year 1683 during which the Turks Captured Vienna and the Christians Rescued it and Hanswurst, the Entertaining Protector of Ladies, Comic Spy, and the Damned-to-Death Evil-Doer by the Turks], *Dichtung aus Österreich: Drama [Literature from Austria: Drama]*, eds. Heinz Kindermann and Margret Dietrich (Vienna, 1966). In Hugo Aust, Peter Haida, and Jürgen Hein, eds., *Volksstück: Vom Hanswurstspiel zum sozialen Drama der Gegenwart [Folk Play: From Hanswurst Performance to Contemporary Social Drama]* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), Aust suggests that this play could have been performed as early as 1715, which would designate this play as the earliest text, other
With the 1683 siege of Vienna by the Turks as a backdrop, *Türckisch-besstraftter Hochmuth* features Hanswurst, fighting to protect his homeland against the aggressive enemy, alongside important military figures who led the Viennese in victory over the Turks. Serving as best he can in a variety of roles, such as house servant, letter carrier, messenger, and spy, Hanswurst participates as a common citizen in important events in Vienna's history.

This epic play deviates from the structure found in the later fourteen *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* [*Viennese Chief and State Plays*] in that this piece is based upon Vienna's own history rather than being an adaptation of Italian opera usually set in exotic and distant lands.

Hanswurst in *Türckisch-besstraftter Hochmuth* also differs from his depiction in the other fourteen plays. Although he figures prominently in the exposition of the drama, his comic antics remain isolated from and irrelevant to the central action. The glorification of Vienna's victory over the Turks clearly takes precedent over clever language, local idioms or characters.

Hanswurst presents, perhaps, the most theatrical and entertaining moments in the drama. After the Viennese forces rescue him from the Turks, Hanswurst boasts of his bravery as he waves his sword. When he sees a Turkish soldier, however, he cries in fear. But he soon realizes that the soldier is dead and

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59"Hie machet Hans Wurst die Positur zum fechten, und indem er die todten Türcken siehet, fällt er vor Schrecken zur Erden." ["Hanswurst assumes a fencing pose, and when he sees the dead Turk, he falls to the ground in fear." ]
proceeds to stab the corpse with his sword, broad physical action undoubtedly carried over from outdoor theatre.

Appearing nearly ten years later, the *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* present Hanswurst in intrigues that originated largely from Italian opera. The *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* present one general plot from which two opposing stories develop: one story, termed *Hauptaktion* [chief action], involves Hanswurst’s superiors, who often exhibit genuinely noble aspirations, and the other story, or *Staatsaktion* [state action], involves Hanswurst, who provides a comic parallel to the first story. The fourteen plays, with their long eighteenth-century titles, include the following:

*Triumph Römischer Tugendt und Tapferkeit oder Gordianus der Grosse Mit hanß Wurst den lacherlichen Liebes-Ambassadeur, curiosen Befehsahaber, vermeinten Todten, ungeschickten Mörder, gezwungenen Spion 2c. und was noch mehr die Comodie selbsten erklären wirdt. Componiert in diesen 1724 Jahr, den 23 Jenner [Triumph of Roman Virtue and Bravery or Gordianus the Great with Hanswurst, the Ridiculous Ambassador of Love, Curious Commander, Believed Deceased, Misfit Murderer, and Second-Class Mercenary, and Whatever Else the Comedy Will Explain]


*Die Verfolgung auß Liebe oder Die grausame Königin der Tegeanten Atalanta Mit hanß Wurscht Den lacherlichen Liebs-Ambasadeur, betrognen curiositäten-Seher, einfältigen Meichlmörder, Intressirten Kammerdiner, übl belohnhten Beederachsträger, unschuldigen Arrestanten, Intresirten Ausstecher, wohl exercirten Soldaten und Inspector über die bey hoff auf der Stiegen Esssende Gallantomo. 2c. 2c.*

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60 Walter Lehr, “Die szenischen Bemerkungen in den Dramen des Altwiener Volkstheaters bis 1752” [“The Scenic Observations in Plays from Old-Viennese Popular Theatre until 1752”], diss., University of Vienna, 1965. Lehr writes that Heinrich Rademin may have published these works around 1724. See 34. Aust also dates the plays to 1724.
Im Jahr 1724, den 10 July [Persecution Out of Love or the Terrible Queen of the Tegeanten Atalanta, with Hanswurst, the Ridiculous Ambassador of Love, Deceived Assassin, Simple-Minded Murderer, Interested Room Attendant, Poorly-Compensated Letter Carrier, Innocent Accused, Interested Poker, Practiced Soldier and Inspector at Court for the Victorious, etc., etc.]

Nicht diesem, den es zugedacht, Sondern dem daß Glücke lacht oder Der großmütigte Frauenwechsel unter königlichen Personen mit hanß Wurst den verrathenen Intriganten und übel belohnten Liebs-Envoye. Viennæ die 21 Julij Anno MDCCXXIV [Not to the Intended One but to the One on Whom Luck Smiles or the Generous Exchange of Wives among People of Nobility with Hanswurst, the One of Betrayed Intrigue and Poorly-Compensated Love Messenger]

Die Gestörzte Tyrannay in der Person deß Messinischen Wüttrichs PELIFONTE oder Triumph der Liebe und Rache mit HW: dem getreuen Spion, einfältigen Soldaten, leichtsinningen Liebhaber und, was für Lustbarkeit ferner seye, wird die Action selbst vorstellen. Wien den 29 July Ao. 724 [Overthrown Tyranny in the Person of the Messinian Tyrant Pellfonte or Triumph of Love and Revenge with Hanswurst, the Loyal Spy, Simple Soldier, Thoughtless Lover, and Additional Escapades that the Piece will Present]

Der Betrogene Ehmann oder hanß Wuracht der seltsam- und lächerliche Jungfrauenzwingen, einfältige Schild-wacht, Allamodische Jäger, beängstigte Liebhaber, brallende Duelant, durchgetribene Kupier und großmütige erretter seines herren. Viennæ den 3ten Augusti Anno MDCCXXIV [Deceived Husband or Hanswurst, the Strange and Ridiculous Protector of Women, Simple Watchman, Old-Fashioned Hunter, Worried Lover, Brave Dueler, Sly Facilitator of Unlawful Sexual Acts, and Generous Rescuer of his Master]

Der Großmütige Überwinder Seiner selbst mit HW: den übl belohnten Liebhaber vieler Weibsbilder oder Hw der Meister, böse Weiber gutt zu machen. Mehrers wird die Action selbst dem geneigten Leser vorstellen. In Wienn den 7 August 1724 [Magnanimous Conqueror of Himself with Hanswurst: the Poorly-Compensated Lover of Many Women, or Hanswurst, the Master at Converting Evil Women to Good. The Piece will Present the Reader with yet More]

Der Tempel Dianae oder Der Spiegi wahrer und treuer freundschaft mit H: W: Den sehr übl geplagten Jungengesellen von zwei alten Weiberen [Temple of Diana or Reflection of True and Genuine Friendship with Hanswurst, the Bachelor who is very Nastily Tormented by Two Old Women]

Triumph der Ehre und deß Glückes oder Tarquinius Superbus mit HW: Den unglückseelichen Verliebten, durchgetribenen hoffschrantzen, intressirten Kupier, narrischen Großmütigen und tapfern Schloßtümmer [Triumph of Honor and Happiness or Tarquinius Superbus with Hanswurst: the Dismayed Lover, Sly Suitor, Interested Matchmaker, Foolish Generous One, and Valiant Castle Charger]

Großmütiger Wethstreit der Freundschaft Liebe und Ehre oder Scipio in Spanien mit HW den großmütigen Sclaven und verschmitzen hoffschrantzen [Magnanimous Competition of Friendship, Love, and Honor or, Scipio in Spain with Hanwurst the Generous Slave and Sly Courtier]

Der Besiegte Obseiger Adalbertus König in Wälschlandt oder Die Wurckungen deß Betruchs bey gezwungener Liebe Mit HW: Den betrogenen Breutigam, verwirrten
In order to understand the recurring characteristics of Hanswurst in the plays, it is necessary to trace Hanswurst’s role in the action.

The first play, *Gordianus*, concerns the unquestionable virtues of Roman Emperor Gordianus compared with the rebellious enemy Persians, and the crude, base behavior of court servant Hanswurst. Gordianus is victorious in battle over the Persians, but wishes to establish his magnanimous rule with the defeated leader Sapor. Although a few rebel Persians resist Gordianus’ efforts, his demonstration of mercy and loyalty eventually wins Persians as subjects.

Hanswurst remains the sole character without reward from the Emperor; although he seeks a young bride, Hanswurst settles for the old maid Belsa, suggesting perhaps that characters eventually earn “appropriate” results for their actions. The extant text undoubtedly entertained its audience through the
disappointment of Hanswurst. Within the play's slight moralizing and amusing circumstances, Hanswurst must find comfort in his own playfulness.

With the figures Cicero and Marc Anthony providing a tenuous backdrop, the second play *Ciceronis* depicts true love rewarded despite treachery and jealousy from rivals. The romance of Tulia and Julius is the central feature of this piece, as are the actions of Julius' devoted servant Hanswurst, who exhibits a propensity for crude expressions. While facing public execution, Julius kills his enemy Cecina, the jealous suitor of Tulia. Julius receives the hand of Tulia and Hanswurst finds reward for his perseverance in the hand of Bromia, maid to Tulia. Although Julius and Hanswurst initially were banished from their loves, they are eventually reunited. The rivals Cecina and Scapin failed in their villainous efforts to prevent the love of Julius and Tulia, Hanswurst and Bromia.

The third play *Atalanta* exposes revenge, secret identity, and steadfast love in extremely complicated circumstances. Queen Atalanta chooses as her future husband Articio. In her pursuit of Palamedes, an enemy of the state, she remains unaware that her intended love Articio is really Palamedes. Atalanta learns of Articio's identity after issuing the death of the captured Palamedes. Palamedes appears, still alive, and forgives Atalanta. In the midst of much treachery and many disguises, Hanswurst remains remarkably devoted, although he engages in mercenary

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61"Hw [to Scapin]: Gehe nur, mein Kerl, du kannst mich brav in Arsch lecken, das du es weist." ["Hanswurst: 'My fellow, you can lick my ass.']"
service with Queen Atalanta. Hanswurst’s end reward is an improved financial situation.

The fourth play Pyrrhus presents problems of love and noble behavior within the ruling class. Deidamia desires the throne of her brother Pyrrhus. A rival king to Pyrrhus, Demetrius, desires as his bride Climene, who loves Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus successfully foils plots against him, maintains his throne, and marries Climene. After Deidamia pleads for forgiveness from Pyrrhus, Demetrius falls in love with her.

Hanswurst appears as an appropriate servant for Deidamia, since both characters are strong willed. Hanswurst’s common sense, control, and cunning counter the foolishness, stupidity, deceit, and attacks of nobility.

The fifth play Pelifonte demonstrates the failure of ruthless tyrannical behavior. Assisted by his devoted servant Hanswurst, who frequently uses Latin incorrectly, Pelifonte rules as a tyrant, even though the rightful heir Cleone still lives. Before Pelifonte can kill Cleone, court members successfully overthrow the tyrant and return Cleone to his throne.

The sixth play Admetus also presents themes of true love and deceit. The conclusion, however, is unexpectedly sudden and harsh.

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The action concerns the conquered Prince Candace and victorious rulers Admetus and Osiride. King Admetus rewards Osiride's bravery by promising him his daughter Philistone; Osiride, however, has eyes for the king's wife Alcumene. After Admetus expresses his jealousy, Alcumene and Osiride, Admetus' servant Hanswurst and his love Florinda, flee the kingdom. After their ship sails, Philistone and Candace discover a crazed Admetus, who in realizing the deceit of his wife and servant, kills himself. Philistone and Prince Candace realize that it is important for a man not to dominate and control a wife, or he will be deceived.

The seventh play Cosroes concerns the fickle behavior of men, including Hanswurst, who clearly voices his insatiable appetite for food and drink. The King Cosroes develops a new love interest in the younger Ismene. Cosroes' friend Alcandro decides to pursue the king's wife Stellandra, who remains devoted to her husband. Ismene refuses Cosroes' advances because of her love for Vardanes, who is loved by Julie. The maid Brunetta patiently tries to convince Hanswurst to marry her. After several scenes of intrigue, Stellandra forgives the fickle behavior of her husband. The group rejoices, as Stellandra and Cosroes, Julie and Alcandro, Ismene and

63“Sie [Cosroes and Stellandra] trincken alle die Gesundheit und Hw ingleichen; wird endlich berauscht und trinckt allerhandt nährische Gesundheiten. Cosroes und Alle erheben sich von der Taffl und topffen sich in etwas mit Hw, welcher den König bittet, er wolle ihm dem Kopf halten, dann er müsste speien. Hinten wird die Clausur geschlossen; der König kann sich in etwas noch mit Hanswurst topffen... Hw bleibt und hat seine lazzii mit hin und her dorcklen und brechen; fallet endlich zure Erde, sagend, er müsste sterben. Schafft ein.” [“The characters drink to each other's health, each time more loudly and more foolishly. As they leave the table, they play with Hanswurst, who asks the king to hold his head because he must vomit. The king beats Hanswurst. . . . Hanswurst stays and offers a lazzii of breaking many objects. Finally he falls to the ground and says he will die. He falls asleep.”]
Vardanes, and Brunetta and Hanswurst happily unite. Hanswurst’s gradual realization of love for Brunetta parallels the main action of Cosroes’ eventual return to Stellandra. The wild scenes with women chasing Hanswurst offer the great humor.

In the eighth play Iphigenia, loosely based on the Agamemnon legend, Iphigenia arrives in Toante’s kingdom, miraculously saved by the gods. Having recently announced that his daughter Clarice will marry Teucrus, King Toante plans to marry the beautiful Iphigenia. She becomes dismayed when she learns that her brother Orestes, the love of Clarice, is to be sacrificed by Toante. When Pallides attempts to save his friend Orestes, Toante is so impressed by their friendship that he allows Orestes to live. After an oracle reveals that Teucrus is Toante’s true son, Toante reconsiders his actions and allows Clarice to marry Orestes, and Iphigenia to marry Pallides.

Hanswurst functions chiefly as the individual who spots the arrival of Iphigenia and as the object of affection for older women. Although he assists King Toante by pursuing Orestes and delivering letters, he remains outside the major action of true friendship between Orestes and Pallides. His suggestion that two older women take the place of Orestes and Pallides as sacrifices to the gods exhibits his quick wit.

The ninth play Tarquinius depicts the infidelity of evil nobles and greed of evil women. Arcades schemes with his lover, the beautiful Fenicia, to overthrow the victorious Tarquinius. Arcades’ wife Eusonia seeks vengeance against her unfaithful husband by turning to Tarquinius for help; Eusonia’s maid Rodisbe reveals her
love for Tarquinius' friend Lucius. After several scenes of
disguise, Arcades eventually surrenders to Tarquinius, who will
pardon Arcades if he returns to his wife. Along with the reuniting
of Arcades and Eusonia, Lucius takes Rodisbe as his wife.

In *Tarquinius* Hanswurst's major involvement is his advances
toward the maid Rodisbe. Although Hanswurst has a possibility of
winning over Rodisbe, the probability is not great, since Hanswurst
is a common servant. Hanswurst's antics include mimicking
privileged life, in his disguise as a prince to win Rodisbe.

In *Scipio*, the tenth play of this collection, the noble King
Scipio discovers the disloyalty of his jealous companion Marzio,
who insists on marrying Elvire, the defeated queen. When Marzio
leads a revolt against Scipio, Scipio arrests the beautiful
Sofonisba, who remains devoted to her love Lucejo. Scipio
eventually condemns Marzio as a traitor, marries Elvire, and
reunites Sofonisba with Lucejo.

As a court servant, Hanswurst's amusing behavior is in his
agility to change allegiances quickly to save his own head. He
observes and comments directly to the audience on the actions of
other characters; wears disguises, such as when Marzio mistakes
him for a woman; and offers impertinent comments, including
several unabashed sexual references. Hanswurst must bear
punishment for action against nobles and does not share in the
victories of Lucejo or Scipio.

64"Hw: Ich aber wünsche viell Glück und Seegen und beyden Prinzessinen einen
steiffen Degen. (NB: können sich nach Belieben mit Hw foppen.)." ["Hanswurst: 'I
wish the two princesses much happiness, success, and sexual satisfaction.'
(opportunity for the women to react to his comment)."]
The eleventh play *Adalbertus* presents a love story that depicts the procedure of love earned, with female characters controlling most of the action. Adalbertus proclaims that he will marry Adelheide, who is sad over the announcement because she loves Lipolphi. Adelheide's maid Melitea loves the court servant Hanswurst. When Idrena arrives at court, she befriends Adelheide and promises to reunite Adelheide with Lipolphi if Adelheide will help her in acquiring Adalbertus. Through disguises, Idrena tricks Adalbertus into thinking that a plot is underway to overthrow him. As Adalbertus sadly prepares for his downfall, Idrena, who is actually his former wife Osmonda, appears before him. Eventually, Adalbertus happily reunites with his wife and Adelheide joins Lipolphi.

In *Adalbertus* Hanswurst interacts less with the main action than in his own story, which is developed quite fully, with amusing scenes of Melitea as a magician. She tricks Hanswurst into thinking that she is the beautiful Idrena.

The twelfth play *Alfonsus* presents the character of Scapin as relative of and rival to Hanswurst. As the two servants vie for the love of the maid Charlotta, Ludwig and Alfonso compete for Angelica, while Carl and Juan compete for Beatrice. Ludwig, the master to Scapin, threatens war against Alfonso if Angelica will not become his wife. Eventually Ludwig consents to Angelica's wish for Alfonso as her husband. The play ends with a triple wedding, uniting Alfonso and Angelica, Juan and Beatrice, and Hanswurst and Charlotta.
In Alfonsus Scapin's language and behavior is cruder than that of Hanswurst, who consequently appears as a better servant. The overall playfulness of both servants, however, separates them from their masters, who exhibit dignified behavior. Rulers emerge as the only characters capable of demonstrating proper honor and behavior in confusing situations.

Astromedes, the thirteenth play in this collection, clearly develops action and battle on two levels. As the honest ruler Astromedes battles the evil Farnace for the hand of Philinda, Hanswurst fights against Scapin for the hand of Rosetta. When Microcastes eventually recognizes the honor of Astromedes and the deception of Farnace, he rewards Astromedes with the hand of his daughter Philinda. Astromedes, along with Hanswurst, endures imprisonment and banishment before he is united with his love. Hanswurst also unites with his love Rosetta.

The last piece, Cafena, presents male suitors rivalling for the hand of Queen Cafena and her throne. This strange tale begins with the statement that Cafena needs to take a husband because queens cannot rule as well as kings. Cafena announces that she will choose as husband either Lisander or Niniseus. Although she prefers Lisander, Cafena eventually recognizes the virtue of Niniseus and chooses him as her husband. Niniseus then pardons Lisander for his treachery.

Hanswurst appears as an apparent suitor to the queen, but he quickly turns to involvement more suited to his position, an interest with Binetta. Even though Hanswurst's language is occasionally coarse, he receives his love Binetta only after
permission from the nobility. Niniseus eventually emerges as the appropriate ruler among nobles and Hanswurst remains in his appropriate position as servant.

Türkisch-bestrafffter Hochmuth and the fourteen Haupt- und Staatsaktionen establish several recurring characteristics of Stranitzky's Hanswurst. As a servant, he frequently works for financial compensation, often payment in Dukaten [gold coins]. His most dominant features revolve around physical or materialistic desires and bodily needs, features that contrast greatly with those of his superiors. These tendencies create a comic character who derives motivation through immediate compensation.

The humor in these pieces lies in Hanswurst's naive attempt to imitate, rather than parody, the exposition of the Hauptaktion. This distinction between imitation and parody is significant. Whereas parody casts a particular situation for the purpose of ridicule or satire, imitation carries no such intent. A parody presupposes a control or mastery over a circumstance by an individual in order to recast a message in a critical light. Stranitzky's Hanswurst resorts simply to imitating the actions of his superiors to the best of his innate, "natural" abilities. A far cry from comic Shakespearean or French servants, who often exhibit cunning parodies of their superior's behavior, Stranitzky's

65"Nach einiger Foperey von der gleichen Materie fragt Hw, ob sie ihm dann gar nicht möge, zu etlichen mahlen, und da sie iederzeit mit nein anwortet, sagt Hw, sie soll ihm lecken und ab. "["After similar foolishness, Hanswurst asks her if she would like to 'grind'; however, since she repeatedly refuses, Hanswurst tells her to 'lick his ass!'"]
66Rommel 306.
67Rommel 292.
Hanswurst is hardly the harbinger, but rather a distant ancestor of the cutting satirical figures who will appear on the nineteenth-century Viennese stages.

In the Haupt- und Staatsaktionen, the dramatist borrowed plots from material that was familiar both to royal visitors and peasant citizens. Stereotyped characters presented defined attributes rather than ambiguous personalities; character complexity, such as deceit, often emerged in asides or soliloquies. Language provided an important source of laughter, especially when employing colloquial or rural idioms, with occasional Latin phrases to feign intelligence. The entertainments also included song to conclude the pieces, with virtue eventually triumphing over vice. The improvised lazzi and intermezzi, interjected comic exchanges that loosely related to the main story, contributed to the overall spectacle and provided a main source of humor. Hanswurst interrupted serious action through his intrigues with ghosts, corpses, and rivals, such as Scapin. Some Hanswurst scenes held no immediate relevance to the chief plot; they simply acknowledged the performance tradition of "droll stories," or mere companion pieces to longer plays.

Hanswurst's importance to the productions was apparent on play advertisements; he received a billing alongside the major characters, albeit a listing after the major protagonist. Hanswurst appeared in nearly forty percent of the scenes in Strantzizky's works. Of the major characters, only he receives the opportunity to offer lazzi and extemporaneous dialogue. Whereas the lines for the other characters are provided, Hanswurst's "script" consisted
often of a description of material to be delivered, with occasional prescribed dialogue. Hanswurst’s crude behavior, which includes dropping his trousers, scurrilous language, and coarse expressions of love, provided the major source of comedy; he offered no critique of contemporary social, political, or cultural surroundings. Rather than an agent of parody, Hanswurst’s unscripted comedy imitated the performances of Italian actors.

Within the space of the Kärntnertortheater, a venue originally intended for Italian stage productions, primarily opera, Hanswurst established his comic domain. Although Stranitzky’s Haupt- und Staatsaktionen featured both an adaptation of the medieval Salzburg farmer Hanswurst and localized Viennese dialect, the comic character and language were the only two significant “German” features of the plays, since the plots came originally from Italian opera and Stranitzky adapted these storylines into opera buffa, or comic imitations of serious opera. The presence of German language in a purpose-built theatre is an important historical development, but an equally significant innovation at the Kärntnertortheater is the presence of the common man, Hanswurst, alongside members of the aristocracy and privileged society in a space constructed by imperial and civil authority. Apparently audiences of the Kärntnertortheater saw in the depiction of the privileged characters and the servant Hanswurst their own

68Rommel 284.
successes and struggles within society, which may explain partly the appeal of Stranitzky's *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*.

**Relation of Space and Expression**

The structural space of the *Kärntnertortheater* contributed to the development of the comic character Hanswurst by providing an established performance tradition, Italian opera, for comic German actors to imitate, eventually institutionalizing the imitative performance of *opera buffa*. By leasing the theatre to Stranitzky, not only did the city government legitimize the stage character Hanswurst and Viennese popular comedy, but it also provided Stranitzky's imitation of "court opera" for an audience of court members and common citizens who were unaccustomed to such productions.\(^{69}\) The performance space of the *Kärntnertortheater* became, in fact, a venue to express the antithesis of the intended art form, the spectacle of court *opera buffa* in a space that was originally intended for serious Italian court opera! Popular theatre of common citizens received its "privilege" only after the traditional "privileged" society could not finance the space.

The most important component of the *Kärntnertortheater*’s "physical space" that relates to character depiction in Viennese popular comedy is clearly the presence of Italian troupes, which, although not primary operators of the theatre, continued to stage their productions. Stranitzky's *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* borrowed heavily from Italian opera in plot material. Stranitzky imitated the Italian tradition in crafting his characters and in

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\(^{69}\)Pirchan 32.
selecting plots. Stranitzky’s access to a permanent stage allowed his depiction of Hanswurst gradually to develop “permanent,” less extemporaneous features.\(^{70}\)

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu attests to Stranitzky’s successful presentation of comedy in a letter to Alexander Pope, 14 September 1716:

But if their Operas are thus delightful, their comedys are in as high degree ridiculous. They have but one Playhouse [the Kärntnertortheater], where I had the curiosity to go to a German Comedy, and was very glad it happen’d to be the story of Amphitriton; that the subject having allready handled by a Latin, French and English Poet, I was curious to see what an Austrian Author would make of it. I understood enough of the language to comprehend the greatest part of it, and besides I took with me a Lady that had the Goodness to explain to me every word. The way is to take a Box which holds 4 for your selfe and company. The fix’d price is a gold Ducat. I thought the House very low and dark, but I confess the comedy admirably recompens’d that defect. I never laugh’d so much in my Life. It begun with Jupiter’s falling in Love out of a peep hole in the clouds and ended with the Birth of Hercules; but what was most pleasant was the use Jupiter made of his metamorphose, for you no sooner saw him under the figure of Amphitriton, but instead of flying to Alcmena with the raptures Mr. Dryden puts into his mouth, he sends to Amphitriton’s Tailor and cheats him of a lac’d Coat, and his Banker of a bag of money, a Jew of a Di’mond ring, and bespeaks a great Supper in his name; and the greatest part of the comedy turns upon poor Amphitriton’s being tormented by these people for their debts, and Mercury uses Sosia in the same manner. But I could hardly pardon the Liberty the Poet has taken of Larding his play with not only indecent expressions, but such grosse Words as I don’t think our Mob would suffer from a Mountebank, and the 2 Sosias very fairly let down their breeches in the direct view of the Boxes,

\(^{70}\)In his study of Stranitzky’s Haupt- und Staatsaktionen, Lehr argues that performances in the Kärntnertortheater began largely as extemporaneous productions and later turned into scripted products.
which were full of people of the first Rank that seem'd very well pleas'd with their Entertainment, and they assur'd me this was a celebrated Piece.71

The praise for Stranitzky's performance appears especially noteworthy compared with Lady Montague's low opinion of the Italian comedy in Vienna: "Last night there was an Italian comedy acted at court. The scenes were pretty, but the comedy itself such intolerably low farce, without either wit or humor, that I was surprised how all the court could sit there attentively for four hours together. No women are suffered to act on the stage, and the men dressed like them were such awkward figures, they were much added to the ridicule of the spectacle. . . ."72

The housed arena of the Kärntnertortheater provided Stranitzky with a permanent theatre home. The security from inclement weather, opportunity for more elaborate stagecraft, and greater stability for the actors, as well as a controlled box office all contributed to his financial success. Although historical accounts surrounding Stranitzky's outdoor performances and his early years in the Kärntnertortheater are limited, Stranitzky's accumulated wealth at his death attests to his success in the indoor facility.73

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71 Robert Halsband, ed. The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 263-264. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was the wife of the English ambassador to Constantinople, as well as a poet and prose writer. She introduced into Britain the practice of inoculation against smallpox. This account may be the earliest observation of comic entertainment in the Kärntnertortheater; the production may have included Stranitzky as an actor.


73 Payer von Thurn xxxii-xxxiii.
The modest Kärntnertortheater at the southern gate of Vienna's city wall holds a significant position in theatre history. For the first time in the course of middle-European theatre indigenous popular theatre found a permanent venue for performance; this venue received support from both common citizens and court members and provided a solid foundation for future German-language theatre. The key to this major shift was a legendary peasant farmer in the hands of a skillful actor and entrepreneur.

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Completed in 1709, the Kärntnertortheater served not only as the first European, let alone Viennese, purpose-built theatrical venue in which German actors staged popular comic entertainment, but also represented the "stage" for larger socio-cultural transitions within Vienna's medieval walls. Although court officials had originally intended for Italian performers to utilize the Kärntnertortheater, they, in effect, legitimized Viennese popular comedy in granting Josef Anton Stranitzky the lease for the theatre. Stranitzky fulfilled his contracted financial obligations, owing largely to the support of common citizens who comprised a significant portion of Vienna's population. Changes in Vienna's social structure, however, reconstituted the audience base of the Kärntnertortheater and eventually redefined how the Viennese would use their newly constructed theatrical venue.

During the early decades of the eighteenth century, Habsburg authority reasserted its rule within Vienna and the Empire. With no threat of Turkish invasion after 1700, Emperors Leopold I (1658-1705), Joseph I (1705-1711), and Charles VI (1711-1740) committed to transforming Vienna from a functional border fortress into a court residence, which later symbolized the grandeur of baroque architecture. The imperial court displayed its majesty and
splendor through ornate and monumental architecture that symbolized the recent Habsburg victory and imperial glory.

Through various financial incentives to city officials and affluent citizens, the court encouraged the expansion of government buildings and palaces.¹ Those responsible for the glorification of the Habsburg family through new construction included sculptors and architects from Italy, such as Carlo Carlone, Domenico Martinelli, and Ludovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636-1707), as well as Habsburg court architects Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723) and Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (1668-1745).

Because the Turkish siege of 1683 had depleted the court’s treasury of funds necessary to finance the new construction, the court cooperated with the city magistrate to implement new policies of taxation. Also, to access additional income for expansion, local officials taxed beyond the Glacier [city embankments]. To save on construction costs, the court resourcefully converted existing structures into royal facilities.

To take advantage of existing structures, the city magistrate constructed additional floors on buildings, raising them generally four or five levels high. Newly constructed facades gave the taller structures an air of prestige and wealth. Architects adopted the Italian convention of courtyards to create private areas for residents to socialize. As a precaution against fire, the city magistrate prohibited timber in construction.²

²Spielman 111.
Even with this relatively efficient use of existing buildings, the court required additional space in Vienna, and consequently forced common citizens to relocate outside the city. During a fifty-year period after the death of Stranitzky in 1726, the social demographics within Vienna changed radically. Gradually the nobility, clergy, and court personnel dispossessed the common citizenry of their homes within the city walls. This dispossession represented a complete reversal in the composition of Vienna's population: around the mid-sixteenth century, common citizens constituted over two-thirds of all households; however, two centuries later, they accounted for only one-third (see fig. 10).

The Baroque conversion and expansion of the Habsburg capital attracted an unprecedented migration of royal dignitaries. This influx of court figures, with accompanying servants, created within Vienna a population explosion by the mid-eighteenth century: 40,000 people resided within Vienna's walls in 1730, but this figure rose to 54,477 twenty years later, with an additional population of 120,926 in the suburbs, bringing the city's composite total population to 175,403. A decade later the total numbered 155,342; in 1783 205,780.3

With a greater concentration of nobility within Vienna in 1730, the court supported 25% of the population on its payroll:

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3Tertius Chandler, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth: an Historical Census* (Lewiston, New York: St. David's UP, 1987) 212. Chandler records the following population figures for Vienna: in 1683, 90,000; 1700, 105,000 (Vienna ranked thirty-first with Madrid, behind London, Paris, Amsterdam, Naples, Lisbon, Venice, Rome, Moscow, and Milan); 1710, 113,000; 1750, 169,000 (Vienna ranked twentieth, behind London, Paris, Naples, Amsterdam, and Lisbon); and 1754, 175,460.
The Social Structure of Vienna, 1563 and 1730

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<td>Approximate population total</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Fig. 10. Table of social structure in Vienna, 1563 and 1730.
whereas city guards numbered only 70 in 1573, they numbered 2,200 in 1664, many of whom were married and owned their own houses. This group of guards accounted for 10% of the population.

To accommodate court guards, the court quartermaster gradually pushed the traditional artisans out of the city. The number of artisans increased sixfold between 1563 and 1736. Traditional guilds could not absorb this increase, which consequently forced craftsmen to find new lines of work outside of the city gates. In 1740 more than 75% of all artisans and handicraft industry lived outside the walls.

Johann Küchelbecker, a Thuringian Protestant who visited Vienna for eight months in 1727, attested to the changes in Vienna's physical and social environment in a 1730 account.4 Although this popular travel account most likely included unacknowledged borrowings from a 1705 journal, Küchelbecker's observations illuminate changes within Vienna.5 He described many of the important new buildings in detail, including Prince Eugene's Belvedere, and found the people to be boorish and insolent but deeply loyal to their prince.6 He expressed dismay over excessive indulgence in good food and drink by the common citizens, and that preachers failed to correct the city's sinful lewdness. The streets he found dirty, small, and dark but graced by

5Kasimir Freschot (or Fraichot), *Relationen Von dem Käyserlichen Hofe zu Wien* [Relations of Vienna's Imperial Court], (Cologne, 1705).
6These opinions appear verbatim in Freschot's account.
magnificent palaces and mansions. Although Vienna was smaller than Paris or London, he allowed it to compare favorably with both, and this despite the "horrid influence of the Jesuits."  

Küchelbecker's account suggested a degree of tumultuous behavior in Vienna during the 1730s. The polarization of wealth and poverty bred an environment for confrontation between the city magistrate and common citizens. For example, Johann Baptista Bevier, a palace guard, engaged in an "undesirable" business operation; out of his home he ran a tavern, gambling facility, and brothel. City officers who opposed the enterprise could not prohibit Bevier's business since he was a palace guard, and the court failed to order Bevier to cease his activities, perhaps owing to Bevier's support and popularity among common citizens. With the gradual influx of nobility in Vienna, the court developed advantages over city officials and common citizens.

The socio-cultural transition in Vienna during the early decades of the eighteenth century included the relocation of citizens who had comprised the audience that supported popular comedy on open market squares and in the Kärntnertortheater around 1700. An altered composition in Vienna's theatre audiences meant that members of court nobility, through their increased presence within the city proper, not only emerged as the chief patrons of the theatre, but also assumed control of theatrical entertainment in Vienna's Kärntnertortheater. Changes in the theatre's operations, in its physical space as well as in the

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7Spielman refers to Küchelbecker's observations. See 195-196.
8Suits against Bevier apparently end after 1710. See Spielman 181-183.
performances of two popular comic actors between 1726 and 1776, reflect the increasing involvement of court dignitaries over common citizens in Vienna’s first purpose-built theatre, the Kärntnertortheater.

The Kärntnertortheater: From Private Enterprise to Court Facility

From Stranitzky’s death in 1726 until the theatre reforms of Emperor Joseph II in 1776, three significant developments in the operation of the Kärntnertortheater occurred. First, court members rather than private citizens assumed the lease of the performance space. Second, the use of music in performance became increasingly popular. And third, improvisational comedy gradually declined, being replaced by scripted comedy in the repertoire. These developments, in turn, shaped the nature of Viennese popular comedy and the depiction of the lead comic character.

The first major change in management of the Kärntnertortheater following Stranitzky’s death in 1726 was his wife’s termination of the lease after two years of financial struggle. The assumption of the lease on 12 March 1728 by court ballet director Joseph Karl Selliers and Italian tenor Francesco Borosini reconnected the theatre and the court.9 Whereas Stranitzky had temporarily interrupted the relationship between Conte Pecori and the court by assuming the position of the

9J.E. Schlager, Wiener Theaterskizzen aus dem Mittelalter [Viennese Theatre History from the Middle Ages] (Vienna, 1839). Schlager reveals the following rents for the theatre: Stranitzky’s wife paid 2,000 Gulden in 1727; Selliers and Borosini paid 2,000 Gulden annually from 1728-1747; Baron de la Presti 2,200 Gulden annually from 1751-1752; and Franz Esterhazy and Giacomo Durazzo 2,200 Gulden annually from 1753 to 1761. They were required to pay only 894 Gulden in 1762 due to the fire in the theatre.
Kärntnertortheater's director, the contract with Selliers and Borosini directly tied the court with the theatre. In their twenty-year contract, Selliers and Borosini agreed to pay the court and the city one-third of annual profits.\textsuperscript{10} With the new arrangement, German comic actors now worked for Italian employers who also owned total performance rights in Vienna, with the exception of opera privileges owned by Francesco Ballerini.

During their twenty years of management, Selliers and Borosini introduced the element of music to the stage without infringing upon the opera rights of Ballerini. Within the Hanswurst plays, the directors offered musical interludes, illustrating an early form of \textit{Singspiel}, a combination of German song and dialogue. Many of the songs and music remain extant.\textsuperscript{11}

On 20 October 1740 Emperor Charles VI died, and the Kärntnertortheater remained closed for a mourning period of eight months, reopening on 3 April 1741. Maria Theresia (1717-1780) ascended the throne after the death of Charles VI to rule as for forty years.\textsuperscript{12} Under her reign, the court converted a tennis court adjacent to the Hofburg [royal court] into a court theatre, the


\textsuperscript{11}The major source for extant songs and music from this period is Max Pirker, ed., \textit{Teutsche Arien, Welche auf dem Kayserlich-priviligirten Wienerischen Theatro in unterschiedlich producirten Comoedien, deren Titul hier jedesmahl beygeruckt, gesungen worden} [German Arias, Which Appeared at the Imperial and Privileged Viennese Theatre in Various Musical Comedies, the Names of Which are Included], 2 vols., (Vienna: Strache, 1927, 1929).

\textsuperscript{12}Maria Theresia was crowned Queen of Hungary in 1741 and Queen of Bohemia in 1743. After she married Francis Stephan of Lorraine, who served as Habsburg Emperor between 1745 and 1765, she ruled as empress consort in 1745.
Burgtheater, on 14 March 1741, adding a second theatre facility in Vienna. The Kärntnertortheater also experienced new changes. At the end of his twenty-year contract in 1748, Selliers failed to gain an extension. A definitive explanation of Maria Theresia's refusal remains unrecorded, but three considerations might account for Selliers' failure: singers exhibited poor social manners in the eyes of the court; the city announced its desire as joint possessor because Sellier occasionally failed to meet financial obligations; and the court wished to emphasize scripted German drama over improvisational comedy. Regardless of the initial motive to deny Selliers an extension, court official Rochus (Rocco) Baron de Lo Presti (1704-1770), director of the Burgtheater since 22 December 1747, also assumed the same position at the Kärntnertortheater in April 1751. Under his supervision, the Burgtheater continued to stage Italian and French productions, and the Kärntnertortheater German productions; both theatres offered scripted drama.

In 1752 a major reorganization of Vienna's theatres occurred when Maria Theresia brought the Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater directly under the supervision of the Imperial court. Through officially banning improvisational performances in Vienna's theatres in 1752, she attempted to eliminate Viennese dialect and coarse language from the stage, following Gottsched's

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13 Hadamowsky 199-211.
15 Under Lo Presti's directorship, the Kärntnertortheater offered fewer Viennese Haupt- und Staatsaktionen with Hanswurst. See Zechmeister 342.
rules of elevated language in performance.16 With reorganization came the appointment of two new directors on 11 February 1752, Count Franz Esterhazy and Giacomo Durazzo, who decided all issues relating to repertoire and organization.17 Esterhazy eventually relinquished his duties fully in March 1753 to Durazzo, who remained in charge until 1764.

Between 1750 and 1770, many new, revolutionary changes developed in the theatre, including a new form of opera, led by the reforms of Christoph Willibald Gluck, and ballet, directed by Noverre; but, especially significant was the challenge to improvisational presentation, primarily against the comic popular actor Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz (1717-1784), by proponents of scripted performance.16

16Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), German playwright, critic, and essayist, and one of Germany's first significant men of letters. See Zechmeister 33.
17Franz Hadamowsky, "Das Spieljahr 1753/54 des Theaters nächst dem Kärntnerthor und des Theaters nächst der K.K. Burg: Ältester bisher bekannter Spielplan des Wiener Theaters mit Einnahmen und Ausgaben" ["The 1753/54 Theatre Season of the Kärntnertortheater and the Burgtheater: Oldest Known Repertoire of Vienna's Theatres, with Records for Revenue and Expenses"], Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung [Yearbook for the Society of Viennese Theatre Research] XI (1959) 4. Owing to the Imperial court's supervision of the two theatres during the mid-eighteenth century, court officials recorded information relating to general organizational matters and repertoire; these extant records provide the earliest comprehensive overview of German-language theatre. Records include a repertoire from 1753/1754; a few playbills; Pirker's collection of arias, Teutschen Arien [German Arias]; the first theatre almanac, Répertoire des Théâtres de la ville de Vienne [Repertoire of Viennese Theatres], which dates until 1757; several other almanacs that appear in 1772; occasional news articles and a few newspapers, which begin with Klemm's publication of Die Welt [The World] in 1762; the Wiennerisches Diarium [Viennese Diary], which records the Emperor's activities; and the diary from Count Carl Zinzendorf. With information from these sources, theatre historians are able to reconstruct the earliest operational procedures for theatre activity in Vienna.
18Franz Hadamowsky, "Leitung, Verwaltung und Ausübende Künstler des deutschen und französischen Schauspiels, der italienischen ernsten und heiteren Oper, des Balletts und der musikalischen Akademien am Burgtheater (Französischen Theater) und am Kärntnertortheater (Deutschen Theater) in Wien 1754-1764" ["Administration, Management, and Professional Artists of German and French Plays, Serious and Light Italian Opera, Ballet, and the Musical Academy of the Burgtheater (French Theatre)
The Kärntnertortheater suffered a major setback on 3 November 1761, when it burned to the ground, forcing the German actors to share the space of the Burgtheater with French troupes. Two years later the Kärntnertortheater reopened;¹⁹ but, Durazzo relinquished his lease to Count Wenzel Sporck in 1764.²⁰

When the theatre failed financially under Sporck's directorship, court officers requested permission from Maria Theresia to lease the Kärntnertortheater independently. By granting this request on 17 November 1765, the court relinquished its direct control over the enterprise; however, during the year 1766, the lease soon returned to court control when Franz Anton Hilverdlig von Wewen (1710-?), the royal ballet, decoration, and painting supervisor, purchased the lease.²¹ Hilverdlig reopened the theatre on 31 March 1766, with a Hanswurst play, Der einensinnige Herr und Hannswurst, der argwöhnische Diener [The Clever Master and Hannswurst, the Distrustful Servant].²²

Within a year the management of the theatre changed again. After suffering a lingering illness, Hilverdlig turned over his lease in 1767 to Guiseppe Afflisio,²³ who discovered that

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¹⁹ The theatre reopened on 9 July 1763 with the one-act play, Die Herstellung der deutschen Schaubühne zu Wien [The Restoration of Vienna's German Stage], from Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern (1711-1768).
²⁰ On 18 August 1765 Emperor Francis I died, closing the theatres for a period of mourning, which lasted eight months, until 31 March 1766. Maria Theresia's son Joseph II assumed the position as co-regent with the Empress until her death in 1780.
²¹ His father, Johann Baptist Hilverdlig, was Stranitzky's partner between 1717 and 1721; Stranitzky served as Hilverdlig's godfather.
²² This play was an adaptation of Jean Baptiste Rousseau's 1697 comedy Le capricieux.
²³ Joseph II's wife died on 28 May 1767, closing the theatre until 14 June.
improvisational theatre benefitted the overall operations of the *Kärntnertortheater* because it gave actors time to study and perfect interpretations of important literary dramas.\(^{24}\) Under Afflisio's directorship, the veteran actor of Viennese popular comedy, Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769), performed in the twilight of his career as one of Vienna's most beloved Hanswursts.\(^{25}\) Afflisio soon owned a monopoly over all theatrical performances in Vienna and its suburbs, including plays, opera, and ballets as well as holiday festivals. Afflisio's monopoly even extended to competition of comic theatre in the city's north district, the *Leopoldstadt*, which contributed part of its income to the entrepreneur.

Despite his monopoly over theatrical activity, mounting financial obligations forced Afflisio to relinquish his lease of the *Kärntnertortheater* to the city bank on 26 January 1769,\(^{26}\) although he continued to work as director at the *Burgtheater*.

Franz Heufeld next briefly assumed the role as director at the *Kärntnertortheater* for seven months\(^{27}\) until a banker named Bender received a grant from Maria Theresia to operate the theatre and produce German and French plays, Italian opera, and Noverre's ballet. Director of music Christoph Willibald Gluck suggested

\(^{24}\)Zechmeister 310.


\(^{27}\)Heufeld emphasized German-language, scripted drama over improvisational acting in his productions; he lost his lease, however, in September.
bringing Matthias Menninger's popular comic troupe *Baadner Gesellschaft* [The Acting Society of Baden], including comic actor Johann la Roche (1745-1806) as a comic rascal Kaspar, from the Vienna's suburb, the *Leopoldstadt* to the *Kärntnertortheater*. Gluck's suggestion would have reintroduced improvisational acting to Vienna's central theatres, but Christoph Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger, a veteran actor of scripted drama and later one of the executive board members of Joseph II's national theatre of 1776, opposed the idea, believing that extemporaneous theatre should be restricted to the suburbs.\(^{28}\)

Other court officials, including Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733-1817), quickly supported the relegation of "unartistic" improvisation to the suburbs.\(^{29}\) On 15 March 1770 he convinced Joseph II, co-regent with his mother Empress Maria Theresa, to ban extemporaneous acting in the theatre and to appoint himself as theatre censor. Under Sonnenfels' tenure as censor, a dramatist was required to give the censor fourteen days to read the work before publication or performance. If an artist failed to abide, the

\(^{28}\)Zechmeister 310.

\(^{29}\)Hilde Haider-Pregler, "Die Schaubühne als 'Sittenschule' der Nation: Josef von Sonnenfels und das Theater" ["The Stage as National 'Institution for Moral Instruction': Josef von Sonnenfels and the Theatre"], *Joseph von Sonnenfels*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1988) 191-244. Haider-Pregler documents Sonnenfels' efforts to build a theatre to develop strong moral convictions of Viennese citizens. Sonnenfels published articles in *Die Welt, Der Vertraute*, and *Der Mann ohne Vorurteil*. His early articles supported actors and their ability to create convincing, and entertaining characters on stage, but he later argued that popular comedy would not support the aims of moral development within society.
censor would send police to arrest the individual within twenty-four hours.30

While the court worked to secure the presence of scripted drama in the Kärntnertortheater, Count Johann Nepomuk Koháry purchased the theatre's lease on 23 February 1770.31 Koháry, however, encountered several pressures as leaseholder.32 After various creditors ran the theatre during the next few years, the major intervention of Emperor Joseph II as Theaterdirektor set the course of the theatre's repertory for the next two decades.

In 1776 Joseph II established the Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater as Kaiserlich-Königlich Nationaltheater [Imperial-royal National Theatres]. He designated the Kärntnertortheater as the site for foreign performances in all languages and genres and the Burgtheater for German-language entertainments. This arrangement lasted into the nineteenth century, when operas were removed from the repertoire of the Burgtheater, and the Kärntnertortheater became the Court Opera.

Thus, between 1726 and 1776 the Habsburg court effectively redefined the management and repertoire of the Kärntnertortheater. Although court members rather than private citizens assumed the theatre's lease for the most part during this period, the operations of the theatre remained unstable, as a large number of court

30Sonnenfels served as censor only until 13 October 1770, when Joseph II appointed to the position Lower Austrian official Franz Karl Hägelin, who served until 27 November 1804.
31Koháry appointed Franz Anton von Haring to serve as director from 1770 until Easter 1772. See Zechmeister 91.
32Sonnenfels pressured Koháry to produce scripted German plays; Koháry discovered that Afflisio had unpaid debts; and Koháry failed to earn profits at the box office.
members struggled to run the theatre. With the intervention of Emperor Joseph II, the court eventually relegated improvisational acting in Viennese popular comedy to Vienna’s surrounding suburbs. The Kärntnertortheater continued to stage German-language productions, but scripted drama gradually replaced improvisation. Although two actors of Viennese popular comedy, Gottfried Prehauser and Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz, continued to perform in the Kärntnertortheater, the court-operated theatre eventually eliminated this tradition from its stage by 1776.

The Structure of the Kärntnertortheater During the Mid-Eighteenth Century

The stars of the Kärntnertortheater during the mid-eighteenth century, comic actors Prehauser and Kurz, worked in the playhouse located near the Carinthian gate. In 1728 Prehauser performed within a facility that had forty-four box loges. Patrons primarily used the main entrance, although the building had three smaller entrances and fifteen emergency exits. Shortly after assuming their lease, Borosini and Sellier “added several beautiful decorations, enlarged the dressing room, added a ballet company, improved the orchestra, and enlarged the “actors society" through new membership.”

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33This section reconstructs the physical site of the Kärntnertortheater from extant prints and accounts from the mid-eighteenth century. Since few records attest to the physical nature of the Kärntnertortheater after the death of Stranitzky in 1726, a definitive reconstruction of the space eludes contemporary theatre historians. Various documents, in the form of diaries, general accounts, and architectural plans, illustrate select features of the theatre and the commitment of leaseholders to maintain an operating theatre.

34Zechmeister 20.

35Wenzel Josef Lembert, Historische Skizze der k.k. Hoftheater in Wien, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Schauspiels [History of the Imperial-Royal Court Theatre in Vienna, with Special Attention to German Performances]
The earliest account of the Kärntnertortheater's interior appears in 1730 from Johann Küchelbecker, who recorded his impressions of the theatre as well as company: "The theatre was not only large, spacious, well-lighted, and quite strikingly decorated, but the actors are for the most part good, and have beautiful and expensive costumes, which are provided by Mr. Borosini. The theatre offers relatively good male and female dancers, who occasionally dance ballet." He also observed that the appeal of German comedy-driven entertainment was changing: "Until now German comedies were mainly produced, but in the future Italian productions will be mixed in the repertoire."36

A second document, an entry into the imperial register, the Wiennerisches Diarium [Viennese Diary] dated 17 April 1737, attests to the commitment of improving productions: "In the . . . theatre by the Carinthian Gate the appropriate preparations for future productions during Easter and other comedies will be taken:


37 Pirchan 131: "Bis dahero hat man lauter deutsche Comedies produziert, künftighin sollen aber wechselweise auch italienische aufgeführt werden."
expensive costumes and other changes on this stage will be provided."38

The ground plan dated 13 March 1748 (see fig. 11) shows that the building measured 34.2 meters long and 17.1 meters wide; the auditorium 11.4 meters long and 9.5 meters wide; the orchestra pit 5.7 meters wide and 3.8 meters deep; and the stage 15.2 meters wide and 9.5 meters deep. The width of the proscenium arch was 7.6 meters. Occupying nearly one-third of the total building, the stage housed six sets of moveable wings, with over 1 meter between each wing. The first gallery contained twenty-two box loges.

The dimensions of the theatre suggest an intimate atmosphere. No patron sat more than 17 meters from the stage, allowing common citizens in the parterre to sit in close proximity to nobility in loges. During the mid-eighteenth century, however, Maria Theresia ordered that a separate cloak room for court members be built,39 a feature that discouraged interactions of the court with the general public. This change anticipated later renovations in the theatre, such as a separate entrance into the theatre for court members and designated seating for common citizens and court members within the theatre.

After the fire in 1761 court architect Nikolaus Pacassi rebuilt the theatre immediately on a plan almost identical to the

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38 *Wienerisches Diarium [Viennese Diary]*, 17 April 1737: "In dem altem kaiserl. privilegirten Theatro bey dem Kärntner-Thor werden die gehörigen Zubereitungen zu den künftigen anderten Oster-Feiertagen anwiederum neu angehenden Comödien gemacht und werden sonderlich kostbare Kleidungen und Veränderungen der hiesigen Schaubühne dazu verfertigt."
This illustration reveals several features of the Kärntnertortheater, including a stage with moveable flats, an orchestra pit, and box loges in the auditorium. This print is taken from the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [History Museum of the City of Vienna], NB-BA-72. 849 LW.

Fig. 11. The Kärntnertortheater, floorplan, [c. 1748].
original.\textsuperscript{40} When the new Kärntnertheater reopened on 9 July 1763, Pacassi converted space previously devoted to six loges in the first gallery into one large open section in the rear of the auditorium, resulting in additional space that accommodated more patrons. The new first gallery now had 18 loges, the second gallery 24, the third 11, and the fourth and fifth 10; the third, fourth, and fifth galleries were largely open sections (see fig. 12). Pacassi's construction offered fewer private loges and more sections for open seating. The new playhouse was "more beautiful and comfortable than it was before the fire. The imperial and royal court itself praised the present state of the theatre and declared its satisfaction of the well-equipped stage."\textsuperscript{41}

However, court official Sonnenfels, prior to becoming theatre censor, complained that: "[t]he rear of the stage remained practically unlit, since the modest lighting that burnt in the rear and along the sides of the auditorium did not allow one to see the box loges across the space." He had difficulty "seeing the actors through the thick smoke, which hung in a fog before the orchestra . . . What decorum, what civility, what proper spectacle appears in another playhouse [most likely the Burgtheater], one that clearly

\textsuperscript{40}Hadamowsky, Wien: Theatergeschichte 216.
\textsuperscript{41}Wiennerisches Diarium [Viennese Diary], no. 56, 13 July 1763: "Eben Samstags den 9. Juli Abends ist die hiesige deutsche Schaubühne in dem viel schöner und gemächlicher als er vor der Brunst war, aufgebauten Comoedien Haus bey dem Cärntnerthor, wiederum eröffnet worden... Der kaiserl. königl. Hof hat selbst das Theater seiner höchsten Gegenwart gewürdigt und ein vollkommene Zufriedenheit über desselben gute Einrichtung in dem Mechanischen, zu bezeugen geruht."
This illustration most likely comes after the reconstruction of the theatre in 1763. The notable features in the theatre include a tiered gallery with loges, parterre with benches and a rear standing area, orchestra pit, and proscenium stage. Caption under the illustration reads: "Ansicht von inern Prospekt der k.k.-national Theaters an der Kärntnerthor, Nr. 34" ["Interior View of the 'Imperial-Royal' Kärntnerthortheater, no. 34"]. Print is from the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [History Museum of the City of Vienna], in. 15.750.

Fig. 12. The Kärntnerthortheater, interior, [c. 1763].
had superior features! Lighting, orchestra, decorations, everything was enticing.\textsuperscript{42}

Nearly ten years after the \textit{Kärntnertortheater}'s reconstruction in 1763, Viennese actor Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller (1738-1815) described the specific measurements of the parts of the theatre, which was also equipped with a fire fighting system and machinery under the stage. The reconstructed stage, 21 metres wide, 15 metres deep, and 14 metres high, was 5.8 metres wider and 5.5 metres deeper than the old one:

There are three floors 3 metres apart from one another for hanging the curtains and backdrops and for working the flying machines. In order to have sufficient water needed in case of fire, there are four large copper pans on these floors, each of which holds 56 buckets in which rainwater is collected by means of a gutter, the surplus draining off through hosepipes. There is a well on the stage itself. The curtains and backdrops are 13 metres high and 12 metres wide. The wings are 9 metres high, and four are 1 1/2 metres wide. The stage floor can be opened in thirteen different places for the production of machines and for traps. . . . Here there are three compartments, too, which are 3 metres away from each other, from where the machinery in the cellar and the wings are operated. There are two large copper water vats here as well.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Der Vertraute} [The Confidant], 6 February 1765: “Der Hintertheil der Bühne war fast unbeleuchtet, denn die Sparsamen Lichter, die zu unterst an der Rückwand, und den beiden Seitenwänden brannten, machten nicht hell genug, sich gegenüber aus den Logen zu erkennen. Mit Noth sah ich die Schauspieler durch den dichten Rauch hindurch, der gleich einem Nebel neben dem Orchestra aufstieg. . . . Welcher Anstand, welche Höflichkeit, welch gesittetes Betragen herrschte hingegen in einem andern Schauspielhause, so nun das erste verdrungen hatte! Beleuchtung, Orchestra, Verzierungen, alles war einladend.” The motivation of Sonnenfels’ displeasure remains unclear since he may have reacted to inferior conditions of the \textit{Kärntnertortheater} or merely judged the theatre’s repertoire of improvisational comedy as inferior.

\textsuperscript{43}This description from Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller’s \textit{Genaue Nachrichten von beyden Kaiserlich-Königlichen Schaubühnen und anderen Ergötzlichen in Wien} [Precise Information Concerning both Imperial and Royal Theatres and other
Müller also notes the accommodations for members of the company:

On the first floor of the house adjacent to the theatre which the management has rented and opened up to the theatre, there are five spacious rooms where the actors meet and get dressed, and a room where a part of the wardrobe and other theatrical properties are kept. The dancers have seven dressing rooms in the theatre. The box-keeper and a wardrobe assistant have their apartments in the theatre.44

Dr. Charles Burney, an English visitor to Vienna between 30 August and 5 September 1772, left his impression of the interior of the theatre, the scenery, and the music:

The height makes it seem short, yet, at the first glance, it is very striking; it does not appear to have been very lately painted, and looks dark; but the scenes and decorations are splendid. The stage had the appearance of being oval, which, whether it was produced by deception or reality, had a pleasing effect, as it corresponded with the other end of the theatre, which was rounded off at the corners, and gave an elegant look to the whole. The orchestra had a numerous band, and the pieces which were played for the overture and act-tunes, were very well performed, and had an admirable effect.45

Burney also noted that the theatres "of Florence and Milan, are, at least, twice as big as this at Vienna, which is about the size of our great opera-house, in the Hay-market [in London]."46

At one of the performances, Burney had the opportunity to observe the royal family, including the Emperor, the Arch-duke

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44Brandt 86-87.
46Scholes 75.
Maximilian, his brother, and his two sisters, the Arch-duchesses, Marianne, and Mary Elizabeth:

The box, in which they sat, was very little distinguished from the rest; they came in and went out with few attendants, and without parade. The Emperor is of a many fine figure, and has a spirited and pleasing countenance; he often changes his place at the opera, to converse with different persons, and frequently walks about the streets without guards, seeming to shun, as much as possible, all kinds of unnecessary pomp. His imperial majesty was extremely attentive during the performance of the opera, and applauded the Baglione several times very much.47

The elaborate renovation of the theatre necessitated the court to set relatively high admission charges. General prices for the theatre in 1772 were 44 Kreuzer in the front parterre, 22 Kreuzer in rear parterre, and 16 Kreuzer in the galleries.48 These expensive fees evidently did not deter audiences from attending the theatre. Between 1773 and 1776, 90,000 seats were occupied annually (100,000 seats including complimentary tickets), by 12,000 different visitors, or 520 per performance.49 On average, the Kärntnertortheater filled to nearly 80% of capacity, compared with the Burgtheater that achieved only 20% of capacity. Around 1770 the Kärntnertortheater clearly enjoyed great popularity with

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47Scholes 85; Brandt 87-88; and Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces, vol. 2 (London: Becket, Robson & Robinson, 1773) 241, 243-44.


49Schindler 89-94.
large audiences consisting of people with sufficient income to afford the high admission charges.

The Kärntnertortheater of the late-eighteenth century was hardly a modest-appearing venue for popular improvisational comedy. With Emperor Joseph II's conversion of the theatre into an "imperial-royal" national theatre, the Kärntnertortheater evolved into an extension of Habsburg rule. The Kärntnertortheater's changing management, repertoire, and physical space during this period did not provide the performers the security and stability afforded by Stranitzky's tenure as manager. Moreover, the institutional changes, primarily the court's acquisition of the lease, also meant that actors had to compromise the performance tradition of popular Viennese comedy. The two major actors of popular comedy, Prehauser and Kurz, responded to the court's control of the theatre differently.

Comic Actors Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769) and Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz (1717-1783)

If one moment could insure the continued success of Viennese popular theatre at the Kärntnertortheater, it was Stranitzky's introduction of Gottfried Prehauser on 26 August 1725 as his successor to a full house, as reported by an anonymous eyewitness:

One evening, at the conclusion of a performance, the old comedian entered with a serious, celebrative gesture before the ramp and delivered the following address in a subdued, almost urgent tone to the surprised audience: "Would you please, honored guests, grant a favor to the old man, who has provided you with many entertaining evenings?" Everyone called "Yes, yes!" Stranitzky then lead a patiently-waiting man to the stage and before the lights, from where he called: "Then accept please this man as my successor; I can find no
actor more gifted to assume my position." Complete silence overtook the theatre. Suddenly Prehauser fell to one knee and with folded hands and a shivering voice pleaded: "Gentlemen! For God’s sake, please laugh at me!" Immediately laughter of one hundred voices showered on the new comedian, and Prehauser’s success was insured.  

Stranitzky’s presentation and endorsement of Prehauser to the public was not a hasty decision. Prehauser’s qualifications developed from nearly nine years of experience performing in several cities before he arrived in Vienna. He reputedly began his career as an itinerant actor in 1716 and within a year joined a troupe performing marionette plays in Vienna’s market auf der Freyung. Prehauser worked with established actors, such as Catharina Elisabeth Felder, the widow of German actor Johannes Velten (1640-1695). In 1717 Prehauser toured to several Austrian and Bavarian cities, including Wiener Neustadt, Ödenburg, Eisenstadt, Brünn, Linz, Prague, Salzburg, Ulm, as well as Augsburg, where he may also have spent time in jail due to failure of paying his debts. In 1720 he presented his own version of Hanswurst in

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51 The major collection of information on the life and early career of Prehauser is taken from Monika Baar-de Zwaan, “Gottfried Prehauser und seine Zeit” [“Gottfried Prehauser and His Time”], diss., University of Vienna, 1968.

52 Baar-de Zwaan 47.
Salzburg. By 1722 he was leading his own company and traveled to Vienna, where Stranitzky formally presented him to the Karntnertortheater audience on 26 August 1725.

Prehauser did not rely solely on the role of Hanswurst as a servant. Fellow actor Müller commented that Prehauser could skillfully present Hanswurst in a variety of roles, in contrast to Stranitzky's Hanswurst, who usually played a servant: "If it was necessary to exaggerate or to parody, he did so with conviction and clever reasonableness. The intrigue of burlesques often required that Hanswurst assume the costume and actions of important people; in such cases he did exaggerate, but always with the most suitable and artistic manner. During the last years of his life, he responded to various publications, which attacked the 'green hat and jacket' of Hanswurst, by performing without the 'mask'; here, too, he demonstrated great skill and received applause."53

The difference in the presentation between Stranitzky's and Prehauser's Hanswurst may derive, in part, from the actors' backgrounds: whereas Stranitzky came most likely from the

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province of Styria, Prehauser was Viennese, and his Hanswurst assumed the appearance of a Viennese citizen. Stranitzky included several endearing references to Vienna, but his Hanswurst remained more rural than Prehauser's clown. The physical comedy and beatings of the earlier Haupt- und Staatsaktionen gave way to comedies of situation under Prehauser.

Extant scripts from the early eighteenth century do not represent complete performances; however, excerpts from two pieces reveal the nature of Prehauser's Hanswurst: Die Braut von ohngefähr [The Bride from Somewhere] and Hans Wurst, der traurige Küchelbäcker, und sein Freund in der Noth [Hans Wurst, the Sad Cake Baker, and His Friend in Need].

In Die Braut von ohngefähr, Hanswurst portrays a military officer. Although he initially demonstrates bravery and confidence, a refrain in his aria more accurately captures his attitude toward war: brave soldiers will ultimately meet death, but cowardly soldiers will live on.

The play presents two pairs of lovers, Moccolo and Dulcinde, Hanswurst and Columbine. Columbine is distraught because she fears Hanswurst will not return from war. When he returns, however, Hanswurst reveals his desire for Dulcinde, but realizes he

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54 For plot summaries of plays discussed in this section, see Appendix B.
55 One of the few sources for Prehauser's works is Pirker's Teutschen Arien [German Arias] (1927), a collection of sung arias unfortunately without accompanying dialogue. These lyrics are written in high German, with minimal Viennese dialect.
56 "Und wenngleich Kugel, Spieß und Schwerdt/ Ihm selber durch den Brustfleck fährt, / So fraget doch ein Held nichts drum / Und setzt sich mit dem Tod herum. / Er schreit: / Bei bum bum bum und trat ra ra / Wann er krepiert, Victoria!" ["And when bullet, spear, and sword/ travels through one's breastplate,/ a hero has no response / other than to meet death. / He cries: / Bei bum bum bum und trat ra ra / When the hero crawls, however, victory is his!"]
cannot attain her because of his inferior status; finally he accepts his position as a servant and willingly takes Columbine’s hand. The work appeared as a mid-eighteenth-century *Singspiel*, a musical play form that was popular with the general public of Vienna.

The second piece, *Hans Wurst, der traurige Küchelbäcker, und sein Freund in der Noth*, presents the hard working baker Hanswurst opposite the lazy Taddäus. The play depicts Hanswurst’s employer, the wealthy and kind-hearted merchant Gutherz, who hires an ambitious handworker Leni and maid Gretle. Gutherz’s cousin Taddäus arrives to request the hand of Leni in marriage, but his true design is to gain some of Gutherz’s riches for himself. Gutherz learns of Taddäus’ dishonesty and laziness and denies Taddäus’ request. The play concludes with Gutherz marrying Leni and the cake baker Hans Wurst marrying Gretle.

Prehauser’s play remains generally free from coarse language found in Stranitzky’s pieces; sexual innuendo of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* concede to playful romance in Prehauser’s scripts. His Hanswurst appears as a versatile, hard-working merchant, a deviation from the lazy, immature rogue in Stranitzky’s works.

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57The published edition of this play housed in Vienna’s *Theatersammlung* [Theatre Collection] lists only the complete title of the piece: *Hans Wurst, der traurige Küchelbäcker, und sein Freund in der Noth*, von Gottfried Prehauser. Ein hier noch nie gesehene, für diesen Tag besonders eingerichtetes kritisches und sehr komisches, lirthreich und lustiges Freudenspiel, von Verfasser der Wirthin mit der schönen Hand. (zum ersten Male aufgeführt in Wien im Jahre 1729) [Hans Wurst, the Sad Cake Baker, and His Friend in Need, From Gottfried Prehauser. A Critical, Very Funny, Thoughtful, and Entertaining Play Not Yet Seen Here, Written Especially for This Occasion]. In Otto Rommel, *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theaters bis zum Tode Nestroys* [The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy] (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952), Rommel states that this piece is an “occasion” piece, for New Year’s Day, from the nineteenth century. Although Prehauser’s name appears in the title, Rommel does not credit the play to him. See 712.
Aristocrats in Stranitzky’s plays give way to merchants and “good-hearted” leaders in those of Prehauser. Fraudulent masters, like Taddaüs, go unrewarded, whereas industrious workers receive praise. Prehauser’s Hanswurst charmed and created laughter but seldom offended.58

Prehauser’s works are strikingly different from Stranitzky’s plays. Instead of improvisation, Prehauser’s pieces contain exposition, prescribed lyrics and dialogue. Stranitzky’s Hanswurst spoke directly to the audience, frequently through the use of asides, whereas Prehauser’s clown seldom stepped out of character. Stranitzky’s crude peasant usually appeared as a servant in each play, but Prehauser’s Hanswurst most often played a craftsman or an officer in various circumstances. Prehauser incorporated music, perhaps the first regular Singspiel, and a version of ensemble acting with Italian actors in popular Viennese comedy.59

Stranitzky’s emphasis on improvisation and playful behavior did not vanish from the Viennese stage altogether. The presence of Italian comic characters in the Kärntnertortheater after the death of Stranitzky motivated German actors to create their own popular,

58Rommel 369.
and profitable, stage characters. Johann Josef Felix von Kurz (1717-1784), who first appeared in Vienna in 1737, continued the legacy of Stranitzky's Hanswurst most visibly through the role of Bernardon, a clown with an enormous appetite for food, sex, and adventure. He rivaled Prehauser's Hanswurst, mostly with elaborate spectacle, since he entertained with "machines, fireworks, arias, disguises, flying apparatus, child pantomime, and other delicious morsels, which pleased the audience." 

Kurz worked as both a dramatist and actor. His first period of performance in Vienna was between 1737 and 1740. After the death of Emperor Charles VI in 1740 and closure of Vienna's theatres for eight months, Kurz traveled to Frankfurt and Dresden between 1741 and 1744. In the summer of 1744, Kurz and his wife, Franziska Toskani, returned to Vienna, where he established his stage character Bernardon to audiences at the Kärntnertortheater.

The following scene reveals Bernardon's seduction of Isabella, a seduction that resembles the sexual appetite of Stranitzky's Hanswurst:

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60 Lembert 9.
61 Lembert 10-11: "[His plays included] Maschinen, Feuerwerk, Arien, Verkleidungen, Flugwerken, Kinderpantomimen und ähnlichen Lockpeisen ausstattete, die das Publikum in Massen anzogen." Lembert adds that Kurz profited from his spectacle: dramatists received 3 Gulden for a burlesque and 6 Gulden for a burlesque with arias, while actors received increased payments for sight gags, such as 6 Gulden for a sung aria, 1 Gulden for "flying through the air" or jumping into water, and 34 Kreuzer for taking hits, a blow to the head, or a kick.
62 Kurz's repertoire was built around extemporized comedy. The many titles he played, including main plays and afterpieces, can be found in the Viennese repertoires presented by Rommel, Blümmi, and Zechmeister. See David G. John, The German Nachspiel in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 59.
I have an insatiable appetite; you can hear my stomach roar with rebellion and warning. I think I will meet the light-of-my-life Columbine in the dark by the steps; she, too, will receive a swelling that will first appear in nine months. What should I do? I will go to Miss Isabella and satisfy my appetite and consummate my ‘exterior’ love. There she is. Allow Bernardon to shower your eloquence; certainly my desire to begin a relationship with you is most sincere. Moreover, we are next to my bedroom and here stands a comfortable sofa. Dearest mistress! In keeping with sentiment, even the mortality from the stars’ firmament, the bright sun at dawn and Julius Caesar, the famous philosopher, no less Alexander, the stoic instructor of love, I say to you, my thoughts transcend through the clouds, the rays of sun of mortal mortality, happiness, joy, rapture, voluptuousness, and amusement, the depths of my infatuated heart, through love and tenderness along Cupid’s path always and on the hot bed of my heart.63

Bernardon’s interchangeable hunger and sexual appetite recall the forces that similarly drove Stranitzky’s Hanswurst.

Kurz’s second stay in Vienna, between 1744 and 1753, proved to be a productive period for both his family and theatrical career. He fathered eight children between 1745 and 1753 and performed

in his most popularly successful plays. In his play *Bernardon, der 30jährige ABC Schütz* [Bernardon, the Thirty-Year-Old Infantile Protector], Bernardon shared the stage with several other comic characters, including Hanswurst, Leopoldl, and Colombine.\(^6^4\) Unscripted actions of these comic characters superceded the plot development.

Not every viewer appreciated the antics of Bernardon and his peers. Court official Sonnenfels complained that:

> For a very long time there was nothing on the stage except Bernardon’s misadventures [his infantility, mistakes, marriage], in a word, Bernardon’s “life and death,” bringing the ruin of the best writers through meager parodies; these works represented the complete repertoire of the theatre—and the theatre was always full. One advantage for the actors was that these productions paid well. Features like flying, arias, and slapstick garnered additional financial compensation. Obviously actors chose to sing frequently, fly often, and tolerate physical abuse on stage, and plays were written accordingly.\(^6^5\)

In lamenting the financial success of extemporaneous actors at the expense of skilled dramatists, Sonnenfels frowned on the reemergence of improvisation and *Singspiel* over scripted drama.

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\(^6^4\)This play dates between 1745 and 1752. Raab provides a plot summary. Ferdinand Raimund’s *Bauer als Millionär* [Farmer as Millionaire] from 1826 uses a plot structure similar to Kurz’s play.

\(^6^5\)Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Briefe über die deutsche Schaubühne* [Letters on the German Stage] (Vienna, 1768): “Eine ganze sehr geraume Zeit war nun nichts auf der Bühne als Bernardons Unglücksfälle, Bernardon der 30jährige ABC-Schütz, Bernardon’s Versprechen, Heirath, mit einem Worte Bernardons Leben und Tod, wo manchmal sich die besten Dichter in den erbärmlichsten Parodien mussten verhunzen lassen, war der ewige Inhalt der Theatervorstellungen—und die Schaubühne war immer zum Erdrücken voll.—Den Vortheil der Schauspieler in Erwägung gezogen, waren die Bernardonischen Komödien nach den Grundsätzen übermächtster Oekonomie verfertigt. Denn Fliegen, die Arien, eine Maulschelle wurden dem Schauspieler unter dem Namen: ‘Nebengefälle’ besonders bezahlt. Es war also natürlich, dass ein Schauspieler sich und dem Seinigen viel zu singen, viel zu fleigen gab und seine Stücke auf Maulschellen arbeitete, wovon er sich gewiss die meisten zuschrieb.”
The renovations at the Kärntnertortheater completed in 1748 encouraged more elaborate stage spectacle, resulting in one of Kurz’s most popular pieces, Der neue krumme Teufel [The New Crooked Devil]. This play required extravagant staging and machine effects, including numerous scene changes and transformations. Traditional Italian conventions of intermezzi, short interludes between acts of a longer play, were notable features of this piece. With a loose theme of “like and like belong together,” Kurz transformed the stage into a world of magical adventure through his use of machine effects. Although the theme encouraged living within appropriate means, the entertainment depended largely on scenery and music.

With the changes in the operations of the Kärntnertortheater, including Maria Theresia’s ban on extemporaneous pieces in 1752, Kurz moved to Prague during the following year. When he returned to Vienna in 1754, he appeared at the Kärntnertortheater in another unscripted play, Der aufs neue begeisterte und belebte Bernardon [The Newly Inspired and Alive Bernardon]. The piece includes a variety of songs and magical scenes utilizing fully the stage resources. Evidently, Kurz was able to perform despite the ban on improvisational acting.

66 John documents and analyzes a Nachspiel [afterpiece] from Kurz, Der falsche Verdacht [The False Suspicion], which he dates 1750. John emphasizes a didactic function of the piece: “The moral message of aufrichtigkeit [sincerity], as well as the practical one of vernunft [rationality], was evidently meant for the audience to take seriously.” See 93.
68 With the court’s ban on improvisation, the reason for his move to Prague, a Habsburg court, and return to Vienna remains unexplained.
Another typical Kurz play followed in 1756, *Neue Tragödie betitult: Bernardon, die getreue Prinzessin Pumphia, und Hanswurst, der tyrannische Tartar-Kulikan* [A New Tragedy Entitled: Bernardon, the Devoted Princess Pumphia, and Hanswurst, the Tyrant], again featuring improvisation and unscripted actions. Kurz left Vienna in 1760 and toured for nine years, including visits in Prague, Pressburg, Munich, Nuremburg, Frankfurt, Mainz, Mannheim, and Cologne.\(^6^9\)

After an unsuccessful return to Vienna in 1769, Kurz toured in Danzig and Warsaw;\(^7^0\) he ended his career in Vienna between 1781 and 1783, his fifth stay.\(^7^1\)

Kurz's unstable tenure as professional actor in Vienna for almost fifty years between 1737 and 1783 reflects the court's attempts to eliminate improvisation from the stage and promote scripted performances. Although the *Kärntnertortheater* previously had served as a venue for German improvisational comedy during Stranitzky's reign as director, court members, who became leaseholders beginning in 1728, forced the comic character Bernardon outside of Vienna. Kurz evidently received enough support, however, from Viennese patrons, court members and common citizens, to reestablish from time to time his presence in the *Kärntnertortheater*.\(^7^2\) Kurz embodied the spirit of

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\(^6^9\)Raab 165.
\(^7^0\)*Der unruhige Reichtum* [The Unsettling Kingdom of Riches], 1770, with the comic character Kaspar.
\(^7^1\)Raab 59.
\(^7^2\)Bernardon's language and movements suggest a freedom to mock even the manners of wealthy patrons in the loges who enjoyed the show as much as any other group. See John 62.
extemporization in the eighteenth century; his appeal to all
classes, his emphasis of spectacle over plot, and most of all, the
sheer brilliance of his improvisation are features that pleased
patrons of Viennese popular comedy and infuriated supporters of
scripted drama, such as court official Sonnenfels.73

Prehauser's Hanswurst and Kurz's Bernadon

Prehauser's and Kurz's comic appearances provided the most
popular forms of theatre in the Kärntnertortheater. Their
popularity is evident in the repertoire of the Kärntnertortheater
between the years 1747 and 1776, a repertoire that consists
almost exclusively of German-language spoken drama, including
comedy and tragedy (see fig. 13). Of the over 850 productions,
German-language performance dominated, with comedy and
Lustspiel comprising nearly two-thirds of the total.

Between 1752 and 1765, the Kärntnertortheater offered
twice as many German comedies annually as the Burgtheater
offered French comedies; for example, during the 1756/1757
season the Kärntnertortheater staged 237 German comedies while
the Burgtheater offered 120 French comedies.74 The chart
statistics show that during this period the Kärntnertortheater was
the home for improvisational comedy and the Burgtheater for
foreign productions.

73John 62.
74Between 1747 and 1776, the Burgtheater staged about 35 German productions, with
over 10 of these occurring within a six-year period between 1747 and 1752. Over
80% of the theatre's repertoire consisted of Italian and French productions. See
Zechmeister 47.
Repertoire of the *Kärntnerstheater*, 1747-1776

<table>
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<th>1763-1769</th>
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<td><strong>430</strong></td>
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<td><strong>114</strong></td>
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</table>

Source: Gustav Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnerst von 1747 bis 1776* [Vienna’s Theatre of the Court and next to the Carinthian Gate] (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1971) 399-562, 577-578. This graphic reveals the frequent productions of comedies during the mid-eighteenth century. The chart indicates a rise in the number of *Lustspiel* [scripted comedies] and a decline in the number of improvisational comedies after 1763. Court tastes account for the emergence of ballet during the period after 1752 and in the rise of foreign productions, Italian and French, after 1770.

Fig. 13. Table of repertoire in the *Kärntnerstheater*, 1747-1776.
The mid-eighteenth century ushered in challenges to the depiction of the Hanswurst character as performed originally by Stranitzky in the Kärntnertortheater only a generation earlier. These challenges came from several sources. On a social level, the growth of the middle class in the suburbs and the influx of court nobility within Vienna proper reformulated the population living near to the Kärntnertortheater, whereas Stranitzky performed in a city with a large population of common citizens, Prehauser and Kurz produced plays in a city with mostly court patrons.

The operations of the Kärntnertortheater gradually reflected the interests of court nobility after Stranitzky's death. When court members maintained the lease contracts, the repertoire expanded to include Italian troupes, from which a form of ensemble acting emerged in comic theatre. Musical productions, such as Singspiel, intermezzi, opera, and ballet, enhanced by a stage equipped to facilitate rapid scene changes, grew in popularity. And, most significantly, through the initial efforts of proponents of scripted performance, such as Gottsched in Germany and Sonnenfels in Vienna who both fueled the growth of text-based productions through court censorship, scripted texts superceded improvisational acting.

Even the physical space within the Kärntnertortheater became reapportioned, as court nobility designated particular areas for its own use. Relatively high admission fees during the 1770s relegated the audience to patrons who could afford the charge.

A redefinition of performance space, in this case a reorganization of Viennese society, the theatre as institution, and
the physical space of the theatre, including both the auditorium and stage house, contributed in shaping the depiction of the lead comic character in the productions of Prehauser and Kurz. Although his physical appearance resembled Stranitzky’s character, Prehauser’s Hanswurst retreated from a depiction as a rude and cunning rogue and to one that demonstrated hard work, perseverance, and comic innocence. The volatile nature of Stranitzky’s Hanswurst continued, however, in the character of Kurz’s Bernardon, who continued to present coarse, yet entertaining images on stage. The Kärntnertortheater, the same performance venue that welcomed and supported German popular comedy, became the space to drive the tradition back to wandering troupes, such as that of Kurz to other cities, and eventually into the Viennese suburbs.75

Local patrons of Viennese popular comedy did not retreat from the court-managed Kärntnertortheater without responding to the theatre’s transition to scripted texts. Unlike veteran improvisational actors like Kurz, who resisted following scripted dialogue and thus endured a career of traveling, other artists of popular comedy, including actors and dramatists, attempted to compromise traditional extemporaneous performance to suit the conventions of mid-eighteenth-century theatre operations. A dramatist who succeeded in presenting a Hanswurst character acceptable for court directors was Philipp Hafner (1731-1764). Through Hafner’s efforts, Hanswurst remained a stock character in

75 Kurz’s return to traveling theatre did not represent a true wandering troupe tradition, since he played in other theatre houses; but the security that Stranitzky enjoyed was lost to Kurz through the court’s banishment.
the Kärntnertortheater, albeit as figure without the liberties of improvisation.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE KÄRNTNERTORTHEATER AND HANSWURST
UNDER THE REFORMS OF PHILIPP HAFNER (1735-1764)

Regarded as the "Father of Viennese Popular Theatre," the "Viennese Shakespeare," the "Classicist of Viennese Popular Comedy," "Plautus of the Eighteenth Century," and the "German Molière," Philipp Hafner (1735-1764) added a new dramatic structure to the repertoire of Viennese popular comedy, comedies of manners that lightly satirized the social customs of the Viennese by rewarding wise characters and mildly punishing foolish figures.¹ These *Lokalstücke* [pieces with local idiom] presented recognizable middle-class citizens and a modified Hanswurst, who changed from the rough peasant rogue of Stranitzky to a solid and sturdy, middle-class companion.

Hafner's middle-class characters are depictions of figures in a society familiar to him and his family. His father, Philipp Wilhelm Hafner, worked as a court herald at the imperial court chancellery in Vienna,² and from an early age Hafner came in

²Hafner's father worked at the *Reichshofkanzlei* [imperial court chancellery] at two different locations in Vienna, on *Schauflergasse* and *Naglergasse* (two streets in Vienna).
contact with important figures at the Habsburg court. Following the career of his father, Hafner reputedly prepared to study law at a Jesuit high school, or Gymnasium.

While continuing his studies at the University of Vienna, he probably met his friend and future publisher Joseph von Kurzböck. Hafner found employment as Beisitzer [associate judge] of the Viennese Court. Beginning in 1755, he turned to a more artistically creative outlet, writing and producing plays, which Kurzböck published posthumously in editions between 1764 and 1782.

Although he appeared better prepared for a career in law, Hafner demonstrated talent as a dramatist and lyricist and apparently instinctive abilities as an actor. Since he limited his "acting" to informal occasions in local taverns with close friends, Hafner became the first comic playwright of Viennese popular theatre who did not act professionally.

When Maria Theresia banned extemporaneous acting in Vienna on 11 February 1752, specifically the stage of Kurz and his character Bernardon, and promoted structured French, Italian, and Spanish productions, Hafner found himself in the middle of debate between traditional improvisation and radical theatre reform. As one who valued the Viennese comic traditions, Hafner recognized a necessity to script traditional improvisation in order to insure Hanswurst's survival. He submitted in 1755 to Friedrich Wilhelm

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3In Ernst Alker, Philipp Hafner: Ein Altwiener Komödiendichter [Philipp Hafner: an Old-Viennese Comic Dramatist] (Vienna, 1923), Alker refers to a frequently cited incident that suggests Hafner possessed suitable acting skills. One night while dining in a local restaurant, Hafner feigned drunkenness to gain a kiss from a young girl who was dining with her father. See viii-ix.

4Auat 68-72.
Weiskern (1711-1768), the Director of German Productions in the Kärntnertortheater, an anonymous letter, *Brief eines neuen Komödienschreibers an einen Schauspieler [A Letter to an Actor from a New Comic Dramatist]*, in which Hafner presented himself as a dramatist capable of writing for the Kärntnertortheater and saving Hanswurst.5

With this correspondence, Hafner passionately argued that improvisational actors needed to perform from scripts or they would risk banishment from performing in Vienna, banishment that would dissolve Hanswurst and Viennese popular comedy.6 Hafner probably angered many veteran comic performers because in his anonymously written letter he attacked the inflexibility of extemporaneous actors to change their practices and perform from scripted texts. Presenting himself as a master of improvisational theatre, Hafner submitted with the letter a manuscript consisting of twenty scenes for traditional comic characters, including Hanswurst, Colombine, Scapin, and Odoardo. He illustrated the triteness of improvisation by reducing the actors' *lazzi* to mere instructions for entering and exiting the stage. Although he attacked Viennese improvisational actors, Hafner’s correspondence with Weiskern appears to be an attempt to rescue the conventional

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6Zeman 1311.
stage characters, specifically Hanswurst, from the censor through improved playscripts.

Hafner not only fought to convince improvisational actors to perform from scripted texts, but he also argued against Viennese journal publishers who wanted to ban traditional improvisational characters altogether. An example of strong opposition to Hanswurst theatre was evident five years later, in a 1760 publication by Josef Heinrich von Engelschall, who called for a ban of Hanswurst, Bernardon, and all traditional comic characters from Viennese popular comedy.7 In this essay, he asserts that audiences should attend the theatre to discover necessary morals or ethics for social improvement, an aim conventional comic characters failed to endorse.

Hafner responded immediately to Engelschall's arguments in the publication Der Freund der Wahrheit [The Friend of Truth].8 Hafner claimed that improvisation held greater social importance than the lackluster theatre of "empty-headed" reformers because extemporaneous theatre made audiences laugh at the follies of the characters. Hafner refused to sacrifice comedy and laughter for manipulative moralizing; he emphasized comic characterization over contrived circumstances.9 At the same time, Hafner conceded that Vienna's stages craved discriminating scripts.

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7 Josef Heinrich von Engelschall, Zufällige Gedanken über die deutsche Schaubühne zu Wien [Casual Thoughts about the German Stage in Vienna] (Vienna, 1760).
8 Zeman 1311. During 1760, Hafner's scripted plays began to appear on stage; he evidently succeeded in convincing improvisational comic actors to work from scripts.
Hafner evidently garnered enough support from the actors and administrators of the Kärntnertortheater to gain a position at the theatre as dramatist during the 1760s, when his plays begin to appear on stage. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to enjoy the successes of his scripted texts. After only two years of writing for the Kärntnertortheater, he became ill in July 1764 and soon died from a lung infection, perhaps brought about by excessive drinking. Hafner’s work, which marks the transition from conventional improvisation to scripted performance, nevertheless, provided an important development in Vienna’s, even Europe’s theatrical history.

Hafner’s Plays

The public facilities of taverns and inns, intimate middle-class environs, undoubtedly shaped Hafner’s choice of material and dramatic characters. Before his success in the Kärntnertortheater during the 1760s, Hafner became known as a convivial social companion in informal gatherings. His collection of droll naïveté and jokes entertained small circles of trusted friends. For his stage, he reputedly placed a few chairs at both sides of a room with candles on the floor separating the audience from the stage. Hafner convincingly transformed this crude performance site into a stage for him to tell comic stories.\(^{10}\)

Hafner’s dramatic works consist of two one-act plays and eight longer pieces.\(^{11}\) It was during the last years of his short life

\(^{10}\)Alker v.

\(^{11}\)This study presents Hafner’s six longer plays that include Hanswurst. For detailed plot summaries of plays discussed in this section, see Appendix C.
that he provided scripts that replaced traditional improvisation, or 
lazzi, for Vienna's Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater. His 
scripts revolved around traditional figures, including Hanswurst, 
played by Prehauser; Odoardo, a foolish father character played by 
Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern; Scapin, a rival to Hanswurst; and 
Colombine, a love interest of Hanswurst. Of his ten dramatic 
works, Hanswurst appears in six:

1760/1762: Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo, oder 
Hannswurst und Crispin die lächerlichen Schwester von Prag [Odoardo, Who is 
Tormented by Three Sons-in-Law, or Hannswurst and Crispin, the Ridiculous Sisters 
from Prague], a Posse [scripted comedy] performed in the Kärntnertortheater.

1762: Die reisenden Komödianten, oder der gescheitete und dämisiche 
Impressionen [The Travelling Comedians, or Clever and Demonic Impressions], a one-
act comedy performed in the Burgtheater; Hanswurst does not appear in this piece.

1762/1763: Megára, probably premiered in the Burgtheater.

1763: Die dramatische Unterhaltung unter guten Freunden [Dramatic 
Entertainment among Good Friends], a one-act comedy performed in the Burgtheater; 
Hanswurst does not appear in this piece.

8 December 1763: Die bürgerliche Dame [The Bourgeois Lady], premiered in 
the Kärntnertortheater.

1763/1764: Der beschäftigte Hausregent [The Occupied House Master], a 
two-act comedy in the Kärntnertortheater; Hanswurst does not appear in this piece.

12Franz Hadamowsky, "Zur Quellenlage des Wiener Volkstheaters von Philipp Hafner 
bis Ludwig Anzengruber" ["Historiography of Viennese Folk Theatre from Philipp 
Hafner to Ludwig Anzengruber"], Die österreichische Literatur: ihr Profil im 19. 
Jahrhundert (1830-1880) [Austrian Literature: its Profile in the Nineteenth 
Century (1830-1880)] Herbert Zeman, ed. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. 
Verlagsanstalt, 1982) 580. Hadamowsky compares Hafner's reform of Viennese 
popular comedy to the efforts of Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) in Italy.

13The source of the dates are from Gustav Zechmeister, Die Wiener Theater nächst der 
Burg und nächst dem Kärntnertor von 1747 bis 1776 [Vienna's Theatre of the Court 
and next to the Carinthian Gate from 1747 until 1776] (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 
1971) 471-500, and Rommel 390 unless otherwise noted.

14Zechmeister identifies the date as 1760; Rommel identifies the date as 1762.

15Alker writes that this play traveled to Bohemia and Hungary, under the production of 
Joachim Perinet. See 42. Zechmeister provides a date of 1755 for the completion of 
the text in his entry on Hafner. See 141. With its possible premiere in the 
Burgtheater during the 1762/1763 season (the Kärntnertortheater was being 
reconstructed after its fire in 1761), court directorship evidently found favor with 
Hafner's play that scripted dialogue and action, even that of Hanswurst.

16An entry in the Wienerisches Diarum [Viennese Diary], 11 January 1764, 
records that this piece was performed eleven times.
3 March 1764: Etwas zum Lachen in Fasching [Something to Laugh about during Carnival], a three-act Lustspielspiel that premiered in the Kärntnertortheater.

1 September 1764: Der Furchtsame [The Faint-Hearted] premieres in the Kärntnertortheater; this three-act Lustspielspiel was repeated in the Kärntnertortheater on 3 March 1772 and in the Burgtheater on 16 June 1773.

12 February 1765: Evakathel und Schnudi premiered in the Kärntnertortheater; Hanswurst does not appear in this piece.

31 May 1766: Megāra, a two-part play, premieres in the Kärntnertortheater; part one repeated on 31 March 1766 and part two repeated on 23 August 1766 without success.

Der von dreyen Schwieger-Söhnern geplagte Odoardo [Odoardo, Who is Tormented by Three Sons-in-Law], Hafner's first major play, became successful only after his death. The action of this comedy is in the interplay between several sets of masters and servants as well as one mistress and her maid. Odoardo, a protective father, depends on his servant to protect his daughter, Mitzerl, from three eager suitors, two of whom have resourceful servants Hanswurst and Crispin. The two servants are, in turn, suitors for Mitzerl's maid, Colombine. Although Mitzerl and Colombine state their preferences to marry Kletzenbrod and Hanswurst respectively, Odoardo declares no wedding will take place until his sister arrives from Prague. Both Crispin and Hanswurst disguise themselves as the sister. Deceived by Hanswurst's impersonation, Odoardo agrees to the recommendation that Mitzerl marry Kletzenbrod and that Colombine marry Hanswurst. When Hanswurst reveals his identity, Odoardo still keeps his promise.

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17 Otto Erich Deutsch, Das Freihauustheater auf der Wieden, 1787-1801 [The Theatre auf der Wieden, 1787-1801] (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1937) indicates that this piece was performed on 26 February 1794 in Vienna's suburban Theater auf der Wieden; director Joachim Perinet frequently staged this show with success.
The lively action includes hiding, duels, beatings, song, and disguises. Hafner parodies French manners and language through the suitor Chemise, who behaves with foolish pomposity. Hanswurst is both clever and shrewd. Although the dialogue remains generally a collection of jokes, Hafner offered a scripted comedy of manners, with cleverness triumphing over foolishness, which, perhaps for the first time, transcribed Hanswurst's improvisation into scripted comedy.\(^{18}\)

Hafner's second major play featuring Hanswurst is part one of a two-part project, *Ein neues Zauberspiel, betitelt: Mägera, die fürchterliche hexe, oder das bezauberte Schloß des herm von Einhorn* [A New Magic Piece Entitled Mägera, the Terrible Witch, or the Enchanted Castle of Herr von Einhorn].\(^{19}\) The action revolves around young love and supernatural magic. Odoardo refuses to allow his daughter, Angela, to marry the young Leander and Angela's maid, Colombine, to marry Hanswurst because of the suitors' impecunious states. Before the disappointed Leander and Hanswurst can commit suicide, the sorceress Mägera assists the young men; she warns them, however, of young women's infidelity.

\(^{18}\)Act 2 scene 14 recalls traditional improvisation, as Hanswurst and his peers engage in playful pantomime and song.

\(^{19}\)Alker writes that after the play's reputed premiere in the Burgtheater during the 1762/1763 season, Hafner received not only wide acclaim from this play, but an unprecedented financial compensation of 100 Gulden. See 10-11. Weilen states that after Hafner's death, adaptations of this play, with Hanswurst as the chief comic protagonist, appeared to be more popular than productions with Hanswurst's successor in the suburbs, the clown Kasperl. Weilen suggests a dissatisfaction with wild burlesque entertainment within Vienna's suburban theatres during the late-eighteenth century, thus the subsequent appeal of Hafner's play from twenty years earlier. See Alexander von Weilen, *Geschichte des Wiener Theaterwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Anfängen der Hoftheater* [History of Viennese Theatre from the Oldest Times to the Inception of the Court Theatre], vols. 1, 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1899) 169.
When Mägera challenges the love of the young women by disguising herself as a male suitor, Leander and Hanswurst witness the infidelity of their young loves. After Mägera reveals her identity, she chastises Angela and Colombine and imprisons Odoardo, who is to be hanged in two weeks. The resolution of the play takes place in Part II.

With several magical transformations, disguisings, and battles, Hafner utilized the full resources of the stage. In addition to treating a social theme, in this case infidelity, he depicted comic action typical of improvisational theatre. Hafner scripted most of Hanswurst's dialogue and created a comic character of steadfast devotion and loyalty; by combating the greed of Odoardo, Hanswurst appeared as a more virtuous character than in traditional comedies.

The conclusion to this piece appeared as Der fürchterliche hexe Megära zweyter Theil; unter dem Titel: die in eine dauerhafte Freundschaft sich verwandelnde Rache [The Terrible Witch Megära, Part Two, with the Title, Revenge that Transforms into Lasting Friendship]. The magician Orcamiastes appears as a rival to Megära, and Odoardo's cousin, Nigelwitz, as a rival to Leander. Orcamiastes rescues Odoardo from his imprisonment and assists in battling the powers of Megära. The magicians summon increasing power in each scene. Finally the mortal characters beg the magicians to end the conflict. When the magicians agree,

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20 Alker writes that veteran improvisational actors Prehauser, Weiskern, and Christian Gottlob Stephanie approved and applauded Hafner's script and choice of comic action. See iv-v.
Orcamiastes concedes that in contemporary society, magic no longer has the power to unite love. Leander tells Angela that he wishes to remain friends and Nigelwitz is encouraged to pursue her further. Hanswurst decides not to take Colombine as his wife, which inspires the servant Riepl to pursue her. Megâra concludes the play by reminding the characters that everyone now lives in friendship.

Hafner appears to use spectacle and transformations as a possible critique of contemporary theatre performances, such as the extravagant burlesques of Kurz. Until the final scene in this play, magic prevented characters from exercising independent will: the "power of the gods" dictated the activities of the common man; magic and burlesque dominated individual intrigue. Hafner, in fact, challenges the magic play genre by calling for its end in the final scene. Until this scene, magic allowed love relationships to develop. The peace between Megâra and Orcamiastes represents a new absence of magic, which provides a possibility for individuals to choose their destinies.21

Hafner's subsequent plays are devoid of supernatural forces or deus ex machina. Die Bürgerliche Dame [The Bourgeois Lady] presents the false graciousness of Frau Redlich, whose ill husband has been away from home for a long time. In his absence, she squanders all his wealth on lavish parties to impress male

21 The characters in this piece resurface in Mozart's The Magic Flute: Megâra, a witch, reappeared as the Queen of the Night and Orcamiastes as Sarastro. Whereas Sarastro's victory over the Queen of the Night represented the victory of rationality and truth, the peace between Orcamiastes and Megâra symbolized an end to reliance on the convention of magic in the theatre.
admirers. Recognizing her spendthrift ways, servants Hanswurst and Colombine occasionally pilfer from Frau Redlich's riches. When Herr Redlich learns of his wife's lifestyle, he returns and sends her to a convent. Although the play includes many comic scenes of misunderstanding, the work ends sadly, with Redlich's family disbanded and the servants released from their employment.

Initially assuming the form of a comedy of manners, the play concludes with a scene presenting the grim consequences of real-life choices. Hafner's conclusion reveals a new sensibility in the theatre: a family shatters, although with some hope for the future; servants depart; and no conventional marriages take place.22 With the severe punishment of Frau Redlich, Hafner stresses the consequences of irresponsible and unwise behavior.

In another Viennese comedy of manners, Hafner effectively combines farce and with social concerns in Neue Bourlesque, betitelt: Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching: oder: des Burlins und Hannswursts seltsame Carnevals Zufälle [A New Burlesque, Entitled, Something to Laugh about during Carnival, or the Strange Carnival Coincidences of Burlin and Hanswurst]. The action of this play, which takes place during carnival, concerns Burlin, who has developed a spendthrift lifestyle during the absence of his father, Anselmo. With the help of his servant Hanswurst, Burlin is able to avoid creditors. At the same time, Burlin plays on the sympathies of two girls, Nanette and Rosalvo, who give him money in exchange

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22Hafner frequently deviated from convention by not concluding his pieces with an obligatory wedding scene; in later adaptations, Perinet included wedding scenes in Hafner productions.
for promises of marriage. Servant women, Colombine and Lisette, bestow similar gifts on Hanswurst.23 When the girls' fathers, Odoardo and Pantalone, recognize Burlin's trick, they punish him and Hanswurst by enlisting them into military service.

Hafner's play could represent an autobiographical statement, since he often traveled in less-than-reputable circles. With the abrupt punishment of Burlin and Hanswurst in the closing scene, Hafner continued to formulate unconventional conclusions, where happy endings are not guaranteed. As in Die Bürgerliche Dame, individuals in this comedy must accept responsibility and the consequences for their actions.

The play Der Furchtsame [The Faint-Hearted] is perhaps Hafner's finest example of a French-styled comedy of manners adapted as a Viennese comedy. Valere and his servant, Hanswurst, are in love with Henriette and her maid, Lisette, respectively. Henriette's father, Hasenkopf, opposes Henriette's affection for Valere and intends to give his daughter to Heinzenfeld. Hasenkopf's friend, Alcantor, discovers a plot by Valere to run away with Henriette. When Valere and Hanswurst arrive to frighten Hasenkopf and escape with the girls, Alcantor arrives to reveal that Valere and Henriette are brother and sister and that he is their father. Hanswurst concludes the piece by refusing Lisette's hand, thinking she may be his sister.

23Hafner developed the roles of the maids Colombine and Lisette as independent women; they carried swords and engaged in a duel. It was not uncommon for women during Hafner's day to carry swords.
This piece demonstrated a transition in Hafner's work, as he replaced the magic of earlier plays with the *deus ex machina* figure of Alcantor. Although Hafner developed his characters with conventional farce action, with a mistaken letter exchange and a ghost scene, he included no marriages as a convenient resolution, as in *Megāra*. This play combined localized references to Vienna, a comedy of manners, and the beloved and devoted servant Hanswurst. In his depictions of servants and masters, Hafner merited praise from Joseph Sonnleithner as one of the greatest dramatists of all time.24

The few years during which he contributed to the tradition of Viennese popular comedy secured Hafner's reputation as dramatist and perpetuated the presence of Hanswurst on Vienna's stages. Hafner's works collectively introduced a new feature to Viennese popular comedy, a recognizable middle-class sensibility, or *Verbürgerlichung*: his stage characters often endure painful consequences from profligate behavior. His works additionally include recognizable Viennese characters, often from bourgeoisie society. Specific actors did not become identified with playing Hafner's characters, a departure from past conventions when actors like Stranitzky, Prehauser, and Kurz were associated by their roles.25 Although he continued to draw on indigenous images and behavior, he emancipated the character Hanswurst from restricted local idiom and improvisation, and positioned him within

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25 Rommel 395.
a comedy of manners. In Hafner's earlier plays, such as Megāra, Hanswurst appeared in a variety of traditional characters, including that of mortician, baker, innkeeper, hairdresser, cook, corporal, and other similar roles; in Hafner's later works, Hanswurst served more generally as a comic companion or servant. Finally, Hafner succeeded in keeping Hanswurst as a prominent figure in the Kärntnertortheater through transcribing Hanswurst's traditional lazzi into scripted performance, a transition acceptable to court officials.

Even though Hafner's plays were scripted, theatre directors in the Viennese suburbs enjoyed adapting his works, by reintroducing occasional improvisation action, during the early nineteenth century. Documented adaptations of Hafner's works include the following:

*Der Furchtsame* [The Faint-Hearted] played as *Das Neunonntagskind* [The New Sunday Child] at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt (1793-1822) for 164 performances.


*Etwas zum Lachen in Fasching* [Something to Laugh about during Carnival] as *Der Lustig Lebendig* [Humor and Lively Action] (1796-1808) 61 times.

*Der beschäftige Hausregent* [The Occupied House Master] as *Das lustige Beylager* [The Funny Addition] (1797-1825) 99 times.

*Evakathel und Schnudi* as *Die Belagerung von Ypsilon oder Evakathel und Schnudi* (1804-1841) 100 times.

*Megalra zweyter Theil* (1795- ) 17 times.

*Mägera*, part one (1804- ) 4 times.

Hafner's plays remain in the Viennese theatre repertoire today.²⁶

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²⁶Located north of Vienna, the Bisamberg 1994 summer festival included a Hafner adaptation, *Burlins und Hanswurst's seltsame Abenteuer oder lustig lebendig* [Burlin's and Hanswurst's Strange Adventure], which opened on 10 June 1994. In suggesting that Hafner's works remain appropriate pieces to perform, Rommel cites Goethe: "Diese Stücke sind--um wieder mit Goethe zu sprechen--wahrhaft 'seltsame
Hafner's innovations emerged only after the Imperial Court had implemented censorship and banished the Hanswurst character from the stage. Owing largely to his upbringing and education, Hafner responded to the court's increasing control of Vienna's theatrical activity differently from his peers who specialized in improvisational comedy. Through this exposure, he redefined the representation of Hanswurst at the Kärntnertortheater by limiting improvisation through detailed scripts of stage action. Hafner's second major innovation was that he introduced characters depicting Vienna's new middle class, in contrast to his peer Kurz, who continued the tradition of popular comedy in the Kärntnertortheater with entertainments featuring clown characters during the mid-eighteenth century.

Although Hanswurst had become synonymous with crude improvisation of popular theatre, Kurz's pieces, with the character Bernardon, appears to be the impetus for censorship. Hafner's recasting of the figure within an acceptable structure, scripted comedy of manners, rescued the traditional character from banishment. With the resources of veteran comic actors, an audience devoted traditionally to improvisation, and theatres equipped with elaborate staging facilities, Hafner supported the legacy of Hanswurst but adapted him to contemporary, middle-class society.

Produkte, wert, der Vergessenheit entrissen zu werden, und Denkmal einer bedeutenden Zeit und Lokalität. ["The plays are--to quote Goethe again--truly 'strange products, worthy to be seized from oblivion, and monuments to an important time and place."]. See 395.

27Zeman 1310.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE THEATER IN DER LEOPOLDSTADT:
VIENNA'S FIRST SUBURBAN PLAYHOUSE

When considering the growth of court power in Vienna during the early and mid-eighteenth century, the presence of Josef Anton Stranitzky's Hanswurst within Vienna proper appears as a curious component of Habsburg absolutism. Hanswurst innocently, if not unassumingly, entered into the Viennese government's "world of theatre." First, Stranitzky appears to have gained access to a Ballhaus converted for theatrical performance because the court and city magistrate found booth theatres in the market squares unsightly and disruptive; nobles also stood to gain financially from renting a building to acting troupes. Later, Stranitzky acquired the lease for the Kärntnertortheater between 1710 and 1726 because the Italian Count Pecori could not finance the contract. Stranitzky's enterprise of German-language popular comedy remained unchallenged by the city magistrate because a large number of common Viennese citizens comprised Stranitzky's core audience.

Stranitzky's immediate successors encountered new opposition, however, as Vienna's centrally-located playing space assumed new significance. During the mid-eighteenth century, migration of Vienna's traditional population base, lower and middle class citizens, relocated outside the city, being replaced by court nobles. The new shift of people within Vienna proper dictated the
composition of the audience for performances in the Kärntnertortheater. Whereas Stranitzky's playful imitations of court-preferred Italian operas were popular performances for audiences comprised largely of lower class citizens, Stranitzky's descendants needed to develop acceptable performances for their new court audience. Two major actors of Viennese popular comedy after Stranitzky's death were Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769) and Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz (1717-1784). Prehauser developed his Hanswurst character as a docile, yet dedicated Viennese worker, such as a cake baker or soldier, whom the court presumably found acceptable on its stage. However, Kurz's character Bernardon offered improvisational entertainments, resulting ultimately in Empress Maria Theresia's 1752 banishment of improvisational performances. To continue any financial success of popular comic performances, actors either adapted their performances to please the increasing number of court members within Vienna or relocated in suburban venues. It was in the newly-emerging suburbs that popular comic performers found their most immediate and financially-secure reception.

Growth of Vienna's Suburbs and Common Citizenry

By 1770 the Habsburg Monarchy boasted a population of seventeen million, third behind the French and Russian populations. With its 180,000 inhabitants, Vienna was clearly the largest Habsburg city and one of the largest in the world. Whereas

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1For statistics of Vienna's population, see Tertius Chandler, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth: an Historical Census* (Lewiston, New York: St. David's UP, 1987).
2Johann Hüttnner, "Literarische Parodie und Wiener Vorstadtpublikum vor Nestroy" ("Literary Parody and Viennese Suburban Audiences Before Nestroy"). *Maske und*
the relationship in Vienna between city and suburban populations at the beginning of the eighteenth century was 1 to 3, the ratio expanded to 1 to 5 by the end of the century, when Vienna identified thirty-four different suburbs and districts outside the city walls (see fig. 14).³

Although the suburbs often exhibited signs of modest wealth, facades and gardens frequently masked the destitute state of Vienna's economy and society in general. Vienna failed to provide adequate housing for its concentrated population, with its high density in the city of about 500 people per hectare, 10,000 square metres or 2.471 acres, in 1789.⁴ The additional problem of a housing shortage implied modest to humble living conditions for the bulk of the Viennese population, with four or five people reportedly sharing one room.

In 1781, Joseph II disbanded the quartering system, which had allowed nobles to locate residences within Vienna and effectively had forced common citizens outside the city proper. Although common citizens were no longer subject to forced relocation, they remained residents in the immediate surrounding suburbs rather than move back into the crowded and expensive city.

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⁴Today urban planners in Germany allow an upper limit of 250 per hectare.
This map includes shows Vienna's surrounding suburbs, including the Leopoldstadt with the Theater in der Leopoldstadt (1), auf der Wieden with the Theater auf der Wieden (2), an der Wien with the Theater an der Wien (3), and the Josefstadt with the Theater in der Josefstadt (4). Print from John P. Spielman, *The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 1993) xii-xiii.

Fig. 14. Map of Vienna, with its suburban districts, [c. 1740].
The accelerated population growth of Vienna between 1770 and 1840 redefined the activity and operation of several institutions: 1) a new bourgeoisie, or middle class, emerged to compete economically and politically against court organizations; 2) the position of Vienna, its central core, changed within a growing agglomeration in the suburbs; and 3) the development of Vorstädte [suburbs] brought new uses of land and social segregation.

Under the reigns of Maria Theresia and Joseph II, various independent entrepreneurs, bankers, and wholesale traders associated and competed through business with aristocracy and court ministers. In an attempt to maintain court hierarchy, imperial leaders expanded their criteria for nobility, an extension of “rites of passage” to lower class citizens, by accepting middle class wealth, property, and personal achievement in exchange for an aristocratic title. With Joseph II’s “Edict of Toleration” (1781), Jewish entrepreneurs for the first time had the opportunity to enter the nobility. These changes expanded the traditionally based Habsburg nobility and commerce.

5See Chapter 1 in Lichtenberger and John P. Spielman, *The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1740* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 1993). Spielman documents how the court and city governments worked with each other between 1600 and 1740. During the early-eighteenth-century expansion of Baroque architecture, affairs of the court superseded those of the local authorities: "The Habsburg imperial court absorbed Vienna into its own world, transforming it from a proud, privileged town into a capital city designed to serve the needs of a monarchy governing a great European power. The city's dependence upon the crown arose out of its exposed location and the need for organized protection." See 215. The theatre illustrates well the exchange between court and city: although the court banned Hanswurst during the mid-eighteenth century within Vienna, the "city" reclaimed him as the suburban comic character Kasperl in the late-eighteenth century.
Some businesses enjoyed financially lucrative relationships with the Habsburg court. To generate revenue, imperial leaders enticed businesses to purchase an official title as privileged manufacturers; the title pronounced the distinction of *Kaiserlich-Königlich*, or "imperial-royal". Another privilege for imperial manufacturers was a centrally-located business, usually within Vienna proper. The cost for common citizens to reside within Vienna increased to levels that only businessmen could afford. As imperial businesses entered the city during the last third of the eighteenth century, construction converted courtyard apartment complexes into businesses to accommodate growing numbers of employees.

The rise of business did not bode well for the large population of court and civil servants within Vienna; the development of a central business district ushered in stores and offices in the lower levels of existing buildings. High rent and increased land values forced lower- and medium-level clerks out of the city, similar to how the quartering system forced common citizens to relocate. The group of former clerks, along with the first migration of citizens, contributed to the establishment of *Vorstädte*, or suburbs. An additional geographical area, the periphery of the suburbs, formed as a consequence to the formation of *Vorstädte*. Whereas Vienna’s central economy consisted of

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As police officers rounded up unemployed hoodlums, they brought them outside of *Vorstadt* borders and banned them from reentering Vienna or its immediate suburban districts, creating, in effect, a third geographical designation for the city.
independent or privileged businesses, the suburban economy boasted complex guild systems.

During the development of Vienna's suburbs, comprised largely of common citizens, court and civil servants, and during the emergence of businesses within the city's center, the court perpetuated its privileged position of absolute rule. To maintain the appearance of wealth, both the court and city continued to employ a surprisingly large number of servants (see fig. 15).

Nobility derived a potential source of income through leasing buildings to private contractors or businesses. Members of the court had acquired many facilities during the seventeenth-century expansion; as these facilities became vacant, ambitious members of court earned a profit by allowing private groups to lease available space, including palaces, gardens, and parks. An example of such conversion is in the Leopoldstadt, the north district adjacent to central Vienna, where the Czernin'sche Garten, a palatial garden, was converted into an improvisational theatre arena and eventually into the Theater in the Leopoldstadt. The suburbs immediately surrounding Vienna's central district gradually transformed from agricultural villages into small-scale industrial areas, with farmers being replaced by manufacturers, laborers, and paupers. For example, the district of Wieden, in which the Theater auf der Wieden was constructed, developed as a center for tin, machine, and musical instrument manufacturing.

As one ventured farther from central Vienna, the radius to the outer suburbs represented an historical evolution of handicrafts. Gold and jewlery dealers operated close to the city's
The Social Structure of the City, 1822-1825

Social Classification

<table>
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<th>Social Classification</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Nobility</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>trade and transport</td>
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<td>45.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Household members</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(population total within Vienna proper) (50,000)

Source: Elisabeth Lichtenberger, Vienna: Bridge Between Cultures (London; New York: Belhaven Press, 1993) Chapter 1. This graphic reveals that domestic servants accounted for 46% of the population within Vienna proper.

Fig. 15. Table of social structure of Vienna, 1822-1825.
core, whereas handworkers in silk, wool, and cotton remained generally along the periphery. These designated manufacturing sites provided the living conditions for workers, since unskilled laborers rarely owned their own houses and settled for lodgings provided by employers. Since workers rented rather than owned their residence, they could risk revolting against governing authorities, which, in fact, occurred in 1848. The violent upheaval of the Revolution of 1848 began in proletarian suburbs and eventually reached the center of Vienna.

Early-nineteenth century Vienna included not only the grandeur of monumental buildings, but also newly-emerging manufacturing and industrial centers in the surrounding suburbs, which contributed to the city's cultural heritage as well.

The cultural systems associated with a redefined Vienna reflected the immediate locale of their environs. Theatrical expression developed a unique association with suburban life; productions reflected Viennese suburban life through dialect and local references on stage. The expansion of theatre in the suburbs added to Vienna's cultural diversity, but not all patrons, including court dignitaries, found favor with all of the acting: "In regards to the diversity of spectacle, Vienna is a second Paris. It boasts a national theatre, a theatre de la foire, and [suburban] boulevards.

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7 Lichtenberger offers these geographical designations of Vienna's manufacturing industries. See Chapter 1.
8 Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 302-306. Johann Nestroy's play Freiheit in Krâhwinkel [Liberty Comes to Krâhwinkel] from 1848 depicts the attempts of journalist Ultra to incite the citizens to revolt against city authority. For a discussion of this play, see Chapter 8.
As for actors, some are excellent, some are quite satisfying, more are bearable, but the most are pitifully poor."\(^9\)

Three important suburban theatres emerged within this "second Paris" and perpetuated the legacy of German popular comedy: 1) *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* [Theatre of the Leopoldstadt]; 2) *Theater auf der Wieden* [Theatre of Wieden], which later became the *Theater an der Wien* [Theatre on the Vienna River]; and 3) *Theater in der Josefstadt* [Theatre of the Josefstadt]. These venues appeared in districts immediately surrounding Vienna's core, outside the central wall.

The theatres in the *Leopoldstadt*, *auf der Wieden*, and in the *Josefstadt* remained physically small because they were converted spaces; the *Theater an der Wien* served as a large venue, since it was a purpose-built theatre. The conversion of existing facilities suggests that entrepreneurs were not available to construct purpose-built theatres; similarly, the construction of the large purpose-built theatre suggests that sufficient resources were available for an entrepreneur to begin a new theatre enterprise. To a certain extent, economic conditions of the suburbs contributed to

\(^9\)Johann Friedrich Schink, *Dramatische und andere Skizzen nebst Briefen über das Theaterwesen zu Wien* [Dramatic and Other Sketches from Letters on Theatrical Activity in Vienna] (Vienna, 1783) 74-75: "Sie haben Recht, Herr Graf, Wien ist in Absicht der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Spektakel ein zweites Paris. Es hat seine Nazionalbüne, sein Teater de la foire, seine Boulevards, wie Paris. Auch mit seinen Schauspielern ist es das nemliche, einige von ihnen sind vortrefflich, einige gut einige brauchbar, mehrere erträglich, die meisten aber zum Erbarmen schlecht." Schink published this book, which includes a letter *Brief über den Zustand des teutschen Teaters zu Wien* [Letter Describing the Condition of German Theatre in Vienna], a correspondence between a citizen from northern Germany (Mecklenburg) and a noble. This multipart letter contains observations about theatrical activity in the *Burgtheater*, *Kärntnertortheater*, *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, and Wilhelm auf den Neustift and the actors at the various venues. The observations over the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* are dated "22 Merz [March] 1783."
the nature and size of performance spaces; economic conditions may have also defined a new depiction of the comic character in traditional popular performance.

Located north of Vienna's central district, the Leopoldstadt boasted no meaningful form of theatre as late as 1770. Evidence indicates that theatre activity began during the next decade, but historians disagree over the exact date. The most recent scholarship states that actor Matthias Menninger performed as an itinerant actor in the Leopoldstadt as early as 1769, with a production on 15 October of the five-act comedy Der Boshafte, mit Jean den gewissenhaften Diener [The Mischievous One, with Jean the Conscientious Servant], the leading comic role played by Johann Joseph la Roche. An extant playbill from 25 October shows Menninger staged the comedy Ein auf die Person des Casperle einegerichtiges Lustspiel unter dem Titel: Casperle der unschuldige Missethäuter, oder der falsche, und ungegründete Verdacht, mit Hannswurst, dem geschickten Narrenopper, und groben Postenträger nebst Colombine und Isabelle, den ungleichen Freundinnen der Mannsperson [A Comedy Based on the Character

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10 The two major sources for theatre history in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt are: Wilhelm Kisch, Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädtten: Leopoldstadt [The Old Streets and Sites of Vienna's Suburbs: Leopoldstadt] (Vienna, 1888) and Franz Hadamowsky, Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien [Catalog of the Theatre Collection in Vienna's National Library], vol. 3 (Vienna, 1934).

11 According to Kisch, the first mention of wandering troupes performing in this district occurs during the summer of 1771, when the traveling actor Johann Salomoni provided entertainment with a group of inexperienced actors in the locale schwarzen Adler [The Black Eagle]; his improvised pieces used makeshift costumes and scantily assembled decorations, the effect of which did not please the public. See 67. According to Kisch, Menninger leased a palace garden, formerly occupied by Salomoni, before 1780; he dismantled Salomoni's temporary stage in the garden courtyard and constructed a permanent theatre, with many costly decorations, in 1780. See 67.
Casperle, Entitled: Casperle, the Falsely-Accused Perpetrator, or False and Unfounded Suspicion, with Hanswurst, the Clever Fool and Ill-Suited Letter Carrier, and Colombine and Isabelle, Two Unequal Girlfriends. On 3 February 1770 he also appeared in two adaptations of Hafner's plays, Dramatische Unterhaltung unter guten Freunden [Dramatic Entertainment among Good Friends] and Der beschäftige Regent [The Occupied House Master]. Largely improvisational, Menninger's productions reestablished within the suburb of Leopoldstadt the popular comic tradition found in the Kärntnertortheater during its early years, with the chief protagonist Kasperl replacing the familiar Hanswurst.

The Theater in der Leopoldstadt may have originally consisted of simply a temporary wooden stage within the summer pavilion of the Czernin'schen Garten [Czernin Garden]. This facility (see fig. 16) consisted of a U-shaped building with a central courtyard. Recent scholarship argues, however, that the performance venue during the 1770s was not a garden courtyard with a temporary stage, but rather a room within the Czernin palace. After obtaining his permit, Menninger paid six musicians each a daily

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12 Kisch 67.
13 "Hörman Jakob graff Tschernin" built the palace after the Turkish seige of 1683 had destroyed several buildings in the Leopoldstadt. Czernin purchased the space and constructed a stately house with a baroque garden. After his death the estate went to his son Count Franz Josef Czernin, who sold the estate to Thomas Hannecker in 1765. He then sold in 1766 the estate to Lower Austrian, Ritter-Stands-Sekretair, Johann Josef Wimmer.
14 Hadamowsky 43.
15 The Kärntnertortheater owned exclusive rights for comic performances in Vienna, so any actor who wanted to perform comedy required a special permit from the city.
This illustration depicts the courtyard and garden of the Czernin Palace in Vienna's district of the Leopoldstadt. Theatre historian Otto Rommel states that an acting troupe from Baden (south of Vienna), lead by principals Menninger and Marinelli, earned its income here between 1769 and 1781. Print from Otto Rommel, Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theaters bis zum Tode Nestroy (The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy) (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952) 419 and 1091.

Fig. 16. The Czerninsche Gartenpalais in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1770].
salary of 3 Gulden to accompany productions. In addition to an orchestra pit, the auditorium had a divided parterre.\(^{16}\)

During the fall of 1777 Menninger befriended an individual important in insuring the success of performances in the Leopoldstadt, the writer and actor Karl Marinelli (1745-1803). Already a veteran actor, Menninger relinquished his position as leader to the younger Marinelli, who provided the vision to establish a permanent theatre in the district. Under Marinelli’s leadership, the new theatre included private loges, added in 1780, and more musicians to the orchestra.\(^{17}\) With financially successful productions, Marinelli eventually purchased the building during the fall of 1780 and later received an official permit from the court and city magistrate to perform in his new theatre all forms of theatrical entertainment, except ballet.

*Theater in der Leopoldstadt, 1781-1860: its History and Physical Space*

After he received his permit to open a theatre in the Leopoldstadt, Marinelli began additional construction on 16 March 1781 to convert the performance venue into an equipped theatre facility.\(^ {18}\) From 20 October of the same year, when the theatre

\(^{16}\)Patrons paid 34 Kreuzer to sit in the front parterre and 17 Kreuzer to stand in the rear.

\(^{17}\)Hadamowsky 44.

\(^{18}\)Marinelli implemented the construction plans of “Imperial Director of Water Architecture” Brequin, architect Peter Mollner, interior decorator Knötzl, foremen Dalberger and Berger, painter Flich, and stage designer Schröter, according to Josef Ernst Prothke, *Das Leopoldstädter Theater, von seiner Entstehung an skizziert* [*The Theatre in the Leopoldstadt, Sketched from its Inception*] (Vienna, 1847) 2. Prothke’s study briefly reviews the history of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* before it was to be destroyed and converted into the Carltheater, which was a Kunsttempel [*“art temple”*] according to Prothke. This study also lists the major plays from the repertoire, with number of performances.
opened as the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* (see fig. 17), Marinelli directed the company and provided leadership until his death in 1803. Accounts document that he supported his actors in disputes with the government, paid them an extra wage when he was pleased with a performance, and provided them with free lodging next to the theatre.\(^\text{19}\)

Several extant records from the early- and mid-nineteenth century provide visual and written description of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*'s appearance and physical facilities. Two illustrations, one of the palace garden (see fig. 16) and another of the theatre's exterior (see fig. 17), show the conversion of space, from a courtyard facility into a theatre building.\(^\text{20}\) The building, located on the street *Jägerzeile*, was a simple two-story structure.\(^\text{21}\) The theatre itself covered only part of the nearly rectangular plot; the remaining area was occupied by little houses, apartments, and a courtyard.

The auditorium, a simple square room roughly 17 metres long and 15 metres wide, became slightly wider at the stage (see fig. 18). The auditorium had three divisions. Before the stage was an orchestra pit 2 metres wide. In front of the pit was the first parterre, consisting of six rows and roughly 5 metres long. Behind the first parterre, the second parterre accommodated fifteen rows of

\(^{19}\) Hadamowsky 50.


\(^{21}\) The address changed several times: *Jägerzeile, Komödiengasse, or Zirkusgasse*, numbers 324, 452, and 511. Today the theatre's former site is located on the *Praterstrasse*, number 31.
This illustration depicts the exterior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt between 1781 and 1847, when the theatre was renovated by leaseholder Karl Carl. The theatre is located behind the three standing carriages. Print from Otto Rommel, Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theaters bis zum Tode Nestroys [The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy] (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952) 420 and 1091.

Fig. 17. Exterior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1820].
This illustration depicts the auditorium and stage of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Print from Franz Hadamowsky, Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien [Catalog of the Theatre Collection in Vienna's National Library], vol. 3 (Vienna, 1934) 88.

Fig. 18. Interior of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, [c. 1820].
benches, roughly 10 metres long. The first and second parterres have access directly into the street and courtyard. The first gallery accommodated eighteen loges and the two higher galleries had rows of seats. The stage measured 16 metres wide and 10 metres deep, with five pairs of moveable scene flats. The properties room was behind the raked stage equipped with many traps to accommodate the machinery. Theatregoers saw a decorated plan of coming attractions at the entrance.

The few contemporary observations of Marinelli’s theatre oppose each other in assessing the physical facilities. An anonymous theatre patron judged that the “facility discloses much taste, the decorations are beautiful, and the transformations are very accurate, more accurate than at court [Burgtheater] and at the other city theatre [Kärntnertortheater], in which one finds true horror with the intention of transformations.”22 Another patron reacted less favorably to the theatre:

The stage, as well as the auditorium, was very small and cramped. The lighting consisted of one simple, tasteless chandelier with oil lamps and provided a very weak glow. Reserved loges were extremely simple and uncomfortable; they cost only one Viennese Gulden, or 24 Kreuzer. The stage floor was in a horrible, even life-threatening condition, since the decorations were not drawn out like on other stages; they were simply rolled out like the curtain. The orchestra consisted of a conductor of the orchestra and twelve musicians as members.23

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22 Schink 125: “Der ganze Bau verrät viel Geschmak, die Dekorazionen sind schön, und die Verwandlungen gehen sehr akkurat, akkurater als im Hof und dem andem Stadt Teater, in denen es in Absicht der Verwandlungen sehr oft ein wahrer Greuel ist.”

An anonymous patron from the late nineteenth-century concludes that despite the crudeness of the auditorium and the staging, a talented troupe won a devoted following that called the playhouse “the people's theatre:"

One does not sense much luxury or comfort associated with this theatre. The inner rooms were dim, narrow, and unclean; no glow lit the rooms and the stage was so primitive that decorations were not lowered into position; rather, crews needed to roll them out into place (a necessity that quickly ruined the fine paint detail). Even so, this theatre enjoyed its 'golden age' and dedicated public like no other theatre. Hundreds of well-to-do citizens looked forward to placing their *Steindl*, a Viennese expression for one *Gulden* or 24 *Kreuzer* that covered the price for a reserved seat in the parterre, on the box office counter. . . . [D]espite the unsightly 'surface' of the theatre, . . . the theatre boasted an elite troupe, a mature ensemble that was not to be found anywhere in Vienna. Dramatists and actors were collectively referred to as *Wienerfrüchteln*, or 'fruit of Vienna'; this group understood the secret of confidently revealing its colorful humor to the audience like a charged battery. It was a people's theatre in the boldest sense, with all its benefits and disadvantages, with all its shining features, minor weaknesses and offensiveness; however, one felt at home, refreshed and amused.²⁴

²⁴The observation of the anonymous patron is found in Kisch: “Von Luxus und Comfort war wohl noch nicht viel zu verspüren. Die inneren Räume waren düster, beengt und unsauber, kein Luster erhöhte die Räume, auch der Schnürboden war so primitiv, dass die Decorationen nicht wie jetzt herabgelassen wurden, sondern (zum Schaden der Malerei, die so schnell abgenützt wird) herabgerollt werden mussten. Dennoch hatte das Theater seine goldene Epoche und sein Stammpublikum wie kein zweites. Hunderten von wohlhabenden Bürgern wurde es zur süßen Gewohnheit, allabendlich ihr 'Steindl' (ein Wiener Ausdruck für einen Guldenzettel Wiener Währung oder 24 kr. Conventions-Münze, welchen Preis damals ein Sperrsitz im Parterre kostete) auf die Steintafel des Cassiers hinzulegen. Denn trotz der ärmlichen Schale war der Kern
One print dating to 1803 (see fig. 19) shows the auditorium and part of a pastoral scene, with waterfall and trees, within a proscenium arch on a stage approximately 2 metres in depth. A second print illustrates perspective depth through the use of six sliding flats, with rear four flats provide curving arches to depict a hall or ballroom scene.

Since two additional floor plans indicate that of the theatre held nearly 385 seats, the theatre remained most likely a small, intimate performance space. The floor plans do not designate a special loge for court dignitaries, possibly because court members...
This illustration, entitled *Ansicht des k.k. Theaters in der Leopoldstadt, N. 21* [View of the Imperial Royal Theatre in the Leopoldstadt, no. 21], depicts a pastoral scene. The back of the print has an inventory number of IN 109.056, part of a series attributed to M. Geißler. This print is dated either 1814 or 1841. Print from Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Historical Museum of the City of the City of Vienna].

Fig. 19. Interior of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*. 
rarely or infrequently visited this theatre venue, but the documents indicate that the best loges were expensive. The ticket prices, ranging from 15 Guldén for loges to 24 Kreuzer in the third gallery, suggest that the theatre appealed to an audience with a wide range of incomes.²⁸

The theatre was not without its discontents: "Some visitors could not tolerate the evil smell, which came profusely from the tiring house; others complained about the bad air, which poured in through the doors; and still others observed that high-priced loges showcased wealth rather than comfort for the visitors."²⁹

According to an announcement hung outside the auditorium, the primary mandate of the theatre was not to provide the comforts associated with the Kärntnertortheater and Burgtheater: "Whoever searches the escape of belly-busting comedy after tiresome labor, this theatre stands as suitable recreation. Refined actions and polished jokes are not our fare; however, if full laughter is your desire, Kasperl and his companions will attend to

²⁸The best loges cost 15 Guldén, while loges in the first gallery cost 6 Guldén and loges in the second gallery 5 Guldén. Seats in the first gallery or parterre cost 50 Kreuzer and in the second gallery 40 Kreuzer, while standing room in first gallery or parterre cost 36 Kreuzer, in second gallery 24 Kreuzer and in the third gallery 16 Kreuzer. These prices represented increases from 1803, when loges cost 6 Guldén; seat in the parterre, 1 Guldén; reserved seat, 1 Guldén 20 Kreuzer; seat in the second gallery, 36 Kreuzer; and fee in third gallery, 18 Kreuzer. See Prothke.
²⁹Gotthold August van der Stranden, Unpartheyache Betrachtungen über das neuerbaute Schauspielhaus in der Leopoldstadt, und die sämtlichen Glieder der Gesellschaft [Subjective Observations on the Newly-Built Playhouse in the Leopoldstadt and the Complete Members of the Troupe] (Vienna, 1781) 21: “Einige konnten den übeln Geruch nicht vertragen, der sich aus der Retirade in so vollem Maße ganz unähnlich ihren Nasen zudrängte, andere schimpften in ziemlich unsanften Ausdrücken über die durch die Türen gewalttig ziehende Luft, einige endlich glaubten, bei den Logen wäre mehr auf den hohen Preis als ihre Bequemlichkeit gesehen worden.”
your wishes.”30 Through this public acknowledgement of the comic folk character in the suburban theatre, the artist Fibich satirically attacked court reformers and censors, such as Josef von Sonnenfels. Fibich illustrated this declaration with a mural: two trees arched on the right and left sides of the picture framed symbols of harmony and friendship. On the left sat Hanswurst, with a black mourning robe, crying about his banishment from the stage. In the distant background, Scapin, Pierrot, Harlequin, and Dottore can be seen dancing; however, the chains at their feet suggested their limited freedom on the stage. On the right of the mural was a road blockade. A strict “judge of art,” a dark figure with eyeglasses and a stick in his hand, guarded against entry to the road. This figure may have represented court censor Joseph von Sonnenfels. High in the air in a winged wagon, the comic actor la Roche defeated the efforts of the judge by flying overhead.31

One special characteristic of this suburban theatre was the use of the Viennese dialect by the actors. Despite this feature, however, foreign visitors were not discouraged from attending plays in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.32 Within this intimate theatre, actors established a financially successful repertoire of plays ten to twelve times each month before full houses of loyal

30Schink 127: whoever “nach verdrießlichen Geschäften nicht als sein Zwerchfell erschüttern will,” the theatre was in fact, “eine recht gute Rekreation. Feine Sachen, wahren polierten Witz muß man nicht hier suchen, aber für den, der aus vollem Halse lachen will, sind Kasperl und seine Konsorten treffliche Leute.”
31Schink 125.
32Schink 124.
patrons. The efforts of the comedians compared favorably to those actors in other theatres.\textsuperscript{33}

The popularity of this theatre motivated few changes in appearance. The only significant renovation came in 1847 when theatre director and businessman Karl Carl (1787-1854) closed the theatre on 7 May and added rococo ornamentation and new gas lighting to the venue. In 1860, Carl changed the name of the theatre to the \textit{Carltheater}, which remained a popular site for theatrical entertainment until its destruction in 1918.

\textbf{The \textit{Theater in der Leopoldstadt} as Genesis for Suburban Comic Theatre}

The \textit{Theater in der Leopoldstadt} institutionalized the operations of Viennese popular theatre in the suburbs, elevating the status of German-language comedy throughout Europe. From this enterprise several important artists emerged: Johann Joseph la Roche created his comic character Kasperl, a revived Hanswurst; Wenzel Müller composed countless popular tunes; two generations of popular dramatists, an older generation that included Karl Friedrich Hensler and Joachim Perinet, and a younger generation that included Joseph Alois Gleich, Karl Meisl, and Adolf Bäuerle, established a foundation for the masters of popular theatre, Ferdinand Raimund and Johann Nestroy; and a skilled ensemble and receptive audience contributed to the grand spectacle.\textsuperscript{34} The achievements of the mentioned artists designated the \textit{Theater in der Leopoldstadt} as Genesis for Suburban Comic Theatre.

\textsuperscript{33}Schink 125.

\textsuperscript{34}Franz Hadamowsky and Fritz Brukner, eds., \textit{Die Gründungsakten der Leopoldstädtler Schaubühne} [\textit{The Founding Acts of the Stage in the Leopoldstadt}] (Vienna, 1928). This work documents correspondence between Menninger and Marinelli, the Lower Austrian government and Emperor Joseph II, in establishing the theatre.
der Leopoldstadt as the most important stage for popular comic performance in German-speaking regions.\textsuperscript{35} Just as the Kärntnertortheater established a performance tradition during the beginning of the eighteenth century, so the Theater in der Leopoldstadt similarly developed the tradition in the suburbs at the close of the eighteenth century.

Apparently the general Viennese populace supported the theatre with devotion similar to the loyal English audience during Shakespeare’s productions of the early seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{36} Even among upper-class citizens, the theatre found praise: “The Theatre in der Leopoldstadt’s attraction is in its farces, travesties, magic pieces, and low comedy presentations, in which it competes with the Theater an der Wien and--in the opinion of some suburban friends of art--occasionally wins out.”\textsuperscript{37}

The theatre surprisingly maintained its popular appeal despite changing managements. After Marinelli’s death in 1803, Karl Friedrich Hensler purchased the lease for the theatre and assumed the position of theatre director; on 1 May 1814, he sold his share to the iron merchant Leopold Huber, but remained as director until the end of 1816. Recognizing popular tastes, Hensler decided to incorporate pantomime and special effects in productions during 1813.\textsuperscript{38} In 1817 Huber became both leaseholder and director; however, in 1821 he experienced financial

\textsuperscript{35}Hadamowsky and Brukner 1.
\textsuperscript{36}Rommel 6.
\textsuperscript{38}Kisch 75.
difficulties, which fueled a dispute among Marinelli's relatives, Huber, and Hensler. Rudolf Steinkellner eventually purchased the lease on 31 August 1822.

Even though the leasing of the theatre underwent turmoil for an extended period, the Theater in der Leopoldstadt successfully staged some of the most popular comic productions throughout Europe.

**Actors and Dramatists in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, 1764-1806**

The main attraction in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt was the comic clown Kasperl, a reborn Hanswurst. During a performance of Menninger's troupe in 1769, the actor Johann Joseph la Roche (1745-1806) introduced the Viennese audience to a new improvisational fool, Kasperl. La Roche performed as the clown an average of fifteen nights each month. Although the propaganda of Sonnenfels and other "enlightened" journalists often attacked the theatre of Kasperl and the general nature of improvised acting, it failed to deter the success of popular theatre in Vienna's Leopoldstadt.39

La Roche's Kasperl appeared in a variety of dramatic genres, including burlesques, comedies, and later Zauberstücke, or magic pieces.40 During his career, which spanned over forty years, la

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39 Records indicate that audiences stormed the theatre to see Kasperl appear, but the theatres remained empty when comedies did not include the him in the plot. See Gustav Gugitz, ed., Der Wieland Kasperl (Johann La Roche): Ein Beitrag zur Theater- und Sittengeschichte Alt-Wiens (Kasperl: a History of Old Viennese Theatre and Customs (Vienna, 1920).

40 In the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, from 1781 to 1790, only 320 Zauber spiele were performed, an average of 36 annually, with 320 performance days annually, or only 11% of the repertoire.
Roche adapted his performance to complement conventions: between the years 1764 and 1786, he emphasized extemporaneous acting; between 1786 and 1798, he and other actors used scripted texts, or Spielbüch'ln; and between 1798 and 1806, he performed in a new popular genre, "knight and robber" plays.

La Roche appeared at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt's grand opening on 20 October 1781, in a new one-act play by Marinelli, Aller Anfang ist schwer. Ein Gelegenheitsstück in einem Aufzuge. Bey Eröffnung des neuerbauten Schauspielhauses in der Leopoldstadt. Von Karl Marinelli, kaiserl. königl. privil. Schauspielunternehmern. Im Weinmonat 1781 [Every Beginning is Difficult. An Occasional Piece in One Act. For the Grand Opening of the Newly-Constructed Comedy House in the Leopoldstadt]. The feature play was Der Witwe mit seinen Töchtern, oder Mädeln wollen Männer [The Widower with His Daughters, or Girls Seek Men], a piece that introduced all the principal actors within the ensemble and stage crew, with their experiences in the theatre.41 This introduction of Aller Anfang ist schwer not only heightened the excitement and anticipation of the revived traditions of improvisational theatre, but also highlighted the skill of veteran actors who understood how to present familiar performance traditions and create excitement within the audience and community.42

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41Prothke records theatre gross revenues 288 Gulden 30 Kreuzer. See 2. The opening piece featured the actors Marinelli, Menninger, Richter, la Roche, the younger Marinelli, Reichenhüber, Schretter, Kiendl, and Wolschowsky as well as actresses Menninger, Richter, la Roche, Reichenhüber, Kiendl, Wolschowsky, and Marinelli, Karl's sister.

42Marinelli's grand introduction of the piece; "Kasperl" la Roche's energy and acknowledgement of Hanswurst traditions, as he claims that he acts "from the heart"
A selected list of performance titles of productions from the Theater in der Leopoldstadt illustrates the popularity of Kasperl plays during the late-eighteenth century:\(^{43}\)

- **Kasperl, der lustige Hackle- und Mausfallenkrämer in drey Aufzügen** [Kasperl, the Funny Hackle and Mousetrap Seller], première 25 October 1781, 35 performances.
- **Kasperts Schelmereien oder die Frauenzimmer-hofmeisterin Madame quelque chose** [Kasperl's Villainy or the Countess Madame So-and-So], première 4 November 1781, 56 performances.
- **Kasperl, der Hausherr in der Narrengasse** [Kasperl, the Servant on Narrengasse, or 'fools street'], première 25 November 1781, 75 performances.
- **Kasperl bleibt Kasperl** [Kasperl Remains Kasperl], première 3 February 1784, 53 performances.
- **Alles weiß, nichts schwarz oder Kaspers Trauer- und Hochzeitsschmaus** [Everything White, Nothing Black, or Kasperl's Mourning and Marriage Banquet], première 18 June 1787, 38 performances.
- **Das Glück ist kugelrund oder Kaspers Ehrentag** [Happiness is Round Like a Bullet, or Kasperl's Wedding Day], première 17 February 1789, benefit production with 55 additional performances.

These pieces, comparable with Stranitzky's *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* in that they offer *lazzi* rather than scripted dialogue for the comic character Kasperl, present Kasperl as the main protagonist and center of intrigue.

The success of la Roche's Kasperl encouraged other comic actors to invent new characters. One of the most successful creations was that of Anton Hasenhut (1766-1841), who appeared as the playful Thaddädl on many Viennese stages, including the Theater in der Leopoldstadt between 1787 and 1803. Thaddädl, whose name originates from Taddeo of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* tradition, appears frequently as an apprentice.

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43Gugitz documents more than forty-five Kasperl plays between 1781 and 1794. The plays in this list represent six of the most frequently performed works between 1781 and 1789.
The transition from Prehauser's Hanswurst to Kurz's Bernardon resembles the change from la Roche's Kasperl to Hasenhut's Thaddädl: both Hanswurst and Kasperl appeared initially as improvisational characters, but later delivered scripted dialogue; on the other hand, Bernardon and Thaddädl rebelled against the structural conventions of their predecessors. Kurz's Bernardon avoided the emerging convention of scripted performance by participating in productions with magical scenic transformations; Hasenhut's Thaddädl departed from the comic depiction of his peers through revealing a psychological motivation for his actions. Hasenhut, in fact, directly opposed the advice of Marinelli, who encouraged the young actor to learn comic acting by studying the veteran performers in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Hasenhut's reluctance to pattern his depiction of the comic character after figures such as Kasperl may explain why he did not enjoy tenured employment in one theatre, but played limited engagements in various Viennese theatres and throughout Europe.

Although Hasenhut's Thaddädl never became associated with one particular performance venue in Vienna, he nevertheless enjoyed financially successful productions for a span of over fifty

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44Gottfried Schwarz, "Anton Hasenhut," diss., University of Vienna, 1963. Schwarz argues in his dissertation that Hasenhut demonstrated a precision, or naturalism, not seen in other comic characters. Schwarz also documents Hasenhut's performances.

45Franz Ignaz Hadatsch, "Launen des Schicksals oder Scenen aus dem Leben und der theatricalischen Laufbahn des Schauspielers Anton Hasenhut, nach schriftlichen Mitthellungen bearbeitet [Twist of Fate or True Scenes from Life and the Theatrical Career of Actor Anton Hasenhut], (Vienna, 1834) "Chapter 30".
years, between 1779 and 1831. Six of Hasenhut's most successful performances in Vienna include the following:

Thaddädl, der 30jährige Schutz [Thaddädl, the Thirty-Year-Old Infant], premiere 22 May 1799 at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, 42 performances.46

Aenas, premiere 30 September 1804 in the Theater an der Wien, 61 performances.

Hausgesinde [House Servants], premiere 18 January 1808 in the Theater an der Wien, 108 performances.

Rochus Pumpernickel, premiere 28 January 1809 in the Theater an der Wien, 44 performances in this venue (130 performances throughout Vienna).

Esishaut [Donkey Skin], premiere 10 March 1814 in the Theater an der Wien, 34 performances in this venue (44 performances throughout Vienna).

Alle fürchten sich [Everyone is Frightened], premiere 7 January 1831 in the Kärntnertortheater, 35 performances.

Thaddädl, der 30jährige Schutz, an adaptation of a Kurz play, differs significantly from the original in that the struggles of learning for the comic character, a young apprentice, come not from base stupidity, but from distractions of the attractive Viennese social and cultural lifestyle. This psychological factor was new on stage and perhaps the audience in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt found it less amusing than the infantile behavior and antics of Kasperl. This consideration may explain why Hasenhut performed in venues other than the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.

Unfortunately for Hasenhut, no one venue offered him an extended contract; consequently, he could neither deviate from the traditions of his predecessors nor from the expectations of the audience. Not until the next generation of dramatists, who included Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle, did the traditional comic character change to a character other than a fool. In works by later

46Rommel writes that this piece enjoyed 70 performances in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt between 1799 and 1813; with no script extant, Rommel reconstructs the plot from other extant scripts with similar characters and plot intrigue. See 403.
dramatists, the new comic character reflected the daily appearance and responsibilities of common Viennese citizens.\textsuperscript{47} Appearing, however, a couple decades before a change in audience expectation, Hasenhut's Thaddädl represented the last clown character in the tradition of Viennese popular theatre.

Critics praised Hasenhut for his skill as an actor. Franz Grillparzer immortalized Hasenhut and his personal struggles in the poem "Launen des Schicksals" ["Twist of Fate"]. Both Grillparzer and the famous Burgtheater actor Carl Ludwig Costenoble (1769-1839) admired Hasenhut for his Leiblichkei, or physical stage movement. Librettist and popular comic actor Emanuel Schikaneder acknowledged Hasenhut's talents in his work Bürgerliche Brüder, while Adolf Bäuerle published an essay on Hasenhut's acting in the 1812 journal Apollo. Hasenhut was not limited to the stages of popular comedy; he performed in Germany under the direction of the romanticists Clemens Brentano and Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), who probably valued Hasenhut's skill at revealing psychological motivations.

The depiction of the comic character was not the only feature of popular comedy that changed around 1800. Comic characters exhibited new functions on stage. Plays during the 1790s began to present the comic character as a supporting companion to a master rather than as the chief protagonist; the characters Kasperl,

\textsuperscript{47}The tastes of audiences changed in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt; patrons preferred to see themselves depicted, in comic form, on stage rather than view the foolish antics of a clown character. See Schwarz 159.
Thaddädl, and later Staberl assumed new career positions rather than remaining a fool or clown.48

A production that presented the comic character Kasperl in a new light was Kaspar der Fagottist oder die Zauberzither [Kaspar the Bassoonist, or the Magic Zither] by Joachim Perinet (1763-1816).49 The play premiered on 8 June 1791 and by 1819 the Theater in der Leopoldstadt had staged it 129 times.50 With this piece, Perinet established the Zauberstück [magic play], known as Zauberkasperliade [magic Kasperl pieces], as a genre for Viennese popular theatre in the suburbs. Productions of magic plays increased from 36 to 147 annually between 1790 and 1806.

Wenzel Muller, who, at age nineteen, became the orchestra director and house composer for the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, provided the music for Kaspar der Fagottist. He wrote music for 224 operas, operettas, Posse [comic pieces], and Singspiel. Although the operatic nature of the piece is clear, this musical may have served as Perinet's parody of government censorship and insistence on scripted text in performance.51

Perinet adapted successful plays from previous decades, the most successful of which was Die Schwester von Prag [The Sisters

48Gugitz dates this transition during the year 1794.
50Hadamowsky, Katalog der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien 133.
51See Gugitz, "Joachim Perinet. Ein Beitrag zur Wiener Theatergeschichte" ["Joachim Perinet. A Contribution to Viennese Theatre History"]. According to Gugitz, Perinet is a dramatist in "no good sense of the word". He rebelled against Joseph II's government and against the regelmässiges Stück, or literary text.
from Prague). Based on Hafner’s play *Der von dreien Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo* [*Odoardo, Who is Tormented by Three Sons-in-Law*], this play premiered on 11 March 1794 and appeared 138 times in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* between its premiere in 1794 and 1859.\(^{52}\) Perinet incorporated the character Kasperl as foil to Hanswurst, and as in his other productions, music was a marked feature.

After Marinelli’s death in 1803, Karl Friedrich Hensler (1759-1825) assumed the position of director in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*. During his tenure, the genre of “knight and robber” plays became popular. Two of his most successful productions, which were his own plays, include the following:

*Das Petermännchen* [*The Little Man*], premiere 8 April 1794 in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, 39 performances by 1812.\(^{53}\)

*Das Donauweibchen. Ein Romantisch-komisches Volksmärchen mit Gesang in drey Aufzügen, nach einer Sage der Vorzeit* [*The Maiden from the Donau: a Romantic Fairy-Tale Comedy with Music in Three Acts, Based on a Traditional Saga*] premiere 11 January 1798 in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, 104 performances by 1839.\(^{54}\)

*Das Donauweibchen* typifies much of comedian la Roche’s work; his performance as Kasperl returns to a spontaneous simplicity and naïveté rather than being a vehicle of parody, as in Perinet’s play. As a servant to his master, Kasperl is not the chief protagonist, but he remains the focus of comic intrigue in a piece that offers impressive scene changes, disguises, and music. Devoted, simple, and the object of older women’s affections,

\(^{52}\)Hadamowski, *Katalogue der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* 249.


\(^{54}\)Hadamowski, *Katalogue der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* 122.
Kasperl behaves in a manner similar to Hanswurst, without the violence and vulgarity. Hensler's plays, based on local legends of knights and medieval tales, proved to be successful for a number of years.

The success of Hensler's medieval fairy-tale dramas may partially relate to the public's readiness to break out of disenchanted reality brought out by the then current economic oppression and foreign occupation. The popularity of these plays in suburban arenas relates more likely, however, to their ability to tap into recognizable performance traditions, such as the traditional comic character, local parody, and magical scene changes, as well as music.

Between the years 1764 and 1806, the Theater in der Leopoldstadt fostered a successful and diverse theatre operation. Acting techniques included the great improvisational skills of la Roche and the more subtle presentation of Hasenhut. Productions that required minimal detail in scene setting gave way to fairy-tale and "knight and robber" dramas requiring better technical facilities.

The last half of the eighteenth century also saw the depiction of the traditional comic character evolve, from Kasperl, who

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55 Roger Bauer, *Laßt sich koaxen, Die kritischen Fräsch' in Preußen und Sachsen! Zwei Jahrhunderts Literatur in Österreich [What a Mess! The Critical Frog in Prussia and Saxony! Two Hundred Years of Literature in Austria] (Vienna, 1977) 111. The following consideration takes issue with Bauer: successful productions related more to a comfortable and recognizable environment rather than to an affirmation for the need of escape. Generally theatre can function as a liminal site in which a public can escape and engage in behavior otherwise not realized. Social events of the day can show themselves in art works, but the success of the theatrical productions may owe more to suburban performance traditions.
initially emerged as an improvisational fool and later followed scripted dialogue, to Thaddädl, who demonstrated psychological motivation in his actions. The character soon shed his role as a clown and adopted the behavior of a common Viennese citizen; it is as this character that he becomes a recognizable feature during the early nineteenth century.

**New Middle-Class Consciousness: the Comic Characters of Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle**

The most prolific period of theatrical adaptation and production in popular Viennese comedy occurred during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Although not dramatists or actors by profession, Josef Anton Gleich, Karl Meisl, and Adolf Bäuerle collectively contributed a breadth of work unmatched during any period of Viennese popular comedy. Between 1791 and 1839, Gleich wrote over 220 plays; between 1801 and 1845, Meisl penned over 180; and between 1806 and 1830, Bäuerle scripted over seventy (by 1854 he finished seventy-eight).

**Josef Anton Gleich, 1772-1841**

Born on 14 September 1772 in Vienna, Gleich received his early education, formal and informal, in the Josefstadt district, a manufacturing section of Vienna, where he spent much of his time among working-class people. After completing three years of study in philosophy, he finished a course in state auditing, which

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56 Gertrud Krausz, "Joseph Aloys Gleich als Dramatiker: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wiener-Volkstheaters (1772-1841)." ["The Dramatist Joseph Aloys Gleich: a Contribution to Viennese Popular Theatre (1772-1841)."], diss., University of Vienna, 1932. This study is one of the few that discusses Gleich as dramatist. Krausz portrays Gleich as an individual who did not concern himself with literary fame: he enjoyed writing to please and entertain his audience. Such an attitude could explain his poverty, meager existence, and vast collection of writings.
earned him a position in civil service where he worked in various capacities between 1790 and 1831. He held a position of assistant in the court regional accounting office in 1797 and later advanced to the position of bill officer. After a brief two year retirement in 1831, he returned into the court service. Despite his prominent position when he died on 10 February 1841, his meager pension and impoverished condition could not support his widow.57

In addition to his service in the royal court, Gleich was a prolific writer of as many as 300 robber and ghost stories. He also penned reports, histories, almanacs, and tourist guides. Gleich demonstrated equal fertility as a dramatist, writing over 200 plays. Designed for the popular Viennese theatres, these stage works exhibit a variety of dramatic structure, such as *Lokalpossen mit Gesang* [local comedy with song], *Zauberstücke mit Gesang* [magic play with song], and *Besserungsstücke* [improvement plays] as well as serious plays. His debut as dramatist in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* was 27 September 1804. After serving as assistant director in the *Theater in der Josefstadt* during 1815 and 1816 under Josef Huber, he returned to the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*. Gleich married twice.58 After he befriended the popular actor Ferdinand Raimund, for whom he wrote many plays, Gleich’s daughter Luise (1802-1855) became Raimund’s wife.

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57 A letter from 19 January 1841 requesting financial assistance from his colleague Steinhausen illustrates Gleich’s impoverished state. See Krausz 5.
58 Gleich’s first wife was Elisabeth Engel (1760-1832), by whom he had two children: Karl, who became *Assistat bei der k.k. Cameral-Hauptbuchhaltung* [clerk in the imperial accounting office] in 1825, and Aloisia, or Luise, who later became a singer and actress of some fame.
Although he died in poverty, Gleich was one of the most popular dramatists in Vienna during the early nineteenth century.

Gleich's twelve most produced plays between 1804 and 1840 are listed in order by the number of productions:59

Herr Josef und Frau Baberl: Posse mit Gesang [Mr. Josef and Mrs. Baberl: Comedy with Music]
Der Ehefei auf Reisen: Lokal-komisch Zauberspiel mit Gesang und Tanz [The Trip of the Marriage Devil: Local, Comic Magic Piece with Music and Dance]
Der Berggeist oder Die drei Wünsche: Komisch Zauberspiel [The Mountain Spirit or the Three Wishes: Comic Magic Piece]
Der Pachter und der Tod: Gespenster-Karikatur mit Gesang und Tanz [The Renter and Death: Spirited Caricature with Music and Dance]
Heinrich der Stolze, Herzog von Sachsen: Ein Originalschauspiel mit Gesang [Henry the Proud, Duke of Saxon: an Original Play with Music]
Die kleinen Milchschwestern von Petersdorf: Ein Romantisch-komisch Volksgärtchen [The Small Milk Sisters from Petersdorf: a Romantic, Fairy-Tale Comedy]
Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche: Zauberspiel mit Gesang und Tanz [Ydor the Traveler from the Water Kingdom: Magic Play with Music and Dance]
Jakob in Wien: Posse mit Gesang [Jacob in Vienna: Comedy with Music]
Die Schreckensnacht am Kreuzwegen oder Der Freyschütz: Romantisch Volkssage mit Gesang [The Frightful Night at the Intersection or the Marksman: Romantic Saga with Music]
Herr Adam Kratzel und sein Pudel: Lokal-komisch Posse mit Gesang [Mr. Adam Kratzel and His Poodle: Local Comedy with Music]
Der alte Geist in der modernen Welt: Lokal-komisch Zauberspiel mit Gesang, Tänzen und Tableaux [The Old Spirit in the Modern World: Local, Comic Magic Piece with Song, Dances, and Tableaux]

Four of these plays, Der Ehefei auf Reisen, Der Berggeist oder Die drei Wünsche, Die Musiker am Hohen Markt, and Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche, exhibit not only the characteristics of Gleich's work, but also the artistry of Raimund as actor.

59For production information, including date of premiere and number of performances, see Appendix D. Plot summaries of the four plays discussed in this chapter are also in the appendix.
In Der Eheteufel auf Reisen, the characters portray male insensitivity and disloyalty toward women through a series of comic scenes. The "Marriage Devil" gradually reveals to the chief protagonist, Herr von Storch, that Storch's mistrust and hatred of women is unfounded; the spirit convinces Storch that men also act mischievously.

The numerous scene changes allowed Ferdinand Raimund the opportunity to demonstrate his acting skill in various roles; he played the husband roles, including the chief protagonist Herr von Storch. Although his presentation of the main character was not impressive, the critics praised his ability to develop many roles in one play and to present each character with freshness and innovation. Critics additionally praised the stage facilities and the effective scene changes.60

Der Berggeist oder Die drei Wünsche belongs to the popular genre of the Besserungsstück [improvement play]. Herr von Mißmuth, played by Raimund, embodies exaggerated misanthropic behavior. The failure of three granted wishes--romance with beautiful women, limitless wealth, and eternal health--to provide Mißmuth with total happiness supports the idea that one finds true contentment only when living within modest means. The popularity of the piece certainly related to the far-off places and spectacle, which includes scenes from India and Italy, tavern fights, bandit chases, and a Venetian carnival.61 This play provided Raimund with

60For a critique of Raimund's performance and stage effects in the production of this play, see Rommel 823.
61Hugo Aust, Peter Haida, and Jürgen Hein, eds., Volksstück: Vom Hanswurstspiel zum sozialen Drama der Gegenwart [Folk Play: From Hanswurst Performance to
a basis for his own play Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind [The King of the Alps and the Misanthrope].

Perhaps Gleich's play that best captured the delicate balance of farcical play and seriousness was Die Musikanten am Hohen Markt, in which Raimund played his first major comic role, the jealous musician, Adam Kratzerl. Since the history of Kratzerl's jealousy is not explained, the opening scene depicts a curious situation when Kratzerl's wife Katharina (played by Gleich's daughter Luise) and her mother keep quiet about a rendezvous with Baron Rosen. The first act, in fact, appears to present possible female infidelity at the expense of Kratzerl; however, the action soon reveals Baron Rosen and Katharina working together to help Kratzerl conquer his jealousy.

As a new comic actor, Raimund successfully portrayed a local musician whose jealousy soon takes him to the border of insanity; similar characters appeared later in Raimund's own plays. With this role, Raimund offered an engaging psychological portrayal of Kratzerl, an innovation in the depiction of a comic character.62

In Gleich's Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche, Raimund convincingly demonstrated his versatility in presenting several

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Contemporary Social Drama] (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989) 129. Gleich's intended audience for this moral tale is not entirely clear. He may have designed his play as an admonishment for privileged society or, perhaps, as a general maxim applicable for all citizens.

62 Until this performance, critics accused Raimund of failing to create an innovative stage character. The early indictments against Raimund appeared formidable, since actors rarely succeeded in overturning collective opinion regarding their performances in popular comedy; however, in addition to exhibiting successfully his skill in movement, gesture, and music, Raimund earned praise for his presentation of an original character. See Heinz Kindermann, Ferdinand Raimund: Lebenswerk und Wirkungsräume eines deutschen Volksdramatikers [Ferdinand Raimund: Work and World of a Popular German Dramatist] (Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1943) 90.
characters in one play. The comedy demanded perhaps the most rigorous use of stage and scene equipment found in any of Gleich's works.63

The plays of Josef Anton Gleich proved popular to the suburban audiences primarily because they fully utilized the stage facilities of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and they featured the skills of actor Ferdinand Raimund, who frequently played several characters in one production. With his plays combining spectacle and comedy, Gleich satisfied audiences' desires of escape from daily routine into a supernatural worlds.64

Karl Meisl. 1775-1853

Karl Meisl was born in Carinthia, Austria. His father worked as a merchant before marrying his wealthy wife Margareta.65 As a student, Meisl demonstrated promise as a writer by penning comic plays. After his beautiful mother died when Meisl was about fifteen years old, his father remarried a woman who assumed an intense control over both her husband and his son. In an argument over financial matters, Meisl fled his home to enlist with the military service. During his service, both parents died.

Meisl achieved a rapid promotion as quartermaster and in 1820 was transferred as a prominent civil servant to the Austrian navy along the Adriatic coast. But as early as 1801 he began to write popular plays as well as to translate French plays into German. During the 1805 French invasion of Vienna, French

63Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Newspaper], 29 May 1827.
64Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Newspaper], 23 September 1806.
dignitaries and soldiers praised Meisl as a dramatist. Up until 1813, Meisl worked mostly as a soldier, but between 1813 and 1815 he wrote several patriotic plays. Although he worked for the military, he was not exempt from censorship. In September 1815, he staged a comedy with official "imperial and royal" military uniforms as costumes, which incited authorities to reprimand Meisl for his choice. In a play presented on 14 September 1816, his presentation of despicable characters angered critics who believed the stage was the site to display virtuous figures.66

During October 1817, Meisl wrote plays for Ferdinand Raimund to perform in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt under director Leopold Huber. In plays such as Der lustige Fritz [Funny Fritz, 1818] and Die Fee aus Frankreich [The Fairy from France, 1821], Meisl created several characters that allowed Raimund to portray irresponsible and jealous stage figures. Raimund later redirected his stage jealousy into a personal attack against Meisl over the writing of Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel [The Barometer-Maker on the Magic Island], a dispute which they failed to reconcile. Raimund had requested a benefit play, but owing to his children’s illnesses, Meisl could not complete the play. Raimund wrote the benefit piece himself, achieved some success, but remained angry with Meisl. Meisl later parodied Raimund’s first major success, "Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind" ["The King of the Alps and the Misanthrope"], which further incensed Raimund.

66Galle questions whether students protested against Meisl’s play, as claimed by Ullmayer.
Meisl excelled as a dramatist during the 1820s, marked with a premiere piece that reopened the suburban theatre, the Theater in der Josefstadt, on 3 October 1822. Meisl’s reputation as a dramatist and generous financial supporter of civic projects was renown throughout Vienna.

During the mid 1820s, Meisl’s plays consisted primarily of Zauberstücke [magic plays] and performances for special occasions in other cities. His later works were chiefly parodies. In the 1830s he wrote more poetry than plays, such as his poems commemorating Emperor Francis and Ferdinand Raimund after their deaths. He retired from his military service in 1844 and died in his apartment on 8 October 1853, surrounded by his children.

Meisl’s twelve most successful plays between 1804 and 1830 are listed in order by the number of performances:

- Die Fee aus Frankreich oder Liebesqualen eines Hagestolzen [The Fairy from France or Love’s Agony for a Confirmed Bachelor]
- Das Gespenst auf der Bastel [The Ghost along the Bastion]
- Der lustige Fritz oder Schlaf, Traum und Besserung [Funny Fritz or Sleep, Dream, and Improvement]
- Die schwarze Frau [The Black Woman]
- Die beiden Spadifankerin [The Two Spadifankerin]
- Der Flügelmann oder Er muß sie heiraten [The Flying Man or He Must Marry Her]
- Der Kirchtag in Petersdorf [Church Day in Petersdorf]
- Julius, die Putzmacherin [Juliet, the Cleaning Maid]
- Die Heirat durch die Güterlotterie [Marriage through the Lottery]
- Werthers Leiden [The Suffering of Werther]

67 Ludwig van Beethoven composed the score for the play Die Weihe des Hauses [Inauguration of the House].
68 Meisl donated profits of 10,000 Gulden from his play Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen [Elisabeth, Countess of Thuringia] for the construction of a hospital. See Galle 20.
69 For production information, including date of premiere and number of performances, see Appendix D. Plot summaries of the three plays discussed in this chapter are also in the appendix.
Meisl’s three most frequently staged plays featured Raimund in the lead comic role before Raimund established himself as a dramatist. Der lustige Fritz oder Schlaf, Traum und Besserung [Funny Fritz or Sleep, Dream, and Improvement, 1818] presents the power of the “future as mirror” in warding off potential disaster. Fritz realizes that his irresponsible behavior may bring personal unhappiness only after experiencing visions induced through magic. In this piece, a morality play, the protagonist is gradually convinced to change his personal lifestyle. The role of Fritz’s mother is especially well developed, as she struggles between pampering her son and correcting his reckless behavior.

In Das Gespenst auf der Bastei [The Ghost along the Bastion, 1819], the ghost Tobias Unglück, played by Raimund, must wander the earth, or at least the city of Vienna, until his grandson Heinrich marries to keep the family name alive.70 Void of a complicated plot line, the play’s main features include intrigues with ghosts and scene changes. The premiere served as a benefit for Raimund:

All of the loges and reserved seating for this production were sold out already three days early. The rush into the theatre was so intense during the evening that police and military guards required reinforcements. At 6:00 pm all the side avenues were closed and no additional tickets could be sold. The play was a complete success; it was one of Meisl’s most successful pieces up to that time.71

70 Tobias is the main protagonist and also the chief comic character, or Hanswurst in a new shape. See Galle 51.
71 Ullmayer provides an account of the premiere: “Sämtliche Logen und Sperrsitze waren zu dieser Vorstellung schon drei Tage vorher vergriffen. Der Andrang war Abends bei der Vorstellung so groß, daß die Polizei- und Militärwachen verstärkt
Die Fee aus Frankreich oder Liebesqualen eines Hagestolzen
[The Fairy from France or Love's Agony for a Confirmed Bachelor, 1821] is an uneven piece, with scenes depicting jealousy and foolish behavior leading to disappointment and unhappiness. The fairy Rosa insists that Spindelbein can conquer his misanthropic state if he only develop greater understanding and love. Using magic in the piece, Meisl depended upon the resources of the theatre to demonstrate that individual transformation is limitless and all cures possible.

Although Spindelbein's servant, Valentin, represents a traditional Hanswurst character, Spindelbein, played by Raimund, remains the chief protagonist who must reform his malcontent behavior.\(^{72}\) Raimund's ability to assume the roles of Spindelbein and additional misanthropic characters, the musical selections, and the scene transformations highlight the features of this piece.

Meisl's plays do not contain political or social satire, nor are of great aesthetic merit, but they incorporate many inventive uses of scenic spectacle.\(^{73}\) Meisl's use of magic as a vehicle necessary to encourage reform in character faults exploited the stage machinery,\(^{74}\) and his works reaffirmed that the comic character

\(^{72}\) Meisl develops Valentin as a clever, yet simple servant who is devoted to his wife and children. In Raimund's play Der Verschwender [The Spendthrift, 1634], the character Valentin reappears, with similar characteristics. See Galle 63.

\(^{73}\) According to Galle, audiences applauded Meisl's use of stage machinery, the humorous dialogue, and jokes, rather than the plot. See Galle 166.

\(^{74}\) Galle explains that Meisl used flying machines and trap doors for actors and animals to soar or disappear quickly from sight. The stage created thunder, rain, sunshine, mountain ranges, valleys, flowers, and trees, all of which could quickly disappear. See Galle 166-167.
was alive and well on the suburban stages.\textsuperscript{75} By 1845, Meisl had outlived his early popularity, however, as the mid-nineteenth century ushered in productions that featured the poetry of Raimund and satire of Johann Nestroy within suburban theatres.

**Adolf Bäuerle, 1786-1859**

The third prolific Viennese dramatist during the early nineteenth century was Adolf Bäuerle, born Johannes Andreas Bäuerle on 9 April 1786. Little is known of Bäuerle's life as a youth, journalist, or dramatist, but two documents that reveal information about his life and involvement with the theatre are his journal \textit{Weiner Theaterzeitung} [Vienna's Theatre Journal] and his own memoirs, first published in 1858.\textsuperscript{76} Between 1806 and 1859, Bäuerle served as editor for his journal that documents many theatre productions in Vienna and throughout Europe, both court entertainments and popular performances.\textsuperscript{77}

During the same year as the inception of the \textit{Wiener Theaterzeitung}, Bäuerle's first play appeared on 25 July 1806 in the \textit{Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Kinder und Narren reden die Wahrheit} [Children and Fools Speak the Truth]. In the course of his career, Bäuerle contributed over eighty plays to Vienna's suburban theatres, with seventy-five plays appearing between 1806 and 1829.\textsuperscript{78} Many of his works featured the comic character Staberl,

\textsuperscript{75}Meisl defended the tradition of Hanswurst and ridiculed the proponents of "high art" who felt the character was dead. See Galle 178.
\textsuperscript{76}A fire in 1927 in Vienna's Palace of Justice destroyed many documents and records concerning Bäuerle's life.
\textsuperscript{77}Edition 28 from 1856 included an essay about Bäuerle from his friend Hermann.
the last of stereotyped comic characters, frequently performed by Ignaz Schuster (1779-1835). Staberl assumed various jobs in Bäuerle's works, but his chief occupation was an umbrella maker, or Parapluiemacher. Staberl often remained the object of his friends' playful ridicule and he expressed an acceptance, even resignation of his state, when he frequently replied: "I wish it did me some good." Even after the success of Ignaz Schuster's performances as Staberl, the character continued to be a recognizable figure in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt during the mid-nineteenth century, when actor and director Karl Carl revised the role.

Bäuerle wrote many comic lead roles for Schuster and Raimund. Of his plays, five of his most frequently performed pieces include the following:

_Die Bürger in Wien_ [The Citizens of Vienna], a localized comedy; premiere 23 October 1813 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.
_Die Reise nach Paris oder Wiesels komisches Abenteuer_ [The Trip to Paris or Wiesel's Comic Adventure], a comedy; premiere 9 January 1816 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.
_Der verwunschene Prinz_ [The Enchanted Prince], a localized farce; premiere 3 March 1816 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.
_Die falsche Primadonna_ [The False Primadonna], a comedy with song; premiere 18 December 1816 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.
_Aline oder Wien in einem anderen Weltteil_ [Alone or Vienna in Another Part of the World], a comic magic opera; premiere 9 October 1822 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt.

Two of these plays illustrate the appeal of Bäuerle's dramas: _Die Bürger in Wien_ [The Citizens of Vienna, 1813] reflects many familiar, and beloved images of everyday Viennese life and _Der

Theodor Stranitzky's Hanswurst in that Hanswurst also held various occupations, but his main job was as a farmer from Salzburg.
verwunschene Prinz [The Enchanted Prince, 1818] provides an escape into a familiar fairytale milieu. Considered perhaps his greatest play, Die Bürger in Wien presents the theme that wealth rather than honor or integrity wrongly directs individual decisions. Redlich and his wife Therese prefer the rich suitor Müller to the poor poet Carl as a husband for their daughter Kätchen, who loves Carl. Redlich soon realizes that his own financial situation needs to improve, so he bans Müller from seeing his daughter. While Redlich celebrates his son’s decision to enter the military service, Müller kidnaps Kätchen. When Carl reports of Müller’s crime and eventually rescues her after she jumps into a river, Redlich allows Carl to marry Kätchen.

The comic character Staberl, who is introduced as an umbrella maker, figures in much of the action. He glibly talks of political matters with Redlich early in the play, drinks profusely at Redlich’s celebration, and exaggerates his role in Kätchen’s rescue. He appears both loyal and incompetent, which some scholars suggest is Bäuerle’s critique of common citizens within early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier society.

In Der verwunschene Prinz [The Enchanted Prince, 1818], the action resembles the fairytale, Beauty and the Beast. Sandelholz brings his three daughters Zemire, Fanny, and Lise to a new land in search of the beast Azor. Sandelholz hopes that his virtuous daughter Zemire will appeal to Azor so he can become rich. After meeting Zemire, Azor allows her to return to her family on the condition that she later return to him. Although circumstances
prevent Zemire from going back to Azor, he recognizes her devotion; he transforms himself into a prince and marries her.

In this play of loyalty’s reward over the pursuit of quick riches, the character Sandelholz engages in humorous behavior, representing the tradition of the chief comic protagonist in popular comedy. Although Azor’s powers appear insufficiently explained, he eventually rewards Zemire’s devotion. As a possible commentary on Viennese society, Bäuerle’s theme of devotion encourages his audience to find contentment in remaining loyal.

Bäuerle continued the tradition of Viennese popular comedy by creating the comic character Staberl in the tradition of Hanswurst and Kasperl and by developing dramas in fairytale settings. Raimund, who appeared frequently in Bäuerle’s works, would later fuse these two features by crafting traditional comic characters in his plays of magic.

With the volume and popularity of the plays by Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle, the Theater in der Leopoldstadt provided a venue in which Viennese popular comedy flourished. Extemporaneous acting, led by actor la Roche and director Marinelli, eventually conceded to new formulas in theatre, featuring common Viennese citizens depicted as the leading comic character. Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle became the first dramatists to satisfy the tastes of suburban audience with scripts that combined localized comic characters, music, and scene transformations. From this transition to scripted plays with localized characters, Ferdinand Raimund rose to prominence, appearing as one of the most talented actors and later
one of the best-loved playwrights of early nineteenth-century Vienna.
CHAPTER SIX
ALTERNATIVE VENUES IN THE SUBURBS:
THEATER AUF DER WIEN AND THEATER AN DER WIEIEN
(1787-1844)

While the Theater in der Leopoldstadt staged the comic antics of Kasperl and plays from Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle, another suburban theatrical venue emerged, the Theater auf der Wieden. Located directly south of Vienna’s central district, the Theater auf der Wieden developed a diverse repertoire with alternative fare to the traditional comedies of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt; although spoken drama comprised over half of the nearly five hundred premieres between 1787 and 1801, the five most frequently performed productions, and eight of the top twelve, were operas.1 Perhaps the most internationally recognizeable performance in the history of the theatre was the premiere on 30 September 1791 of Mozart’s The Magic Flute, which appeared 223 times between 1791 and 1801.

Built in 1787, the Theater auf der Wieden enjoyed a brief fourteen-year history until 1810, when the operation relocated a few blocks west, along the Vienna River, and assumed the name Theater an der Wien, in a venerable playhouse that still stands today.

These two venues developed their reputations initially from musical productions, although the Theater auf der Wieden

1Otto Erich Deutsch, Das Freihaustheater auf der Wieden, 1787-1801 [The Theatre auf der Wieden, 1787-1801] (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1937) 46. Deutsch’s study offers a historiography of Theater auf der Wieden scholarship, a history of theatre management, an incomplete repertoire, and eight illustrations.
additionally staged comedies similar in form to those of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Between 1795 and 1800 the repertoire in the Theater auf der Wieden included an average of 115 performances of magic opera, or Zauberoper, annually; however, between 1801 and 1806 the average dropped to 47 in the Theater an der Wien. In the new venue, the Theater an der Wien, popular magic operas conceded to French or Italian "opera-plays," or Spieloper, knight plays, heroic ballets, pantomime, French spectacles, occasional localized comedies of manners, and burlesque. With this change in repertoire, the Theater an der Wien became more of an international theatre and less of an outlet for indigenous preference, such as Viennese popular comedy.3

History of the Theater auf der Wieden, 1787-1801

The Theater auf der Wieden has the distinction not only as venue for the premiere of The Magic Flute, which Mozart wrote for this stage, but also as the site of significant innovations in musical and theatrical performance. The Theater auf der Wieden, a productive and talent-rich theatre in nineteenth-century Vienna, featured more than twenty dramatists, librettists, and composers from its own ensemble.4 The two individuals credited with successfully establishing this second major suburban theatre were

2The large number of musical productions in the Theater auf der Wieden could relate to the fact that the Kärntnertortheater, the court facility for opera and musical performances since 1762, remained closed between February 1788 and 16 November 1791. The court designated the new suburban facility as K.K. priv. Theater auf der Wieden ["Imperial-royal" privileged Theater auf der Wieden] on 1 July 1790. After 1791, the Kärntnertortheater resumed staging the majority of court musical productions.


4Deutsch 1.
actor and librettist Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812) and actor Christian Roßbach (1756-1797).  

Between 1 April 1785 and 20 February 1786, Emanuel Schikaneder performed in Vienna’s Burgtheater, and on 18 January 1786 requested from Emperor Joseph II a permit to perform theatrical productions in Vienna. A wandering troupe performer who had worked in southern Germany and Austria, Schikaneder was the second itinerant actor to request such a privilege from Joseph II, the first actor being Karl Marinelli, director of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Schikaneder proposed constructing a facility outside the southeast city gate in an open field, an area that had no theatre facility. Schikaneder argued that a new building would adhere to existing laws, provide no interruption to existing industry, and improve the impoverished conditions of the area.

Joseph II granted Schikaneder permission to construct a theatre, but in another location, since the city maintained military fortifications in the proposed area. Schikaneder did not receive the Emperor’s response, however, because he had departed the Burgtheater and Vienna between February and April 1786 to resume his itinerant acting career. When Schikaneder eventually returned to Vienna, he resumed acting at the Burgtheater because he did not have enough money to finance his project.

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7 Hadamowsky 504.
The Emperor's approval of Schikaneder's project inspired actor Christian Roßbach (1756-1797) to suggest as a possible theatre facility the *Freihaus in der Vorstadt Wieden* [a "tax-free" house in the suburb Wieden], owned by court member Georg Adam Prince Starhemberg (1724-1807). Roßbach's proposal appealed to the city magistrate because the site was located near the city's inner district, was the largest taxable building, and provided sufficient space for an audience.\(^8\)

The proposed facility necessitated converting a court garden into a performance site. This court garden was located on an island surrounded by two tributaries from the Vienna River; rows of houses around the island bordered a central garden. The court family Starhemberg that had owned this garden for over one hundred years permitted Roßbach to convert a building adjacent to the garden into a theatre.\(^9\)

Although information about the physical structure of the *Theater auf der Wieden* is limited, a few documents provide helpful insights:\(^10\) a 1770 print presents the buildings surrounding the future playhouse site (see fig. 20) and a 1797 plan shows the word *Schaubühne*, or stage, opposite the gardens and in front of the entrance into the theatre (see fig. 21).

\(^8\) Deutsch 3-4.
\(^9\) Deutsch 3.
\(^10\) Deutsch writes that unfortunately scholars may never discover the exact location of the theatre within the Starhemberg palace. See 1.
This illustration depicts the buildings surrounding Starhemberg’s Freihaus. The theatre (1) is most likely located in the lower-left corner of the building surrounding the garden with tree grove. Print from Otto Erich Deutsch, Das Freihautheater auf der Wieden, 1787-1801 [The Theatre auf der Wieden, 1787-1801] (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1937) 48.

Fig. 20. The Freihaus auf der Wieden, overview, [c. 1770].
This illustration depicts the “Free house” of court member Georg Adam Prince Starhemberg (1724-1807) in the Viennese suburb of Wieden. The house is numbered 454. Next to number 449 reads the word Schaubühne [stage], denoting the entrance into the theatre. This illustration comes from a city 1797 plan from Maximilian von Grimm. Print from Otto Erich Deutsch. *Das Freiaustheater auf der Wieden. 1787-1801* [The Theatre auf der Wieden. 1787-1801] (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1937) 47.

Fig. 21. The Freihaus auf der Wieden, overview, [c. 1797].
In his memoires, Castelli indicated that the Theater im Freihause was as large as the Theater in der Josefstadt, another suburban playhouse, but had only two galleries.\textsuperscript{11} Castelli added:

As one entered from the Schleifmühlgasse, a small adjacent avenue, into the courtyard, one saw a long hall, located across the entrance; the right half of this hall housed the theatre. One could enter the theatre from this entrance; however, on the other side of the theatre, a door and wooden hallway provided an entrance directly from the Naschmarkt, a local marketstand. The auditorium was simply painted; on both sides of the stage, two lifesize statues stood, one of a knight with a knife and a lady with mask.\textsuperscript{12}

The Theater auf der Wieden was a three-level structure, a ground floor with two galleries, in the shape of a long, rectangular box. With its stone exterior, wooden interior, and shingled roof, the building measured over 30 metres long and 15 metres wide, comparable in size to the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. After a renovation in 1794 that added a third gallery, the theatre accommodated 1,000 patrons. With its depth measuring 12 metres and width 14 metres, the stage featured machinery for both “deep” and “short” stage sets, or sets which either were constructed to the front of the stage or within the complete depth of the stage.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11}Dimensions of the Theater in der Josefstadt indicate that this theatre was much smaller than the Theater auf der Wieden.


\textsuperscript{13}Wolfram Skalicki, “Das Bühnenbild der Zauberflöte: Von der Uraufführung bis zu Oskar Strnad” (“The Stage Design of The Magic Flute: From the Premiere to Oskar
While construction crews converted this site into a playhouse during the summer of 1787, Roßbach performed in his Hütte am Glacis, portable booth theatres, in neighboring open fields. At the end of September, Roßbach announced in the Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna’s Theatre Journal] that “on 7 October the producer and director of the Berner acting troupe [named after Felix Berner] will open a newly-built playhouse, with a wonderful new comedy with songs, an opera buffa, and a national ballet.” As was often the case, the theatrical fare offered a traditional one-act comedy, or Lustspiel, often with Kasperl, and arias; a complex Singspiel translated from Italian; and a machine-pantomime, with the special effects and spectacular scene changes. The theatre actually opened one week later, on 14 October.

With the luxury of a permanent theatre, Roßbach intended to use his new facility during the winter months and continue to perform on outdoors either auf dem Glacis or am Neuen Markt within Vienna’s inner district during the summer. However, Roßbach’s booth theatres on outdoor market squares and purpose-built facilities did not guarantee a secure livelihood for him or his actors. During the summer of 1788, Roßbach nearly lost his entire enterprise. After a fire destroyed his stage auf dem Glacis on 8 May, the city magistrate ordered him to dismantle his outdoor

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productions at his other site, am Neuen Markt. Part of his starving ensemble joined Karl Meyer and his performers in October 1788 to open a third suburban theatre, the Theater in der Josefstadt. The other actors remained loyal and departed with him for Moravia.

After performing outside during the summer of 1787, Roßbach gave his lease of the Theater auf der Wieden to writer and actor Johann Friedel (1751/52-1789), who opened the 1788 season on 24 March. An experienced performer, Friedel had organized his own troupe a few years earlier south of Vienna, in the city of Wiener Neustadt. One of the members of his wandering troupe was Schikaneder’s wife Eleonore Arth (1745-1821). Born into the theatre family Artim in Hermannstadt, Hungary, she began performing at age eighteen and played the roles of mothers, young lovers, sly girls, and other roles mit viel Natur und Empfindung ("naturally and sympathically"). She and Friedel shared both a professional and intimate relationship. But Friedel was to serve as director for only one season, as he fell victim to tuberculosis and died on 31 March 1789, at age thirty-eight. Eleonore Schikaneder assumed his responsibilities at the Theater auf der Wieden.

When the new season began on 31 April 1789, Eleonore requested assistance from her husband Schikaneder, who returned from Regensburg to assume the position of director. With

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16Hadamowsky 506.
17Deutsch 11.
additional help from Josef Edler von Bauernfeld, a relative, Schikaneder reorganized the Theater auf der Wieden's administration in July 1789.

With Roßbach acting in Moravia and the death of Friedel, Schikaneder needed to obtain his own permit from the court. Since they enjoyed a fine reputation and popularity among the Viennese audiences, Schikaneder and Bauernfeld requested on 11 May 1790 from Emperor Leopold II an official privilege to perform comedy. They also requested the right to display the imperial eagle and title of Kaiserlich-Königliches Schauspielhaus ["imperial-royal" playhouse]. When Schikaneder and Bauernfeld reminded Emperor Leopold II that the deceased Joseph II had granted Schikaneder's original request four years earlier, Leopold II granted them the official privileges on 21 June 1790.

Although Schikaneder appears to have acquired his performance privileges with relative ease, the city magistrate was quick to combat any infringement rights. When Schikaneder lost his partner Bauernfeld to bankruptcy in 1792, he scurried during the next few years to earn profits, subleasing the theater in December 1793 and building a third gallery in August 1794. In attempting to build his box office earnings, Schikaneder performed an outdoor production, Herkuliaden oder Olympische Spiele nach der Weise der alten Griechen darstellen zu dürfen [Feats of Hercules or Olympic Games, as Presented in the Manner of the Ancient Greeks],

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18 Deutsch 13.
19 Deutsch 13.
20 Hadamowsky 506.
in Vienna's large central park, the *Prater*, in April 1794. The
director Marinelli of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* immediately
protested, since he maintained the rights to comic theatre in that
area. The Lower Austrian government supported the protest of
Marinelli, who also had the advantage of owning more taxable
houses than Schikaneder.21

During his arduous search for a financial backer, Schikaneder,
who served as a Freemason with Mozart, became a member of the
lodge of "St. John of the Three Fires." Through this association he
met the banker Bartholomäus Zitterbarth (1757-1806), who
assumed the entire financial responsibilities of the theatre on 1
March 1799.22

Despite the difficulties surrounding the administration of the
*Theater auf der Wieden*, Schikaneder skillfully developed the
facility into a permanent venue of cultural significance and of
simple theatrical entertainment. Several composers collectively
provided the genesis of nineteenth-century romantic opera,
including Paul Wranitzky, orchestra conductor from the imperial
court theatre; Johann Mederitsch, known as Gallus; Süßmayer, a
student of Mozart; and F.A. Hoffmeister, a friend of Mozart. *The
Magic Flute* helped established Viennese "magic opera," a tradition
from which ghost and fairy plays emerged. Schikaneder performed
localized pieces, such as *Der Tyrolier Wastl* [*The Harmless Man from
Tirol*] and *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* [*The Mirror of Arkadien*], soon

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21Hadamowsky 507.
22Hadamowsky 507.
popular on all German stages. The presence of both court composers and popular comic actors in the Theater auf der Wieden distinguished this venue from other suburban theatres. Within the suburb of Wieden, Schikaneder’s theatre operated as a harmonious haven of entertainment for both court members and common citizens.

Perhaps the most definitive synthesis of traditional popular comic elements and court influences was the performance of Mozart’s Die Zauberflöte, or The Magic Flute, which premiered 30 September 1791. In this opera, the Queen of the Night lures Prince Tamino to rescue her daughter, Tamina, from King Sarastro. Accompanied by the bird catcher Papageno (see fig. 22), Tamino arrives at Sarastro’s court; however, Sarastro exposes the villainy of the Queen of the Night to Tamino. Through a series of tests, Tamino proves his bravery and worthiness to Sarastro, who rewards Tamino with the hand of Tamina. Papageno also receives as reward the hand of Papagena.

The character Papageno, played by Schikaneder, appeared relatively harmless and less aggressive than his predecessors Hanswurst, Bernardon, or Kasperl; he was a gentle bird-catcher rather than a sword-wielding companion. Whereas Hanswurst demonstrated an active, conniving nature, Papageno is passive, content simply with wine, food, and his Papagena.

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This illustration depicts the actor Emanuel Schikaneder as the comic character Papageno from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*. The illustration, drawn by Ignaz Alberti, comes from the original publication of *The Magic Flute* from 1791.

Fig. 22. Emanuel Schikaneder as Papageno, [c. 1791].
Themes within the piece suggested more than a coincidental support of court rule, perhaps more strongly than in any of the eighteenth-century plays of Viennese popular comedy. As Papageno strove to complete tests together with his master Tamino, the relationship between the two protagonists supported an important tenet of Austrian Enlightenment: "masters" were in a position to lead the "servants," and without the wisdom and guidance of the master, the servant would most likely become lost. Both Mozart and Schikaneder served as court artists and both men belonged to the secret society of Freemasons.24

On 1 April 1800, Count Starhemberg refused to extend Schikaneder's lease of the Theater auf der Wieden because the building had become a fire hazard. But by May Schikaneder had acquired a permit to build a new theatre a few blocks west of the Theater auf der Wieden. His financial backer Zitterbarth purchased the Haus und Garten Nr. 26 an der Wien [House and garden no. 26 an der Wien] for 100,000 Gulden.25 With Zitterbarth's help, Schikaneder constructed the largest of the suburban theatres, the Theater an der Wien.26

24In addition to their activities in court organizations and private clubs, Freemasons may have sought involvement in other areas, such as in popular suburban theatre arenas, to promote the propaganda of allegiance to authority. Freemasons may have sought to manipulate popular Viennese images to serve their independent agenda, at least in this work.

25Deutsch 26. Hadamowsky writes that Zitterbarth purchased the new site in November 1799, suggesting that the plan to move was conceived before April 1800. See 507.

26Schikaneder's last performances in the Theater auf der Wieden were the opera Torbem and the afterpiece Thespis, on 12 June, one day before the opening of the Theater an der Wien.
Court architect Rosenstängl designed the new playhouse, which was completed in less than one year, with Franz Jäger working as construction engineer. Lorenzo Sacchetti designed the stage machinery and along with Schikaneder, he developed a large stage that allowed for more elaborate visual effects than the smaller stage of the Theater auf der Wieden. The larger playhouse emancipated the comic character, such as Papageno in The Magic Flute, from restricted sets in the smaller Theater auf der Wieden and provided comic actors with greater audiences and more possibilities in staging.27

**History of the Theater an der Wien**

Schikaneder's new playhouse (see fig. 23) was located in a garden area between two houses.28 The architects converted the house bordering the Vienna River into the auditorium. The main entrance to the theatre, located on the Böhmischen Gassel (today the Millöckergasse), allowed for carriages to discharge patrons.29 When the Theater an der Wien opened on 13 June 1801 with the opera Alexander, the staging emphasized elaborate spectacle, with

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27 Holzer 39.
28 Hadamowsky writes that Schikaneder reputedly received permission from Emperor Franz II on 3 March 1800 to build a new theatre; Schikaneder shared this news with the Lower Austrian government on 21 April, requested a construction permit from the city magistrate on 3 May, and finally received his permit on 27 May. See 508. Two additional studies present the history of the Theater an der Wien: Raoul Biberhofer, 125 Jahre Theater an der Wien, 1801-1926 [125 Years of Theater an der Wien, 1801-1926] (Vienna: Verlag W. Karczag, 1926) and Anton Bauer, 150 Jahre Theater an der Wien [150 Years of Theater an der Wien] (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag, 1952).
29 On 9 September 1800 a statue of Papageno was placed above this entrance, where it still stands.
This illustration depicts the exterior of the Theater an der Wien, the largest of Vienna's suburban theatres. Today this illustration is located in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna]. Print comes from Otto Rommel, Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie: Ihre Geschichte vom barocken Welt-Theaters bis zum Tode Nestroy [The Old Viennese Popular Comedy: its History from Baroque World Theater until the Death of Nestroy] (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1952) 420 and 1091.

Fig. 23. The Theater an der Wien, exterior, [c. 1801].
four horses pulling chariots with forty riders during the concluding victory scene.\textsuperscript{30}

The theatre building, measuring 45 metres long and 21 metres wide, had one of the deepest stages in Europe, 13 metres in depth, with the capacity for an additional 10.5 metres when the portable back wall was extended. The lavishly blue- and silver colored auditorium, measuring 19 metres in length, contained 700 seats and room for 1,500 standing patrons, with the larger half of the parterre designated as standing room and four galleries hovering over the main floor and stage. By providing loges close to the stage and glamorous decorations, the \textit{Theater an der Wien} appeared more competitive with the \textit{Burgtheater} than the other suburban theatres.

Indeed, the leaseholder of the \textit{Burgtheater}, Baron Braun, had protested against Schikaneder's request for a new theatre in January 1800; he argued, unsuccessfully, that proposed theatres must be converted from existing buildings and that no new theatre facilities should be built.\textsuperscript{31} Schikaneder served as the founding theatre director of the \textit{Theater an der Wien} for only eleven months, until May 1802. He sold his lease to Zitterbarth, who served as director for two years, until 15 February 1804, when he sold his rights to Braun. Until 1825, when the private theatre entrepreneur Karl Carl (1787-1854) purchased the lease of the \textit{Theater an der Wien}, various leaseholders operated the theatre; for the most part, the leaseholders were connected with the court and they produced 数字代的文本内容。
plays more suited to court tastes rather than those of popular Viennese audiences.

Other than the few comedies by Schikaneder that appealed to mass audiences, the repertoire of the theatre consisted largely of opera (Beethoven's *Fidelio* premiered on 20 November 1805), German classical drama, Italian and French productions, children's ballets, and pantomime. Localized comedies played no significant part of the repertoire after Schikaneder's departure in 1806, until Carl assumed the position of director in 1825, when the theatre assumed a new life with its brilliant new actor Johann Nestroy.

**Pictorial Depictions of the Theater an der Wien**

Whereas theatre historians can only conjecture as to the interior and exterior appearance of the *Theater auf der Wieden*, several extant illustrations provide visual information about its stage and auditorium.32 One print reveals features typical of early nineteenth-century continental theatres: an orchestra pit, an auditorium that includes twenty-three rows in the parterre, a standing section in the rear, and six loges along the sides of the hall.33 The first gallery also houses a Hofloge, or court loge, with five other loges and an open area in the rear. The second and third galleries are divided into several sections; the fourth gallery is for standing patrons.

32The *Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien* [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna] contains several prints and photographs of the *Theater an der Wien*: two interior prints, an exterior print, two seating arrangement plans, and additional photographs.  
33IN 76,274/17 entitled *Ansicht des k.k. Theaters an der Wien N. 85* [View of the "Imperial-Royal" *Theater an der Wien*, no. 85].
Another print of the interior (see fig. 24), dating from 1830, provides a glimpse of knights on horseback on stage carrying flags and four jousts, framed by a red curtain that is behind the proscenium. The orchestra pit houses more than thirty musicians and a large chandelier adds to the elegance of the auditorium.

One print of the theatre’s exterior shows the facility’s main entrance with the Papageno statue placed above it.

Seating plans indicate 268 seats in the parterre and the four galleries above the main floor provide about 300 additional seats, marking the Theater an der Wien as the suburban theatre that could accommodate the most patrons. The original floor plan reveals that the stage contained six sliding flats on one of the deepest stages in Europe.

**Space and Depiction of the Comic Character**

The change of theatrical productions from the Theater auf der Wieden to the Theater an der Wien illustrates an evolution of theatrical fare, from traditional indigenous comedies to entertainment, largely musical productions, directed by court members. Whereas the intimate performance space of the Theater

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34 IN 76,274/11 entitled K.K.P. Theater an der Wien No. 68 ["Imperial-Royal" privileged Theater an der Wien, no. 68].
35 IN 15,599 entitled Façade des k.k. priv. Theaters an der Wien gegen die Jaegergasse, welches bey der letzten Ziehung der grossen Lotterie den Haupttreffen ausmacht [Facade of the "Imperial-Royal" privileged Theater an der Wien, the site of the last large lottery drawing].
36 IN 94,677 entitled K.K. privileg. Theater an der Wien Nr. 26 ["Imperial-Royal" privileged Theater an der Wien] and IN 13,598 entitled Logen- und Sperrszit-Eintheilung des k.k. priv. Theaters an der Wien [Logees and Seating Divisions of the "Imperial-Royal" privileged Theater an der Wien]. The prices for seating also differ slightly between the two plans, indicating an increase in admission charge around 1820.
37 IN 106,270/a. A copy of these photos can be found in Bauer’s study. Photograph IN 206,270/e supports the claim that the theatre had six sliding flats.
This illustration depicts a production with knights on horseback in the Theater an der Wien. Joseph Gregor does not provide a date for this illustration, although the couple seated in the court loge in the first gallery resembles Emperor Francis Joseph and perhaps his wife Elisabeth, which would date the illustration around the mid-nineteenth century. Print from Joseph Gregor, Geschichte des Österreichischen Theaters: Von seinen Ursprüngen bis zum Ende der ersten Republik [History of Austrian Theater: from its Inception to the End of the First Republic] (Vienna: Donau-Verlag, 1948) 113.

Fig. 24. The Theater an der Wien, interior, [c. 1850].
*auf der Wieden* continued the tradition of the popular comic character, in the form of the docile bird-catcher Papageno, the *Theater an der Wien* offered an expanded stage and auditorium suitable for elaborate stagings. With Schikaneder’s departure from the *Theater an der Wien* in 1806, Viennese popular comedy diminished in the repertoire for at least two decades.

The conversion of a palace and garden to a modest *Theater auf der Wieden* successfully served popular comic entertainment. After its destruction, the purpose-built *Theater an der Wien* emerged as the largest, best-equipped stage in Vienna, making it possible for its stage bills to include more than crude popular comedy. When court members recognized the potential for elaborate productions on this stage, they seized control of the theatre’s operations and directorship. Not until Carl’s directorship in 1825 and the successful debut of actor Johann Nestroy on 30 August 1831 did the *Theater an der Wien* return to recognizable images from Viennese popular comedy.
Located west of Vienna's central district, the suburb of the Josefstadt, formerly a center for several small manufacturing industries, provided the home for the third major suburban theatre, the Theater in der Josefstadt, founded in 1788. Smaller than the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Theater auf der Wieden, and Theater an der Wien, its limited space restricted the type and scale of production. It featured, primarily, familiar comedies and ballet.\(^1\) Leaseholders and the general public often complained of the poor stage and auditorium facilities, but they supported its offerings of traditional Viennese popular comedy. The Theater in der Josefstadt also served as an important springboard for actors and young dramatists. Whereas musical productions became the predominant offering in the Theater auf der Wieden and Theater an der Wien, traditional spoken comedy remained the major fare in the Theater in der Josefstadt.

\(^1\)For the repertoire and history of the Theater in der Josefstadt, see Anton Bauer 200 Jahre Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988 [200 Years of Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988], (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1988) and Franz Hadamowsky, Wien: Theatergeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkrieges [Vienna: Theatre History: From the Beginnings to the End of World War I], (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1988) 528-562. The Theater in der Josefstadt was the only suburban theatre allowed to stage ballet. See 528.
History of the Theater in der Josefstadt, 1786-1834

The Theater in der Josefstadt's founder was Karl Mayer (1753-1830), son of Adam Mayer, musician and tavern owner. Born on 28 April 1753, Mayer probably began performing during his teenage years, appearing on booth stages throughout the city; however, sources indicate that Mayer's recorded performances date to the 1780s, when authorities denied his request to stage puppet shows on the market of Schwechat. His name next appears during the 1786/1787 winter season, when he played with a troupe in the tavern Zum weißen Fasan [The White Pheasant] in the suburb Neustift; a traveler commented on Mayer's performance: "Except for the role of Hamlet, which Mayer played, the production was completely pitiful; I never saw anything so horrible."5

On 28 October 1783 Karl Mayer married Elisabeth Köck, whose father owned the tavern Bey dem goldenen Straußen [The Golden Ostrich] in the suburb of the Josefstadt. During 1788, Mayer joined his father-in-law Johann Michael Köck in converting the tavern into a theatre.

Since 1766 the tavern on Kaisergasse Nr. 93 had belonged to Köck and his wife Maria Anna. The interior space of Köck's tavern

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2 Adam Mayer married the widow of Franz Karl Brauneckher, former owner of the local tavern Zum goldenen Adler [The Golden Eagle], on 20 August 1749 in the church of St. Ulrich. Brauneckher died on 17 April 1749. With the marriage, Adam Mayer assumed the position of tavern owner. The tavern was located at today's address Lerchenfelderstraße 18.

3 Hadamowsky 528.

4 Hadamowsky writes that at a benefit performance on 14 December 1812, Mayer thanked the public for graciously supporting him for thirty-one years. See 528.

5 Hadamowsky 529: "Hamlets Rolle, die Mayer hatte, ausgenommen, fiel sie so erbärmlich aus, daß ich niemals etwas Elenderes gesehen habe."

6 The tavern was located at today's address of Josefstädterstraße 26.
included a square courtyard and garden, measuring approximately 19 metres by 18 metres; the building’s exterior measured nearly 44 metres by 46 metres, marking the site for the future playhouse as the smallest among the suburban theatres.

In a manner similar to Philipp Hafner’s experiences of acting in local taverns, Köck integrated theatrical fare within his restaurant so that visitors could dine over a bowl of soup after a performance. Either at the end of 1787 or beginning of 1788 Köck requested a permit from the city magistrate to build a theatre, which was granted on 14 January 1788, with the police administration issuing a performance permit on 9 February 1788.

During the summer of 1788, Köck built a small theatre in his garden, following the plans of court architect Joseph Allio. With a parterre measuring (without the area under the three galleries) approximately 7.5 square metres and a stage measuring 5.5 metres in width and 7.5 metres in depth, Köck’s theatre had the smallest stage and fewest seats on Vienna’s suburban theatres.

After the theatre’s construction, Mayer used the newspapers to invite court members and common citizens to attend a premiere of a traditional popular comedy and future productions of diverse entertainment: “In this unlikely location, we have spared no

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7Hadamowsky 529.
8Hadamowsky 529. Government officials forced private theatre companies to abide by numerous and complicated registration procedures, as the following incident suggests. After two months of operation, the Lower Austrian government discovered that neither Köck nor Allio had collected their official permits. Upon distribution of the construction, occupancy, and performance permits on 27 December 1788, government officials severely reprimanded Köck and Allio. It is unclear whether the theatre company ignored or remained ignorant of established procedures.
9Mayer included advertisements on 27 September and 15 October 1788 in the Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna’s Theatre Journal].
expense, labored hard, and considered everything in constructing this stage. One expects such perfection from a performer, who is found to exhibit the fine tastes of his honored Viennese peers. We are moved to invite each of you to our performances and entertainments, which include the best comedies, operas, ballets, and pantomimes.\textsuperscript{10}

The \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt} opened on 24 October 1788 with a comedy by Salomon Schletter, \textit{Liebe und Koketterie} [\textit{Love and Coquetry}]. The \textit{Kritische Theaterjournal von Wien} [\textit{Critical Theatre Journal of Vienna}] offered a modest review of the premiere in the new theatre, acknowledging the blue and silver antique ornamentation and referring to the theatre's interior and exterior as “dainty.”\textsuperscript{11} Evidently, not all viewers could see the stage action because the height of the galleries restricted patrons from seeing action at the rear of the stage. This restriction remains an obstacle yet today for patrons in the galleries; few seats in the theatre have unobstructed views.

Approximately two-and-one-half years after its opening, the \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt} was sufficiently well established to entertain a visit from Emperor Leopold II and his sister Maria Karolina, the Queen of the Sicilies.\textsuperscript{12} After their visit, Mayer

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{10}]Hadamowsky 529: "Es wäre sehr wohl am unrechten Ort eine ausführliche Beschreibung zu geben, wie er keine Kosten gespart, keine Arbeit gescheut, und alles unternommen habe, um seiner Bühne einen der erstem Plätze zu verschaffen; man erwartet dieß ohnedem von einem Mann, der den feinen Geschmack der verehrungswürdigen Bewohner Wiens zu seinem Richter wählt. Aber dieß wird man ihm erlauben zu sagen: daß er seine Anstalten so getroffen, um Jederman, der ihm sein Schauspiel zu besuchen, die Ehre geben wird, mit den besten Lustspielen, Opern, Ballets und Pantomimen zu unterhalten."
\item[\textsuperscript{11}]Hadamowsky 530.
\item[\textsuperscript{12}]The Emperor and his sister attended a performance on 18 February 1791.
\end{itemize}
requested of the Emperor certification as an “imperial-royal” playhouse and permission to perform during Lent. Mayer reassured the court and police administration that his “stage observed the strictest consistency in the choice of plays and in the manner of character presentation. The advantage of the official certification lies in the minds of the audience, who would rather visit a certified theatre rather than an ordinary venue. My theatre will provide the audience with an improved nourishment, which remains my total aim.”\textsuperscript{13} The Emperor granted Mayer imperial certification, which carried the privilege of holiday performances. With his imperial recognition from 8 April 1788, Mayer joined Karl Marinelli of the \textit{Theater in der Leopoldstadt} and Emanuel Schikaneder of the \textit{Theater auf der Wieden} and \textit{Theater an der Wien} as “imperial-royal” theatre performers.\textsuperscript{14}

During the nineteenth century, fortunes flowed and ebbed on the stage of the \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt}, as directors changed frequently. Mayer served as director between 1788 and 1812 and between 1821 and 1822; however, during the theatre’s first seventy years, thirteen additional directors worked at the \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt}. Under the directorship of Karl Friedrich Hensler in 1822, the theatre underwent a major renovation, resulting in

\textsuperscript{13}Hadamowsky 530: “Auch die Polizeioberdirektion bestätigte Mayer, ‘daß seine Schaubühne noch immer die strengste Regelmäßigkeit, sowohl in der Wahl am Stücke als an Sittlichkeit der Individuen beobachtet habe. Der ganze Vorteil des Privilegiums besteht in nichts als in dem Glauben des Publikums, welches eher ein solches besucht als ein anderes. Hierdurch wird seine Nahrung verbessert und dieses ist die ganze Absicht seiner Bitte.’”

\textsuperscript{14}Mayer requested the title on 5 March 1791.
approximately 400 reserved seats, 14 loges, and three galleries.\textsuperscript{15} For the opening of the newly renovated theatre on 3 October 1822, dramatist Karl Meisl wrote a special play, \textit{Die Weihe des Hauses} [\textit{The Inauguration of the House}], the music composed by Ludwig van Beethoven.

\textbf{Pictorial Depictions of the \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt}}

A print dated from 1814 (see fig. 25) depicts scene design in performance and seating before the 1822 renovation.\textsuperscript{16} A small orchestra pit, located directly in front of the stage, consists of two rows, with a small orchestra of fourteen musicians. The parterre contains eighteen rows of benches, accommodating over two hundred viewers. The first gallery is divided into loges and contains a rear section for standing. Typical of a continental theatre of this time, the auditorium, also contains two open galleries. The second and third galleries provided additional standing room. One exit is evident in the parterre.

Another print, from 1827 (after the 1822 renovation), depicts a view of the house from the rear of the auditorium (see fig. 26). This print also shows an imperial crest mounted above the proscenium and a loge next to the stage that is probably the imperial box.

\textsuperscript{15}Franz Ullmayer, \textit{Memoiren des patriotischen Volks- und Theaterdichters Carl Meisl} [\textit{Memoires of the Patriotic Folk Writer and Dramatist Carl Meisl}], (Vienna, 1868) 30. Ullmayer writes that under Hensler's directorship, the theatre was not only significantly enlarged, but also elegantly arranged.

\textsuperscript{16}The prints discussed in this section are located in the \textit{Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien} [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna].
This illustration is the oldest depiction of the interior of the Theater in der Josefstadt. Anton Bauer claims the print comes from a collection by Geißler, Ansichten von Wien [Views from Vienna]. The print is located today in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna], with the inventory number IN 15709/a, 15709/b entitled Ansicht von inern Prospect des k.k. Theaters in der Josephstadt, N. 22 [Interior View of the “Imperial-Royal” Theater in der Josefstadt, no. 22]. Print from Anton Bauer 200 Jahre Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988 [200 Years of Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988], (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1988) 12.

Fig. 25. Interior view of the Theater in der Josefstadt, [c. 1814].

Fig. 26. Interior view of the Theater in der Josefstadt, [c. 1827].
A print from around 1820 (see fig. 27) depicts the theatre’s stage machinery in operation for a comic production.\textsuperscript{17} Above the proscenium arch, the imperial crest has been replaced with statues of two muses or angels. Two actors take note of a third riding above stage in a hot-air balloon. The down-stage actor appears to be a Dottore character, perhaps a lawyer or professor.

Another print reveals that the seating arrangement could hold 258 patrons in the parterre and combined with the available space in the three galleries, the theatre had over four hundred seats.\textsuperscript{18} The admission charges indicate that although the theatre had fewer seats than the \textit{Theater an der Wien}, charges were comparable to other suburban theatres.

\textbf{Physical Space and Theatrical Productions}

The \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt} provided the smallest auditorium and stage among Vienna’s suburban theatres. The repertoire lists a diverse fare of productions, including musical pieces such as opera and \textit{Singspiel};\textsuperscript{19} however, the majority of productions consisted of popular comedies familiar to the Viennese audiences. Although Ferdinand Raimund, one of Viennese most popular dramatists and actors, premiered his last play, \textit{Der}

\textsuperscript{17}In the print, the parterre shows ten rows, with the front section, or \textit{cercle}, consisting of either four or five rows. The rear rows are divided in the middle, with seven guests in each division. Six guests stand between the divided rows. One sees standing sections under the gallery. The first gallery shows no court loge, indicating perhaps that the artist’s rendering depicts the theatre before the addition of a court loge. The existing loges are divided into two sections; the second loge protrudes into the auditorium, shaping the galleries like a horseshoe. The second gallery contains three open loges along both sides. The third gallery is used for either sitting or standing.

\textsuperscript{18}IN 13,597 entitled \textit{Logen- und Sperrsz-Eintheilung des k.k. priv. Theaters in der Josefstadt} [Loge and Reserved Seats within the “Imperial-Royal” Privileged \textit{Theater in der Josefstadt}].

\textsuperscript{19}Bauer 229-262.
This illustration, entitled *K.K.P. Theater in der Josefstadt, No. 61* ["Imperial-Royal" Privileged Theater in der Josefstadt, no. 61], shows a scene from Karl Meisl's play *1722. 1822. 1922.*, which premiered on 26 October 1822, nearly three weeks after the theatre's renovation. The print is located today in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna], with the inventory number IN 33, 928. Print from Anton Bauer *200 Jahre Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988* [200 Years of Theater in der Josefstadt, 1788-1988], (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1988) 32-33.

Fig. 27. Interior view of the *Theater in der Josefstadt*, [c. 1822].
Verschwender [The Spendthrift], at this venue on 20 February 1834, the Theater in der Josefstadt functioned generally as a space that presented familiar plays, parodies of known plays, and opportunities for comic actors to begin their careers;\textsuperscript{20} after launching their careers in the Theater in der Josefstadt, actors often took better positions in Vienna's other theatres.

The modest space and furnishings within the Theater in der Josefstadt perpetuated a modest enterprise for the facility's many leaseholders. Although other theatres offered more innovative productions, superior spectacle, and greater profits, perhaps its intimate atmosphere is the reason that the Theater in der Josefstadt survives as Vienna's oldest theatre in continuous operation.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20}The lists of plays from Gleich, Meisl, and Bäuerle in Appendix E indicates that after popular comedies successfully debuted in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, directors of the Theater in der Josefstadt would later stage the same plays.

\textsuperscript{21}Vienna's Schonnbrunner Schloßtheater dates to 1747; although it continues to stage productions, its season is limited to a few productions annually.
POPULAR THEATRE IN EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA: STAGE CHARACTERS AND PERFORMANCE SITES VOLUME II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

The Department of Theatre

by

After Viennese citizens moved from the city's core to the peripheral Vorstädte, or suburbs, during the late-eighteenth century, new centers outside of Vienna emerged as performance sites for popular comedy: the Theater in der Leopoldstadt; the Theater auf der Wieden, later the Theater an der Wien; and the Theater in der Josefstadt. By the early nineteenth century, greater Vienna's population consisted largely of workers and household members in the suburbs, with the nobility within the city's walls comprising only 8.5% of the population. The large contingency of middle class Bürger provided the suburban theatres with most of their audience base.

Within these theatres, performers acknowledged their middle class following both by reaffirming positive virtues of the working public, such as industriousness, loyalty, and perseverance, and by challenging, even attacking its structure. Performers delivered these reaffirmations and challenges through the depiction of the leading comic character. Three native artists familiar with the traditions of popular comedy presented works that continued to feature the recognizable leading comic character. Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) and Johann Nestroy (1801-1862) entertained

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2 See Lichtenberger Chapter 1.
suburban audiences with their acting, directing, and playwrighting, while Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872), a dramatist and "man of letters," presented the comic character before the court audiences of the Burgtheater. Although the suburban, middle-class audiences determined the initial success of Viennese popular comedy, theatre, as interpreted and presented by Raimund, Nestroy, and Grillparzer, reflected between 1823 and 1848 a complex image of its society and people.

**Ferdinand Raimund's Early Biography, Acting, and Plays**

Although Raimund eventually emerged as one of the most popular playwrights and actors of his day, his early life suggests no direct connection with the theatre.³ He was born on 1 July 1790 in Vienna, the son of Jakob Raimann, a wood and metal craftsman from Prague, and Katharina Merz, the daughter of Jakob's employer. Raimund received a classical early education, learning basic disciplines as well as drawing, violin lessons, and French. His schooling was relatively expensive, but his parents were able to finance the education. His parents came from a class of craftsmen, a social group which provided Raimund with several characters in

his plays. His mother died in 1802 from widespread lung infection, as did his father two years later. With no source of income, his older sister Anna directed him to a confectioner to begin an apprenticeship, an experience that gave him his first taste of Viennese theatre.

Raimund's master maintained an imperial privilege to sell baked goods and beverages to theatre patrons in the balcony of the Burgtheater. As nummero, or vendor, attending performances almost daily to sell these goods, Raimund decided to become a tragic actor. After three years in his apprenticeship, he left his post virtually overnight to join a local wandering troupe. The two worlds of Raimund's early life, the secure world provided by his hard-working parents and the itinerant, unpredictable world of the theatre, appear as familiar images in his later plays.

Raimund began his acting career in the Viennese suburb of Meidling, near the palace of Schönbrunn. A director named Kralitschek dismissed Raimund because his looks were unsuitable and he could not pronounce the German “r.” He finally found an opportunity with a troupe led by Felix Frasel in the Hungarian provinces, where his name appears for the first time, under his adopted acting name Raimund, in a playbill from 1810. After Frasel's troupe disbanded, Raimund received his first significant acting position from a director named Kunz. Raimund toured with

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4Kindermann 75.
5Kindermann 75.
6Kindermann 77. After Raimund left his brief engagement in Meidling, he traveled to Bratislava (Pressburg), but again failed to impress fellow actors.
7Kindermann 75-79.
the troupe Kunzischen Schauspieler-Gesellschaft [Kunz's Society of Actors], which performed under miserable conditions in northern Austria wherever it was most financially advantageous. Following three or four months of playing villains and old comic men, Raimund found employment in Vienna, at the suburban Theater in der Josefstadt. 

After several undistinguished performances at the Theater in der Josefstadt, portraying serious roles in plays by German dramatists August Friedrich von Kotzebue (1761-1819) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Raimund received his first big success on 28 March 1815 in a comedy by Josef Anton Gleich, Die Musikanten am hohen Markt [The Musicians of the High Market].8 The assistant director at the theatre, Gleich wrote the part of a jealous musician, Adam Kratzerl, especially for Raimund. His critical success as a comic actor eventually enabled Raimund to transfer to the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 11 October 1817, working under Gleich, who had returned to this venue a year earlier. Working in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Raimund discovered Vienna's popular comic character types common to the venue, such as Staberl and Thaddädl.

In addition to sharing a professional career with Gleich, Raimund entered into a more personal relationship with him by

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marrying his daughter Luise in 1820. Up to this point in his life, Raimund's involvement with women brought more confusion and torment than joy. While performing in Raab under director Kunz, Raimund reputedly had jumped into a river, shaken by the unfaithfulness of a young girl. In 1818, Raimund had asked the actress Therese Grünthal to move in with him; but, when he saw her in a theatre loge with another suitor, Raimund publically insulted and beat her outside the loge, behavior that sent Raimund to jail for three days. Raimund's most serious love was Toni Wagner, the daughter of a wealthy coffee merchant who refused to allow his daughter to see an actor. Dismayed, Raimund soon consented to marry Luise Gleich. His failure to arrive on the original wedding day foreshadowed the future of this marriage, which they dissolved in 1822. After his divorce, Raimund again pursued Toni Wagner, who remained a close companion to Raimund until his suicide.

During the eighteenth century, dramatists often wrote benefit pieces for an actor who would receive the theatre's profits from a performance. When dramatist Karl Meisl failed to complete such a play for Raimund during 1823, an angered Raimund submitted his own play, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel [The Barometer-Maker on the Magic Island], for his benefit performance.
on 18 December 1823 at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. The resulting success encouraged Raimund to continue writing plays.

The first of Raimund's four most successful plays, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs [The Diamond of the King of the Spirits], premiered one year later, on 17 December 1824, in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Raimund played a traditional Hanswurst character, the servant Florian Waschblau, who accompanies his master Eduard on a quest to find a girl who has never told a lie; Eduard must present such a girl to the King of the Spirits, Longimanus, who will then bestow upon Eduard a valuable gift. When he finds the girl Amine, Edward reluctantly presents her to Longimanus because he has fallen in love with her during his journey. Longimanus rewards Eduard for his loyalty, however, by presenting him with Amine as a bride. Florian returns to his love Mariandel.

Several accounts of Raimund's production attest to the brilliant performances as well as the script. Franz Grillparzer explained that Raimund succeeded in writing for the skills of his fellow actors, such as Theresa Krones, who played Waschblau's love Mariandel, and Joseph Korntheuer, who played Eduard. An actor in Vienna's Burgtheater, Carl Ludwig Costenoble also applauded the performances of Krones and Korntheuer, but reserved his highest praise for Raimund, "the poet who will stir the hearts of the

14 Kindermann 116.
15 Kindermann 166.
Viennese". The Theaterzeitung from 25 December 1824 complimented Raimund’s “masterful” acting as well as other elements of the production, including the singing, beautiful decorations, and mechanical scene changes.

Two years after the premiere of Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Raimund finished his script for Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt oder der Bauer als Millionär [The Maid from Fairyland or the Farmer as Millionaire], which premiered in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 10 November 1826. In this work Raimund departed from playing the role of a traditional servant and assumed the part of Fortunatus Wurzel, who receives Lottchen, a daughter from the fairy Lakrimosa, to rear on earth. Consumed by his new found wealth, Wurzel becomes miserly and insists that Lottchen marry a wealthy suitor rather than her love Karl, a poor fisherman. In a stirring scene, Lakrimosa takes Wurzel’s youth from him, a change that convinces him to allow Lottchen to marry Karl. With the corruption from wealth as an obvious theme, the play allowed Raimund to display his ability to portray both young and old roles, peasant and millionaire, the humble and the proud. For many

17 Carl Ludwig Costenoble recorded in his diary that audiences would undoubtedly miss the actor Korntheuer when he left the stage, but the poet Raimund will be the one who will continue to stir the hearts of the Viennese: “Man wird Korntheuer über kurz oder lang auf dieser Volksbühne gewiß sehr vermissen, aber dem Poeten Raimund werden die Herzen der Wiener nachklagen.” Costenoble further applauds Raimund’s performance as “natural and heart-felt”: “Was für einen natürlichen und herzensauren Florian gab Raimund!” He continues by praising Raimund’s and Krones’ “shared natural harmony” as comic characters: “Raimund-Florian–und Krones-Mariandl–welch eine Harmonie zwischen beiden, der ewig wahren Natur abgeleuchtet.” Costenoble’s account is recorded in Gottfried Riedl, ed., Raimund: Bilder aus einem Theaterleben [Raimund: Scenes from a Life in the Theatre] (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 1990) 45.
18 Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna’s Theatre Journal], 25 December 1824.
19 Kindermann 223.
Viennese, two musical couplets from the piece, Brüderlein fein ["Darling Little Brother"] and Aschenlied ["The Song of Ashes"] remain recognizable songs today. Accounts from two journals emphasized several striking features of Raimund’s production, including his acting and convincing scene design.  

In his next two plays, Moisasurs Zauberfluch [Moisasur’s Magic Curse], which premiered at the Theater an der Wien on 25 September 1827, and Die gefesselte Phantasie [The Chained Fantasy], which opened at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 8 January 1828, Raimund retreated from writing and performing his popularly successful comedies and returned to his first love, tragedies. Earlier in his career, Raimund had wanted to perform tragic roles, but his work in Viennese theatres was generally as leading comic characters. Although the critics admired the two plays, suburban audiences, accustomed to Raimund’s more innocent and comic pieces, disliked the productions.

Despite the financial failure of his two tragedies, Raimund assumed the position of director at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 18 April 1828 and recaptured his earlier brilliance as writer and actor with the comedy Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind

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20 Sammler, 21 November 1826 and Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna’s Theatre Journal], 12 December 1826.
21 Kindermann 307.
22 Kindermann 277.
23 Kindermann 277-278 and 307. Kindermann speculates that the Weltanschauung, or “world view,” of the general public in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt might have motivated Raimund to perform Moisasurs Zauberfluch in the Theater an der Wien, since this venue provided a “sophisticated atmosphere” with its more serious themes on stage: “Die gehobene Atmosphäre des Theaters an der Wien... vermochte den [Raimund] viel besseren und größeren Rahmen zu bieten.” See 307.
[Mountain King and Misanthrope], which premiered on 17 October. Similar to his character Wurzel, Raimund’s role in this play, Herr von Rappelkopf, is a misanthrope who so mistrusts his family that he lives in seclusion. Only through the intervention of the mountain spirit Astragalus, who assumes Rappelkopf’s misanthropic behavior, does Rappelkopf recognize his unfounded mistrust.

In addition to Astragalus’ transformation into the form of Rappelkopf, Raimund’s text called for several elaborate set changes, evident in the following stage directions:

Act 2 scene 7: The cottage continues to burn. Heavy rain. Howling storm and thunder; the floodtide keeps rising higher and higher until it reaches the mouth of Rappelkopf who has sought refuge on the top of the tree, so that only half his head is visible. Astragalus quickly sails close to his head in a golden boat. Rapid transformation: the boat changes into two ibexes with golden horns, the tree on which Rappelkopf is standing [changes] into a beautiful cloud chariot with Rappelkopf and the King of the Alps in it. The water vanishes and is transformed into a picturesque scene of rocks representing the Devil’s Bridge in Switzerland, on which children, dressed as grey Alpine marksmen, fire mortars while the cloud chariot crosses the stage.

Act 3 scene 1: Throne room in Astragalus’ ice palace embellished with tall columns which give off a silvery light. Downstage a tall throne of picturesque aspect, as if irregularly made of ice; upon it [sits] Astragalus as the King of the Alps; a long light blue, white-embroidered tunic, wide Greek cloak, white beard; on his head an emerald crown. In a circle in front of him kneel fancifully dressed Alpine spirits; short white tunics decorated with large green leaves.

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24 Kindermann 353. In Franz Ullmayer, Memoiren des patriotischen Volks- und Theaterdichters Carl Meisl [Memoires of the Patriotic Folk Writer and Dramatist Carl Meisl], (Vienna, 1888), Ullmayer claims that this play is Raimund’s first significant success.

Raimund's elaborate scenic spectacles and transformations succeeded. Reviews also emphasized Raimund's brilliance and "mastery" in playing the two roles of Rappelkopf and Rappelkopf's visiting relative.

In spite of the financial failure of his two tragedies, Raimund attempted further to establish his fame as a tragic actor by writing *Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone* [The Mischief-Carrying Magic Crown], which premiered in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* on 4 December 1829. As with his other tragedies, it met only with critical success.

Raimund continued as director and actor in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* until the end of the decade. For a few years, he traveled, performing in Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Berlin. When he returned to Vienna in 1834, he performed in his last work, *Der Verschwender* [The Spendthrift], considered perhaps his greatest play, in the *Theater in der Josefstadt*, where he had begun his Viennese acting career.

Between 17 October and 2 December 1833 Raimund wrote *Der Verschwender* [The Spendthrift], which premiered on 20 February.
1834. Raimund played the role of Julius von Flottwell, a noble who squanders his wealth. Failing to heed the warning of the spirit Azur, who is disguised as a beggar, Flottwell spends his riches recklessly. After losing his love Amalia, he returns to his former estate, but is unable to regain his lost wealth. Flottwell finds sanctuary from his troubled past with his former loyal and devoted servant Valentin.

Although Raimund's acting was familiar to the suburban Viennese audiences and critics, the reviews praised Raimund for his ability to present again an original character, Flottwell, full of tenderness and humor.31

Raimund's prosperity as an actor and playwright did not insure a long and happy life. Bitten by a dog on 25 August 1836 at his residence outside Vienna in Gutenstein, Raimund was unable to travel to Vienna to acquire medical assistance because of a thunderstorm; he reached the village of Potenstein with Wagner. Raimund evidently allowed his fears of going insane from a ravaged dog's bite to overtake his sensibility: he shot himself and later died on 5 September 1836.32

Raimund succeeded in bringing credible characters and charged emotion to the stage. His depictions of the squandering Julius von Flottwell, the servant Florian Waschblau, and the misanthropes Fortunatus Wurzel and Herr von Rappelkopf illustrate

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30Kindermann 435.
31Wiener Zeitschrift [Vienna's Newspaper], 1 March 1834, Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Journal], 3 March 1834, and Der Sammler [The Collector], 6 March 1834
32Kindermann 481.
his ability to perform a range of comic characters and traits of miserliness, misanthropy, and irresponsible behavior. His comedies recalled familiar “improvement plays” by establishing recognizable settings and endearing characters who reform themselves through the assistance of supernatural forces. Although his comedies met with great box-office success in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and the Theater in der Josefstadt, his tragedies appealed only to the critics. All of these plays remain in repertoires of Viennese theatres today, but the plays alone did not guarantee the popularity of Raimund’s works during his own lifetime; rather, Raimund’s presence as lead actor provided the key ingredient for their success with his audiences.

Raimund acknowledged the beloved figures from the Viennese popular comic tradition in his plays where he developed the comic servant that dates to Stranitzky’s Hanswurst plays. In addition, he emphasized physical action in plots and intrigue through the use of ghosts, fairy tales, disguises, and exotic locations. Raimund’s success lies in his ability to create delicate dialogue, to combine realistic milieu with fantastical allegory, and to please the Viennese suburban audience as a performer. Raimund praised Viennese everyday life in song and word.

Raimund’s greatest popular success came from his comedies in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, specifically from performances

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in which he played the leading comic character before large middle class audiences. With his inauspicious beginnings as itinerant actor and aspiring tragic performer, Raimund’s success as principal comic actor and playwright in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt was certainly unexpected. With Raimund’s works, Viennese popular comedy for the first time expanded to include comic characters other than traditional servants as leading comic protagonists.

Raimund also attempted to expand his range as dramatist and actor by writing tragedies and playing the leading tragic role; however, suburban audiences, who perhaps grew accustomed to seeing Raimund perform comic roles, disliked his tragedies. Critics, though, showered Raimund with praise for his script and performances in his three tragedies, the first of which premiered at the Theater an der Wien, a venue for alternative forms of popular comedy, rather than at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, the site for traditional comedy. The difference between the popular and critical reception of Raimund’s tragic works suggests that audiences determined, to some extent, the success of productions in particular venues. Regardless of the specific audience tastes at each theatre, Raimund’s comedies were so popular that they were produced in Vienna’s three major suburban venues, as well as in foreign countries.

Perhaps Raimund’s major contribution to the popular stage relates to his unique depiction of the comic character. He transformed the leading comic character with a traditionally playful nature into a figure who stood in genuine jeopardy. In Raimund’s comedies, the leading comic characters risk losing their
friends, family, and position in life through their decisions and actions. With high stakes hinging on a character's actions, Raimund provides psychological motivations as the leading comic character struggles with his personal dilemma. Visually, improved stagecraft in the theatre ushered in magic transformation, which helped create a scene depicting the character's possible fate resulting from poor decisions. Audiences recognized and praised Raimund for his convincing thematic and visual presentations of personal embattlement.34

Raimund uniquely captured die Wirklichkeit in psychologischer und sozialer Ausleuchtung [the reality in psychological and social illumination]. This new Wirklichkeit redefined the depiction of popular comic protagonists, as traditional peasant characters encountered supernatural forces in, for the first time, a convincing realistic milieu. Unfortunately for him, Raimund may have even followed his own contrived stage world of reality. Perhaps he acknowledged his own failures in relationships with friends, developing a tragic sense of embattlement with the conventional resolutions of stage characters in improvement plays and with the optimism that was demanded and expected of him as the most popular playwright of his day. He may have followed this acknowledgment with a self-condemnation, his suicide in 1836.

34Kindermann 517-518.
Johann Nestroy, 1801-1862: Demon of the Popular Stage

Although they perpetuated the success and public appeal of Viennese popular comedy, the comic stage characters of Johann Nestroy strongly contrast with those of Raimund. Whereas Raimund’s characters resolve their flaws through supernatural intervention and ultimate, often sudden transformation, those of Nestroy’s resort to greed, aggression, and cynicism. Both Raimund and Nestroy played the leading comic characters in their own works; however, Raimund’s figures undergo a magical transformation, whereas Nestroy’s characters deliver satirical attacks, frequently with no change in their character.

The several features of Nestroy’s works that continued the conventions of traditional Viennese popular comedy include outlandish plots, stock characters, apparent happy endings, and music. A more complicated, and serious, theme lurks beyond the facade of simple comic performance, however, and government censors felt threatened by Nestroy’s attacks and responded by frequently fining, even jailing him. Underscoring the presence of satire in his works, Nestroy cynically shared his reason for writing and performing: “My purpose is to please, to entertain, to get

35 Some scholars argue that Nestroy resorted to Hanswurst’s aggression in depicting his comic characters and, in so doing, achieved a biting humor on stage. Nestroy’s plays exhibited revolts of “plebeian intelligence,” casting Nestroy as a “Jacobian of the Austrian suburban theatre.” See Ernst Fischer, Von Grillparzer zu Kafka: Von Canetti zu Fried: Essays zur österreichischen Literatur [From Grillparzer to Kafka: From Canetti to Fried: Essays on Austrian Literature], (Vervuertverlag: Frankfurt am Main, 1991) 127.

36 Mike Evenden, “Nestroy on Stage,” Theater 12:2 (1981): 66. In presenting the difficulties in staging contemporary Nestroy productions, Evenden suggests that, to execute Nestroy’s satire, productions need to address current audience sensibilities rather than to stage his plays as “period pieces.”
people laughing so that I can pocket the money and laugh, too—
that's the whole idea."\(^{37}\)

Born in Vienna on 7 December 1801 the son of a successful
lawyer and affluent mother, Johann Nestroy pursued a career as
opera singer after his mother died at a young age.\(^{38}\) He made his
stage debut as Sarastro in *Die Zauberflöte* [*The Magic Flute*] on 24
August 1822 in Vienna's *Kärntnertortheater* and successfully
toured as a singer to Amsterdam and throughout Austria.\(^{39}\) His
development as a singer, including voice training, undoubtedly
helped prepare him for a career as an actor. While in Graz, south of
Vienna in the Austrian Alps, he married Maria Philippine who bore
him a son; however, after a short time, they left Nestroy. He later
met actress Marie Weiler, with whom he had two children.\(^{40}\)

In the theatres of Graz, Nestroy began his career as a comic
actor. His appearances exhibited energetic, exaggerated movement,
elloquent gesture, and flamboyant singing. Revealing a rubbery face
and body capable of assuming a variety of comic poses, extant

\(^{37}\)Nestroy quoted in Evenden 68.

\(^{38}\)Several studies present Nestroy's biography and literary analyses of his plays;
however, fewer works document his career as actor. For this information, see Fritz
Brukner and Otto Rommel, eds., *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische
(Vienna, 1924-1930), Franz H. Mautner, "Nestroy" *Nestroy Komödien* [*Nestroy's
Comedies*] (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1987), Jürgen Hein and Johann
Hüttner, eds. Johann Nestroy: *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe
und Volk, 1993), and Rommel 927-975. The edition by Hein and Hüttner represents
the most recent comprehensive German study of Nestroy and his performances. One
recent study accessible in English is W.E. Yates, *Nestroy: Satire and Parody in

\(^{39}\)Rommel 938.

\(^{40}\)Rommel 940.
photographs support the praise of him as “the greatest caricaturist” of the Viennese stage.41

Karl Carl, director of the suburban Theater an der Wien between 1825 and 1845, hired Nestroy as his leading comic actor in 1831. He provided Nestroy with a reliable and capable ensemble, including himself and popular comic Wenzel Scholz.42 Combining his talent with Scholz, Nestroy enjoyed his first full season in Vienna in the suburban Theater an der Wien between 1832 and 1833.43

During the course of his career in Vienna, Nestroy wrote or adapted over eighty plays.44 Like Stranitzky, he borrowed heavily from established plotlines or performance traditions and then adapted the work to suit contemporary Viennese audiences. Although both actors portrayed aggressive, leading comic characters, Stranitzky’s Hanswurst generally imitated the performance traditions of Italian actors by borrowing his plot material from Italian opera while Nestroy’s figures sharply attacked social conditions within Vienna. Stranitzky’s Hanswurst, a servant, was immediately identified by his recognizable costume,

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41 Wiener Zeitung [Vienna’s Newspaper], 1862. Not all critics were enamoured with actors who delivered “caricatured” performance. See review of Nestroy’s acting in Bohemia, 30 July 1844.
43 The director Carl retained exclusive option on Nestroy’s texts for eighteen months after each premiere; this exploitive contract lasted until Carl’s death in 1854.
44 Mautner vi. The series by Hein and Hütther offers comprehensive analyses of Nestroy’s performances. Each volume includes play text, contemporary reception, conventional interpretation, original source documentation, concerns of censorship, and extended bibliography.
but Nestroy’s comic characters often appeared dressed as beggars, servants, and foolish nobles.

After writing a few moderately well-received pieces, Nestroy enjoyed his first prominent success with Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus oder Das liedliche Kleeblatt [The Evil Spirit Lumpazivagabundus or The Roguish Trio], which premiered in the Theater an der Wien as a benefit performance on 11 April 1833.\textsuperscript{45} Produced 259 times during his lifetime and 1,000 times before 1881, Lumpazivagabundus is Nestroy’s most frequently produced work. In this play, three tramps, Leim, Zwirn, and Knieriem (played by Karl Carl, Wenzel Schulz, and Nestroy) win riches from the gods after dreaming of the same lottery number. Only Leim uses his winnings to improve his position in life, to purchase his love Peppi. Zwirn and Knieriem waste their fortune on frivolous entertainment and alcohol.

The unemployed craftsmen Leim, Zwirn, and Knieriem serve as strikingly innovative comic characters in the Theater an der Wien, the playhouse that had opened thirty years earlier and presented the contrastingly docile and subservient comic figure, Papageno of Die Zauberflöte [The Magic Flute]. Although Leim resembles Raimund’s characters Wurzel, Rappelkopf, and Flottwell in Besserungstücke [improvement plays], protagonists who make correct decisions, Zwirn and Knieriem abandon their opportunity for self-improvement by rejecting their gift from the gods and

\textsuperscript{45}Mautner 193.
remain tramps. Unlike Papageno, who successfully endured the trials of Sarastro alongside his master Tamino, Zwirn and Knieriem reject immediately any semblence of a test if it necessitates abandoning their comfortable lifestyle of idleness and drink.

Additionally, Lumpazivagabundus challenges the power conventionally associated with supreme beings or deus ex machina by presenting powerless gods. The play begins after the evil spirit, Lumpazivagabundus, has led the sons of the gods astray into a life of slothfulness. The gods feud over how best to win back their children, debating whether love or riches would entice the sons to return to more responsible ways. The gods eventually wager among themselves and set their dispute in motion by granting the three mortal tramps wealth through the lottery. With humorous dialogue and comic antics, Nestroy's gods fail to guide their own world, let alone save mankind from human weaknesses and social conditions, such as unemployment. In fact, only a manipulated finale of transformation, initiated through the good graces of Amorosa, the guardian of true love, saves Zwirn and Knieriem from eternal punishment with evil spirits.

Contemporary critics recognized Nestroy's departure from traditional popular comedy by noting the limited laughter and the weeping over his characters' inability to escape their predetermined conditions. Reviews point to the failure of "magical

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46 By claiming that a comet will soon destroy the earth and that one consequently should not be concerned over leading a responsible life, Knieriem effectively voices his pessimism over mankind and the fate of the world in a couplet from act 3, scene 8, Die Welt steht auf keinen Fall mehr lang ["This World Will Not Exist Much Longer in this Case"). The lyrics are critical of, or at least concerned with, Vienna's social class structure.
transformations" to improve the protagonists' lives and the lack of suitable solutions for social hardships, other than the saving grace of Amorosa.47 Lumpazivagabundus satirizes not only the comic "characters of meat and blood, even if the meat is a bit raw and the blood a bit thick,"48 but also Viennese popular comedy as an institution that presented good-natured dieties, the triumph of virtue, and quest of self-improvement.

Nestroy continued his success with the play Der Talisman [The Talisman], which premiered on 16 December 1840 in the Theater an der Wien as a benefit performance for Nestroy's love Marie Weiler, who played the role of the gardener Flora Baumscheer.49 The action revolves around the red-haired barber Titus Feuerfuchs, played by Nestroy, who strives to improve his lot in life. After assisting an affluent hair styler, Titus receives a black wig, the "talisman" of the title, as his reward. Wearing the wig, Titus finds immediate success in courting women of higher social status, but as he is about to make a conquest of a wealthy baroness, she discovers his unacceptable comic red hair. Embarrassed after the revelation of his ruse, Titus discards his wig and marries a common girl, Salome, who also has red hair.

47 Editor Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795-1858) wrote in his journal, Der Humorist, on 13 June 1838: "Das abgeschmackte Zauberwesen ist hier ganz in Hintergrund gedrängt."
48 Der Humorist, 13 June 1838: "[D]ie Charaktere haben Fleich und Blut, wenn auch das Fleisch etwas roh, und das Blut etwas dick ist."
49 Jürgen Hein and Peter Haida, eds., Johann Nestroy: Der Talisman, eds. Jürgen Hein and Johann Hüttnner, vol. 17 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1993). The editors provide the contemporary reception of the premiere and a summary of Titus Feuerfuchs as a traditional Hanswurst character. The original script is lost and only a censored text remains extant; however, Hein and Haida assert that Nestroy often performed from the original text rather than from censored alterations.
Throughout the comedy, Titus boldly ridicules, with the verbosity typical of Hanswurst, characters of higher social standing. Also in a fine Hanswurst fashion, he cleverly dupes others by donning his wig; however, Titus discovers his own foolishness for believing that disguise and denial of his true identity bring happiness. Nestroy not only condemned those who judge worthiness by appearance, but he also sharply satirized foolish self-delusion.

Well received by audiences, the play depicts characters from Vienna's Volksleben [folk society], including common and simple Biedermeier [middle and lower class] citizens, such as gardeners, brewers, bakers, chambermaids, widows, as well as poets in literary salons. One review lauds Nestroy for excelling "beyond the [other] actors in his portrayal of Titus Feuerfuchs, . . . an extraordinary and original combination of humor, satire, caricature, and awkwardness, a combination recognizable from his other works." The critic also praises Nestroy's dialogue, couplets, and music.

50 As a common citizen, Titus aspires to break from his lower social and economic status, exhibiting a dissatisfaction with his current lifestyle. The red hair may reflect a social prejudice against red hair during the nineteenth century. The hair of Titus and Salome perhaps signifies concretely the ostracism against individuals with red hair during Nestroy's day.

51 Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Journal], 18 December 1840. Moritz G. Saphir, editor of the journal Der Humorist, praised Nestroy for infusing rich and lucious wit in an otherwise thin plot; however, Saphir insisted that Nestroy failed to portray convincingly ordinary Viennese citizens, a thesis that he later developed in Der Humorist, no. 13, dated 18 January 1841. Saphir was enamoured with Nestroy's incredible skill for creating depth and humor with a simple subject. In encouraging audiences to attend this production, he added that Nestroy deserved his fifteen to twenty curtain calls. See Der Humorist, 18 December 1840.

52 Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Journal], 18 December 1840: "In der Darstellung exzelleierte begreiflicherweise der Autor, als Titus Feuerfuchs, am meisten. Dieser Charakter ist eine jener außerdientlichen, originellen Mischungen
Nestroy’s next major success came two years later, *Einen Jux will er sich machen* [*Out on a Lark*], which premiered on 10 March 1842 in the *Theater an der Wien*. His second most popular play, this piece appeared 161 times during Nestroy’s lifetime. The action of the play depicts the respectable clerk Weinberl, played by Nestroy, receiving a promotion from his employer Zangler. Before settling into the new position, Weinberl sneaks off for adventure in Vienna with his friend Christopherl. After meeting Frau von Fischer and courting her, Weinberl discovers that Zangler intends to propose to her. Following several scenes of disguise and intrigue, the play concludes with a triple wedding, including the marriage of Weinberl with Frau von Fischer.

Whereas many of Nestroy’s earlier plays are largely satirical, this piece stands primarily as a farce, presenting hilarious situations from which the characters disintangle themselves. Nestroy’s aggressive energy remained present in performance, but in the action of a quickly-paced comedy rather than as social satire. Weinberl, Christopherl, and the house servant Melchior appear as traditional “Hanswurst” characters, but they depict different comic traits. Whereas Weinberl and Christopherl enjoy innocent fun, with Weinberl eventually triumphing over Zangler in the courtship of Frau von Fischer, Melchior depicts false

*aus Humor, Satire, Karikatur und Tölpelrei, wie wir sie in seinen sämtlichen Stücken antreffen.*

53 Whereas few of Nestroy’s plays have been translated or adapted successfully for the stage in countries outside of Austria, this piece served as the basis for *The Merchant of Yonkers* (1938), later refurbished as *The Matchmaker* (1954), and finally as the musical *Hello Dolly!* (1963). More recently, Tom Stoppard based his play, *On the Razzle* (1981), on this same work.
refinement by repeating "Das ist ja klassisch!" ["That is marvellous!"] to everything he sees and hears, a reply that possibly indicts feigned courtesy.

Several accounts attest to the audience's overwhelming approval of this piece, citing laughter throughout the performance and the demand for twenty curtain calls.54

Performed 107 times during his lifetime, another of Nestroy's most successful plays, Der Zerrissene [A Man Full of Nothing], premiered on 9 April 1844 in the Theater an der Wien. The action of the play concerns the malcontent Herr von Lips, played by Nestroy, who hires Gluthammer to repair a banister. As he works, Gluthammer laments to Kathi, a visitor who is in love with Lips, over his lost love, Mathilde. In the meantime, drinking with a group of friends, Lips declares that he will marry the next woman he sees, when Madame Schleier appears to sell Lips tickets to a ball. Lips, of course, intends to keep his word, but when Kathi recognizes that Madame Schleier is Gluthammer's love Mathilde, she informs Gluthammer who engages Lips in a fist fight. After both men fall off a balcony, Lips, thinking that he has killed Gluthammer, hides at Kathi's farm. At the same time, Gluthammer, thinking he has killed Lips, also hides at the farm. When his friends mistake Lips for dead, they decide to divide Lips' will, but after secretly hearing unflattering comments about himself, Lips

54See Der Sammler 12 March 1842 and Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Journal], 12 March 1842. A later review, Bohemia 23 Juli 1844, argues that the appeal of Nestroy's comic characters does not come from the physical appearance or depiction of the character, but rather from the character's consciousness of a volatile situation and its possible consequences.
changes the will, making Kathi sole heir. Lips’ friends immediately court Kathi, and a jealous Lips reappears, but is arrested for the murder of Gluthammer. In a dark silo, Lips encounters Gluthammer, whom he believes is a ghost, but Kathi arrives, concluding the action with plans to marry Lips, while Gluthammer vows to end his relationship with Mathilde.

Certainly the comic antics of falling, fights, hiding, false discoveries, and mistaken identity suggest that Der Zerrissene is largely a farce; however, Lips, the leading comic character, clearly functions as a vehicle for satire. Borrowing from the tradition of the Besserungsstück [improvement play], in which the lead protagonist eventually succeeds in conquering personal misanthropy, Nestroy satirized also opportunistic greed and the dramatic genre itself. Nestroy depicts Lips’ “friends” as greedy scoundrels and Lips as an absurd misanthropist. The whim with which Lips decides to marry the next woman he sees defused the urgency and seriousness of a traditional improvement play. The reward of a devoted Kathi for a man unworthy of reform appears as a disingenuous element within a conventional improvement play. With the figure of Herr von Lips, Nestroy, in fact, succeeded in creating an “anti-hero” of the improvement play.

As was often the case, local reviews praised Nestroy’s wit of dialogue and reported that audiences insisted on endless curtain calls. One reviewer, after acknowledging the clever dialogue in act 1, wanted the actors to slow their pace in delivery, so patrons
could appreciate every "golden nugget."55 Another reviewer declared the premiere as the best performance of a local play for the winter season.56

Perhaps Nestroy's comedy that most closely related to a specific political event was Freiheit in Krähwinkel [Liberty Comes to Krähwinkel], which premiered on 1 July 1848 in the Carltheater, the renovated suburban Theater in der Leopoldstadt, renamed in honor of the director Karl Carl.57 The piece played almost daily for a month and for the thirty-sixth and last time during this run on 4 October, before violence against oppressive imperial rule broke out in Vienna the next day.58

The action of this play involves the journalist Eberhard Ultra, played by Nestroy, who attempts to incite the common citizens of the proverbial comic town of Krähwinkel to revolt against despotic authority. Ultra believes a revolution will disband oppressive censorship and allow him the right to publish his own thoughts. To counter Ultra's fervor, the mayor of Krähwinkel offers Ultra a position as censor, a bribe Ultra refuses. Donning many disguises,

55See Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna's Theatre Journal], 11 April 1844.
56Österreichisches Morgenblatt 13 April 1844.
58After common citizens revolted in March 1848 against the state chancellor Prince Clemens Lothar Metternich's (1773-1859) police state, demanding democratic rights, the citizens and imperial troupes clashed in violent battle on 5 October. On 31 October the imperial army under Count Windischgrätz occupied Vienna; the next day imperial troupes instituted martial law, ordering mass arrests and public hangings. By 11 November the imperial officials reimplemented censorship and reestablished absolute monarchical rule. On 2 December Francis Joseph I succeeded to the throne as Emperor at age 18.
Ultra infuriates the ruling order and forms an opposition of soldiers and common citizens. Before confrontation, both the government's troupes and Ultra's men retreat in fear from each other, leaving Ultra to face the mayor. The mayor concludes by warning Ultra that, although the ruling order appears temporarily defeated, society cannot exist without authority.

Ultra undergoes adventures comparable to those of Stranitzky's Hanswurst. Both of these "Everymen" participate in the war experience: in Stranitzky's Türckisch-Bestraffter Hochmut, Hanswurst loyalty serves his Viennese comrades as a spy in the war against Turkish forces, while Ultra serves as an assistant journalist in his fight against the oppressive government of Krähwinkel. Whereas Hanswurst slides and bumbles, exhibiting his inability to offer a serious threat, Ultra attempts to motivate common citizens who are incapable of revolting against authority. Nestroy perpetuated the performance tradition begun by Stranitzky, as playwright, director, and leading comic actor. Neither Hanswurst nor Ultra figure prominently in the plays' outcomes, which are determined respectively by victorious Viennese troupes and passive middle class citizens. Nestroy's comic character distinguishes himself, however, from Stranitzky's Hanswurst in one important consideration: Ultra is capable of initiating social reform, even though his community cannot embrace the change.

Disillusioned that the March revolutions in Vienna during 1848 failed to reorder society and establish greater freedoms for citizens, Nestroy attacked Vienna's passive middle class in this highly satirical play, attacks that did not fail detection by
In addition to commending Nestroy on his sharp satire, the reviewers praised him for his electrifying dialogue and musical couplets, which were lauded by a storm of applause.

After the death of Karl Carl in 1854, Nestroy assumed the position of director for the Carltheater. Six years later Nestroy retired, but occasionally offered guest performances in Vienna. He died in Graz on 25 May 1862.

Nestroy’s most successful plays challenged the conventions of popular comedy more strongly perhaps than those of any preceding Viennese playwright, or even government censorship. Traditional omnipotent, benevolent characters of Viennese popular comedy appeared in Nestroy’s works as old and antiquated rulers, such as the gods and spirits in Lumpazivagabundus; as false bourgeois, such as the nobles in Der Talisman or Melchior in Einen Jux will er sich machen; or as oppressive tyrants, such as the mayor in Freiheit in Krähwinkel. Leading characters, whether tramps, barbers, or misanthropes, could not overcome personal vices, and remained immune to improvement. In their language and behavior, these characters depicted the foibles and vices of mid-nineteenth-century Viennese society.

Nestroy mounted his most severe criticism, however, against the Viennese popular theatre as an institution of performance and social representation. With the work Einen Jux will er sich machen, Nestroy demonstrated his talent for writing and

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59 Accounts praised Nestroy on his ability to capture the fever of revolution by satirically critiquing both imperial forces as oppressive and the common citizenry as passive and apathetic. See Wiener Theaterzeitung [Vienna’s Theatre Journal], 3 July 1848.
performing fast-paced farce; however, his other major plays contained satirical, even portentous visions. Nestroy attacked the genre of “improvement plays” by depicting characters incapable of bettering themselves, such as Zwirn and Knieriem in Lumpazivagabundus. He also created self-deluded characters, such as Titus in Der Talisman or Lips in Der Zerrissene, or characters too passive to act decisively, such as the citizens in Freiheit in Krähwinkel. Within the venue of the Theater an der Wien, Nestroy earned both financial success and critical praise perhaps because this audience was more open to new forms of comedy, such as satire, than the audiences at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt that preferred farce. The fact that theatre patrons favorably received Nestroy and his work suggests a curious relationship between Nestroy as satirist and his targets: “Opposition to the spirit of his time . . . dominated his work.” The element of opposition in Nestroy’s plays appears to have fueled, and continues to fuel, responses from audiences.

Nestroy introduced rebellion into the suburban playing spaces of Viennese popular comedy, creating an arena for him to challenge his society and its customs. His theatre represented his personal reconciliation of traditional Viennese popular comedy and its conventions. The presence of a middle class, along with its performance traditions, provided Nestroy with the opportunity to attack what he believed to be unsuitable solutions to characters’

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60 Kindermann claims that audiences in the Theater an der Wien applauded more sophisticated forms of comedy while those in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt preferred simple farce. See 307.
61 Mautner 1977.
problems on stage, such as sudden "magical transformations."
Johann Nestroy shunned performance traditions of Viennese popular
comedy through depicting his leading comic characters as vehicles
for his satire.

Franz Grillparzer and the Viennese Burgtheater

During the mid-eighteenth century, the dramatist Philipp
Hafner succeeded in scripting Hanswurst plays that appealed to the
court audiences of the Kärntnertortheater. Nearly one hundred
years later, a nineteenth-century writer, Franz Grillparzer (1791-
1872), attempted a similar undertaking: he reintroduced the
leading comic character of middle-class, suburban theatres to
court audiences, who one century earlier banished Hanswurst and
his improvisational actions from the Kärntnertortheater. Born the
son of a lawyer, Grillparzer pursued his father's profession as a
student at the University of Vienna.62 His father's death in 1809,
however, interrupted his studies, and Grillparzer returned home to
assist his mother. Eventually Grillparzer gained a position at court
as director of the court archives in 1832. Throughout his life he
remained loyal to the royal Habsburg family, although he voiced
opposition to the court's international affairs.

Grillparzer's body of writings includes not only drama, but
also poetry, prose, and travel literature as well as an

62 Although this section considers two of Grillparzer's plays that relate to the tradition
of Viennese popular comedy, this section does not present Grillparzer's biography
because he did not contribute throughout his lifetime as an actor, writer, director, or
patron of popular performance. For biographical information, see Bruce Thompson,
Franz Grillparzer (Boston, 1981), W. E. Yates, Grillparzer: A Critical Introduction,
(Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972), or H. Politzer, Grillparzer oder das abgründige
Biedermeier [Grillparzer or the Profound Biedermeier] (Vienna, 1972).
autobiography written between 1853 and 1854. His fame as a writer rivaled that of Raimund and Nestroy.\textsuperscript{63} Instead of producing his works in the suburban performance venues, however, Grillparzer chose the Court Theatre of the Habsburg Empire, the \textit{Burgtheater}, located only 100 metres from the original home of Stranitzky’s Hanswurst, the \textit{Kärntnertortheater}. Grillparzer’s aristocratic arena did not restrict him from contributing to the tradition of Viennese popular comedy; two of his plays, \textit{Der Traum ein Leben} [\textit{A Dream, a Life}] and \textit{Weh dem, der lügt} [\textit{Woe to Him Who Lies}], presented comic characters in the tradition of Viennese popular comedy. Not surprisingly, Grillparzer’s two plays met with mixed reception.

Premiering on 4 October 1834, \textit{Der Traum ein Leben} enjoyed popularity in the \textit{Burgtheater}'s repertory until 1904. The action of the fairy-tale, improvement play involves the young man Ruston, who yearns to break from his mundane life. His slave Zanga encourages him to fight against the evil ruler Osmin. Ruston falls into a deep sleep and dreams of his humiliation after failing to assist a king being chased by a serpent. When he meets the beautiful princess Gülnare, Ruston immediately tells her that he

killed the serpent and soon receives a position at court for his bravery. As he debates whether to confess his lie that sacrificed his integrity for ambitions, a spirit appears, offering Ruston the whole kingdom if he kills the current king. After committing the heinous deed and guards move in to capture Ruston, he awakens from his dream, cured of his longing to escape his surroundings.

Grillparzer enriched what were traditionally merely the effects of magic with the addition of a credible psychological process. Although Ruston resembles traditional protagonists from the suburban stages, he differs from his predecessors because he struggles with ambition and rash and violent behavior. The fact that Grillparzer called the premiere a total success suggests that the audience of the Burgtheater enjoyed this kind of popular comedy.

This same courtly arena rejected another Grillparzer play, *Weh dem, der lügt*, which premiered on 6 March 1838. In a medieval fairy-tale setting, the action of this play involves Leon, the kitchen servant of Bishop Gregor, who asks for leave so that he may attempt to free the Bishop's nephew Atalus, held as a hostage by Kattwald, a count in a distant land. The Bishop gladly accepts the courageous offer, but on the condition that Leon achieves his mission without having recourse to lying. Leon finds his way to Trier and succeeds in selling himself as a slave to Kattwald, whom he serves as an expert cook. His plan works because his frank admission that he intends to flee is, in effect, taken as a lie.

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whole action turns on this ruse. Kattwald's daughter, Edrita, not deceived by the truth, secures the key to the gates so the flight can succeed. To escape her father's anger and marriage with her simple-minded kinsman Galomir, she joins Leon and Atalus. When they reach Metz the pursuers catch up with them, but, as if by God's own miracle, the town has been taken overnight by the Franks. Atalus is reunited with his uncle Gregor, and Leon, raised to higher rank, is to marry Edrita, who is converted to Christianity.

As the chief character, Leon is a more complex, even contradictory character than the usual comic protagonist. His ridicule of Kattwald and Bishop Gregor rivals the impertinence of earlier Hanswurst characters, but after becoming acquainted with Edrita, Leon becomes more restrained. The transition from a servant of glib insolence to one of self-conscious restraint may be too rapid for a credible characterization. Leon, a cook, recalls Strantzky's Hanswurst (the servant forever attached to beer and sausage) in his servitude and ability to outwit higher authorities. Although the fairy-tale motif of a journey to fulfill a worthy task is familiar, the dramatic change in the traditional character depiction perhaps partially led to the failure of the work as a stage play. The court audiences of the Burgtheater may not have known how to respond to Leon.66

In addition to the confusing depiction of Leon, other factors contributed to the show's failure before a courtly audience. With the triumph of low, even cheeky characters over nobles, the play

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espoused themes of democracy and egalitarianism. The nobles in the *Burgtheater* undoubtedly disapproved of the foolish depiction of some of the aristocratic characters, such as Galomir. Grillparzer’s battles with literary critics and dramatists fueled the audience’s anticipation of the premiere, as members from literary circles eagerly waited to see how Grillparzer would respond, or “perform,” through his new play.67

**Popular Comedy in Nineteenth-Century Vienna: Middle-Class Performance Tradition and its Discontents**

With many familiar features of Viennese popular comedy in their works, including the presence of the traditional comic lead, Ferdinand Raimund, Johann Nestroy, and Franz Grillparzer acknowledged Vienna’s middle class differently from one another in their productions. Raimund began his career in the *Burgtheater* as a vendor; yet, instead of becoming a great tragic actor, he found his greatest fame as a playwright and performer of popular comedy who featured plays of spectacular transformation, convincing character development, and the triumph of virtue over vice. Confused perhaps by his tragedies, middle class audiences, especially those in the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, praised Raimund’s comedies for their clarity and uncomplicated, yet delicate presentation.

Nestroy, however, remained skeptical with the conventional transformations of the comic protagonists in Viennese popular comedy, so he recast the leading characters as individuals incapable or unworthy of change. This choice of character

depiction strongly criticizes the very audiences who saw performances in the suburban theatres, as Nestroy takes to task the notion of “inherent” goodness and virtue within the middle class. Nestroy even casts the Viennese as passive citizens in Freiheit in Krähwinkel. Although Nestroy frequently performed in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, the major venue for popular comedy, he premiered his major works in the Theater an der Wien, where theatre patrons appeared to be more open to his satires.

The court audiences of the Burgtheater offered mixed reactions to the depiction of the comic lead in Grillparzer’s works of popular comedy. As long as the middle class stage character did not challenge the position of authority, popular comedy could serve as a suitable material for the Burgtheater. Grillparzer’s success with Der Traum, ein Leben marked the return home of sorts for the traditional comic character of Viennese popular theatre, as the city’s “center stage” welcomed back the once-banished performance tradition from suburban “side stages.”

The contributions of these individuals differ not only from previous theatre practices, but also from each other. Raimund wrote and performed roles in comedies that incorporated magical transformations, spectacle, and fairy-tale settings. Many of Raimund’s plays reaffirm positive virtues of middle class society through presenting the rewards of hard-work and perseverance. Early in his career, Nestroy, too, included scenes in the “world of spirits,” but most of his major works were satires set in realistic locales. Nestroy exhibited less confidence in the middle class, as he featured characters who remained incapable, or uninterested, in
changing. Both Raimund and Nestroy continued Stranitzky's tradition of playing the leading comic character, but only Nestroy's figures relayed the aggressiveness of the eighteenth-century comic character. Although a great admirer of suburban theatre and its actors, Grillparzer contributed to Vienna's theatres chiefly as dramatist and critic. Grillparzer brought the popular comic character to the court theatre; however, the audiences of the Burgtheater did not always receive the figure from middle class origins favorably.

With the contrasting features of Vienna's different performance venues, the works and productions by Raimund, Nestroy, and Grillparzer acknowledge a middle class consciousness of Viennese society. Each individual presented and addressed this faction of Vienna differently in their stage works. The success of Raimund's comedies, as determined by the audiences of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, suggests that perhaps he was the last direct descendent of traditional popular comedy, since Nestroy adapted the tradition to deliver social commentary and Grillparzer wrote primarily for court audiences. Grillparzer apparently recognized Raimund as such: in a poem dedicated to Raimund one year after his death, he praised the deceased actor and dramatist for successfully including the spirit of the middle class in his works: "All things considered, one can wish Austria only happiness, since a (formerly) healthy sensibility [Raimund] bestowed inherently charming works to the nation. Not diminishing the enormous talent of Raimund, the public had composed as many works as he. It was the spirit of the
folk in which he nurtured his half-unconscious ability." Although Raimund's audiences found optimism in the transformations of his lead characters, and consequently a positive reaffirmation of their own existence, Raimund himself remained embattled since he found no supernatural spirit to save him from personal struggles and eventual suicide.

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From the early-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, the Viennese popular comic tradition presented several comic characters, beginning with Josef Anton Stranitzky's Hanswurst, within an array of performance venues. Throughout this period, the matrix of physical space played a role in contributing to the development of the comic character.

Stranitzky's move from outdoor market squares to a purpose-built theatre, the Kärntnertortheater, in 1709 provided German performers with their first permanent theatre facility in Europe. The Kärntnertortheater was a typical eighteenth-century continental theatre, with its proscenium stage and parterre surrounded by several galleries.

Since the city magistrate and imperial court initially designated the Kärntnertortheater as a site for Italian opera productions, Stranitzky's acquisition of the theatre and his subsequent entertainments appeared as an unexpected antithesis to the theatre's original intent. Within this space, Stranitzky developed a comic repertoire that imitated storylines and characters from Italian opera, with the playful servant Hanswurst elevated alongside courtly characters in carrying out the stage action. Stranitzky's Hanswurst may have offended, or at least
disturbed court patrons in the audience. In his new home Hanswurst continued to deliver improvisational dialogue and *lazzi*. Within the *Kärntnertortheater*, a playhouse with permanent stage facilities and an audience that could anticipate a regularized format, Viennese popular comedy developed a specific performance structure, the *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (*Viennese Chief and State Plays*), in which the intrigue of the leading comic character carried out a second line of action that paralleled or playfully imitated the actions of courtly characters.

After Stranitzky's death in 1726, leading performers abandoned the practice of two lines of action, as in the *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, and developed the behavior of the leading comic character within one main story line. Under the direction of court members who reacquired the lease of the *Kärntnertortheater*, Gottfried Prehauser assumed the role of Hanswurst, continuing as a playful figure, but also developed the character into a common Viennese citizen. His Hanswurst apparently no longer offended the court, as Stranitzky's Hanswurst may have done through imitating Italian opera; however, a later comic character, Bernardon, emerged and fell immediately into disfavor with the court.

With his character Bernardon flying through the air or disappearing below the stage in his *Maschinenkomödien* ("machine plays"), Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz transformed the stage facilities in the *Kärntnertortheater* for the first time into an arena for stage spectacle. But Empress Maria Theresia opposed the use of the theatre as a venue to stage the "random" or "senseless
transformations," and she banned improvisational acting in 1752, an act that essentially threatened the continuation of the popular comic character.

In an attempt to save the popular comic character, and the demise of Viennese popular comedy, Philipp Hafner, in accordance with court decrees, scripted several comedies and continued to feature Hanswurst as his leading comic character. His first plays contained some features of earlier popular comedies, such as magical transformations. However, Hafner's most successful works imitated the French comedies of manners, in which characters, including Hanswurst, often with playfulness, but also with occasional seriousness, parodied the manners and customs of the multi-class society within the audience. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, as a result of court control of the Kärntnertheater, improvisational performance disappeared in the city and Viennese popular comedy and the leading comic character adhered to written scripts, which were generally based on foreign models.¹

Although court directors effectively eliminated popular comedy from the repertoire in the Kärntnertheater, Emperor Joseph II's theatre reforms of 1776 allowed improvisation to reemerge after twenty-four years, albeit only temporarily, within

¹During the nineteenth century, the Kärntnertheater ceased to feature popular comedy altogether because court members designated it as the royal opera house in 1821. The Burgtheater, which had opened in 1741, now became the home of court actors performing spoken drama. In 1869, the court relocated its opera facility to a newly-constructed theatre house directly south of Kärntnertheater, Vienna's Staatsoper, or National Opera. In the same year, the Staatsoper opened with a production of Don Giovanni.
the suburban theatres, *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* (1781), *Theater auf der Wieden* (1787), *Theater an der Wien* (1801), and *Theater in der Josefstadt* (1788). Like the Kärntnertortheater, these theatres had features typical of an eighteenth-century playhouse; however, the theatres differed from one another in audience capacity. The *Theater an der Wien* accommodated 2,200 visitors, the Kärntnertortheater and *Theater auf der Wieden* 1,000, and the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* and *Theater in der Josefstadt* around 400.

Popular comedy flourished in the independently-operated *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, with Johann la Roche's comic character Kasperl becoming synonymous with rediscovered improvisation in the suburbs. Although this theatre's audience continually cheered the playful simplicity of Kasperl, later actors and dramatists introduced new conventions with mixed success. Specifically, Anton Hasenhub's Thaddädl supplanted Kasperl's physical actions with subtle motivations for his behavior. Thaddädl met with some critical praise, but the popular audience of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* remained less impressed.

The rebirth of improvisation, however, was short lived. After the death of Joseph II in 1790, the court reimplemented censorship, mandating scripted texts in performance in all the theatres. The return of censorship brought about a new theatre practice in the suburbs, the emergence of specialized dramatists who were not performers but writers of scripted dialogue as well as cues for elaborate stagecraft. In his later appearances, even la Roche’s Kasperl performed from scripted texts.
Undoubtedly, the pinnacle of productivity for Viennese popular comedy occurred in the suburbs, specifically in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, with the works of Joseph Alois Gleich, Karl Meisl, and Adolf Bäuerle, who collectively wrote over five hundred plays between 1790 and 1850. In their comedies, the dramatists depended upon conventions proven successful with their audiences, such as placing the leading comic character in “improvement” and “fairy-tale” plays. Out of this productivity, actor and dramatist Ferdinand Raimund emerged to perpetuate the popular and financial success of suburban comedies. Raimund’s leading comic characters remain as some of the most beloved figures in all of Vienna’s storied theatrical past. As with the Kärntnertortheater during the eighteenth century, the physical space of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, with its audience, stagecraft, and artists, established a successful home for nineteenth-century Viennese popular comedy.

Two additional venues emerged in Vienna’s suburbs that offered alternative presentations of popular comedy. The Theater auf der Wieden, converted from a court building and garden, and the Theater an der Wien, constructed as a purpose-built theatre, operated under both court management and independent entrepreneurs and boasted an audience consisting of court members and common citizens. In the Theater auf der Wieden, Emanuel Schikaneder’s Papageno demonstrated loyalties to both contingencies. As a servant, his playful behavior echoes that of the early-eighteenth-century Hanswurst, but his servile actions demonstrate unambiguous allegiance to authority. After this
theatre's operations relocated in the *Theater an der Wien*, the most spacious of the suburban theatres, with one of the deepest stages in Europe.

The new theatre specialized in spectacular productions, such as musicals and lavish shows with horses. Innovative characters from popular comedy who performed on this stage included Thaddädl and Johann Nestroy's satiric comic leads.

The third major suburban venue for Viennese popular comedy, the *Theater in der Josefstadt*, specialized in ballet as well as popular comedy, but maintained perhaps the poorest stage and auditorium facilities. This theatre was the least financially successful playhouse, and the lease changed hands frequently; however, the theatre effectively launched the careers of actors and directors for other stages. Despite its inferior appeal relative to the productions in the other suburban theatres, the *Theater in der Josefstadt* stands today as perhaps the oldest German theatre in continuous operation with a full repertoire.

Almost one-hundred years after Maria Theresia's banishment in 1752 of improvisation in the court-operated *Kärntnertortheater*, the leading comic character returned from the suburbs to the heart of Vienna. Franz Grillparzer reintroduced the popular comic character to the audience of the *Burgtheater*, with his two plays *Ein Traum, ein Leben* and *Weh dem, der lügt*. Although the first play

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2 The stage in the *Theater an der Wien* measured twenty-four metres deep when in full use. The stage of the *Kärntnertortheater* measured 15 metres wide and 9.5 metres deep, slightly smaller than the stage of the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, which measured 16 metres wide and 10 metres deep. The court enlarged the stage of the *Kärntnertortheater* to a size of 21 metres wide and 15 metres deep by 1772. The *Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, *Theater auf der Wieden*, and *Theater in der Josefstadt* provided only three galleries in their auditoriums. A more detailed comparison of the theatre's size and admission charges appears in Appendix F.
proved a great success, the second play failed before the court audience because it was perhaps less than eager to embrace a comic character who profits at the expense of authority.

Since each theatre that catered to the Viennese comic tradition incorporated physical space in production, and since the scripts and performances were original, could a change in physical space have determined the various depictions of the comic character in Viennese popular comedy? What provisions did the structural space offer Stranitzky and his descendants that contributed to the success of the Hanswurst character and allowed them to establish and continue a tradition of local theatre?

The physicality of performance venues contributed most visibly to the depiction of the comic character in instances when performers utilized the theatre's stagecraft and scene design potential. During the mid-eighth century, Kurz exploited the moveable wings, stage traps, and rafters in the Kärntnertheater to advance the actions of his rambunctious Bernardon. With a harness suspended from the stage's rafter, Bernardon could fly through the air and with the use of traps, he could disappear in a cloud of smoke. Kurz took advantage of the Kärntnertheater's elaborate stagecraft by incorporating spectacular acrobatics for the traditional leading comic character in "machine plays."

A similarly equipped stage to that in the Kärntnertheater was located in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. There, the "improvement plays" of Josef Anton Gleich and Karl Meisl required the leading comic actor, the most successful being Ferdinand Raimund, to assume several comic characters within a single play
staged to take advantage of elaborate technical devices. After establishing himself as a dramatist, Raimund continued to write, stage, and perform comedies with elaborate scene changes, including realistic sets, such as in *Der Alpenkönig und der Menscheneind*. In many of the performances at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, the leading comic character was often confronted by different characters and locations that collectively reformed the lead's misanthropic behavior. These various scenes were achieved through the theatre's intricate stage facility.

The physicality of the performance space helped determine the actions of the leading comic character through available stage facilities, but the site of the playhouse itself contributed to the character's depiction in ways more difficult to measure. With the opening of the Kärntnertortheater, the depiction of Hanswurst exhibited discernible traits. Beginning with his move from the market place to an indoor site, Stranitzky created a new performance structure, *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, which allowed for a regularization of Hanswurst in his social role (servant) and "offensive, yet entertaining" behavior. After Stranitzky's death, Prehauser offered a new depiction of Hanswurst for court members who had reacquired the lease of the theatre. The court patrons were evidently pleased with Prehauser's Hanswurst, who apparently did not imitate or ridicule characters of authority within the play. However, Hanswurst's depiction did not cease to evolve. After Kurz's Bernardon apparently ignored the preferences of audiences by behaving as he saw fit, the court responded by banning improvisational theatre from Vienna. In an
effort to rescue Viennese popular comedy, Hafner appeased the court contingency, with its preference for foreign dramatic genres and styles, by positioning Hanswurst with his scripted comedies modeled after French comedies of manners.

A similar development from improvisational acting to performances from scripted texts occurred in the suburbs. In the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, the first performances were improvisational entertainments, with La Roche’s Kasperl as the featured comic character; however, soon after the suburban theatres established themselves and the court reimplemented censorship, the venues hired dramatists who could quickly script performance texts. These dramatists developed skill in identifying appropriate depictions of the leading comic character, based on the preferences of their audiences. The audiences of the Theater in der Leopoldstadt and Theater in der Josefstadt supported most noticeably the “formula” transformation and fairy-tale productions, as clearly evidenced by the success of Raimund’s comedies and general rejection of his tragedies that failed to feature a leading comic character. Audiences in the Theater an der Wien, comprised of common citizens and court members, supported departures from traditional popular comedy, such as the satirical Nestroy productions.

Seemingly, the combination of sites, actors, directors, dramatists, leaseholders, and audiences as well as technical facilities not only shaped the depiction of the leading comic character, but developed a particular “identity” within each major venue of Viennese popular comedy. This collective effort among
the components of the performance experience established a
cultural “consciousness” in performance within a particular venue
that reflected the very society and culture from which it was a
part. Apparently, the embodiment of this “consciousness” may
have been the leading comic character of Viennese popular theatre.

Since different factors at different points of time worked to
shape the comic character, it may be accurate to say that the mere
presence of the character on stage signified overall acceptance by
society. Thus, the comic character in popular performance was not
perceived by Viennese society as a serious threat. In fact, Vienna
appears to have used the institution of popular theatre, either
intentionally or unintentionally, to maintain order and control for
the safety of its community. For this reason, venues for Viennese
popular comedy did not develop into havens for genuine radical
expression and thought, nor into sites for radical change. Another
in institution emerged as a haven for liberal, even radical thought.

3According to historian Karl Glossy, public and private theatres distracted the
“manifold sufferings” of the people. Believing that the most dangerous hours of the
day were the evening hours, the police preferred the public to be in facilities like the
theatre. The police feared that if popular comedy, an entertainment familiar for years,
were denied to the public, a new ill, such as revolt, could spread. See Karl Glossy,
Volume I (1801-1820)”), Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft [Yearbook of the

4Glossy provides an account from 27 November 1822: “Respectable cheap
entertainment for the public in large towns is generally felt to be a necessity and
should be regarded as even more desirable because theatregoing, particularly by the
lower classes, leads people away from the more expensive, often unsalubrious pubs,
coffee-houses and gambling-houses to better amusements, with some influence on
education and morals, and keeps the theatregoer under public observation and order for
the duration of the performance.” The account suggests that police acknowledged the
theatre as a vehicle to provide moral instruction. See 27. In Johann Hüttnner,
“Theatre Censorship in Metternich’s Vienna” Theatre Quarterly 10:37 (Spring
1980), Hüttnner provides the English translation. See 61-69.
during nineteenth-century Vienna: the dangerous and disruptive sites of the literary clubs, salons, and cafes.5

If the traditional Hanswurst figure—in all its mutations—was such an acceptable stage character to its Viennese audiences, why did this tradition of Viennese popular comedy lose its appeal after the mid-nineteenth century? After all, the larger institution of theatre never lost its appeal in Vienna, as evidenced by the location and growth of the Burgtheater and Staatsoper, symbolically positioned in the heart of Vienna;6 in fact, these institutions continue today as showcases for indigenous and international performances.

The inception of Viennese popular comedy at the beginning of the eighteenth century had found as its home a city that 1) promoted several cultures, including German, under the banner of Habsburg absolutism, 2) facilitated the use of the German language among common citizens as well as in official affairs, 3) lacked any sustained intellectual growth, 4) and inherited theatrical practices from Jesuits. These conditions helped establish the Hanswurst character as a popularly successful stage character.

However, late-nineteenth-century actors, writers, dramatists, and, perhaps most importantly, the popular audience that traditionally supported Viennese comedy no longer turned to the depiction of the leading comic character as a reflection of their identity. To be sure, plays of Raimund and Nestroy continue

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6Yates 109.
to fill theatre seasons in Vienna, but a theatre director's selection of these pieces may reflect the need for nostalgia. The emergence of new theatrical genres, such as the *Wiener Operette* [Viennese operetta]\(^7\) of composer Johann Strauss the Younger (1825-1899) and dramas of Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931) and Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), entertained Viennese audiences. Although comic characters remained a visible feature in many of these works, they appear to serve no longer as a reflection of Viennese middle- or lower-class identity. In fact, the cultural growth in Vienna during the early twentieth century, including theatre, resembled much more international and intellectual sensibilities than the indigenous flavor of the general populace.\(^8\)

The demolition of Vienna's medieval wall in 1858 undoubtedly symbolized much more than the mere unification of the city's interior with its suburbs. This demolition carried also the demise of the cultural tradition of Viennese popular comedy, of Hanswurst and his popular theatre. More sophisticated audiences and performers soon filled the suburban playhouses, so long the homes for popular comedy. Common citizens had to find new outlets for entertainment.


\(^8\)In the visual arts, artists Gustav Klimt (1862-1918), Egon Schiele (1890-1918), Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980), and architects Otto Wagner (1841-1918), Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867-1908), and Adolf Loos (1870-1933) departed, or "seceded," from Vienna's art establishment, the *Künstlerhaus*, which they considered too conservative. They founded an *art nouveau* gallery, the *Secession*, in between 1897 and 1898. See Christian M. Nebehay, *Vienna 1900: Architecture and Painting* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1983).
Social transitions in Vienna did not end with the destruction of the city's wall. Perhaps the most severe transition occurred during the twentieth century, with Vienna's descent from its imperial seat after World War I. In 1919, as a result of the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, Vienna was transformed from the capital of an empire with a population of fifty-two million to a state capital of a dismembered country with approximately one-tenth of its former population. Although World War I marked the close of a long and glorious period during which the Habsburg family had ruled one of the largest empires in world, Vienna, nevertheless, experienced a new social and cultural rebirth, emerging as an even more contributing participant in world culture than during centuries past.

\[10^10\] Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). Kann argues that as the political institution of the Habsburg family declined and eventually ended, the cultural messages of Vienna and the nations and cities within the empire evolved and expanded throughout the world. See 564.
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IV. Archives

Albertina [Albertina Collection of Graphic Arts]

Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Historical Museum of the City of Vienna]

Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv [State Archives of Lower Austria]

Theaterinstitut der Universität Wien [Institute for Theatre Studies at the University of Vienna]

Theatersammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek [Theatre Collection of the Austrian National Library]

Weiner Stadt- und Landesbibliothek [City and State Library of Vienna]
The action of Türckisch-besraftter Hochmuth features Hanswurst, who appears in eight of thirty-three scenes. The characters include many famous military figures, both Christian and Muslim, active in the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. A possible source for this work is J.C. Feigius' Wunderbarer Adlersflug [Wonderful Flight of the Eagle] from 1694.

In act 1, the city commander of Vienna, Stahrenberg, joins the officers Baaden, Liebenberg, Daun, Lotthringen, and Würtenberg, ready to fight the Turkish forces. After Hanswurst enters the city with his wife, Stahrenberg employs him as a servant to his family. Hanswurst declares that he will not fight and complains of his wife, two years of marriage, and eleven children. As he responds with witty and offensive replies to Stahrenberg, Hanswurst quickly demonstrates his propensity for eating. As Viennese officers barricade the city against the Turks, they realize that Vienna will hold for only one year, and fear that the outer villages will be
pilfered by the enemy. Liebenberg encourages the workers to fortify the city. Led by Visar Kara Mustapha, the Turkish forces appear outside the city during a thunderstorm, announcing their intentions of destroying the Christians. The Turk Ibrahim warns not to underestimate the power of the Viennese folk. Meanwhile, as Hanswurst serves Stahrenberg's family, he attempts to impress the maiden Sophia, but foolishly confuses her mention of war for a discussion of drinking. When Sophia discovers that Hanswurst is a farmer rather than a soldier, she is no longer interested in him. At the conclusion of the act, Stahrenberg and Liebenberg learn that part of the city is aflame and they move to extinguish the fire.

The action of act 2 shifts freely between the Turkish and Christian camps. In a secret meeting, the Viennese discuss a scheme to send a spy to the Turkish camp. Back at Stahrenberg’s home, Hanswurst demonstrates his lack of skill as servant, his love for strong drink, and his crudeness, even in front of women; nevertheless, the women send him to deliver a letter to Stahrenberg. Meanwhile, the Viennese officers continue to encourage the common citizens to work together against the powerful Turkish forces. As the Turkish camp witnesses a defeat of its troupes, the Viennese cheer in jubilation. After Hanswurst appears at the officer’s meeting, the officers express concern that the citizens within Vienna’s walls are an easy target. Hanswurst

is sent with Koltschützky to deliver a letter and spy on the Turkish forces. Upon returning from a successful mission, Hanswurst demands money for his deed. At the Turkish camp, two of Mustapha's concubines challenge the Visar's idea of love, indicating perhaps that Christian love is better. On a second spy mission, Hanswurst is captured by the Turkish forces and Kara Mustapha vows to storm Vienna.

Act 3 begins as several German officers arrive to aid the Viennese. In the Turkish camp, Ibrahim offers Hanswurst his choice of execution. By prolonging the execution, Hanswurst is rescued by the Viennese. After a concluding battle scene, the Viennese citizens emerge victorious in their confrontation with the enemy. In his final farcical scene, Hanswurst appears, ready to fight; but when he sees an enemy soldier, he immediately apologizes for his verbal insults, only to realize that he is speaking to a corpse. The Viennese join to celebrate their bravery in battle.


*Triumph Römischer Tugendt und Tapferkeit oder Gordianus der Grosse Mit hanß Wurst den lächerlichen Liebes-Ambaßadeur, curieusen Befelchshaber, vermeinten Todten, ungeschickten Mórdar, gezwungenen Spion 2c. und waß noch mehr die Comoedie selbstan*

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2Koltschützky, the Viennese spy in this piece, represented the Viennese citizen Georg Franz Kotschitzky (1640-1694), born in Serbia, who introduced the Viennese to an important beverage during the late seventeenth century, coffee. Kotschitzky served as a spy against the Turks during their siege of Vienna in 1683. After the war, he began a small coffee business that eventually developed into a Viennese institution.
erkhlaren wirdt [Triumph of Roman Virtue and Bravery or Gordianus the Great with Hanswurst, the Ridiculous Ambassador of Love, Curious Commander, Believed Deceased, Misfit Murderer, and Second-Class Mercenary, and Whatever Else the Comedy Will Explain] consists of forty-nine scenes and closing verse; Hanswurst appears in twenty-two scenes. The piece includes the following characters:

Gordianus, Roman Emperor who loves Sabina
Sabina, under the alias Drusilla and daughter of Mysitheus
Mysitheus, strong defender of the Roman people
Virginea, daughter of Emperor Pupienus and intended bride of Octavius
Octavius, a brave soldier
Hanswurst, servant to Mysitheus
Blesa, maiden to Virginea who loves Hanswurst
Riepl, a fisherman
Sapor, Persian King
Oronta, Sapor’s brave Amazon daughter who loves Megabisses
Megabisses, a Persian leader and fighter
Feraspes, a Persian secretly in love with Oronta
Roman and Persian soldiers

A possible source of this comedy is Donato Cupeda’s La fede publica, with music from Giov. Batt. Bononcini (1699).

The action of the play begins as the Romans have just invaded the Euphrates region and conquered the Persians. In act 1, the Roman court leaders Gordianus, Octavius, and Mysitheus celebrate their victory; Sapor, the Persian king in hiding, secretly voices his anger. Persian Megabisses rushes Gordianus to stab him, but fails. The Persian explains his behavior, and his honor impresses Gordianus, who allows Megabisses and his love Oronta to live. All this time Sapor, who witnesses the events, cannot believe the
Emperor's honor, and surrenders himself. Rather than arrest the defeated Persian leader, Gordianus wishes that they rule the region together. Meanwhile, some Persians continue to resist; Feraspes captures the Roman women Sabina, Virginea, and Blesa, who join the Persian Amazon Oronta. As Oronta embraces Virginea, Octavius sees their embrace and becomes intensely jealous, mistaking Oronta for a man. He challenges Oronta to a fight. Before this match, Octavius rushes off to save Gordianus from a collapsing bridge that Feraspes constructed. Gordianus sees the beautiful Sabina, who introduces herself as Drusilla. To test if the Emperor loves her, she says she has heard from Sabina, to which the Emperor is delighted, since he is engaged to her. Oronta, enraged at Megabisses for turning his allegiance to the Romans, will have nothing more to do with him. Since he still loves her, he tries to intervene in her fight with Octavius. The converted king Sapor is angry with his daughter, Oronta, and Feraspes for their hatred of the Romans. Feraspes is found out for his plot against Gordianus and arrested; he strikes Hanswurst, who falls down and feigns death to deceive the maid Belsa, who hopes to marry Hanswurst. Hanswurst would rather die than marry Belsa.

Act 2 opens with jealousy and passion controlling the actions of many characters. Both Octavius and Oronta remain committed to their fight. Octavius is so jealous that he asks Gordianus to send Virginea back to Rome and he will marry the beautiful Drusilla instead, to infuriate Virginea. When Virginea offers to pay Hanswurst to kill her and he refuses, she instructs Hanswurst to
kill Octavius instead. Sabina laments Gordianus’ decision to give her to Octavius; Gordianus simply wishes to act honorably, thinking of others over himself. Oronta reveals her identity, which surprises Megabisses and Octavius, who immediately realizes his ill-founded jealousy. As Octavius is about to commit suicide, Hanswurst arrives to kill him, but Hanswurst can no longer carry out the murder because he is too merciful. At the same time, when Gordianus will not take Sabina back, which she interprets as failing love of Gordianus, she wanders to the Persian camp. Gordianus pardons the captured Feraspes. Oronta has organized a war against the Romans; she remains the only significant Persian not to witness the good mercy of Gordianus. Megabisses thinks the Emperor is trying to take his love Oronta and fatherland, so he resists. They imprison Hanswurst as the Romans and Persians fight to close Act 2.

Act 3 shows the Romans again victorious over the rebel Persians. Oronta and Sabina think that the other actually loves each’s own betrothed, which causes both to be unhappy. Oronta allows Sabina to go to Gordianus. Mysitheus earlier refused his daughter to approach the Emperor, for fear his position would influence dishonorably Gordianus’s decision about Sabina. As Oronta asks Gordianus about love, Megabisses jealously demands that the Emperor kill him for initiating the rebellion. The Emperor again pardons him and gives him to Oronta to do with him as she

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3“Hw sagt, wann sie einmahl todt, wie sie ihm dann selbe geben werde?” [“Hanswurst: ‘If you were dead, how would you then pay me?’”]
4“Hw sagt, daß er es ohnmöglich mehr thun köne, indes er gar zu barmhertzig.” [“Hanswurst says that he can no longer execute the murder because he is merciful.”]
pleases. As Octavius accuses Drusilla and Mysitheus of infidelity after seeing an embrace, Gordianus announces he will abdicate his position rather than killing his friend Mysitheus. The alias of Sabina, however, is finally revealed: Drusilla is actually Sabina, Mysitheus's daughter. In a comic twist to the play, the Persians ironically become furious when they learn that the Romans would force Gordianus to abdicate; they threaten to kill all the Romans if the Emperor steps down. Only Hanswurst is upset with the Emperor because he is forced between death and marrying Blesa, whom he does not want because he prefers a younger wife.\(^5\) The action closes with everyone praising Gordianus, except Hanswurst, who remains without a young wife.

Die Enthaubttung deß Weltberühmten Wohlredners Ciceronis
Mit HW: den seltsamen Jäger, lustigen Gallioten, verwirten Briefttreger, lächerlichen Schwimer, übl belohnten Botten 2c
[Decapitation of the World Famous Orator Cicero with Hanswurst, the Strange Hunter, Humorous Cavalier, Confused Letter Carrier, Ridiculous Swimmer, Poorly Compensated Second-Class Messenger]
consists of thirty-seven scenes; Hanwurst appears in nineteen scenes. The piece includes the following characters:

Augustus, the Roman Emperor
Marcus Antonius, mayor of Rome
Julius Antonius, his son who loves Tulia
Scauro Scatilio, Roman general and father of Emilia

\(^5\)"Hw: aber noch süßer ein junges Weib, 2c. Es seye das Beste, daß er nach der Comoedt wieder abwechseln köne." ["Hanswurst: 'It would be sweeter to receive a younger girl, second class.' He decides the best thing to do is to switch Blesa after the comedy."]
Cecina, Roman leader in love with Tulia
Lucius Scipio, friend of Julius who loves Emilia
Tulius Cicero, great orator and father of Tulia
Terentia, his wife
Tulia, Cicero’s daughter who loves Julius
Emilia, loves Julius, Cecina, and then Lucius
Hanswurst, servant of Julius
Scapin, servant of Cecina
Bromia, maiden of Tulia who is loved by Hanswurst and
Scapin
Riepl, a farmer
Roman soldiers and servants

The action of the play begins with an act of horrible vengeance. Act 1 establishes the steadfast love between Tulia and Julius; Cecina, however, reveals secretly his love for Tulia. He also provides exposition of earlier events: at court, Marcus was wrongly condemned to death; Cicero used his great oratory skills to save him. Marcus decided to wield his anger against the Romans for the false accusation; in evidencing his treachery, he pledged to kill an individual beloved by the Romans, Cicero. The Emperor Augustus brings the leaders Marcus and Sauro together, so he can more easily control their actions. Julius decides to protect Tulia’s father; he orders Hanswurst to deliver to Cicero a letter that tells him to flee. In a humorous exchange, Hanswurst and Cicero talk of justice and women; Cicero heeds the advice in the letter. He gives Hanswurst another letter to return to Julius. Marcus intercepts the letter, pursues Cicero, and beheads him. Hanswurst witnesses the execution; he gathers a body and head in a sack to deliver to Tulia for payment.

Act 2 develops Tulia’s devotion to her father at the expense of Julius’ love. Hanswurst and rival Scapin deliver the body; Tulia
wants to kill herself after hearing of her father's death. Hanswurst also tells Lucius of the death. Sauro and Cecina tell Augustus of the execution. Cecina sees Cicero's death as an opportunity to gain Tulia's love, since Julius is now an enemy of the state for befriending Cicero; he intercepts a letter from Julius to Tulia. Lucius and Julius overhear Emilia and Tulia talk vengefully of Julius, whom Tulia blames as the cause of her misfortune; upon hearing this, Julius asks Tulia to kill him. Cecina quickly arrives and challenges Julius, who refuses to fight him. Scapin and Bromia throw Hanswurst into a lake at the conclusion of the scene.

Act 3 reaffirms the innocence and honor of Julius. Lucius attempts to win Emilia through her father; Emilia opportunistically sees the chance to gain Julius as her own since Tulia no longer loves him. Emilia refuses Lucius. Hanswurst tells of his adventure being fished out and prospect of becoming mounted as a trophy. As Hanswurst vows vengeance on Scapin, Julius gives him a letter to deliver to Tulia. Julius declares to Emilia that he does not love her. Emilia immediately gives herself to Lucius. In a public ceremony, Augustus gives Tulia to Cecina. Scapin prepares a *venatione*, or wild animal fight. Tulia asks Cecina to prove his love by fighting the animals. Julius overhears, immediately jumps in the pit to show his devotion and defeats the animals; Hanswurst is

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*Die Fischer hätten ihm vor ein Wunderthier gehalten und haben ihm wollen todt schlagen und dem turckischen Kaiser überschicken, damit er ihm in seiner Schatz Cammer aufgehenket, bis er endlich angefangen zu reden und ihnen erzehlt, wer er wäre."* ["Believing Hanswurst was a magical animal, the fishermen wanted to kill him and give him to the Emperor so that the Emperor would hang him in the treasury. Hanswurst finally spoke up and told the man who he was."]
also thrown into the pit by Scapin to help. Julius later mortally wounds Cecina; as he dies, Cecina tells Tulia that Julius is honorable and true to her. Cicero’s ghost appears to Hanswurst and Tulia to confirm this admission. As the Romans prepare to execute Julius, Tulia jumps in to save him. The Emperor concedes that Tulia and Julius can marry; he also gives Hanswurst the hand of Bromia, to Scapin’s displeasure. Scapin informs the audience that he is not rewarded in the Kärntnerorchteater. All characters sing and Hanswurst and Bromia speak of sleeping together.

Die Verfolgung auß Liebe oder Die grausame Königin der Tegante Antalanta Mit hanß Wurscht Den lächerlichen LiefAmbasadeur, betroggen curiositäten-Seher, einfältigen Meichlmörder, Intressirten Kammerdiener, übl belohnten Beederachsltrager, unschuldigen Arrestanten, Intresirten Ausstecher, wohl exercirten Soldaten und Inspector über die bey hoff auf der Stiegen Esssende Gallantomo. 2c. 2c. [Persecution Out of Love or the Terrible Queen of the Teganten Atalanta, with Hanswurst, the Ridiculous Ambassador of Love, Deceived Assassin, Simple-Minded Murderer, Interested Room Attendant, Poorly-Compensated Letter Carrier, Innocent Accused, Interested Poker, Practiced Soldier and Inspector at Court for the Victorious, etc.,

7"Die Soldaten und Scapin werffen ihm hinab mit einer manir. Hw lauffet hin und wieder und ein Thier verfolget Ihm; hat seine lazzi bis zu Endt des Kampfes nach Belleben." [The soldiers and Scapin throw Hanswurst into the pit. He runs around, with an animal chasing him, performing lazzi, until the end of the fight.]

8"Bromia: Ich weis nicht, mein hanswurstcht, waß seye dein Verlangen. Hw: Ein frisches Stroh ins Beth, daß andre weistu schon." [Bromia: ‘I do not know, my Hanswurst, what is your request?’ Hanswurst: ‘Fresh straw in bed, and the other you already know.’]
consists of thirty-eight scenes; Hanswurst appears in nineteen scenes. The piece includes the following characters:

Atalanta, Queen of the Tegeanten who loves Palamedes
Palamedes, son of the murdered King Cosroes, but rightful heir to his throne under the name Articio (he loves Atalanta)
Cleander, sister of Icilio who is secretly in love with Articio
Agenor, rival King to Atalanta and guardian to Palamedes
Tsauro, Prince who loves Cleander
Icilio, brother to Cleander who loves Atalanta
Hero, general devoted to Articio
Hanswurst, servant to Palamedes
A thief and soldiers

Act 1 introduces the Queen Atalanta, daughter of a king who killed the father of Palamedes; she chooses as her husband Articio. She continues her pursuit of Palamedes, an enemy of the state, unaware that her intended love Articio is really Palamedes. Agenor, a secret enemy of Atalanta, knows that Articio is really Palamedes; Articio is himself unaware of his real identity. Agenor hopes to defeat Atalanta through Palamedes help. Icilio, who loves Atalanta, is jealous of Articio; he plots to have Articio arrested by addressing a letter to Articio from Palamedes. Cleander and Tsauro proclaim their love to each other. Hanswurst, the servant to Articio, plays with money given to him by Atalanta, but a sneaky thief dupes him of this money by showing Hanswurst a “Trojan horse;” Hanswurst comments that thieves could well use a Trojan horse to steal money from people, which is how the thief steals Hanswurst’s money.9 Agenor suggests to Articio that he poison the...

9“Hw sagt, daß es ein guttes Ding für Spitzbuben wäre, indem die Leuth zusehen, kunten einige, die darinnen, den Leuthen die Beutl abschneiden 2c. Indessen wird Hw der Beutl gestohlen.” [“Hanswurst says that the fake horse is a good vehicle for thieves to use to steal money from unsuspecting people. During his address, his money is stolen.”]
Queen, but Articio loves her and will not jeopardize the throne or the wedding bed. Atalanta, however, has read the forged letter and arrests Articio; Hanswurst, Hero, and Agenor consequently plot to murder the Queen. Cleander sees an opportunity to gain Articio’s love, since the Queen no longer loves him; Articio, however, has Cleander deliver a love letter to the Queen. Atalanta suddenly reappears, explains her arrest of Articio; Articio becomes infuriated because of his spurned devotion to the Queen. She reconsiders, after seeing Articio’s sincerity, and the wedding is on again. The plot to murder the Queen continues as well, as Hanswurst constructs a stock, in which the Queen traps him and arrests him. Atalanta sees Articio’s love letter in the hands of Cleander, believes it is for Cleander (Cleander purposely allows her to believe this), and thinks Articio is part of the plot to kill her. Atalanta bribes Hanswurst to reveal to her any plot; he tells her his master is involved.

Act 2 develops further confusion and intrigue as the plot to kill the Queen continues. Agenor reveals that Palamedes is still alive. Articio returns to Agenor’s camp after the Queen tells him of a plot against her; he asks Hanswurst to confirm this story. Agenor admits his involvement and delivers the ultimatum to Articio: remain loyal to your father and friends or return to the

10"[D]ie Königin mercket seinen Betruch, betrachtet daß instrument und sagt, er solle ihrs bevor zeigen, alsdann hätte sie eine Freud, solches auch zu thun. Hw nach etwelicher Foperey zeigt es, die Königin schlaget den oberen Theil zu und sagt, nun solle er bekehnen, waß er damit anfangen wollen." ["The queen notices Hanswurst’s deceit, sees the stock, and asks him to demonstrate it for her so she can use it in the future. After brief folly, the queen locks Hanswurst in the stock, telling him that he can now experience the punishment that he originally intended for others."]
enemy Atalanta. He returns to her, and to his surprise is again arrested by Atalanta; she has heard from Hanswurst and has read Cleander's letter and is convinced of Articio's treachery. Articio wants to tell Atalanta of Agenor's plot against her, but he is not given an opportunity; Cleander informs Atalanta, and Atalanta threatens to torture Cleander to find the culprits. Hanswurst appears as a corporal, telling the Queen that they have stormed her castle. After Atalanta tells Icilio that she will marry him, she sends him to tell her enemies that she will kill Articio unless they surrender. With the help of Hanswurst, Articio finally figures out why the Queen has turned against him. Hero, a friend of Articio, immediately surrenders; eventually Agenor does as well, to protect the life of Palamedes.

Act 3 begins with Agenor and Hanswurst locked in separate towers. Hero, feigning loyalty to Atalanta, convinces the Queen to let Hanswurst go. Agenor can also go if he reveals the location of Palamedes. In secret, Agenor tells Articio for the first time that he is Palamedes, an enemy to Atalanta. Articio leaves with Atalanta so he can tell her in private. Meanwhile, Hero lets Agenor out of the tower; they leave with Hanswurst to fight the Queen. Atalanta supports the love between Cleander and Tsauro, but Cleander continues her affection for Articio. Articio tries to convince the Queen to marry "Palamedes" rather than kill him, to which she apparently consents; she, however, tells Tsauro to arrest Palamedes and execute him. Tsauro sees Icilio, arrests him, but does not kill him because they are friends. Cleander makes known that she does not want to marry Tsauro. Agenor, Hero, and
Hanswurst emerge ready to fight, but the Queen says she issued the death of Palamedes. As the characters worry over the Queen's issue, Tsauro appears and admits that he did not kill anyone; Icilio confesses to writing a false letter to Articio from Palamedes. Palamedes appears and his love for Atalanta causes him to forgive everyone. Cleander decides to go back to Tsauro. Hanswurst receives a promotion from Palamedes for his devotion, since he already has a wife and children.

Nicht diesem, den es zugedacht, Sondern dem daß Glücke lacht oder Der großmütige Frauenwechsel unter königlichen Personen mit hanß Wurst den verrathenen Intriganten und übel belohnten Liebs-Envoye [Not to the Apparent One but to the One on Whom Luck Smiles or the Generous Exchange of Wives Among People of Nobility with Hanswurst, the One of Betrayed Intrigue and Poorly-Compensated Love Messenger] consists of thirty scenes and a closing verse; Hanswurst appears in twelve scenes and contributes a closing verse. The piece includes the following characters:

Pyrrhus, King of Epiro
Deidamia, his sister
Climene, daughter of King Lisimachi from Thraciien
Demetrius, King of Macedonia
Clearte, a foreign prince in love with Deidamia
Arbante, an old cavalier and devoted servant of Pyrrhus
Salamantes, son of Arbante who loves Deidamia
Hanswurst, devoted servant to Deidamia

The action of this play begins some time after the two warring nations of Pyrrhus and Demetrius have negotiated peace. Demetrius loves Climene, the daughter of another king from a
neighboring nation. This king refuses to give his daughter to Demetrius; Demetrius asks Pyrrhus to request the hand of Climene for himself; Pyrrhus will then give her to Demetrius. Act 1 opens after Pyrrhus has obtained Climene; Pyrrhus, however, falls in love with her. Unaware of the two kings' plot, Climene believes she will indeed become the wife of Pyrrhus, whom she deeply loves. Arbante announces the arrival of Demetrius to the court of Pyrrhus; his arrival confuses Climene, since she hates him and loves Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus is caught in a dilemma. After the arrival of Pyrrhus's sister Deidamia, Hanswurst announces the arrival of suitors Clearte and Salamantes. Deidamia prefers Salamantes, who is afraid to reveal his feelings of love for the king's sister. Tired of waiting, Clearte rushes into Deidamia's chamber, but she immediately dismisses him. In an effort to gain the throne for herself, Deidamia wants Salamantes to kill her brother Pyrrhus. In the other development, Demetrius reveals that he no longer is interested in Climene and will give her to Pyrrhus out of friendship. Climene is upset at seeing Demetrius again; he, however, upon seeing her is again interested in her. After Hanswurst attempts a long public speech, Pyrrhus is unsure what actions to take: pursue his love or maintain his promise to Demetrius.

In act 2, plots against Pyrrhus develop, as well as against Deidamia. After Salamantes proclaims his love for Deidamia, she challenges him by saying that he might not be ready to commit such a horrible crime. After she again spurns Clearte's love, Clearte teams with the encouraging Hanswurst; Hanswurst receives money
from Clearte after reporting to him that Deidamia is interested in Salamantes. Clearte and Hanswurst scheme against Salamantes. Meanwhile, Climene fears that Pyrrhus will leave her. After voicing her anger against Demetrius, she learns from Pyrrhus of the original arrangement. As she becomes enraged, Pyrrhus tries to comfort her, admits his love for her, and pledges his help; Demetrius sees their embrace, and vows vengeance against Pyrrhus. Cleartes and Hanswurst tell Arbante of the exploits of his son; after he eavesdrops on his son and Deidamia, Arbante learns of the execution plot, sees a contract drawn up by the two culprits, and steals it. Salamantes remains uncertain about killing Pyrrhus. He sees Pyrrhus, however, and unsheaths a knife. At the same time, Demetrius is stalking Pyrrhus. The two assassins see each other, drop their knives, and Pyrrhus turns around. In the confusion, Demetrius believes Salamantes was protecting the king. Demetrius admits his desire to kill the king, and Pyrrhus commends Salamantes for his apparent devotion.

Act 3 reveals the outcome of the plots against Pyrrhus. In an effort to protect national interests, neither king wishes to claim Climene; both kings attempt to exhibit honor by giving her to the other king. Climene storms off in anger, since no one apparently loves her. Hanswurst and Clearte laugh over the prospect of a punished Salamantes; when he appears before them unpunished, Clearte is enraged and begins a fight. Hanswurst attempts to prevent this confrontation. Deidamia emerges, defends Salamantes, informs Clearte to visit her later, and punishes Hanswurst for his treachery against her. Salamantes tells her that
Arbante stole their letter. At this news, Deidamia becomes confused, first wishing to kill Salamantes and then wishing to commit suicide. Arbante appears, claiming that he killed Pyrrhus and consequently deceiving the two lovers. They eventually become pleased with this report. Clearte tells Hanswurst that he is through with the deceit of Deidamia; Hanswurst offers that the previous events are as ridiculous as the prospect of devoted Arbante killing King Pyrrhus.\(^\text{11}\) As Deidamia ascends to the throne, Pyrrhus emerges to arrest her. Climene interjects her desire to leave court. Demetrius appears to inform everyone that Deidamia has fled the guards; she comes to court to repent before Pyrrhus and offer her allegiance to him. As she apologizes, everyone cries. Demetrius wishes now to marry Deidamia. Pyrrhus announces his love to Climene, who accepts him. Pyrrhus forgives Salamantes for his innocent involvement in the plot against him. As Hanswurst returns to the services of Deidamia, he voices his desire for something to eat.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^\text{11}\)"Pfui, schämt euch, ihr habt ein Blapermaul, als wann ihr lauter Gänsearsch gefressen hätten. Wann ihr hätten schweigen können, so wolt ich euch gesagt haben, daß Arbante den König Pyrrhum ermordet, so aber kan ichs auch wohl bleiben lasßen." ["Silence, you embarass yourselves by blabbering as if you had eaten geese asses. If you would only be quiet, I would then tell you that Arbante killed the king Pyrrhum, but I would not reveal to you that information."]

\(^\text{12}\)"Mir wird er auch schon vergehen, wann ich werd das EsBen sehen." ["I will also depart, when I receive something to eat."]
vorstellen [Overthrown Tyranny in the Person of the Messinian Tyrant Pelifonte or Triumph of Love and Revenge with Hanswurst, the Loyal Spy, Simple Soldier, Thoughtless Lover, and Additional Escapades that the Piece Will Present] consists of thirty-five scenes and a closing verse; Hanswurst contributes action in sixteen scenes and in the final verse. The piece includes the following characters:

- Pelifonte, the tyrant of Messina who first loves Merope and then later Nicetta
- Merope, widow of the murdered Cresonte, the previous King of Messina
- Cleone, son of Merope from first marriage, under the alias Ariarte
- Ariarte, one who loves Nicetta
- Talame, appears to support Pelifonte, but actually serves Cleone
- Nicetta, Talame’s daughter who loves Cleone
- Trasimedes, court guard devoted to Talame
- Licisco, wise elder who knows circumstances surrounding Pelifonte’s son Ariarte
- Hanswurst, servant of Cleone
- Notlene, maiden to Merope
- Soldiers

A possible source for this piece may be Apostolo Zeno’s Merope (1714); the music composer remains unknown.

The action of this piece begins with the aggressive rise to power of the evil tyrant Pelifonte and concludes with his subsequent downfall. Act 1 introduces Talame, as he reveals to his “son” Cleone that he is actually the rightful heir to the throne, since Pelifonte killed Cleone’s father Cresfonte. Cleone shares this information with his servant Hanswurst, who believes the only
authority of Cleone might possess is to rule geese and ducks; Cleone promises Hanswurst a woman if he remains silent and devoted. Cleone cannot tell this sudden revelation to his "sister" Nicetta, who is in love with Cleone. Pelifonte announces his interest in Nicetta, although Pelifonte is already married to Merope. Trasimedes reports of two men approaching the castle, after which Pelifontes goes to the oracle to inquire about these men; Trasimedes secretly wishes for Pelifonte's downfall. The two men are Licisco and Hanwurst: Hanswurst tries to kill Licisco because Licisco knows that Cleone already killed Ariarte, Pelifonte's true son. Hanswurst fails, and Trasimedes arrives to escort Licisco to court. Talame and Cleone will pay Hanswurst to murder Licisco. Pelifonte arrives at the scene, snatches a letter and ring from the hands of Cleone, a letter that shows Cleone's identity to be Ariarte, Pelifonte's son: Cleone obtained these objects after killing Ariarte. Pelifonte is overjoyed at the return of his son. Talame encourages Nicetta to follow the wishes of Pelifonte. Pelifonte eavesdrops on the oracle, as his wife Merope learns that Cleone, her son and true heir to the throne, remains alive; Pelifonte says this cannot be true because his son Ariarte has returned after apparently killing Cleone. Talames, Cleone, and Hanswurst report that the citizens also believe that Cleone lives; Talames tells his guard Trasimedes to kill Licisco. Nicetta is

13"Cleone: Narr, dein dummes him weis von nichts zu urtheillen; wisse, daß ich der König diese Orths. Hw: Ja, ia, ich glaub es, aber vielleicht über die Gänse und Ändten." ['Cleone: Fool, your stupid brain is incapable of judging. I tell you that I am the king of this land.' Hanswurst: Yes, sure you are. You are probably the king of geese and ducks.']
confused by the identity of Ariarte; she hates him because he is the son of Pelifonte and murderer of her love Cleone, yet she holds some affection for him. Hanswurst develops an interest in the maiden Nollene.

Act 2 shows Cleone to be endangered. Cleone claims before Merope that he killed her son, who he actually is. As a gleeful Pelifonte leaves, the heavy-hearted Cleone is about to reveal before the saddened Merope that he is her son; however, Talamedes interrupts him. Both Merope and Nicetta develop a plot to kill the apparent villain Ariarte. Again, Talamedes commands Hanswurst to kill Licisco. In anger, Nicetta tells Pelifontes that his son will soon be killed. Nollene is also angry with Hanswurst because he will not reveal his identity or purpose at court. As Merope is about to stab “Ariarte,” Pelifonte appears to arrest her. As “Ariarte” thanks Pelifonte, Nicetta becomes more convinced that he is actually Pelifonte’s son. “Ariarte” secretly promises Nicetta that she will not have to marry Pelifonte. Licisco arrives at court, alive, with Hanswurst at his heals; Nicetta offers him protection because he has information about “Ariarte,” which Nicetta hopes will incriminate him.

Act 3 shows the plot against Pelifonte to be in jeopardy of failure. Pelifonte grants Merope freedom, due to the pleading of Cleone. Licisco reveals to the court and Pelifonte that Cleone killed Ariarte and took Ariarte’s ring and letter. Enraged, Pelifonte arrests Cleone, takes Nicetta, and plans to kill Hanswurst. He reconsidered, however, and employs Hanswurst as a servant. Talamedes appears to remain true to Pelifonte, but he is secretly
waiting to lead a revolt with Trasimedes. In parallel scenes, Nicetta reveals her love to Cleone, but Nollene is again angry with Hanswurst for accepting a position under the tyrant king. Pelifonte announces that Cleone will die for the murder of Ariarte and Nicetta will be his new bride; Nicetta pleads for Cleone's life. Enraged, Pelifonte allows Merope to kill the individual whom she believes to be Ariarte. She cannot, however, because she senses a connection to him; indeed, he is her son. Suddenly, Trasimedes and Talame arrive with support, and everyone demands the death of Pelifonte. Cleone reveals his identity. Talame gives Nicetta to Cleone. Hanswurst is condemned because of his loyalty to the king; however, since he remained silent and did not reveal any identities (because he himself was confused), he is allowed to live. He receives Nollene and a service under Cleone. All sing the triumph over tyranny.

In Pelifonte several considerations relate to the question of authority and rule. Both Pelifonte and Hanswurst exhibit false virtue, Pelifonte through his evil villainy and Hanswurst through ignorance in his use of Latin. Whereas Pelifonte pays for his tyranny with his life, Hanswurst escapes severe punishment for remaining silent about the plot to overthrow Pelifonte.

Der Betrogene Ehmann oder hanß Wurscht der seltsam- und lächerliche Jungfraenzwinger, einfältige Schild-wacht, Allamodische Jäger, beängstigte Liebhaber, bralliende Duelant, durchgetriebene Kupier und großmütige erretter seines herren

[Deceived Husband or Hanswurst, the Strange and Ridiculous
Protector of Women, Simple Watchman, Old-Fashioned Hunter, Worried Lover, Brave Dueler, Sly Facilitator of Unlawful Sexual Acts, and Generous Rescuer of His Master] consists of thirty-seven scenes; Hanswurst appears in nineteen. The piece features the following characters:

- Admetus, King of Tiro
- Alcumene, his Queen
- Osiride, Prince of Cretta and intended husband of Philistone, but secret lover of Alcumene
- Philistone, daughter of Admetus and intended bride of Osiride
- Candace, conquered Prince of Foenicia who loves Philistone
- Hanswurst, servant of Orisides
- Scapin, servant of Admetus
- Forinda, maiden of Alcumene
- Canopo, courier of Osiride

The action of the play begins after Admetus and Osiride conquered Prince Candace. King Admetus rewards Osiride's bravery by promising his daughter Philistone to him; Osiride, however, has eyes for another woman, the king's wife Alcumene. Hanswurst receives a financial reward after victory, but his rival Scapin gets nothing, even though he claims to have more courage in one finger than Hanswurst has in his whole body. To teach Candace mercy, the two rulers allow him to retain his title. Candace soon meets the king's daughter Philistone and immediately falls in love with her. Hanswurst delivers a letter to Philistone from Osiride, which

14"Hw bedankt sich, und Scapin verlangt auch einen Beutl. Hw protestirt, sagendt, einen solchen Ossensitzer solle man 100 Brigi geben. Scapin sagt, er hätte mehr gurache in einen Finger als Hw in ganzen Leib. Hw helat ihm lügen, indem man an seinen Brustfleck die gurache sehe, weil er einen lieden sein herz freu darbiebhe 2c." ['Hanswurst thanks the king for his reward. Scapin demands his payment, to which Hanswurst protests by saying that lazy servants should receive 100 lashes. Scapin replies by saying that he has more courage in his finger than Hanswurst has in his whole body. Hanswurst calls him a liar because everyone can see his courage, pointing to his heart across his chest.']
says he is not interested in her. Philistone compensates Hanswurst by beating him, and Hanswurst shares his "reward" with his master Osiride by hitting him; Osiride is in love with Alcumine. Admetus, in jealous protection, keeps his wife locked in a castle: he exhibits no love or trust of his wife, although he continually comments on her beauty. As she laments her imprisonment with her maiden Florinda, the love of Scapin, Armetus sees fit to assign his supposed trusted friend Osiride to guard his wife. At this point, both Alcumene and Osiride, Florinda and Hanswurst meet in prison. Admetus has heard of Philistone's behavior toward Osiride, and he promises to correct this situation. As Candace makes known his feelings toward Philistone, she encourages him to return to ruling; Philistone and Osiride briefly challenge each other again. Alcumene fends off Osiride's advancements after she talks in her sleep about him, which he hears; but he threatens to kill her and she confesses her love for him. She gives him her wedding ring as a token of their love; Hanswurst receives a token from Florinda.

Act 2 develops a scheme to unite the lovers. Osiride and Hanswurst observe that Admetus suspects nothing. Osiride has guarded the queen without much sleep, so he has Hanswurst stand guard temporarily; Hanswurst wakes his master a few times, and afterwards leaves to fill his empty stomach. Admetus comes upon the sleeping Osiride, comments on his bravery and devotion, but soon notices a ring on his finger that resembles the ring of his wife. As Osiride slowly awakes, he realizes that the king is standing over him; the king is confused at what he sees. He allows Osiride to take some time off from guarding his wife; Admetus will
visit Alcumene. Osiride knows the danger and he runs to his love to return the ring. In a quick scene Scapin asks Hanswurst how he can talk of eating a pig as large as he is.\textsuperscript{15} Alcumene forces Florinda to swear secrecy of Osiride. When Admetus sees his wife's ring on her finger, he admits his gross jealousy; as retribution for "false" suspicion, she demands that Admetus pay a sum and shoot a deer. He aims at a portrait in her room, behind which Osiride hides, but he does not shoot. Philistone overhears Hanswurst talk about a lover of Osiride and she demands to know who it is. As she tries to kill Hanswurst, Osiride arrives to save him. In a scene that shows Philistone enraged, almost deranged, with Osiride, she pledges to kill him and his servant; she requests Candace to commit the deed. Florinda carries a letter from Alcumene for Osiride; she immediately sees Scapin and, to avoid his advances, she tells him that she is Bianella. He is confused, but Hanswurst arrives to confirm her claim. After Scapin leaves, Admetus arrives, sees Florinda, but is told that she is Bianella. He thinks the letter is from his wife for Osiride, at which he is enraged; however, she says it is from Osiride's lover Artenice. Osiride overhears the deceit, jumps in the support the claims, and takes the letter. Admetus sees the penmanship and recognizes it as his wife's writing and secretly vows vengeance.

Act 3 continues the deceit of Florinda and Alcumene. After Alcumene and Osiride proclaim their love, Admetus challenges the

\textsuperscript{15}"Du bist ein Narr und wirst derselbe verbleiben. Sag mir, Ochsenkopf, wie soll eine Sau, die so gros als du, in deinen Bauch kommen? O du turner Teuffll!" ["You are and will always remain a fool. Tell me, ox-head, how does a pig as large as you fit in your stomach? You are a stupid fool!"]
devotion of his wife; she calms him down, he leaves, and Osiride reappears and promises to marry Alcumene. Hanswurst overhears a plot to kill Osiride; as Candace attempts to stab Osiride, Hanswurst jumps on his back to save his master. Admetus arrives on the scene and is confused. Osiride claims nothing has happened; the confused Candace leaves, and the king promises his daughter to Osiride. Hanswurst also receives a reward for his actions. Alcumene arrives on the scene to leave with Osiride; but when her husband sees her, she presents herself as Artenice. Again the confused king returns to his wife's chamber (she, of course, returns to the chamber before he does), sees her, and returns to Osiride. Hanswurst, meanwhile, has packed all the luggage so Osiride and Alcumene, Florinda and he, can leave. A courier, Canopo, arrives to request that Osiride return to his country because his father has died and the country needs a ruler. The king congratulates his devoted servant on his choice of a bride, will now present his daughter to Candace, and returns to his wife's chamber with Scapin after seeing the foursome off. Hanswurst tells Scapin that he will become vice-king and will marry "Bianella": he comforts Scapin by telling him to return to Florinda. After the ship sails, Philistone and Candace notice their crazed father, who has realized the deceit of his wife and servant. He kills himself. His daughter and her husband conclude by saying that it is important for a man not to dominate and control a wife, or he will be deceived. Both Admetus and Scapin pay a heavy price for not practicing this moral.
Der Großmütige Überwinder Seiner selbst mit HW: den übl belehnten Liebhaber vieler Weibsbilder oder Hw der Meister, böse Weiber gutt zu machen [Magnanimous Conqueror of Himself with Hanswurst: the Poorly-Compensated Lover of Many Women, or Hanswurst, the Master at Converting Evil Women to Good] consists of thirty-five scenes and a short closing verse; Hanswurst appears in thirteen scenes. The play includes the following characters:

Cosroes, the King of the Longobards
Stellandra, Princess from Benevet and bride of Cosroes
Ismene, Princess from Spolletto
Julie, a woman of the court who loves Alcandro
Vardanes, a Prince who loves Ismene
Alcandro, devoted servant to Cosroes who secretly loves Stellandra
Hanswurst, servant of the King
Brunette, maiden of Stellandra
Riepl, Hanswurst's neighbor
Many women and watchmen

A possible source for this comedy is the Singspiel entitled Cosroes, librettist and composer not listed, performed in Leipzig in 1708.

The action of the play begins with Cosroes' court gathered and the king asks his servant Hanswurst if he knows what love is: Hanswurst replies certainly, and is willing to offer proof in nine months of his knowledge of love.16 Cosroes presents his wife Stellandra with a party. Riepl arrives with a letter for Hanswurst, only to find him exhausted from eating and drinking too much; the

16Hw: Wir Bauren können es zwar nicht beschreiben, aber wann wir ein Mensch aus den heuboden bekommen, so erzählen wir es historiweis, daß sie in dreiviertl Jahren ein lebendiges Exempl bekomt." ["Hanswurst: We farmers cannot describe it, but when we met a love in the hayloft, we demonstrate our knowledge by giving our love an example, which she sees in three-quarter years time."]
letter demands that Hanswurst return to Salzburg to take one of the many women whom he promised to marry. Vardanes proclaims his love for the Princess Ismene, who slowly recognizes her love for him. King Cosroes surprisingly also propositions Ismene and decides to leave his wife Stellandra for her; Ismene refuses his advances and will tell Stellandra of Cosroes' unfaithfulness. Stellandra overhears their discussion and is impressed with Ismene's honor, but saddened over her husband's behavior. Brunette tells Hanswurst that she wishes to become his wife. The king's servant Alcandro approaches Stellandra, wishing to tell her of his love for her; Julie approaches Alcandro afterwards and tells him that she loves him. Stellandra decides to confront her husband; Hanswurst receives money from Stellandra after reporting Corsoes' advances toward Ismene. Vardanes and Ismene again proclaim their love to each other; Corsoes sees them embrace, dismisses Vardanes, and pleads for Ismene's love. Hanswurst and Riepl play with a goat before they leave for Salzburg.

Act 2 shows the king's love for another woman result in irrational actions followed by a touching moment of recognized love. Alcandro sees an upset Stellandra, and he opportunistically confesses his love for her; Stellandra replies that she would rather die than love him. Cosroes approaches Alcandro and together they scheme to imprison Ismene, which Alcandro believes will allow him to take later Stellandra. After Ismene again refuses the king's advances, Alcandro leads a group of masked soldiers and imprisons her. He tells Julie that Ismene has died. Hanswurst witnesses the plot, however, as he listens to Brunette's own plans for marriage.
Alcandor lies to Ismene by claiming that Vardanes actually imprisoned her out of his love for Julie. In an attempt to convince Vardanes that Ismene is dead, Alcandor offers to summon Ismene from the dead; she, of course, refuses to speak with Vardanes because she believes that he imprisoned her. They see each other in a touching moment; Vardanes cries because he thinks Ismene is dead and she is touched by his sensitivity. A saddened Vardanes leaves. Hanswurst and Riepl conclude the act with a theatrical effective of Riepl riding on a mechinical goat.

Act 3 continues the evil actions of the king and his servant: the king tells him to give Ismene an ultimatum, love the king or die. Stellandra reveals to Vardanes that Ismene lives in a guarded tower; he pledges devotion to Stellandra. Hanswurst hears Alcandro’s lies to Stellandra: Alcandro says that Ismene loves the king, but Hanswurst reminds the audience that this is not so, and he even challenges the deceitful servant by telling him to lick his ass.\(^{17}\) Alcandro spies Julie in the distance and tells Stellandra that she should leave before Corsoes comes; Julie unsuccessfully convinces him of her love. Vardanes arrives at Ismene’s cell, and they proclaim their love for each other; Hanswurst and Brunette share some intimacy, by playing with a pipe. Cosroes orders Alcandro to bring Ismene to him. In a scene demonstrating a sudden, perhaps unconvincing, change of heart, Cosroes initially orders Alcandro to kill Vardanes because Ismene continues to love

only him, but he changes his mind by deciding instead to give Ismene to Vardanes and ask Stellandra for forgiveness. Several women rush Hanswurst and demand that he take a husband; Brunetta saves him by claiming that he belongs to her. Stellandra forgives Corsoes. Corsoes, however, confuses Ismene with one further action: Alcandro gives her a bundle that she believes to be the head of Vardanes. This bundle, however, is a crown and sceptor. The group rejoices, as Stellandra and Corsoes, Julie and Alcandro, Ismene and Vardanes, and Brunetta and Hanswurst wind up together. Since Brunetta seems to be eating Hanswurst out of house and home, the royalty presents Hanswurst with a financial raise in service.

*Der Tempel Dianae oder Der Spiegel wahrer und treuer freundschaft mit H: W: Den sehr übl geplagten Jungengesellen von zwei alten Weibern [Temple of Diana or Reflection of True and Genuine Friendship with Hanswurst, the Bachelor Who is Very Nastily Tormented by Two Old Women] presents an adaptation of the Greek classic. Emerging possibly from the Italian librettist Nicoló Minato's work *Il tempio di Diana in Taurica. Festa musicale* (1678), with the music of Antonio Draghi, this play borrows from the Agamemnon legend, in which Agamemnon has offended the goddess Diana by killing one of her deer. She seeks vengeance in the form of the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. Just before the sacrifice, the other gods feel a sense of sympathy for her and rescue her; she appears at the court of King Toante, from where this play begins. This play consists of forty-three scenes;*
Hanswurst appears in eighteen scenes. The piece features the following characters (Hanswurst is not listed as a character):

Toante, King of Taurica who loves Iphigenia
Iphigenia, Princess of Aulis under the alias Alinda who loves Pilades
Pilades, Prince of Maroco who is engaged to Alinda and the friend of Orestes
Orestes, Prince of Aulis who loves Clarice
Clarice, daughter of Toante who also loves Orestes
Teucrus, lost and unknown son of Toante who loves Clarice
Leocades, a general
An astrologer
Elila, one from Sibilla
Dorinda and Beda, two old women after Hanswurst Nymphs.

The action of the piece begins with great pomp and ceremony, as King Toante declares the importance of honoring the goddess Diana with marriages and sacrifices. He wishes his daughter Clarice to marry the "noble" Teucrus, but she opposes the marriage. In a parallel circumstance, Hanswurst appears and refuses to marry a woman appointed to him by the king. After an astrologer performs a strange ceremony to uncover the will of the gods, Hanswurst witnesses alone in a field the arrival of Iphigenia in a chariot pulled by white deer. She was saved from Diana's sacrifice by sympathetic gods, corresponding to the Greek legend. Both Hanswurst and King Toante fall in love with her, but to guard against her true identity for fear of Diana's vengeance, she introduces herself as Alinda. As Iphigenia meets members of Toante's court, she learns of the oracle's declaration that Orestes, her brother, must be sacrificed. As Orestes and Pallides arrive at court chased by the Furies, Clarice falls immediately in love with
Orestes. The act concludes with the true friends Orestes and Pallides being chased by Hanswurst and other spirits. Hanswurst is interrupted by two old women who fight for his affection, resulting in his trousers being torn.

Act 2 revolves around Iphigenia's offer to become a priestess and the sacrifice of Orestes. Iphigenia reveals to Clarice her true identity. Teucrus reveals his sudden interest in Iphigenia. He overhears a discussion between Orestes and Pallides and is impressed by their virtuous friendship. Orestes and Clarice, Pallides and Iphigenia proclaim their love to each other. After Hanswurst fantasizes about Iphigenia, King Toante gives him a love letter to deliver to Iphigenia. Teucrus refuses King Toante's gift of Clarice and Toante is consequently impressed with his virtue. Iphigenia refuses the love of Toantes; the result is her arrest. The act concludes with Hanswurst slyly avoiding the pursuit of two older women.

Act 3 opens with Orestes pleading for guidance from the gods. After he chases the pesky Hanswurst, who intends to report Orestes' whereabouts, he believes wrongly that Pallides is in love with his own Clarice. She corrects this misunderstanding by giving Orestes a ring as a token. Thinking she can change the fate of Orestes, Iphigenia unwillingly consents to marry Toante, which causes the eavesdropping Pallides to renounce his love for Iphigenia. As Iphigenia then threatens suicide, Teucrus emerges to save her, after which he pronounces his love, which she in turn rejects. Pallides switches clothes with Orestes as a sign of eternal friendship; however, as Orestes is asleep, Pallides offers
himself as a sacrifice. Iphigenia is distraught because she believes Orestes will be sacrificed. Clarice, however, recognizes Iphigenia's lover Pallides. As he is ready to die, Orestes emerges. As both argue who will be the sacrifice, Iphigenia reveals to the court her true identity. The final scene has the astrologer proclaiming that Teucrus is Toantes' true son, to which Toantes is overjoyed. The king recognizes and rewards the exhibition of true friendship by allowing both Pallides and Orestes to live. Hanswurst emerges and requests that the two old women take the place of Pallides and Orestes as sacrifices. The king asks Hanswurst to consider marriage. All the characters sing of love and friendship as the curtain falls.

Triumph der Ehre und deß Glückes oder Tarquinius Superbus mit HW: Den unglückseelichen Verliebten, durchgetribenen hoffchrantien, intressirten Kupler, nährischen Großmütigen und tapfren Schloßstürmer [Triumph of Honor and Happiness or Tarquinius Superbus with Hanswurst: the Dismayed Lover, Sly Suitor, Interested Matchmaker, Foolish Generous One, and Valiant Castle Charger] consists of thirty-five scenes; Hanswurst appears in fifteen scenes. The piece features the following characters:

- Tarquinius Superbus, King of Rome
- Lucius Verus, devoted follower who loves Eusonia
- Eusonia, bride of Arcades
- Arcades, King of Albania who loves Fenicia
- Fenicia, a Roman lady
- Cleander, a poet who loves Fenicia
- Rodisbe, a maiden who loves Lucius
- Orontes, a general
- Hanswurst, servant to Fenicia and then later to Tarquinius
A page, two thieves, Roman and Albanian soldiers, and slaves

The action of the piece shows the infidelity of Arcades, King of Albania, and the triumph of Tarquinius Superbus, King of Rome, over the Albania. Arcades appears with Fenicia, a Roman lady who opportunistically seeks power and wealth from Arcades. Hanwurst is her servant. Arcades' wife Eusonia and her servant Rodisbe see the couple; Eusonia advances to kill Fenicia with a knife. Orontes, Arcades' guard, enters to announce the outbreak of a revolt in the streets. Arcades sees Eusonia and he flees. Hanswurst reappears, notices his lady is gone, and he switches allegiances to Eusonia. Meanwhile, Tarquinius and his companion Lucius Verus have proceeded victoriously through the streets. Eusonia asks for Tarquinius' help to capture Arcades; he agrees. Fenicia now fancies Tarquinius over Arcades. A court poet Oleander makes known his love for Fenicia. Now a devoted servant to Eusonia, Hanswurst has Fenicia, his former master, arrested for her infidelity. Arcades reemerges to rescue Fenicia and regains Orontes' allegiance. Together they scheme to show the appearance of Arcades' death. Oleander and Hanswurst see the alleged grave of Arcades.

Act 2 shows Eusonia gradually assuming more control over Tarquinius and Lucius in her quest to avenge and eventually to kill Arcades and Fenicia. As both Arcades and Fenicia assume disguises at court, Orontes tells Eusonia that Arcades is dead; she, nevertheless, demands the heart of Fenicia. As Tarquinius pledges love to Eusonia, Arcades and Fenicia seek vengeance. Hanswurst, meanwhile, attempts to seduce Rodisbe; she, however, is in love with Lucius. Hanswurst leads soldiers in storming Arcades' castle
in search for Fenicia. Rodisbe learns that Lucius will kill himself because he loves Eusonia, Tarquinius' love; Lucius refuses to make his love for Eusonia known for fear of injuring his friend Tarquinius. Hanswurst attempts to win Rodisbe's love by posing as a prince.

Act 3 opens with Arcades vowing vengeance for destruction of his court. Hanswurst follows the orders of Tarquinius and releases wild animals to find Fenicia. Still disguised and secretly enamored by Tarquinius, Fenicia fends off the advances of Cleander and later tells Tarquinius that Arcades still lives. Arcades emerges in front of Fenicia, and she flees in fear. Hanswurst unsuccessfully bides for Rodisbe's affection. Lucius gives Rodisbe a letter to give to Tarquinius, a letter that proclaims his undying love for Eusonia. Cleander, after renouncing his love for Fenicia, agrees to follow Eusonia and Tarquinius. After Tarquinius reads Lucius' letter aloud in front of the court, Lucius brings the captured Arcades, who actually surrendered. Tarquinius is so impressed with Arcades' honor that he returns Eusonia to him. She forgives Arcades as long as Fenicia is gone. Lucius is happy for Arcades and realizes that he actually loves Rodisbe over Eusonia. Hanswurst is upset about losing his love Rodisbe. Tarquinius tells Hanswurst that he will face execution if he does not behave. Arcades also is angry with Hanswurst; but, in the spirit of the play, Hanswurst is also forgiven. Everyone sings of honor at the close.

**Grosmütiger Wethstreit der Freundschaft Liebe und Ehre oder Scipio in Spanien mit HW den großmütigen Sclaven und**
verschmitzten hoffschrantzen [Magnanimous Competition of Friendship, Love, and Honor or, Scipio in Spain with Han wurst the Generous Slave and Sly Courtier] tests true love after military defeat. Scipio may be an adaptation of Apostolo Zeno’s Scipione nelle Spagne (1714), with music by Antonio Caldara. Hanswurst appears in twenty-three of thirty-six scenes. The piece features the following characters:

- Scipio, Roman leader in love with Sofonisba
- Lucejo, Celtic noble in love with Sofonisba
- Cardenio, noble of llegetern in love with Sofonisba
- Marzio, Roman advisor in love with Elvire
- Trebellio, Roman advisor
- Sofonisba, daughter of Spanish landowner and betrothed to Lucejo
- Elvire, sister to Cardenio and in love with Lucejo
- Hanswurst, former servant to Lucejo, currently servant to Scipio, soon to serve again Lucejo
- Roman servants and Spanish slaves

The action of this piece begins with the introduction of Roman leader Scipio, who just led a victorious battle in Spain. Hanswurst presents himself as ein Spanier von Salzburg [a Spaniard from Salzburg] and assumes the position of Scipio’s servant. Scipio’s companion Marzio appears and makes advances to Elvire. The leaders hear that the beautiful Sofonisba is near death and everyone flees to save her: Scipio conquered her village, imprisoned her, but she escaped. She currently hides with her lover Lucejo. Hanswurst discovers the location of Sofonisba. He requests Lucejo to inform Scipio that he saved her, entitling him to the reward. Lucejo does not reveal his identity as a defeated enemy; he introduces himself to Scipio as Tesandro. Scipio leaves
with Sofonisba and Lucejo. At court Elvire refuses the love of Marzio. As her brother Cardenio arrives, Hanswurst thinks Cardenio will kill Elvire; his stupidity results in his banishment to Carthage. Marzio is upset with Scipio because he feels Elvire, an acquisition in war, should be his reward for loyalty in war. Sofonisba pledges to remain true to Lucejo, who maintains his friendship through disguise with Scipio.

Act 2 shows a struggle among the leaders, as Marzio challenges Scipio to judge himself as he judges others. Marzio remains jealous and angered that Elvire refuses him. Out of Mario's challenge, Scipio decides he should not keep Sofonisba and gives her to Cardenio, to the dismay of Sofonisba and Lucejo. Cardenio is moved by Lucejo's sadness over Scipio's decision; Elvire recognizes Lucejo in disguise; she proclaims her love to him. Cardenio makes known that he cannot keep Sofonisba; however, instead of rejoining her lover Lucejo, she remains at Scipio's side. As an observer of the exchanges, Hanswurst claims that he knows how to match correctly men and women. Lucejo feels perhaps Sofonisba will not be his, so he resigns himself to life without her. Sofonisba is confused with Lucejo's changed behavior; Scipio is impressed with Lucejo's support for him. Lucejo and Sofonisba behave awkwardly with each other. As Elvire again proclaims her love to Lucejo, Marzio overhears and draws swords against Lucejo. Lucejo reveals his true identity. Although they are enemies, Scipio again is impressed with Lucejo's bravery; Elvire continues to swoon over Lucejo.
Act 3 reveals great bravery. Lucejo sadly tells Sofonisba that he must leave. Hanswurst changes allegiances and now supports Scipio. Marzio convinces Trebellio to join him against Scipio, who fails to reward Marzio with the hand of Elvire. Elvire tells Sofonisba that she is impressed with her honor. Marzio delivers an ultimatum to Scipio: either award him Elvire or face death. Elvire decides to give herself to Marzio to save Lucejo’s life. As everyone acts out of noble and honorable intentions to avoid a conflict, Hanswurst reminds the audience that he is content by wine and fun. Scipio arrives at a plan. Marzio remains ignorant of Lucejo’s true identity. Scipio surrenders to Marzio and gives Elvire to Marzio. They depart with Lucejo as a guide. As everyone sadly bids farewell, Hanswurst offers his own farewell. Lucejo surprises Marzio and frightens the traitors into surrendering. Scipio identifies Marzio as dishonorable. Hanswurst shows his cowardice by soiling his trousers. As Lucejo and Sofonisba, Scipio and Elvire pair together, Hanswurst wishes the

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18"Lucejo: Schweige, Hw, besser ist gestorben, alß durch eine Zagheit die Ehre befelecket. Hw: Ich schmeis in die Ehre, wann der Kopf weg ist." ["Lucejo: ‘Silence, Hanswurst. It is better to die than to act dishonorably.’ Hanswurst: ‘I care nothing for honor when I am decapitated.’”]

19"Hw: Wir gehen herumb alß wie die Hirschen umb Egid, ich und mein Herr ist ein Narr wie der andere: dieser will ehe sterben als davon fliehen, und ich will lieber bey einen Krug Wein leben und lustig aeln.” ["Hanswurst: ‘We go around like deer in a forest, I and my master, who is a fool; he would rather die than flee, and I would rather live with my tankard of wine and have fun.’”]

20"Hw: Lebt wohl, ihr Herren und Jungfrauen, ihr Marquetaner und ihre Menscher und Weiber, Hund und Kazen lebet wohl, ich scheide von euch als wie der Kühquarck von Mutterlelb.” ["Hanswurst: ‘Farewell, masters and maidens, gallants, men and women, dogs and cats, farewell. I separate myself from you like intestinal vile from the womb.’”]

21"Hw: Und ich will trachten, daß ich meine Hosßen auswaschen kan, die von lauter Grosmüütigkeit angefüillet worden.” ["Hanswurst: ‘I will make sure that I wash my trousers, which are now soiled from generosity.’”]
two women well with a direct sexual reference. The characters join to sing to virtues of true friendship, love, and honor.

Der Besiegte Obseiger Adalbertus König in Wälischlandt oder Die Wurckungen deß Betruchs bey gezwungener Liebe Mit HW: Den betrogenen Breutigam, verwihrten Auffstecher, übl belohnten alten Weiber Spotter, gezwungenen Ehman, Allamodischen Ambasadeur, sehenden Blinden und hörenden Tauben 2c. 2c [Defeated Victor Adalbertus, King of Wales, or Results of Deception in Forced Love, with Hanswurst: the Deceived Groom, Confused Lancer, Evil Paid Ridiculer of Old Women, Forced Husband, Old Fashioned Ambassador, Blind Seer and Deaf Hearer] consists of thirty-nine scenes; Hanswurst appears in nineteen scenes. The piece includes the following characters:

- Adalbertus, King of Wales who loves Adelheide
- Adelheide, widow of Lotarius who loves Lidolpho
- Lidolpho, son of Ottonis who loves Adelheide
- Osmonda, a ruler from England under the alias Idrena who loves Adalbertus
- Ernestus, a devoted servant of Lidolpho
- Aspasia, maiden to Adelheide who loves Hanswurst under alias Melitea
- Hanswurst, a servant to Adalbertus
- Soldiers

A possible source for this play is Donato Cupeda's L'Adalberto overo la forza dell'feminile, with music by Antonio Draghi (1697).

The action of this piece opens with Adelheide sad, for she has been captured by Adalbertus. He wants to marry her so they can

22"Hw: Ich aber wünsche viel Glück und Segen und beyden Prinzessinen einen Steissen Degen.” ["Hanswurst: ‘I wish the two princesses much happiness, success, and sexual satisfaction.’"]
merge their vast kingdoms. She consents to Adalbertus, giving her hand but not heart, which surprises servant Ernestus. Hanswurst arrives with Melitea, with whom Adelheide wishes to speak alone. Hanswurst leaves, yet Melitea would rather be with Hanswurst. Lidolpho arrives, healed from war injuries, and is infuriated with Adelheide's decision to marry Adalbertus. Lidolpho soon accepts her decision. As Hanswurst eavesdrops on them, Lidolpho appears to stab Adelheide out of anger. Hanswurst quickly runs to tell the king. Before reaching the king, Hanswurst meets Ernestus, who is disguised as Mercurio. Hanswurst asks him how to become rich without work. Ernestus informs him that thievery requires much effort, to which Hanswurst replies that he will remain a fool so he can perform in theatre.²³ Idrena arrives at court and is befriended by Melitea. Hanswurst sees the king and tries to comfort him over Adelheide's apparent death, claiming that Adelheide really did not love him anyway. Adelheide appears, however, proclaiming love for Adalbertus, consequently to protect Lidolpho at court. Hanswurst is so confused that he wishes to commit suicide; Adalbertus and Adelheide both want to punish Hanswurst for his lies. In an attempt to gain Hanswurst's love, Melitea presents herself as a powerful sorceress. In a demonstration of her apparent powers, she turns herself into the beautiful Idrena, with whom Hanswurst

²³"Hw: Der Kerl hat recht, ein blumber Dief wird gleich erdapt und aufgehenckt, ein gescheider aber, der weis die Sachen so subtil anzufangen, daß man ihm nicht zukan. Ich will halt der alte Narr bleiben und daß Stehlen bleiben lasßen; wann ich kein Geld hab, mache ich eine Comedie, so bringen mir meine herren Zuseher schon wieder eines." ["Hanswurst: That man is correct. A bumbling thief would be caught and hanged; a smart one, however, who is subtle, will succeed. I will remain the old fool and leave thievery alone. If I need money, I will perform a comedy and my dear audience will pay me."]
immediately falls in love. When Melitea changes back, Hanswurst tells her to take the other form. In anger, Melitea has several assistants tie and strip Hanswurst. He vows vengeance against her.

Act 2 shows conspiracy among the women and the king’s anger. Hanswurst wants the king to hang the sorceress Melitea. Idrena promises Melitea that Melitea will receive Hanswurst if she pledges her devotion. Adelheide meets Idrena at court and will help Idrena become Adalbertus’ wife. When Adelheide and Lidolpho proclaim their love again, the king overhears their words and will imprison Adelheide. As Melitea comes with the soldiers, Hanswurst thinks Melitea is leading them to arrest him. He flatters her to avoid arrest. In a garden, Hanswurst is scared and refuses to talk with the king, who consequently thinks Hanswurst is dumb. Irena projects her voice to Adalbertus and tells him that she still loves him; Adalbertus thinks he is communicating with a spirit. When Adelheide tries to appease the king, Hanswurst is still confused because he thinks she is dead. As Melitea reappears as a sorceress, Hanswurst immediately strikes her. Adalbertus allows Adelheide to live after hearing the voice in the garden.

Act 3 shows the conspiracy against Adalbertus, as well as Hanswurst’s confusion, reach a climax. Melitea receives money from Adelheide to buy Hanswurst. Hanswurst flatters Adelheide; after she ignores his remarks, he offers insults. Although Adalbertus apologizes in a letter for his selfish behavior toward

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24 "Hw: Dieses ist gar zu viel 3fach, ich will mit nichts verleib nehmen und meinen Abmarsch nehmen. Leckt ihr mich braff in podice." ["Hanswurst: ‘This is too easy. I will not pander and take my leave. Lick my ass.’"]
Adelheide, she, Lidolpho, and Ernestus want to punish the king further; they write a letter and inform him to relinquish his forces if he is truly sorry. Melitea again "appears" as Idrena before Hanswurst. When she changes back, Hanswurst sees that she has money; he maintains that he is "twice a virgin" and steals the money. Idrena finds that the group conspiracy against Adalbertus has developed far enough. In a dark room, Adalbertus and Hanswurst overhear the group conspiracy, with plans of war and Adelheide’s intended marriage to Lidolpho. Eventually Adalbertus is arrested, but he remains content; he looks to rejoin his former love Osmonda in death. The other members release him, however, and drop their plans to overthrow him. Idrena reveals her true identity of Osmonda, to which Adalbertus rejoices. Hanswurst receives a promotion.

Sieg Der Unschuld über haß und Verratherey oder Scepter und Cron hat Tugendt zum Lohn Mit HW: dem Doctor in der Einbildung undt seltsamen Complementario [Victory of Innocence Over Hate and Treachery or Sceptor and Crown have Virtue as Reward with Hanswurst, Doctor in Education and Strange Flattery] contains thirty-seven scenes; Hanswurst appears in sixteen scenes. In Act 3, scenes 8, 9, 10, and 11 are not included in this publication; they appear lost. The piece includes the following characters:

Alfonso, King of Spain who loves Angelica

25"Melitea: bistu noch ein Jungergesell? Hw: Ist daß fragenswert? (Die Alte kombt mir gar zu nahe auf die hauth.) Ja freylich bin ich einer, und zwar ein dopelter." ["Melitea: 'Are you an innocent boy?' Hanswurst: 'What a question! (She gets under my skin.) Yes, I am, in fact, I am double so.'"]
Beatrice, his sister
Ludwig, Prince of Gallien who loves Elvire
Elvire, a woman from Gallien under the alias Angelica
Pietro, her father who formerly used the name Astronomi
Juan, Alfonso's general who loves Beatrice
Carl, minister of Alfonso, Ludwig's devoted servant, and admirer of Beatrice
Hanswurst, servant of Elvire
Charlotta, maiden of Beatrice
Scapin, servant of Ludwig
Guards and soldiers

The action of the piece begins by showing Angelica, formerly known as Elvire, and Pietro, formerly Astronomi, as they flee their home country of Gallien to avoid the suitor Ludwig. She desires marry Alfonso; however, she learns that Ludwig will be at the wedding. Carl makes advances toward Beatrice, who effectively ignores him; her love Juan challenges Carl. Carl slying tells King Alfonso that Beatrice is not right for Juan, to which Alfonso agrees. The king expresses uncertainty about his marriage to Angelica. Scapin arrives with Ludwig and offers rude commentary about love.26 He recognizes his brother Hanswurst and they embrace; their meeting possibly legitimizes a second comic character. They leave to report of Ludwig's arrival to Angelica. Ludwig, meanwhile, meets Pietro and tells him he will eventually get Elvira. Alfonso announces his decision of giving Beatrice to Carl, which infuriates Juan. Charlotta announces her decision to take a suitor, creating competition between Hanswurst and Scapin.

26"Scapin: Die Liebe kombt mir nichts anders vor als eine Saublatern, welche so lang dauret, bis es ein Loch bekombt, aladann ist der Quarck völlig ausgeruht." ["Scapin: 'To me, love is like a pig blatter, which lasts only until it develops a hole from which intestinal vile pours.']
Act 2 begins with Alfonso complimenting the beauty of his love Angelica; immediately Ludwig, who recognizes her as Elvira, acknowledges her great beauty and congratulates Alfonso. Hanswurst observes that this flattery "stinks of farmer’s cheese". Angelica is compelled to reveal her identity to Alfonso; he, however, suspects infidelity on her part, so he banishes her. Beatrice comforts her brother after his decision. Juan proclaims his love for Beatrice; he employs Hanswurst while Scapin makes advances toward Charlotta. Pietro comforts Alfonso by apologizing for any misunderstandings. As Alfonso goes to speak to Ludwig, he overhears Scapin speaking of Ludwig’s other potential female conquests; Alfonso questions Ludwig’s faithfulness and he suggests that they allow Angelica to choose between the two rulers. Alfonso allows Carl to announce the choice, a mistake because he maintains allegiance to Ludwig. She wants to choose Alfonso, but fears war might break out at such a choice. As Alfonso speaks of honor, Hanswurst thinks of ways to trick Scapin out of Charlotta.

Act 3 begins with Carl contemplating over truthfully revealing Angelica’s choice: if he tells the truth, Ludwig might eventually acquire Beatrice; if he lies, he might keep Beatrice as his own. Alfonso is dismayed, even angry, upon hearing Carl’s report that Angelica supposedly prefers Ludwig. After witnessing Alfonso’s reaction, Angelica quickly leaves the court. Beatrice and Juan again proclaim their love. Pietro uncovers Carl’s deceit and

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27 "Hw: hat der Gugu eben den Prinzen müssn da haben! Jetzt wird der ganze Pfifferring ausgerühret werden und ich glaube, daß er ärger als ein Baurenquarck stinken wird." [”Hanswurst: “The prince certainly knows how to pander and flatter. The whole situation will soon stink like farmer’s cheese.””]
informs the court that Carl is a traitor working for Ludwig (after this scene, the play proceeds to scene 12). Hanswurst and Charlotta express their desire to kill Ludwig. Alfonso and Pietro ride with soldiers to find Angelica. Carl confesses his treachery to the court. Juan arrives with Angelica. The play ends with a possible triple wedding for the king, prince, and servant: Alfonso to Angelica, Juan to Beatrice, and Hanswurst to Charlotta. Ludwig apologizes and wishes Alfonso the best. Whereas the court dignitaries apologize to each other, Scapin and Hanswurst refuse to forgive each other initially and embrace. Charlotta encourages them to forgive one another.

Was sein soll Daß schickt sich wohl oder Die unvergleichliche Beständigkeit zweyer Verliebten Mit HW: den seltsamen Großmütigen und übl belohnten Kupler [What Should be as Luck Would have it or the Incomparable Perseverance of Two Lovers with Hanswurst the Strange Generous Person and Ill-Compensated Matchmaker] consists of forty-two scenes; Hanswurst appears in eighteen. A possible source of this piece is Antonio Bernardoni’s Tigrane, rè d’Armenia, with music by Antonio Bonocini (1710). The piece features the following characters:

- Astromedes, King of Colchos, under the alias Morante, who loves Philinda
- Microcastes, King of Ponto
- Philinda, daughter of Microcastes
- Eurilla, second wife of Microcastes and step mother to Philinda
- Farnace, brother of Eurilla who loves Philinda
- Heraldo, faithful servant to Astromedes and in Microcastes’ army
Haran, a high priest
Hanswurst, servant to Astromedes
Scapin, servant to Microcastes
Rosetta, maiden to Philinda
Riepl, another servant
Soldiers

The action of the play begins with Microcastes and members of his court discussing marriage. Eurilla desires her brother Farnace rather than Astromedes to marry Microcastes' daughter Philinda. Farnace assists Eurilla's efforts by planting suspicion of Astromedes' character in Microcastes' mind. Scapin accompanies the group and eagerly awaits his brother, Hanswurst, who arrives on stage dressed in bandages to gain dishonestly financial compensation for services in war. After Eurilla and Farnace succeed in directing Microcastes' opinion of Astromedes, Farnace arrests Astromedes, who was loyal to Microcastes in war, to gain Philinda's hand in marriage. Scapin chases Rosetta, who prefers Hanswurst. Farnace also arrests Hanswurst, an action which parallels Astromedes' arrest; Scapin expresses delight in Hanswurst's arrest. Philinda waits for Astromedes, but Heraldo informs her of his imprisonment. Microcastes deliberates over what to do with Astromedes. Farnace soon convinces him to kill Astromedes; Hanswurst, however, can build stone fences. Eurilla expresses joy over Microcastes' decision; she orders Scapin to insure that Astromedes's death is long and painful. In the final scenes, Hanswurst hears Astromedes in jail, but he does not see him: Hanswurst thinks he hears a ghost. After Astromedes reveals himself, Philinda appears in a disguise, which also frightens Hanswurst. She releases them. When the court arrives to kill
Astromedes, she tells the soldiers of her actions. After first hinting to offer her poison, Scapin changes his mind, insuring that the comedy will continue. Microcastes delivers the ultimatum to Philinda: marry Farnace or die.

Act 2 begins as Astromedes reveals his identity to Heraldo; Heraldo is impressed with his loyalty and offers his support even though he is now the enemy. They send Hanswurst in disguise to Microcastes' court to deliver a letter to Philinda. Eurilla steals the letter and learns of Hanswurst's disguise. Farnace and Philinda, Scapin and Rosetta deliver action in parallel scenes that show the women fighting off the advances of unwanted suitors. Astromedes and Heraldo arrive to rescue the women and Hanswurst. Microcastes arrives with troupes to capture Astromedes. After Astromedes and his friends escape, Scapin helps the injured Microcastes back to his castle.

Act 3 shows Microcastes' court committed to avenge the actions of Astromedes. Hanswurst reconsiders his interest in Rosetta, as she bombards him with demands. The servant Riepl arrives from a distant kingdom and tells Astromedes that his father, a king, has died; Astromedes consequently inherits his father's kingdom. Philinda informs Astromedes that, although she loves Astromedes, she cannot leave her father. She sadly returns to the court, and Microcastes still insists that she marry Farnace. Before she threatens to kill herself, Astromedes arrives.

26“Scapin: Haltet fest, Herr Farnace, was wurd die für ein Comoedi sein, wans nicht zu Endt gebracht wurde.” ("Scapin: 'Not so fast, Mr. Farnace. What kind of a comedy would this be if it ended so soon?")
Microcastes captures him and Hanswurst. When Microcastes again insists that Philinda must die, Astromedes declares that he will die in her place. Microcastes is convinced of Astromedes' honor and he also realizes that Farnace and Eurilla have offered him false advice. Despite the past treachery of Eurilla and Farnace, everyone receives forgiveness of past crimes. The piece ends as the characters praise and sing together the virtues of honor.

The last piece in the Payer von Thurn edition is Die Allgemeine Treu oder HW: der listige, iedoch betrogene und zum Galgen ver=dambte hausdieb, wohlpracticirter BeederachsIräger und Kuppler [General Loyalty or Hanswurst: the Sly, yet Deceived, Damned-to-the-Gallows Thief, Well-Practiced Courier and Matchmaker], which consists of forty-four scenes; Hanswurst appears in eighteen scenes. A possible source for this play is Donato Cupeda's La fede publica, with music from Antonio Ziana (1700). The play features the following characters (Hanswurst and Binetta are not listed with the other characters):

Cafena, the Queen of Carien in love with Lisander
Lisander, a noble by birth who also loves with the queen
Niniseus, noble from Melier, also in love with the queen
Dion, royal advisor and immediate servant to the queen
Rosalba, Lisander's sister who loves Orestes
Orestes, royal warrior who loves Rosalba
Cleodora, sister of Niniseus who loves Lisander
Soldiers and maidens

The action of the piece begins by establishing the search within the kingdom for a male ruler. Cafena declares the need to choose a husband, suggesting that women perhaps are incapable of
ruling alone. Lisander is the likely candidate, since Cafena and Lisander love each other; however, he is miffed by the official process necessary in declaring a king. Hanswurst expresses his interest in gaining the throne. Lisander worries that rival Niniseus will vie for the position, so he elicits the aid of Orestes and Rosalba. They feign devotion to Niniseus: Orestes befriends Niniseus and Rosalba flirts with Dion. Jealousy emerges in the relationship between Hanswurst and Binetta; as he delivers a letter, she suspects a rival to her love. Hanswurst congratulates Dion on his apparent conquest of the younger Rosalba.

Act 2 presents Lisander's mounting rage with the prospect of Niniseus gaining the throne. Cafena instructs Niniseus to conquer and control his undying love for her if he expects any chance of becoming king. Lisander's anger rages throughout the act as he learns of Cafena's demand of Niniseus. Hanswurst acquires a necklace for Binetta, and a jealous Dion immediately sentences him to die; Lisander and Rosalba come to rescue him. Cafena seeks Dion's advice, asking him to select a husband for her. Dion later sees through Rosalba's feigned flirtation, which further compels him to select Niniseus against Cafena's love for Lisander. The act concludes with Niniseus greatly angered with Cafena's skewed prejudice for Lisander, Lisander angry with Cafena's game, and

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29“Hw: er verlange la nicht erhöhet zu werden, dann sein Camerad wäre kürzlich in der Luft wegen der Erhöhung erstickt, aber der Cron möchte er wegen fressen und sauffen tragen 2c.” [“Hanswurst: ‘I do not wish my position to be raised since my friend was left in the air due to his raise; I would like to wear the crown to eat and drink as I will.’”]
Hanswurst upset with Binetta's behavior. In secret Lisander and Cafena proclaim their love for each other.

Act 3 shows the characters succumbing to deceit. Cafena dismisses Dion for his choice of Niniseus; Lisander believes Orestes is an alley of Niniseus; Rosalba believes Orestes loves Cleodora. Cafena and Dion discover the arrangement among Lisander, Orestes, and Rosalba after stealing a letter from Hanswurst. Cafena and Dion, along with Niniseus, pardon Orestes and Rosalba for their involvement in deceit against Cafena; Lisander, who continues to demonstrate monstrous piety and jealousy, remains a prisoner. In a moment of revelation, Cafena admits that Niniseus is better suited for the position of king. In the final scene Cafena announces her choice of Niniseus over Lisander as husband. Niniseus is so overjoyed that he pardons Lisander. The choice promotes the divine right of kings, as Niniseus demonstrates the attributes necessary in ruling as king.
Hans Wurst, the Sad Cake Baker, and His Friend in Need, From Gottfried Prehauser. A Critical, Very Funny, Thoughtful, and Entertaining Play Not Yet Seen Here, Written Especially for This Occasion.

Hans Wurst, the Sad Cake Baker contains fourteen short scenes and appears written as a play for New Year's Day. The characters include: Gutherz, a rich merchant; Taddäus, his cousin; Leni, a female hand worker employed by Gutherz; Gretle, a servant to Gutherz; and Hanswurst, a poor cake baker.

The story opens in a quaint, middle class room of taste, with doors to either side and old-fashioned furniture. Taddäus arrives to request a loan from his rich cousin Gutherz; Taddäus actually has designs on pilfering from Gutherz's riches. He meets Leni and learns that she stands to acquire a rich inheritance from Gutherz; Taddäus immediately flatters her. Hanswurst arrives, lamenting the poor state of his cake business, as all his female cooks steal from the profits. He offers compliments to Leni, claiming he needs strength, which he can find only in her eyes. She tells Hanswurst of her inheritance: a house in the suburb Erdberg and 10,000 Gulden in silver, which Hanswurst mistakingly understands as 10,000 Gulden in Erdbeeren [strawberries] and a house of silver. Leni
appreciates his good nature and simplicity. Taddäus laughs over the prospect of Hanswurst as his rival in love.

Gretle informs her master Gutherz that Taddäus’s servant has taken her three sisters away and will not return. Gutherz comforts her and promises to find another love for her; Gretle is overjoyed because she secretly loves Gutherz. Taddäus appears and requests Gutherz for Leni’s hand in marriage; as Gutherz leaves to consult her, Taddäus believes he will soon acquire wealth. Leni confesses her love for Gutherz, and they decide to marry. Gretle is jealous and angry, since she gathered her family for her marriage to Gutherz. Hanswurst appears, dressed in a groom’s suit, ready to marry Leni. Gutherz tells Hanswurst that he can marry Gretle; he replies that he would prefer to trade Gretle for 10,000 Gulden and a house. Hanswurst marries Gretle and acquires a wine still from Gutherz as a gift.


With its premiere at the Kärntnertheater in 1748, Der neue krumme Teufel [The New Crooked Devil] belongs to the genre of Singspiel. The piece features the following characters:

Arnoldus, an old Doctor of medicine
Angiola, his sister
Argante, his cousin
Fiametta, a young maid in whom Arnoldus is in love
Catherl, another maid
Bernardon, a servant to Arnoldus who loves Fiametta
Leopoldel, another servant to Arnoldus
Casparus, husband of Angiola
Gerhard, husband of Argante
Asmodeus, the new “twisted” devil
Two notaries

The music of the *opera-comique* and pantomime is attributed to Joseph Hadyn.

The piece consists of an opening act, with 10 scenes; a pantomime scene; a second act, with 6 scenes; an Italian intermezzo, with 6 scenes; and a concluding scene. Throughout the play, the actors sing arias. The play begins with old Dr. Arnoldus lamenting his state of isolation and loneliness. Although he is very wise in the ways of medicine, he can find no cure for his state. He calls his servant Bernardon to comfort him. Arnoldus soon recognizes that his young maid Fiametta is extremely beautiful and would make a suitable wife. He shares his intentions with Bernardon, who immediately knows that Fiametta will not stand this match and who himself is in love with her. When Arnoldus requests Bernardon to bring Fiametta to him, Bernardon replies that she is too ill to come. Arnoldus insists anyway. He examines her, finds that she is healthy, and reveals his intentions to her. In a rapid exchange of aria and recitative, Fiametta and Bernardon sing of their displeasure and Arnoldus sings of his insistence upon marriage. The devil Asmodeus appears to Bernardon and Fiametta, offering his assistance. Meanwhile, Arnoldus has gathered his family and friends in the garden for his wedding. All present express their concern that Arnoldus is, in fact, too old for his chosen bride. After Fiametta claims she would rather die than marry Arnoldus, she pretends to be mad; Arnoldus sees through the scheme, however, and accuses Bernardon of conspiracy against him.
After the two lovers have left the garden, the maiden Catherl rushes in to reveal that Fiametta evidently stabbed herself; the servant Leopoldel also enters to share that Bernardon has killed himself. In the wake of this news, the “ghosts” of the two lovers enter with the devil Asmodeus. Everyone flees in terror, except Arnoldus. The devil transforms two statues into horses and carries Arnoldus away from earth to view examples of feminine loyalty.

Asmodeus shows Arnoldus the first scene of infidelity, a pantomime with the character Arlequin. Arlequin is a servant aboard a ship that has just sunk in a storm. He was able to swim to an island, where he meets a beautiful woman Merline. They immediately promise their love to each other, and she quickly runs off to find a deer that will provide milk. Arlequin views a temple in the distance and approaches it. The pagan Indians have Arlequin attempt three tests, which he passes. He is recognized by the pagans as a king. Meanwhile, Arlequin’s captain Celio also swam safely to shore. He sees Merline; she evidently forgets about Arlequin as she promises her love to Celio. Indians capture the two and bring them to Arlequin. The tribal law reads that the two must be sacrificed and eaten. Arlequin meets with his love Merline and captain Celio alone; he is saddened over Merline’s infidelity. When the Indians see that Arlequin is a friend of the two captives, they immediate seize all three and threaten to eat them. Merline offers to serve the Indians if she is allowed to live, consequently exhibiting no loyalty to Celio. Before Arlequin and Celio are killed, Celio’s soldiers rush the scene and rescue them. After the Indians
have fled, Merline stands embarrassed. Neither Arlequin or Celio offer their love, but Celio does forgive her.

The second act begins with Arnoldus not completely convinced that Fiametta would make a disloyal wife. Asmodeus rushes him off to Italy to view Bernardon and Fiametta two years later. Bernardon appears confused at the disappearance of his wife. Leopoldel informs him that Fiametta has been seen with many other men: a Bolognese doctor, a Neapolitan Policinello, the Pantalone, and an Arlequin. Bernardon finds Fiametta, attempts to stab her, but she flees. Even after this presentation, Arnoldus is not convinced of the danger of a younger wife. Asmodeus shows an Italian intermezzo, in which a young girl, at the prospect of marriage, threatens to hasten the older man’s entrance to the grave. This scene convinces Arnoldus not to pursue further Fiametta. Asmodeus returns Arnoldus to the garden, where Arnoldus rewards Bernardon with 12,000 Gulden for taking Fiametta. The other characters return and ask Arnoldus if he liked their acting in the various stories of infidelity. The old doctor realizes he has been deceived; however, Asmodeus quickly reminds him that these events could happen.

Sources for this text come from Dancourt’s Le diable boiteux (1707), Arlequin, Roi des ogres ou les bottes de sept lieues (pantomime, 1720), and Lesage’s Arlequin, Roi de Serendib (1713). A previous form of this piece comes from 1730, Der krumme Teufel.
Premiered at the Kärntnertortheater in 1754, Der aufs neue begeisterte und belebte Bernardon [The Newly Inspired and Alive Bernardon] contains several divisions, including two pantomimes, six arias, chorus, two duets, and quartet. The genre of production is a magic burlesque or "machine comedy."

The play begins with a dead Bernardon, killed at the hands of Odoardo. Bernardon’s love Rosalba laments his death; Bernardon, however, visits her briefly as a spirit. After his departure, a pantomime shows Leander, in the costume of a magician, placing Bernardon’s body into a furnace. Together with several objects and a magic potion, Leander “hatches” a new Bernardon from an egg.

The next series of scenes is ambiguous, since portions of the text are missing. In a duet Bernardon, in the costume of a mother, sings with Rosalba, in the costume of her daughter. The daughter sings of her ideal husband, to the mother’s delight. An aria from Bernardon follows; dressed as the brother Democritus, he laments the state of the world. A second pantomime follows. Bernardon wishes to visit Columbine in the house of Odordo. Silvio courts Charlotte and gives her a ring. Odoardo appears, and Charlotte quickly hides Silvio in another room and Columbine hides Bernardon under a table. Odoardo finds Bernardon and chases him from the house. Mario, a second suitor to Charlotte, arrives.

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1 "Bleibt ein Geist zu lange aus,/ kommt er gleich in das Zucht-haus." ["If a spirit remains out too long, / he will end up in the poor house."]
2 "Jetzt bin ich wieder da,/ Ganz ghorsamer Diener,/ Ein ganz neuer Wiener,/ Der ist wieder da." ["Now I hatch, / an obedient servant, / a completely new Viennese, / who reappears."]
3 "O du arme Welt!/ Wie bist du jetzt bestellt." ["Oh you poor world! / How you now appear."]
Silvio duel for Charlotte, who threatens to hang herself. When no one pays attention to her, she gives up her threat. As she pleads to end the duel, Charlotte offers herself to the winner of a lottery, which Mario wins. Suddenly Bernardon reappears. Behind him comes Odoardo with an old man, Anselmo, for Charlotte. Bernardon hides Mario and Silvio under his jacket. Odoardo also presents Columbine with a man. Both women flee into the garden. Odoardo and Anselmo chase after them into the garden, but monsters and bears appear in the garden and threaten the men. Bernardon comes to the rescue. As payment he demands Columbine for himself and Charlotte for Mario. A small wedding takes place, followed by a *pas de deux* and *contre-danse*.

The last section shows Bernardon singing as Jackerl and Rosalba as a drunk Hanswurst. Leander tells Odoardo that he has cast magic: Isabella appears with Hanswurst, and Dorinte, Rosalba, and Bernardon appear. Odoardo thinks the characters are dead. After threatening to kill him, Isabella promises love to Hanswurst. The scene concludes with Bernardon appearing to be dead. When Rosalba sees this, she casts her thoughts of love on another. Bernardon "awakes" and chastises her for her quick turn of heart. Bernardon takes Dorinte as his bride and Leander takes Rosalba.^[4]

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[^4]: "So leben wir content,/ Nur daß auch die uns zugeschaut/ Mit und vergnüget sind." ["We will live content, / when others see us / they will recognize our pleasant state."]
APPENDIX C  
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER FOUR


Premiered at the Kärntnertortheater in either 1760 or 1762, *Der von dreyen Schwieger-Söhnen geplagte Odoardo, oder Hannswurst und Crispin die lächerlichen Schwestern von Prag* [Odoardo, who is Tormented by Three Sons-in-Law, or Hannswurst and Crispin, the Ridiculous Sisters from Prague] is a two-act comedy consisting of forty-seven scenes; "Hannswurst" (Hafner's spelling in this publication) appears in nineteen scenes. The piece features the following characters:

- Odoardo, a noble
- Mitzerl, his daughter
- Baron Papendeckel, Chevalier Chemise, and Marquis Kletzenbrod, suitors to Mitzerl
- Colombine, the maid of Mitzerl
- Hannswurst, servant of Marquis Kletzenbrod
- Crispin, a butcher's apprentice and later servant of Baron Papendeckel
- Casperl, servant of Odoardo

The piece opens with Odoardo and Casperl in a quick verbal exchange; Casperl reports that Chemise visited Mitzerl at night, but Odoardo does not believe him. Odoardo orders Casperl to keep all suitors to Mitzerl away. After refusing admittance to Kletzenbrod and Papendeckel, Casperl offers a funny call for help: "Help, people, dogs, cats, mice, rats!" Kletzenbrod sends Hannswurst to deliver a letter to Mitzerl; Hannswurst slyly tricks
Casperl through flattery and enters the house. Odoardo returns and is irate with Casperl for allowing Hannswurst to enter. Hannswurst, unable to deliver the letter because he cannot locate Mitzerl or Colombine, returns to Kletzenbrod. Crispin enters the scene; he gives his life story, praises Vienna, and knocks on Odoardo's door looking for women. Colombine answers the door and Crispin immediately proposes marriage. She advises him to seek a wife at St. Mark's, a town insane asylum. As Crispin runs off in excitement to find his future wife, he meets Chemise. Crispin inquires about directions to St. Mark's, but Chemise speaks only French; he adores Mitzerl. Crispin later meets Papendeckel, who informs him of Colombine's ruse and takes him into his service. They return to Odoardo's house. Papendeckel proposes to Mitzerl, but she says she is engaged to Kletzenbrod. Papendeckel is distraught. After Odoardo unsuccessfully looks for Hannswurst in his house, Hannswurst knocks on the door. Colombine answers the door. Hannswurst attempts to give her the letter, but Odoardo sneakily intercepts it. Colombine waits for the letter, which Hannswurst thinks he has already given her. Odoardo jumps out and shows that he intercepted the letter. The suitors all arrive; Papendeckel challenges Kletzenbrod to a duel, and Chemise jumps into the fight as well. Hannswurst challenges Casperl to a duel, and Crispin jumps in. Odoardo announces that no marriage will take place until the arrival of his sister from Prague. The suitors and their servants leave his house.

Act 2 begins with Papendeckel instructing Crispin to keep a watch on Odoardo's house; Crispin is to report any activity to
Papendeckel, who will be in a neighboring coffee house. Crispin is excited because he may get a chance to impress Colombine. Odoardo leaves his house and hides around the corner and Crispin runs to inform Papendeckel that Odoardo is out. Papendeckel gives him a letter to deliver to Mitzerl. As Crispin returns, he sees Chemise run into the house; Crispin returns to the coffee house, tells Papendeckel, but Papendeckel remains unconcerned, which confuses Crispin. Crispin returns to the house, sees Kletzenbrod order Hannswurst to deliver a letter. Crispin again returns to Papendeckel, who orders him to return. Odoardo decides to catch Hannswurst, which delights Crispin. Both Chemise and Hannswurst flee the house before Odoardo catches them. After Crispin again tells Papendeckel of the recent escape, Crispin returns to the house and meets Hannswurst. Crispin cuts him down, but during an aria, Hannswurst takes Colombine away from Crispin and hits Crispin. In a following pantomime, Crispin does the same to Casperl.

In the next scene, Mitzerl and Colombine discuss men; Mitzerl decides to take Kletzenbrod and Colombine fancies Hannswurst. After Chemise unsuccessfully courts Mitzerl, Kletzenbrod arrives and Mitzerl tells him of her love for him. Papendeckel arrives and challenges Kletzenbrod to a duel. Kletzenbrod leaves, however, at the request of Mitzerl. Hannswurst also threatens Crispin. After Odoardo returns and informs his daughter that he has not seen his sister for years, both Crispin and Hannswurst arrive at a scheme. Casperl apologizes to Odoardo for his failings at keeping suitors away and promises to improve. Odoardo has everyone prepare for the arrival of his sister. Casperl announces her arrival. The sister
is Crispin in disguise; he gives a long account of how he became a widow. A confused Casperl enters to announce the arrival of another sister, Hannswurst in disguise. Crispin becomes worried. In disguise, Hannswurst recommends that Kletzenbrod marry Mitzerl. Odoardo agrees and promises Mitzerl that she can marry her love. Both Chemise and Papendeckel arrive, but Odoardo tells them of his decision. Hannswurst also recommends that Colombine become the bride of Hannswurst. After Odoardo again agrees, Hannswurst reveals his identity. Odoardo, however, keeps his promise.

Premiering most likely at the Burgtheater in 1762 or 1763, Ein neues Zauberspiel, betitelt: Mägera, die förchterliche hexe, oder das bezauberte Schloß des herrn von Einhorn [A New Magic Play Entitled Mägera, the Terrible Witch, or the Enchanted Castle of Herr von Einhorn] is a Zaubertustspiel, or “magical comedy”. The piece features the following characters:

- Odoardo von Einhorn, a former merchant who lives an isolated life
- Angela, his daughter
- Leander, a young noble in love with Angela
- Anselmo, an old widower who suits Angela
- Mägera, a witch
- Columbine, the maid of Angela
- Hanswurst, the servant of Leander
- Riepel, the servant of Odoardo
- A judge, school master, farmers, and devils

The text consists of three acts, with forty scenes and four arias.

The comedy opens with Leander and Hanswurst discussing personal concepts of love. In a wonderful exchange, Hanswurst
humorously displays his futility in speaking French. Leander recently received a secret letter from Angela, who declared her love for him. Leander commands Hanswurst to deliver a reply to Angela's father Odoardo, a letter which contains a proposal for marriage. Hanswurst's reward is the traditional Dukat. Scene 2 presents the rich and greedy Odoardo; he expresses a desire for his daughter to marry a rich man, so he will not have to pay any money for the marriage. Odoardo's servant Riepel enters to announce the arrival of Hanswurst; Odoardo further displays his greed as he reminds Riepel not to keep guests' wine glasses full. Hanswurst presents the letter to Odoardo, who initially likes the prospect of Leander's money. Hanswurst presents a second parallel letter that requests the hand of the maiden Colombine for himself; Odoardo refuses this request because Hanswurst has no money. An anxious Leander suddenly arrives, and after his introduction, Odoardo changes his mind because Leander possesses no great riches. Both Leander and Hanswurst leave in anger; Odoardo reveals his decision for his personal friend Anselmo to marry Angela. The scene switches to Angela and Colombine, who discuss the honor of Leander and Hanswurst; their only criticism of men in general is that they have a propensity for jealousy. Hanswurst arrives to tell the women that Odoardo refused Leander's proposal and Leander may commit suicide. Odoardo enters to inform Angela to marry Anselmo or he will disinherit her. When the suitor Anselmo arrives, Angela is infuriated and will only talk to him through Colombine. Odoardo overhears the word "death," and he again reminds Angela of his demand. The act concludes with a scene in
which Leander and Hanswurst sit near a river with two pistols. Leander poses a few questions to test Hanswurst’s loyalty; he then informs his servant that he will commit suicide and Hanswurst should do the same. Hanswurst’s first response to the guns is “Are we to shoot birds?” Before they commit the deed, an explosion occurs and the witch Mägera appears. She tells her story: as a girl of eighteen, she was abducted by a magician. Forced to live with him for over thirty years, she learned magic and witchcraft. Hanswurst immediately asks her to change Odoardo into a rhinoceros. In a lengthy aria, Mägera displays all that she has learned and promises to help Leander. The three descend into a magic cavern.

Act 2 begins with Angela and Colombine reassuring themselves that Leander and Hanswurst will not do something stupid. Hanswurst enters as an undertaker and informs the two women that the two men committed suicide. Angela becomes angry with Odoardo and Anselmo; Odoardo is worried about any financial considerations surrounding a suicide on his property. In an aside, Riepel says Leander is a fool for killing himself rather than the father-in-law. Hanswurst returns to inform Leander that their plan is going well. All concerned arrive to see Leander and Hanswurst in their grave. In an attempt to frighten Odoardo, the two “deceased” rise from the grave and run away. Odoardo finds a conspiracy afoot, and he gives chase with a gun. Leander and Hanswurst jump onto a cloud machine, which floats away. Odoardo shoots the machine in two; the men fall into a river to apparent death. Mägera appears on the stage alone to reveal that she will
not only help Leander and Hanswurst gain their loves, but the men will witness the infidelity of the two women. Angela tells Colombine that perhaps Leander and Hanswurst are truly dead; Colombine says they probably are still alive. Riepel enters to tell the women that his master shot the two men and they are dead. Mägera enters to challenge Riepel's claim. As Riepel and Mägera argue, she casts a spell that allows him to say only the words "Schmecks" ["Taste me!"]. This spell infuriates Odoardo when he asks Riepel questions. Hanswurst appears disguised as a baker, and Leander as an assistant. Anselmo is convinced the assistant is Leander because he saw him kiss the hand of Angela. Odoardo doubts Anselmo because he thinks he killed the two rivals. Riepel reappears before Odoardo, with his normal speech again intact. Riepel tells of the presence of a witch, which leads Odoardo to believe that Anselmo may be right. As Leander and Angela reaffirm their love to each other in a neighboring lodge, Odoardo, Anselmo, and Riepel sneak up to the house. Hanswurst greets them, disguised as the innkeeper. After ridiculing the older men, Hanswurst locks them out of the lodge. As the men storm the door, Mägera's magic transforms the lodge into a Paruckenmächergewölb [salon] in which the attackers receive hair cuts to conclude the act.

The final act begins with a bewildered Odoardo relaying the strange events to a judge and a school master. They doubt Odoardo's story, but agree to visit the strange castle. Riepel sings an aria of revenge as he vows to fight the strange devils. Angela and Colombine laugh together about the past events, but they begin to discuss possibly leaving Leander and Hanswurst for other men.
Mägera, Leander, and Hanswurst meanwhile await the arrival of Odoardo and his helpers. Disguised as a ward to a noble, Hanswurst meets Odoardo and informs him that his master is very rich and seeks Angela. Odoardo immediately falls for the deceit and promises his daughter to him. The master of whom Hanswurst speaks is Mägera. She deceives and seduces Angela to abandon Leander and follow her. Colombine also forgets Hanswurst by falling for the disguised Hanswurst. The judge, school master, hoards of farmers, Odoardo, Anselmo, and Riepel leave to storm the castle. Mägera summons spirits to protect her home. She brings Angela and Colombine to her home; the girls are immediately puzzled because they know Odoardo plans to attack the fortress. Mägera transforms the battle into a music scene. In this concluding scene, the characters deliver their lines in verse. As she controls the attack, Mägera chastises Angela and Colombine for their infidelity to Leander and Hanswurst. Leander and Hanswurst also chastise their former loves. Angela and Colombine sadly return home. Mägera imprisons Odoardo, Anselmo, and Riepel and sentences them to be hanged in two weeks.

Premiering posthumously as a sequel at the Kärntntortheater on 31 May 1766, Der förchterliche hexe Megära zweyter Theil; unter dem Titel: die in eine dauerhafte Freundschaft sich verwandelnde Rache [The Terrible Witch Megära, Part Two, under the Title, Revenge Transformed into Lasting Friendship] features the following characters in addition to those from Part 1:

Herr von Nigewitz, Odoardo's cousin
Orcamiastes, a magician
Weinstein, a house doctor
Ramsamperl, the servant to Nigewitz

The action of the play begins in a deserted area, with many broken stones. In the middle one sees three gravemarkers. To the side is a broken pillar with a green vine extending from it. Angela and Colombine lament their abandoned fate; Angela becomes frightened then angered as she reads the name of her father on one gravemarker. She wishes to kill herself. Suddenly the broken pillar and vine transform into Orcamiastes, a rival to Megära. He reveals that her father, Anselmo, and Riepel are not dead, but sentenced to be hanged. As he sings an aria, he summons spirits to rescue the condemned; he transforms the deserted woods into the execution room, then again transforms the room into a garden, thus saving the men. The magician comments that both he and Megära have only six years remaining for their witchcraft, then the need for such powers will be over. Incredibly, even after being saved from death, Odoardo is still infuriated with his daughter, claiming she is the cause of his problems. Orcamiastes offers that money will not lead to happiness. Odoardo sends Riepel for a doctor, since both he and Anselmo are ill after recent events. As he leaves, Riepel complains about the duties of a servant in an aria. Meanwhile, Leander and Hanswurst await further instructions from Megära and contemplate seeking other women. Megära arrives and is aware of the presence of Orcamiastes. Back in Odoardo's house, the angry father continues to bemoan the actions of his daughter, going so far as to say that the Turkish coffee which women drink causes them to gab. Riepel returns without the correct doctor, and
continues the talk of coffee, saying that the doctor banned coffee. He brought another "doctor," who further aggravates Odoardo. To further irritate Odoardo, Megāra appears disguised as Colombine, Leander as Riepel, and Hanwurst as the house cook Miriandel; together the three torment Odoardo. Megāra reveals her identity, imprisons Odoardo, but Orcamiastes arrives to save him.

Act 2 begins with Odoardo and Anselmo leaving to summon farmers to fight Megāra; Riepel stays behind to guard the house. Riepel mistakes Hanswurst and Leander for Nigelwitz, the cousin of Odoardo, and allows them to enter the house. After confronting Hanswurst dressed as a corporal, Nigelwitz and his servant Ramsamperl meet Odoardo away from his house, and as Riepel arrives, Odoardo realizes that the "visitors" are probably Leander and Hanswurst. They return and apparently capture Leander in a chest; through magic Leander escapes. Nigelwitz tells his family history, including the death of his mother and father and the disappearance of his beautiful sister. As he sees Angela enter, he immediately proposes to her; after a rude display by Nigelwitz, Angela calls him a fool. Riepel tells Odoardo of a problem in the wine cellar: one of the vats broke and wine ran throughout the cellar. Odoardo, Anselmo, and Riepel go to town to summon a vatmaker to correct the problem; Nigelwitz remains at home. Like his master, Ramsamperl proposes to Colombine. When Odoardo, Anselmo, and Riepel arrive at the house of the wine merchant, Megāra, Leander, and Hanswurst are disguised as wine merchants. After Hanswurst sings an aria, the disguised capture the visitors in a wine vat; Megāra transforms the vat into a ship, which she causes
to sink. Before the three captives drown, Orcamiastes appears to save them; he transforms the scene to Odoardo’s bedroom. Odoardo “awakens” and believes he simply had a bad dream.

Act 3 opens with Odoardo teaching Nigelwitz how to be “frugal” with drink, food, and clothing. Hanswurst appears and attempts to enter Odoardo’s house to rescue Angela; Riepel prevents him from doing so. Hanswurst summons Megāra, who storms into the house, frightening Riepel. He runs to his master and tells of the terrible break-in; Odoardo believes Megāra and Hanswurst to be the culprits. As Angela laments her current state in the garden, Megāra captures her and delivers her to Leander. When Odoardo and the others realize that Angela is gone, Orcamiastes arrives with the captured Leander. Leander is told that he will be cast into a pit. Riepel delivers a soliloquy that asks why people of power like to pick on devoted servants. Odoardo decides that it is perhaps time to make peace with Megāra; suddenly everyone rushes in to reveal strange stories that they have seen. Hanswurst appears with his bags packed; he has decided to work for Orcamiastes because he cannot find his master. As Odoardo becomes threatened, he summons Megāra and Orcamiastes with his magic wand. The two magicians confront each other. In this important scene, the characters plead for the magicians to make peace; Megāra and Orcamiastes agree. They transform the dark locale into a beautiful garden. Leander and Angela appear together; however, Leander will not have Angela as a wife. They remain friends. Hanswurst will not have Colombine as his wife, a decision which prompts Riepel to ask for her hand. Nigelwitz
decides to court Angela. Orcamiastes says that it is no longer possible to unite everyone in a new day without magic. Megāra concludes the play by stating that everyone now lives in friendship.

Premiering at the Kärntnertortheater on 8 December 1763, Die Bürgerliche Dame, oder die bezämmten Ausschweifungen eines zügelosen Eheweibes, mit Hannswurst und Colombina, zween Mustern heutiger Dienstbothen [The Bourgeois Lady, or the Bridled Excess of a Unbridled Wife, with Hannswurst and Columbine, Two Masters of Contemporary Servitude] consists of three acts with forty-six scenes; Hannswurst (Hafner's spelling in this publication) appears in twenty-four scenes. The piece features the following characters:

Herr Redlich, a self-independent citizen
Frau Redlich, his indulgent wife
Sophie, their daughter
Baron Bagatelli, Chevalier Miroir, Herr von Schlaukopf, Baron Plumpflack, and Herr von Wasserfeind, all society friends of Frau Redlich
Herr Hildebert, a close friend of Redlich
Hannswurst, a servant to Frau Redlich
Colombina, a maiden to Frau Redlich
Margareth, another servant
Jakob, a merchant
A lackey and other servants

The plot occurs from early morning to late evening.

The action of the piece opens in the Redlich house: Herr Redlich has been away for some time, ill, and his wife now keeps a disorderly house. Colombina complains about the wife’s lazy ways,
commenting on "false bourgeoisie" manners.¹ Hannswurst arrives to reveal that he skimped on purchases for Frau Redlich and kept some money. Just as the wife squanders money from her husband, servants squander money from their masters. Herr von Schlaukopf enters and demands that Hannswurst shine his shoes. Meanwhile, at the house of Hildebert, Redlich has returned; Hildebert informs him of his wife's excessive ways, to which Redlich responds that he will try to correct his wife's behavior.

Frau Redlich rises late from bed, displaying laziness, and immediately behaves rudely to Colombina. Hannswurst keeps a creditor away from her. Frau Redlich demands Colombina to prepare hot chocolate for her and guests; when the servants are away, she reveals her regret about losing money in gambling. Schlaukopf arrives while Frau Redlich reads Molière, to which Colombina says she understands not a word. Frau Redlich asks for a loan from Schlaukopf, who refuses without appearing rude. Hannswurst announces that Bagatelli will accept the invitation to a party by Frau Redlich that evening and that a young maid has arrived; Schlaukopf tells Hannswurst that he would like to visit her in a private chamber, but Hannswurst responds by saying that a gentleman with proper manners does not do that. After Hannswurst's display of proper manners, Schlaukopf declines a lunch with Frau Redlich to avoid further requests for money. Frau Redlich instructs Colombia to sell sewing needles loaned by Frau

¹"Es ist wohl tausendmal besser bey einer hochadelichen Herrschaft zu dienen, als bey einer solchen bürgerlichen Pocke." ["It would be one thousand times better to serve high nobility than to wait on this bourgeois blemish."]
von Guthertz for money to finance a party; Hanswurst, meanwhile, keeps another creditor at bay. Jakob, a servant of another merchant insists that he be paid by the next day. Frau Redlich's daughter Sophie enters, displaying the thoughtless and rude behavior of her mother. As Hannswurst and Colombina warn Sophie to refrain from such behavior, Frau Redlich enters to support her daughter. Schlaukopf returns and hits Hannswurst. In a soliloquy, Frau Redlich reveals that she needs other people around her because she is incapable of doing things herself. In the act's closing scene, Hildebert arrives to deliver a fake letter to Frau Redlich; the letter, from Redlich, states that he is very ill. If he dies, Hildebert will bring the will to Frau Redlich. She appears unmoved by her husband's sickness and more concerned with the will. Hildebert closes by sharing his concern that she is no longer a good wife to his friend Redlich.

Act 2 begins with Hildebert telling Redlich of his wife's reaction to the letter. Rather than show anger, Redlich reveals a genuine concern for his wife. In a beautiful text which displays the great literary skill of Hafner, Redlich voices his concern for Sophie. Meanwhile, Colombina informs that she sold the needles for Frau Redlich, but kept one Gulden for herself; Hannswurst blackmails Colombina for 1/2 Gulden by threatening to report this deceit to Frau Redlich. As Hildebert and Redlich approach his estate, they see a neighbor, another creditor of his wife, yelling to gain the attention of Frau Redlich. Redlich approaches her with great embarrassment and pays her the amount owed. Redlich receives further surprises. Two of his wife's friends, Chevalier
Mirior and Baron Bagatelli, emerge and talk about the parties of Frau Redlich. Bagatelli reveals that he is not a noble, but instead a servant from Prague. His disguise is further proof of Frau Redlich's inability to discern between genuine behavior and deceit. Schlaukopf later reveals that he will leave Frau Redlich and return when she receives the will. Two additional friends, Baron Plumpflack and Herr von Wasserfeind, demonstrate great physical humor by revealing their love of Redlich's food and drink. This caricature depicts the slothful behavior of false refinement. After the friends leave, Redlich slowly approaches Hannswurst. Hannswurst, thinking Redlich is a beggar, offers him a Krone; however, Redlich offers Hannswurst money for information about Frau Redlich and Sophie. Hannswurst shares that when Redlich returns he should severely punish his wife for her behavior. At this moment Redlich reveals his identity to Hannswurst. Redlich mentions that he has a plan and Hannswurst must remain quiet or he will be killed by Redlich's friends. Hannswurst is so scared that entrances from Colombina and Sophie nearly frighten him to death.

Act 3 begins with Frau Redlich and Colombina preparing for the evening's party. Hannswurst continues to show his fear of Redlich's threat. Hannswurst allows Redlich and Hildebert to sneak into the house. Redlich tells Hannswurst to turn away all female guests and to admit only single men to the party. Several men arrive: Chevalier Miroir and Bagatelli look forward to winning money; Plumpflack and Wasserfeind look forward to food and drink; and Schlaukopf looks forward to meeting women. Redlich reveals his identity to these five visitors and demands that they leave
immediately. Mirior is shown up by Redlich; Bagatelli is revealed as a fake noble; Wasserfeind is embarrassed; Schlaukopf is frightened; after breaking a chair, Plumpflack is ushered out of the house. Redlich then instructs Hanswurst to fetch a carriage. When Frau Redlich and Sophie arrive in the room, Redlich is very angry. He decides to send his wife to the poor house, but after the pleading of Sophie, he decides instead to send her to the convent. Sophie will stay with Hildebert and be brought up properly. Incredibly, Frau Redlich does not recognize the mercy of her husband and is instead worried about what others will think. She finally accepts her fate. Hildebert tells Hannswurst and Colombina that they must pack up their belongings and leave after they receive their due payment.

Premiering at the Kärntnertortheater on 3 March 1764, Neue Bourlesque, betitelt: Etwas zum Lachen im Fasching: oder: des Burlins und Hannswursts seltsame Carnevals Zufälle [A new burlesque entitled something to laugh about during carnival, or Burlins and Hannswursts strange circumstances during carnival] consists of three acts, with fifty-seven scenes; Hannswurst (Hafner’s spelling in this publication) appears in twenty-four scenes. The piece features the following characters:

Odoardo, an independent gentleman
Nanette, his daughter
Colombine, her maiden
Baron Silberfeld, a suitor to Nanette
Pantalone, an independent gentleman
Rosalvo, his daughter
Lisette, her maiden
Baron Fink, a suitor to Rosalvo
Anselmo, a rich gentleman
Burlin, his son
Hannswurst, his servant
Crispin, a lackey
A solicitor
Thomas, a coffee merchant
A tablecoverer, corporal, and several silent roles

Taking place in one day, the play presents the consequences of foolish and foppish life styles. Act 1 begins in a dark room in the house of Anselmo, who is currently on a trip. During his absence, his son Burlin gave a wild Fasching [carnival] party. Burlin laments spending all his money on the ball, but at the same time laughs as he thinks of the enjoyment he had. He now has no money to pay several debts, let alone purchase something to eat. Hannswurst enters and chastises his master for his foolish ways. As Burlin sings an aria about his love Nanette, someone knocks at the door. As Hannswurst gropes to find the door in the dark, Burlin reveals his worry about creditors. To his dismay, the guest is a solicitor who insists that Burlin pay his debt of 12 Gulden. After unsuccessfully attempting to get out of the debt, Burlin requests that the solicitor give his clothes to Hannswurst so he can go out and retrieve some money; the clothes of Burlin and Hannswurst are worn and dirty from the ball. The solicitor reluctantly consents.

In the home of Odoardo, Nanette reveals that she won 100 Gulden in a lottery and she wishes to give it to Burlin; she wants Burlin to marry her. Colombine expresses her love for Hannswurst. Her father Odoardo appears and reveals his displeasure about balls and Burlin. He suspects that Nanette loves Burlin, so he decides to eavesdrop. Crispin arrives to deliver a letter to Burlin and another
to Hannswurst. As Colombine drops the letters down to Crispin from a balcony, Odoardo jumps out and surprises Crispin; Odoardo thinks to have frightened Crispin to death, but he only feigns death. After Odoardo runs away, Crispin rises and dashes off to Burlin. Odoardo returns, but finds no Crispin.

In a local cafe, the barons Fink and Silberfeld discuss the cheap ball provided by Burlin, but they are pleased with the presence of several beautiful ladies. Hannswurst arrives dressed in the solicitor’s clothes, frightening the manager Thomas; Thomas perhaps feels the visitor is here to collect debts. Hannswurst finds Fink and Silberfeld and requests money from them; he explains the urgent situation of his master. The two barons only laugh and refuse to donate any money. When Fink is not looking, the sly Hannswurst steals a money bag from him and hurries off.

Burlin has meanwhile locked the solicitor in a kitchen; Hannswurst returns with the money, and Burlin pays the solicitor, who is extremely angry about his dirty clothes. Hannswurst also tells Burlin that Silberfeld invited him to a Fasching ball in an attempt to embarass Burlin in his state of poverty. Crispin arrives to tell Burlin to visit Nanette. To Crispin’s dismay, Burlin offers no payment. Burlin is excited about the prospect of attending a ball.

Act 2 begins with the arrival of Anselmo from his trip. He stops at Odoardo’s house; Odoardo tells Anselmo of his son’s foolish spending. Pantalone visits Odoardo, meets Anselmo, and immediately flatters him about his wonderful son; Pantalone
wishes that Anselmo’s son marry his daughter Rosalva. Anselmo is confused at the conflicting accounts of his son’s behavior.

The scene shifts to a street, where Nanette and Colombine, Rosalva and Lisette, rival over Burlin and Hannswurst. When the two men arrive, the jealousy between the women becomes incredible: Nanette pulls Burlin aside and gives him the 100 Gulden, while Colombine rewards Hannswurst with 20 Gulden; Rosalva later pulls Burlin aside to give him 150 Gulden, and Lisette offers Hannswurst 50 Gulden. After the women leave, Burlin and Hannswurst are overjoyed with their new found wealth. This joy is short lived, as the solicitor returns with a guard. They forcefully take the money and clothes of Burlin and Hannswurst as retribution for the earlier poor treatment of the solicitor. The two lovers knock on the door of Pantalone and ask him for some clothes. He quickly fetches some old clothes as a sign of friendship. When the two victims return to the street, a tablecoverer appears and demands payment for services rendered to Burlin. After Burlin refuses to pay, the tablecoverer and a guard rob Burlin and Hannswurst of their borrowed clothes. Again the two victims return to Pantalone, who again provides clothes and an extra 50 Gulden; Pantalone insists that Burlin marry Rosalva, to which Burlin agrees out of necessity. When Burlin and Hannswurst leave, they meet Baron Fink, who demands that Hannswurst return the stolen money. The two lovers offer the 50 Gulden and quickly run away before losing any more clothes.

Crispin informs Fink and Silberfeld the identity of the two lovely women at Burlin’s ball: Nanette and Rosalva. The barons
propose to the two women, but Nanette and Rosalva continue to have eyes for Burlin. The men leave in anger. Hannswurst appears to Nanette and Colombine and requests more money; they give him jewelry worth 5000 Gulden. After Odoardo arrives with Anselmo, Hannswurst hides under a table, now knowing that Anselmo has returned. He meets again with Burlin, who successfully obtained jewelry from Rosalva valued at 6000 Gulden. Burlin reveals that he will write two letters to the women informing them that he will marry neither; Burlin and Hannswurst will then celebrate before traveling to Venice.

Act 3 opens with a Jewish merchant stealing the jewelry from Burlin. Now the young lover has no money. Hannswurst delivers Burlin’s terrible letters to Nanette and Rosalva; and after singing an aria, he quickly runs away before they finish reading them. The women realize their foolish behavior and decide to work together. Burlin meets the maidens Colombine and Lisette, who are about to duel for the love of Hannswurst. Burlin reveals much about his character when he states that dueling to prove devotion is now old-fashioned. After their aria, the maidens also decide that Hannswurst is not worth the fight. Crispin arrives at an opportunistic time, for Colombine offers to marry him. Odoardo informs Anselmo of the recent theft of Burlin from his daughters; the men decide to work together. Fink and Silberfeld arrive and request from Odoardo and Pantalone the hands of their daughters. The fathers are overjoyed, and the women have a change of heart. The excitement of three marriages allows all to forget the evil ways of Burlin. Anselmo, however, intends to punish his son. With
assistance from a corporal and several guards, Anselmo captures Burlin dancing in a bar and informs the corporal to take Burlin and Hannswurst into his service. Initially the son does not realize the punishment, and eventually he pleads for forgiveness; however, the father intends to enforce the punishment. Burlin ends the play as he began it, lamenting his ill-chosen ways.


Premiering at the Kärntnertortheater on 1 September 1764, *Der Furchtsame* [*The Faint-Hearted*] is a farce, consisting of forty-three scenes. The piece includes the following characters:

- Herr von Hasenkopf
- Henriette, his supposed daughter, but actually the daughter of Alcantor
- Herr von Alcantor, an old friend of Hasenkopf and father of Henriette
- Valere, a captain, son of Alcantor, suitor and brother of Henriette
- Herr von Heinzenfeld, intended groom for Henriette
- Lisette, maiden of Henriette
- Hanswurst, *Fourierschütz* [companion] to Valere who loves Lisette
- Jaques, a barber
- A house servant

The action of the play occurs in one day, beginning in the early morning and concluding before midnight. In act 1, Valere awakens Hanswurst to begin a busy day, asking him to deliver a letter to his love Henriette. Hanswurst refuses because he knows her father Hasenkopf dislikes suitors. Valere needs to act quickly because he is scheduled to leave with the military the next
morning. After tabulating that he will profit by delivering the letter, Hanswurst takes it. The hard-of-hearing butler enters; Hanswurst asks him to deliver the letter, but his impairment prohibits him from understanding Hanswurst's request. Valere realizes he can get the letter delivered through Henriette's hairdresser Jaques. Hanswurst and Jaques engage in a funny exchange, ridiculing the language and vocabulary of the French. In the letter, Valere has included a message for Hanswurst's love, Lisette, Henriette's maiden. Instead of delivering the letter, Jaques reveals that he will tell Hasenkopf of Valere's request. The scene shifts to Hasenkopf's home, as he, Henriette, and Lisette talk of Hasenkopf's fear of ghosts. Angered, Hasenkopf calls for Heinzenfeld; he intends Heinzenfeld to wed Henriette. Heinzenfeld's language reveals him to be a fool; he uses two adjectives to describe everything. Henriette recognizes his foolishness and refuses to marry him. Hasenkopf tells Heinzenfeld that he, too, must believe in ghosts if he wishes to become part of the family. Alcantor enters and chastises Hasenkopf's fear of ghosts; Alcantor, against Heinzenfeld as a husband for Henriette, offers that his son Valere would make a better husband. When Jaques arrives to find only Alcantor, he gives him the letter to deliver to Hasenkopf. Alcantor learns of his son's plan to escape with Henriette before morning.

Act 2 introduces Alcantor rewriting Valere's letter for Henriette, a letter which portrays Valere in a bad light. Hanswurst enters with a second letter from Valere, since Valere had no reply from the first letter. As Hanswurst hands the letter to Lisette,
Alcantor slips in between the two to take Valere's love letter and replace it with his own. Lisette reads the letter and hits Hanswurst for delivering such a terrible letter. A confused Hanswurst becomes infuriated with Valere; Valere leaves to correct the misunderstanding. Alcantor returns to Hasenkopf's home, overseeing the behavior of the other characters. Henriette continues to refuse Heinzenfeld's hand, but she is now confused with Valere's apparent change of heart. Hanswurst enters to tell Henriette that Valere wishes to talk with her. Valere corrects the misunderstanding and plots that the four lovers leave during the night. Hanswurst realizes that probably Jaques had something to do with the confusion; when Jaques enters to talk with Alcantor, Hanswurst eavesdrops. Alcantor pays Jaques for his service, but Hanswurst slyly steals the money. Hanswurst then threatens to attack a frightened Jaques, butler, and Heinzenfeld with his sword. Valere appears before anyone becomes hurt. Alcantor appears with Hasenkopf, who does not understand the presence of Valere in his house. Valere said he came to visit Henriette, and he leaves to end the act.

Act 3 begins with Valere apologizing to Hanswurst for accusing him of poor service. Valere offers a scheme for gaining Henriette: Hanswurst will disguise himself as Hasenkopf's deceased wife and Valere as his deceased brother to frighten Hasenkopf at night. Alcantor fears Valere will try something drastic because he notices Valere's luggage is packed. Jaques reappears to Alcantor and tells him Valere's plan. After Hasenkopf wishes everyone pleasant dreams, Hanswurst appears and frightens
Hasenkopf, Heinzenfeld, and the butler. Before the four lovers escape, Alcantor appears and ends the ruse. He reveals that he is actually the father of Henriette, and that she and Valere are sister and brother. When Hasenkopf's wife and Alcantor's wife died in a storm at sea, Hasenkopf's daughter also drowned. Alcantor took pity on Hasenkopf, giving his young daughter secretly to Hasenkopf so that he need not lose his entire family. Henriette's name is actually Rosette. She, however, does not take Heinzenfeld as a husband. Hanswurst comments that two fathers are better than one. Everyone is forgiven at the end. The piece concludes as Hanswurst refuses to take Lisette as a wife, fearing that she is his sister.
Premiering in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 8 June 1791, Joachim Perinet’s Kaspar der Fagottist opens on a hunting scene with Prince Armidoro von Eldorado and his companion Kasperl Bita chasing a deer with a golden collar. The fairy Perifirime appears and acknowledges the cleverness of the two hunters, to which Kasperl replies that he has nothing to do with cleverness. She has the two hunters retrieve a magic wand that the sorceror Bosphoro had stolen from her. She gives Armidoro a zither to charm and a ring to disguise his identity. They travel to Bosphoro’s castle in a hot air balloon. For additional protection, the elf Pizichi will appear whenever summoned. While Armidoro enters the castle disguised as an old man, a timid Kasperl waits outside; to ease his fears, Perifirime reminds him to call Pizichi, who presents Kasperl with his own magic instrument, a bassoon. The scene concludes with the two agents of Perifirime sinking into a mountain side as other hunters watch.

Act 2 opens with Armidoro and Kasperl entertaining captive maidens of the jealous Bosphoro and his servant Zumio. After Kasperl has produced wine from his bassoon, both captors retire;

1“Tausend Dank gnädige Frau! auf diese Art hab ich gar nichts bey der Sache zu thun.”  
("A thousand thanks, dear lady! With regards to this subject, I have absolutely nothing to do.")
Armidoro reveals his identity to a beautiful captive, Sidi. Sidi must remain free from any love relationship, otherwise her shield against violence will fail. Kasper, meanwhile, is developing a love interest in Palmira. The act concludes with a water party, during which Zumio falls into the pond.

Act 3 shows Bosphoro and Zumio planning to poison their two visitors. Pizichi warns Kasperl and Armidoro about the scheme. At a dinner scene, Kasperl continues to pursue his love Palmira. After the two visitors put their hosts to sleep, Perifirime appears to punish Bosphoro and Zumio. The victors praise their instruments and their loyalty is rewarded.


Premiering at the *Theater in der Leopoldstadt* on 11 January 1798, Karl Friedrich Hensler's *Das Donauweibchen* tells the tale of Knight Albrecht von Waldsee and his love of Bertha, the daughter of Count Hartwig. Act 1 introduces Albrecht and his servant Kasperl Larifari. Albrecht encounters a vision with the water nymph Hulda, who claims to be his wife and mother to his child. Albrecht tells Kasperl that he had a strange vision, to which Kasperl replies that he would have other visions if he were a groom.² Albrecht and Kasperl continue to Hartwig's castle, where Albrecht is delighted to take Bertha as his bride, but Kasperl is eager to avoid Bertha's

²"Erscheinung?—Da hätt' ich jetzt ganz andere Erscheinungen, wenn ich ein Bräutigam wär." ["Apparition? I would have had a completely different apparition if I were a groom."]
older maid Salome. Hulda continues to appear to Albrecht, and she offers him a spindel that weaves gold as a bribe for him to return to her. Bertha later explains to Albrecht that the nymphs are evil spirits and are to be avoided; the act ends with Kasperl trying to attack the nymphs, but they transform a tree into a windmill and Kasperl is left crying for help.

Act 2 continues with Hulda appearing in many disguises to various characters. She again tries to convince Albrecht to return with her. She appears as a deceased relative to place doubt in the mind of Bertha about Albrecht's loyalty; she offers her child to Bertha to be raised. Hulda appears also as a gardener to plant doubt in the minds of the members of court, who have gathered to plan a wedding celebration. She even appears as a knight and fights with Albrecht. In a humorous episode, she appears as a working girl and the court singer Minnewart is surprised to hear that she does not know what a kiss is. Kasperl avoids the numerous advances by Salome. The act concludes with Kasperl finding the camp of the nymphs; to punish his curiosity, Hulda places stag antlers on his head. The nymphs freeze the other characters before they can help Kasperl.

Act 3 begins with the mortals hunting the nymphs; the nymphs transform Kasperl into a bear. Hulda attempts to seduce Albrecht; she insists that Albrecht return with her for only three days a year. Albrecht remains fast in his love for Bertha. Kasperl continues to thwart Salome's advances. Hulda visits the wedding

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3"Das weiß der Teufel, was die Alte mit mir haben will." ("Only the devil knows what that old woman wants of me.")
festival as a singer; she sings a beautiful song, for which Hartwig pays her. Before Albrecht and Bertha can unite in marriage, Hulda casts a spell that allows her to steal Albrecht into her magic cavern. Albrecht remains united with Hulda and their daughter, with the nymphs and wedding guests observing.

Production Information of Gleich's Twelve Most Successful Plays

Sources for Gleich's four plays discussed in this work include the following:


The following list provides the play, production information, theatre venue, premiere date and run, and number of performances. The initial performance documentation comes from Rommel (1952); the second listing comes from Krausz (1923). The plays are listed by number of performances.

*Herr Josef und Frau Baberl. Posse mit Gesang.* 3. Loosely adapted after the piece *Der Fleischhauer von Ödenburg* (No. 52); music composed by Wenzel Müller.

- *Theater an der Wien* 1/30/1830-1831: 10 performances
- *Theater an der Wien* 1/26/1830: 1 performance

*Der Eheteufel auf Reisen. Lokal-komisch Zauberspiel mit Gesang und Tanz,* two acts; music composed by Franz Volkert; Ferdinand Raimund played the husband roles and the chief protagonist Herr von Storch, Ms. Ennökl played the wife roles, Luise
Gleich played Gretchen, and Anton Sartory (1783-1821) played Major Stern.

Leopoldstadt 3/9/1821-1839: 86 performances
Leopoldstadt 3/9/1821-1830: 70 performances
Josefstadt 3/1/1822
Josefstadt 3/1/1822
Theater an der Wien 11/3/1830 (Raimund performed)

Der Berggeist oder Die drei Wünsche. Komisch Zauberspiel; three acts; music composed by Josef Drechsler; Ferdinand Raimund played the role of Herr von Mißmuth.

Leopoldstadt 6/12/1819-1844: 66 performances
Leopoldstadt 6/12/1819-1844: 67 performances
Theater an der Wien 6/12/1819
Theater an der Wien 1/31/1821: 2 performances
Theater an der Wien 1/31/1821
Also performed under the title: Die übereilten Wünsche oder Der Berggeist)

Josefstadt 1/8/1823
Josefstadt 1/8/1823
Also performed under the title: Staberts Wünsche oder Der Berggeist, an adaptation of Gleich's play by Carl.
Munich 1821

Die Musikanten am Hohen Markt. Eine lokal-komisch Posse; three acts; music composed by Ferdinand Kauer; Ferdinand Raimund, in his first major comic role, played Kratzerl and Luise Gleich played Katharina.

Josefstadt 3/28/1815-1817: 49 performances
Josefstadt 3/28/1815-1817: 49 performances
Leopoldstadt 8/16/1815-1824: 18 performances
Leopoldstadt 8/16/1815-1824: 17 performances

Der Pächter und der Tod. Gespenster-Karikatur mit Gesang und Tanz; two acts; loosely adapted from a story by von Langbein; music composed by Wenzel Müller.

Leopoldstadt 4/27/1821-5/12/1821: 8 performances
Leopoldstadt 1/24/1822-1834: 38 performances
Leopoldstadt 4/27/1821-1834: 46 performances
Also performed under the title: Pächter Valentin
Theater an der Wien 7/22/1834
Theater an der Wien 7/22/1834
Heinrich der Stolze, Herzog von Sachsen. Ein Originalschauspiel mit Gesang; three acts; music composed by Ferdinand Kauer.

Leopoldstadt 10/5/1806-1829: 45 performances
Leopoldstadt 9/12/1806-1829: 45 performances
Josefstadt 9/19/1812, 11/6/1814
Josefstadt 11/6/1814: 3 performances

Die kleinen Milchschwestern von Petersdorf. Ein Romantisch-komisch Volksmärchen; three acts; music composed by Wenzel Müller.

Leopoldstadt 7/4/1804-1830: 47 performances
Leopoldstadt 7/4/1804-1830: 45 performances
Josefstadt 1/12/1809
Josefstadt 9/12/1809

Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche. Zauberspiel mit Gesang und Tanz; three acts; music composed by Josef Drechsler; Ferdinand Raimund played lead role.

Leopoldstadt 2/19/1820-1837: 43 performances
Leopoldstadt 2/19/1820-1837: 42 performances
Theater an der Wien 10/6/1821
Theater an der Wien 10/6/1821

Jakob in Wien. Posse mit Gesang; three acts; loosely adapted from the play Hans in Wien; music composed by Wenzel Müller.

Leopoldstadt 7/25/1825: 42 performances
Leopoldstadt 7/25/1825-1831: 42 performances
(Kringsteiner's drama Hans in Wien played:
Leopoldstadt 1809-1846: 39 performances
Theater an der Wien 11/4/1815: 12 performances)

Die Schreckensnacht am Kreuzwege oder Der Freyschütz. Romantisch Volkssage mit Gesang; three acts; adapted from a story by Laun; music composed by Franz Roser.

Josefstadt 12/28/1816
Josefstadt 12/28/1816-1817: 15 performances
Leopoldstadt 10/18/1817-1836: 25 performances
Leopoldstadt 10/18/1817-1836: 25 performances
(An adaptation followed: Staberl als Freischütze. Parodierendes Zauberspiel; three acts; music composed by Röth and Riotte.

Theater an der Wien 1/24/1826-1831: 23 performances
Leopoldstadt 12/18/1845-1850: 32 performances
Meidlinger Theater 7/4/1858, 5/29/1859, 12/30/1860, and 2/16/1862)

Herr Adam Kratzel und sein Pudel. Lokal-komisch Posse mit Gesang; three acts; music composed by Ferdinand Kauer; Ferdinand Raimund played lead role.

Josefstadt 12/18/1815: 29 performances
Josefstadt 12/18/1815-1816: 31 performances
Leopoldstadt 8/21/1816: 7 performances
Leopoldstadt 8/21/1816: 5 performances

Der alte Geist in der modernen Welt. Lokal-komisch Zauberspiel mit Gesang, Tänzen und Tableaux; two acts; music composed by Franz Volkert.

Leopoldstadt 9/15/1821-1828: 33 performances
Leopoldstadt 9/15/1821-1828: 32 performances
Josefstadt 3/14/1822, 12/29/1825
Josefstadt 8/11/1829

The action of Der Eheteufel auf Reisen [The Trip of the Marriage Devil] begins with the introduction of the rich Herr von Storch, who wants to separate from his young wife of Lisette; Storch believes no marriages are happy.4 Among thesurprised guests is Schwarz, a magician, who challenges Storch to a bet: if Schwarz can show that men are also guilty of causing unhappy marriages, Storch must return to his wife. Storch feels he will

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4"Kurz, es gibt gar keine glückliche Ehe, und allemal ist das Weib Schuld." ["In short, there are no happy marriages because of the woman."]
win the bet. To prove his point, Schwarz travels with Storch to five different locations to observe the behavior of men in marriage.

The first trip is to the house of Herr Mehlthau, who is constantly in bedridden with illness. His wife Gustel has given up social life to remain with her husband. When she hears of the possibility of attending a ball and meeting a young admirer, she boldly chastises her husband for confining her life. She leaves her sick husband in bed and attends the ball.

The second situation shows the home of Adam and Bärbel. Adam squanders his money while Bärbel hopes their plight will change. When Bärbel inherits a large sum of money, Adam is eager to drink with his bar friends. His wife tells him that he will not receive anything. She wishes to use some of the money to attend a ball. Meanwhile, Adam displays his skill in begging; he meets Simon, successfully begs for a few Gulden, and leaves. Adam's assistant arrives to inform Simon that Adam is a scoundrel. He takes Simon's silver-tipped staff and chases after Adam. The two beggars will use Simon's staff to gain entrance to a ball. When they arrive, they quickly hide all the musical instruments. Bärbel recognizes Adam, is embarrassed, and leaves him. Storch and Schwarz reappear, convinced that these men were obviously cruel for not loving to their wives.

5"Das kann nicht seyn, ein Mann kann gar nicht Unrecht haben." ["That cannot be, a man cannot cause unhappiness."]
6"Aber mein Mann das ist ein Lump ohne Gleiche—den ganzen Tag sitzt er in Branntweinhäusle, und ich kann nicht begreife, wo er auf den Abend das Gelde hernimmt. Er wirds doch nicht etwa gar stehle?" ["My husband is a beggar without equal. The whole day he sits over wine and I cannot understand how he manages to acquire money at night. He certainly would not resort to stealing?"]
Act 2 introduces Major Stern, who receives from his sister a letter that says her husband, Herr Kalb von Kälberburg, forgets every detail, including their wedding anniversary. Stern is incensed with the stupidity of his brother-in-law. In a parallel story, Stern meets Gretchen, who is engaged to a foolish public transcriber Turbarius; Stern introduces Gretchen to Hanns, Stern’s own servant. After agreeing that neither man nor wife will rule the household, Hanns and Gretchen decide to marry. Before Stern arrives at Kälberburg’s house, his brother-in-law displays his stupidity by imprisoning an innocent judge and allowing criminals to go free. Stern informs him that he will take his sister away with him.

The fourth trip shows a compulsive musician, Harmonikus, who has neglected his young, rich wife Jeanette. She leaves him for the devoted Herfort. Although he promises to change, Harmonikus is involved with his music so intensely that he fails to notice a house fire; other servants carry him to safety while he works at the piano.

The final trip presents an overly jealous Mathias Grob. Mathias will not allow anyone to approach his wife Susanne; he suspects Robert and Christoph of courting his wife. When Therese

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7"Es ist ja entsetzlich, am hochzeitsabend vergißt er, daß er geheirathet hat, laßt die ganze Gesellschaft sitzen, geht ins Dorf hinab, und spielt mit den Kuhmädchen blinde Kuh." ["It is frustrating. On our anniversary he forgets he is married; he entertains himself in the village by flirting with the young women."]

8"Gretchen: 'I bewahre, wer wird das thun--du bleibst Herr im Hause, dafür kann ich aber auch thun, was ich will.' Hanns: 'Einverstanden!'" ["Gretchen: 'Your will remain master of the house; however, I can then also do as I wish.' Hanns: 'Agreed!'"]
and Sabine, the loves of Robert and Christoph, arrive with guards. Mathias admits to his foolish behavior.

Storch and Schwarz conclude their journeys by arriving at a bridge. Storch is reunited happily with Lisette; however, Schwarz offers a last test, in the tradition of medieval Hans Sachs theatre. Schwarz claims that undevoted lovers cannot cross the bridge, because they will fall into the water. Lisette offers that tests are not necessary because she and Storch are in love. Storch, however, insists that she and the other women cross the bridge. They do without falling into the water. The men, however, stumble into the water and immediately beg forgiveness after the women threaten to leave. The characters conclude by singing: "Vivat die Frauen!" ["Long live the women!"].

The action of Der Berggeist oder die drey Wünsche [The Mountain Spirit or the Three Wishes] presents the importance of contentment in daily life. This theme finds expression in the form of a Besserungsstück, or "improvement play." Act 1 introduces the miserable state of Herr von Mißmuth, who believes that one cannot live comfortably in the world. The Berggeist, a spirit quick to support good deeds and to punish evil or selfish behavior, appears, surprised by Mißmuth's misanthropic nature. The Berggeist

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9"Wenn man* am besten genießen will, kommt der Tod--putz da liegt der gnädige Herr! Das ist eine zaubere Bescherung--nein lieber will ich gar nichts genießen, damit ich nichts verlassen darf." ["As soon as one enjoys life, death arrives--suddenly one lies there, as if by magic--no, I would prefer not to enjoy life's offerings, so that I will not lose anything."]

10"Ich durchblicke sein Innerstes! Der Thor ist unglücklich durch sich selbst.--Statt zu genießen, was das Glück ihm gab, verträumt er sein Leben in eitlen Wünschen." ["I
offers Mißmuth three wishes; he wants all women to fall in love with him, immense wealth, and health so he can live 300 years. Mißmuth then peddles off to a tavern, where three women immediately fall in love with him. The women’s male companions become angered and before a physical confrontation develops, Mißmuth calls for the Berggeist to appear to protect him.\footnote{11} Mißmuth admits that all of this trouble was on account of his wish.

In Act 2, Mißmuth finds himself a wealthy king on the coast of Malabar. He receives the support and admiration of his servants and kingdom; however, he soon offends his subjects. After he refuses to follow the custom of taking the wife of the previous king as his own wife, he angers many priests of the court. Mißmuth breaks a second tradition, as he wishes to pardon beautiful, young women who are sentenced to die since their husbands have been killed. Mißmuth’s disrespect fuels a revolt against him, although he feels justified through his wealth to change customs.\footnote{12} After the country successfully overthrows Mißmuth, the new leader Abdul orders his death. Mißmuth again pleads for the Berggeist to save him.\footnote{13}
The final act shows Mißmuth in Italy. He is incapable of dying for three hundred years. A village community welcomes him back after a long absence. Mißmuth fails to recognize anyone in the community, but retorts with local humor by referring to Vienna's Leopoldstadt. Mißmuth incurs the wrath of Paolo when Mißmuth flirts with his love Röschen; Paolo commissions the bandit Madotti to kill him out of revenge. When Madotti fails, Mißmuth nevertheless pardons him and Madotti befriends him. When another beautiful woman, Agnese, becomes stranded due to a broken carriage, Mißmuth offers assistance and falls in love with her. She responds by saying that she is on route to meet her lover Herzog von Castillone in Venice. Mißmuth immediately travels to Venice. He orders Madotti to capture Agnese. The Berggeist, quick to thwart evil deeds, reveals the scheme to Herzog Castillone. The Herzog defeats the bandits and captures Mißmuth. Since Agnese pleaded for the Herzog to spare Mißmuth's life, the Herzog merely sentences him to life in prison. Mißmuth calls for the Berggeist and apologizes for his wretched behavior. The Berggeist reveals that he gave three wishes to improve the life of Mißmuth. The Berggeist returns him to his initial state. The villagers offer a warning against wishes.15

14"Die Phisiognomie ist mir etwas bekannt, haben wir uns nicht schon in Amerika oder in der Leopoldstadt gesehen?" ["The characteristics are familiar to me. Are we in America or in the Leopoldstadt?"]

15"Es gehen die Wünsche der Menschen nicht aus, Glaubt mancher was sicher und doch wird nichts daraus." ["Wishes appear to grant security, but nothing comes from them."]
The action of *Die Musikanten am Hohen Markt* [The Musicians of the High Market] opens on an early morning when a group of musicians, lead by Adam Kratzerl, return from providing entertainment at a party. Whereas the other musicians continue to celebrate, Kratzerl wishes to hurry home to his devoted wife Katharina. Unknown to Kratzerl, she and her mother Margaret attended an extravagant masked ball, where she met the affluent Baron Rosen. The baron plans to pursue a relationship with Katharina. The baron escorted the women home, and presently Katharina is worried that Kratzerl will become jealous. Kratzerl returns, but fails to recognize his wife behind her ball mask; he asks for her whereabouts. His mother-in-law, who encourages Katharina to pursue the baron and leave Kratzerl, claims that she is shopping at the market. With Kratzerl’s assistance, Katharina and the baron are able to leave the house, and she soon returns with a basket of groceries. She is exhausted from the ball; Kratzerl believes she remained awake all night worrying about him. When he falls asleep, she leaves for dancing lessons with the baron. A visitor, Tulipan, commissions Kratzerl on short notice to provide music for dance lessons; immediately Kratzerl thinks about spending the money on his wife. As Kratzerl coincidentally plays music at the same location that his wife and the baron are visiting, he recognizes his wife. She flees the hall, and he quickly pursues her.

Act 2 develops additional difficulty for Kratzerl. After Katharina has returned home and jumped into bed, an angry Kratzerl
appears. He is confused upon seeing her in bed. He receives another commission from Madame Coissure; but before he leaves, he requests his cousin Krebs to stand guard over Katharina, whom Kratzerl locks in the bedroom. As Krebs is ill and drunk, Margaret convinces him to visit the apothecary. The baron arrives, to Margaret’s delight; he, however, reveals his true identity. He is Katharina’s rich cousin Jakob from Amsterdam. Although he disapproves of Katharina’s husband, he realizes that Katharina deeply loves Kratzerl. Jakob offers his wealth to Katharina if he may first try to cure Kratzerl of his intense jealousy. Later at Madame Coissure’s home, Kratzerl is ready to play his violin, accompanied by a beautiful Turkish pianist, who is Katharina in disguise. Kratzerl cleverly steals a look behind her vail, recognizes his wife, but hurries off in confusion. When he sees Krebs asleep in his own bed and his wife gone, he is beside himself.

In the final act, Kratzerl meets again the baron’s servant Tulipan and demands that Tulipan take him immediately to the baron. Kratzerl arrives at the baron’s residence, only to see the baroness, actually Katharina again in disguise. She informs him that Katharina is quite fine, but Kratzerl is still bewildered. He returns home, sells his possessions, and will take off to Turkey to find his wife. The baron arrives, however, and explains both his identity and the ruse against Kratzerl. Kratzerl is overjoyed to be reunited with Katharina; the two will share in Jakob’s riches.

Ydor, der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreich [Ydor the Traveler from the Water Kingdom] opens with the ruler of the water spirits,
Oceanus, arriving in a countryside that was recently flooded. He sees villagers swimming, stranded on balconies, aloft in trees, or atop mountains. Although Oceanus is upset with the state of the villagers, Ydor, a spirit under Oceanus's rule, deemed it necessary to flood the land because of the poor behavior of the villagers. Oceanus severely chastises Ydor for his implementation of justice; Ydor is sent to the countryside in the form as a man to suffer as other men did.

Ydor assumes first the form of a young apprentice whose immaturity and lazy ways bring his master into poverty. This scene concludes with many villagers about to seize the boy and physically punish him, but Ydor avoids the assault and enters his next transformation: the form of a public officer. Although many villagers have official business to carry out, Ydor will only complete the work for those individuals who give him bribes. In cases of justice, the party who presents the largest bribe will win the dispute. Eventually the villagers become angry and revolt against Ydor. He again avoids the attack by transforming into the next scene.

Oceanus's punishment appears to change Ydor's attitude.

Ydor next assumes the role of a spendthrift who foolishly

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16"Verzeih, daß ich es gewagt habe, das arge Menschenvölklein etwas zu züchtigen; es hat es verdient." ("Forgive me for punishing the common people, but they deserved it.")

17"Du aber, neckender Kobold, der du schon lange durch deine Schwänke mich erzürntest, fühl deine Strafe, und lerne dein Unrecht einsehen." ("You, my foolish servant, who has continued to anger me through your insecurity, you will be punished and learn from your mistakes.")

18"Ich Thörichter, der ich menschliche Handlungen richten wollte, ohne ihre Gefühle, ohne ihre Leidenschaften zu kennen, der ich selbst von Leidenschaften verblendet war, denn sonst würde ich mich nicht an ihnen gerächt haben, wie schlecht habe ich meine
squanders wealth.\textsuperscript{19} With his wealth, Ydor tries to impress guests and artists, even though Ydor himself has no appreciation for art: he purchases an amateur portrait believing it to be a rare treasure. Eventually his bills mount, and he is arrested for failing to pay his debts. Before he is taken away, he summons thunder and the next transformation begins.

Ydor's fourth role is that of miser. When villagers approach him for financial assistance, he refuses to help them, claiming he has no means: actually he has a treasury locked in his cellar. When enemies from a neighboring country attempt to extort the villagers from a large sum of money or be destroyed, the villagers turn against Ydor by telling the enemy army of Ydor's secret wealth. Before the enemies can seize Ydor, he escapes through his magic.

The fifth transformation is that of town musician. Ydor sings to Röschen and becomes immediately infatuated with her. Ydor tells the other villagers of his intention to marry her, but the villagers have more pressing matters: bandits threatens the community. As the villagers gather to decide how best to fight the enemies, Ydor meets with them in the woods. He offers to tell them where they can steal money, but in return Ydor requests the hand of Röschen. The bandits agree, and as they enter a house to steal money, Ydor locks them in the house. The villagers are elated and Ydor receives the hand of Röschen. For the first time, Ydor

\textsuperscript{18}"Ich habe Geld, viel Geld, und ich bin ein guter Kerl!” ["I have money, much money, and I am a good person!"]

\textsuperscript{19}"Foolish me for pronouncing judgement on people without considering their plight. I share their suffering. I would not have punished them. How horribly I have failed my first test!"
demonstrated actions out of love for other individuals rather than out of personal interest. Oceanus arrives and allows Ydor to reenter the kingdom of the spirits. Ydor, however, wishes to pursue his love interest, and the play concludes with a tableau of the villagers surrounding Ydor in the arms of Röschen.

Production Information of Meisl’s Twelve Most Successful Plays

Sources for Meisl’s three plays discussed in this work include the following:

Meisl, Karl. Die Fee aus Frankreich oder Liebesqualen eines Hagestolzen [The Fairy from France or Love’s Agony for a Confirmed Bachelor]. Vienna, 1822.


The following list provides the play, production information, theatre venue, premiere date and run, and number of performances. The performance documentation comes from Rommel (1952). The plays are listed by number of performances.

Die Fee aus Frankreich oder Liebesqualen eines Hagestolzen. Zauberspiel mit Gesang; two acts; music composed by Wenzel Müller; Raimund played Spindelbein; Katharina Ennöckl played the roles of the Fairy Rosa, Christina, and Betti; Johann Huber played Mrs. von Flinserl.

Leopoldstadt  11/23/1821-1860:  96 performances
Josefstadt  12/17/1822
Theater an der Wien  2/13/1823; Raimund gave 21 guest performances here until 1831.
Meidlinger Theater  3/22/1852
Linz  1855
Salzburg  1857
Theater an der Wien  27/9/1831; Nestroy played Spindelbein
Das Gespenst auf der Bastei. Eine lokal-komische Parodie mit Gesang; two acts; music composed by Franz Volkert; Raimund played Tobias Unglück, Kemetner played Heinrich Unglück, Luise Gleich played Marie, Ziegelhauser played Stern, Josef Schuster played Prell.

Leopoldstadt 10/1/1819-1949: 105 performances
Theater an der Wien 8/11/1821-1831: 9 performances
Josefstadt 7/17/1823

Der lustige Fritz oder Schlaf, Traum und Besserung. Ein Märchen neuerer Zeit; two acts; music composed by Franz Volkert; Raimund played Fritz.

Leopoldstadt 6/17/1818-1840: 97 performances
Josefstadt 8/2/1823

Die schwarze Frau. Parodierende Parodie mit Gesang; two acts.

Josefstadt 12/1/1826
Theater an der Wien 12/12/1826-1831: 78 performances
Leopoldstadt 1/19/1839-1851: 18 performances

Die beiden Spadifankerln. Komische Quadrille mit Gesang; two acts; music composed by Franz Volkert.

Leopoldstadt 4/15/1819-1839: 78 performances

Der Flügelmann oder Er muß sie heiraten. Ein militarisches Original-Lustspiel; one act.

Leopoldstadt 11/7/1804-1832: 75 performances

Der Kirchtag in Petersdorf. Lokal-komische Parodie mit Gesang; two acts; music composed by Wenzel Müller.

Leopoldstadt 8/21/1819-1842: 52 performances
Theater an der Wien 9/30/1820-1826: 13 performances
Josefstadt 5/22/1823

Julerl, die Putzmacherin. Parodierende Posse mit Gesang; two acts; music composed by Adolf Müller.

Leopoldstadt 9/12/1829-1857: 58 performances
Theater an der Wien 4/17/1831: 3 performances
Josefstadt 2/23/1833
Die Heirat durch die Güterlotterie. Ein lokal-komisches Lustspiel; one act.
Leopoldstadt 7/3/1816: 50 performances
Theater an der Wien 4/2/1819: 10 performances
Josefstadt 8/1/1823

Werthers Leiden. Posse mit Gesang und Gruppierungen; two acts; adapted from Kringsteiner’s play Werthers Leiden; music composed by Wenzel Müller.
Josefstadt 1/12/1830
Leopoldstadt 9/30/1830-1862: 47 performances

Der österreichischer Grenadier. Ein Schauspiel; one act; music composed by Wenzel Müller.
Leopoldstadt 9/9/1813-1827: 38 performances

Die Damenhüte im Theater. Posse; one act.
Leopoldstadt 2/24/1818-1830: 38 performances

Die Fee aus Frankreich oder Liebesqualen eines Hagestolzen
[The Fairy from France or Love’s Agony for a Confirmed Bachelor] concerns the story of an old bachelor Spindelbein and his loathing attitude toward women. The play opens with Murrer and Einschichtis visiting Spindelbein to wish him a pleasant night. Murrer comments on Spindelbein’s lonely life. After they leave, Spindelbein enters a dispute with his female cook; he feels she spent too much on groceries. After he dismisses her from his service, he contemplates posting an advertisement for maids to stay away. He then hears a child’s cry, and dismisses his servant Valentin because, unknown to him, he has a wife and several

20 “Wer kein Weib hat, muß selber sein Haushaltung sorgen.” [“Whoever has no wife must care for himself.”]
21 “Jedes weibliche Geschöpf wird ersucht, dieses Haus auf 10 Schritte zu meiden.” [“Each female figure is requested to remain ten steps away from this house.”]
children. A female fairy arrives, and after recognizing Spindelbein's hatred of women, she vows to show him the consequences of his ways. Spindelbein is transformed into the character Gustav, the son of the joyous family Friedum. He displays no happiness, unlike his parents. His parents are happy to live in an age where no trouble will come to deeply-troubled individuals, such as during Werther's days. Gustav soon falls in love with Christina, a wash girl, but he experiences jealousy when he learns that she loves a corporal. Gustav's hesitation demonstrates his tenderness, and the fairy is pleased that he could experience the emotion of jealousy. The fairy then transforms him into the barber Puderlein, who sees his wife Betti kiss the hand of George. George is a friend of Frau von Flinserl, a good friend of Betti. Puderlein is so overcome with jealousy that he locks Betti in a room. However, as Puderlein dances at a ball, he discovers Betti in disguise. The fairy then appears to chastise Puderlein and men, claiming that jealousy destroys individual happiness.

Act 2 shows Spindelbein as a renter, old and unmarried. He decides to marry. He sees Rosa, the fairy, as his future wife. He locks her up in his house. When guests laugh at the prospect of him marrying, he brings Rosa out. She runs away. He chases after her, but falls off a bridge. He reappears as a ghost. Sadly, he watches as none of his friends visit his funeral; only a girl, Rosa in disguise, laments his death and claims that she would have been a

22 "Dank sey es der Aufklärung, wir Weiber haben jetzt zu viel Humanität." ["Thank goodness for the Enlightenment. We women now have too much humanity."]
contented wife. As Spindelbein reflects on his miserable life, he vows to be friendly and content with women.

The action in Das Gespenst auf der Bastei [The Ghost along the Bastion] shows the unfortunate grandson Heinrich under the protection of his deceased grandfather, the ghost Tobias Unglück. Act 1 opens with Heinrich Unglück out of money and indebted. His love Marie cannot financially support him, but continues to love him. Heinrich leaves his home before confronting creditors. Marie is distraught. A ghost arrives with a letter for Marie, encouraging her to remain patient and loyal. Meanwhile, the ghost Tobias walks along the city bastion and views the Viennese citizens: poorly-behaved children, pretentious women, and thieves. Tobias reveals the thieves' robbery to a corporal, who himself requests personal identification from Tobias. Heinrich appears willing to jump from the city wall, when Tobias interrupts him. Tobias reveals his identity and encourages Heinrich to maintain courage and loyalty to Marie; Tobias offers to test Marie's devotion.

At Marie's home, a governess tries to persuade Marie to marry someone other than Heinrich. Marie's acting father (her father has died), Stern, introduces a wealthy suitor, Prell, an old man. She immediately orders him out. Tobias then assumes the role of a second suitor, a Prussian bachelor, and frightens Prell out of the room. Marie initially fancies him, but thinks about Heinrich. Tobias disappears before Stern and Prell reenter the room. Out on the street, Heinrich rejoins his friends, who are equally poor and hungry. Heinrich summons Tobias and ask him for money, which
Heinrich shares with his friends. Heinrich visits a masked ball, where he sees Marie with Stern and Prell. Marie and Heinrich approach each other, and Prell immediately recognizes Heinrich. Tobias intervenes before ill can come to Heinrich; he transforms the ball into a frozen field, where all the guests slip and slide on ice. Marie remains warm under a fur coat.

Act 2 opens with Heinrich and Tobias at a coffeehouse with several other spirits. At Stern's house, Stern decides to engage Marie to Prell; Stern anticipates 40,000 Gulden as payment from Prell. To punish the greed and treatment of Marie, Tobias alters several bills due to Stern from Viennese citizens. Left alone, Heinrich develops an interest in a female dancer, but Tobias saves him from engaging in infidelity; Marie, however, sees Heinrich and becomes worried. Heinrich immediately hurries to Marie, and after a power game of jealousy, he reconfirms his love for her. No guests arrive at Stern's engagement party for Marie and Prell because Tobias warned them to stay away. As Prell and Stern fight over financial matters, Tobias gives Heinrich money to marry Marie. His last advice to Heinrich is to serve his wife faithfully.

Der lustige Fritz [Funny Fritz] shows the Family Steigerl concerned about the state of their only son Fritz. Act 1 introduces Fritz, who evidently squanders his time.23 Fritz has become involved with "cards, billiards, races, supporting wasteful

23"Statt zu lernen und studieren, Thut er nix als karessiren." ["Instead of learning and studying, he does nothing but squander time."]
companions, and girls, how those girls are an expense!" Although
his mother to an extent defends him, she admits something may be
wrong and they should look into his case.

Two scenes confirm the parents' suspicion. Two of Fritz's
loves, Malchen and Lottchen, quarrel over who is Fritz's true love;
as Fritz arrives with a third girl, Marie, the other two girls appear
and scheme with Marie on how best to punish Fritz. Fritz seems
undaunted, as he sings in the style of Don Juan; earlier he sung of
the changes in society during the past few decades: "It is a burden,
when one is so affectionate like I am; girls have enough sense and
taste to see that. . . Where have the times gone, when one could
save oneself by exhibiting proper manners? Now one receives
physical abuse for demonstrating flattery. That is the consequence
of the Enlightenment, just as the older women maintain." After
the girls leave, Fritz's creditors arrive and strip him of his
clothes; Fritz's father arrives to pay the debts of his son.

With Fritz obviously incapable of controlling his wild
lifestyle, the family resorts to magic to understand and possibly
cure their son. Fritz and his parents visit the magician Boros; he
offers a potion that will cause Fritz to sleep and reveal the source
of his troubles. Fritz reveals his spendthrift ways and the fact

24"Cardeln, Billiardspielen, Reiten, Fahren, nixenutzige Kameraden unterstützen,
und die Maderln, die Maderln kosten mich viel Geld!"
25"Das ist ein Kreuz, wenn man so liebenswürdig ist, wie ich bin, die Madein haben
Sinn und Geschmack genug, das einzusehen; . . . wo sind die Zeiten hingekommen, wo
man sich damit retten konnte, wenn man so einen zudringlichen Mahner über d'Stiegen
warf, jetzt soll so einer etwas probiren, er konnt' die schönsten Schläg' kriegen. Das
sind die Folgen der Aufklärung, die alten Weiher haben recht."
that his mother continues to give him money when he requests it. He begins to reveal his troubles in a dream.

Act 2 assumes the form of a morality play, with the characters Satire, Vice, Luxury, Capriciousness, Fashion, Insanity, Compliment, Poverty, Shame, Desire, Hope and Flirtatiousness playing important roles. Fritz, now well along in age, lives in poverty with his wife Lottchen. With the assistance of Satire, Lottchen scolds Fritz one day after he returns from begging. After he angrily retorts, the scene changes and Lottchen becomes the object of affection of Luxury. As Lottchen enjoys her escape from her social conditions, Fritz realizes that he behaved similarly as a youth; Vice tells him: “Your happiness depends on you; your fate lies in your wife’s hand.” Fritz later, however, continues to think selfishly: “What concern is it of beggars, if I am rich? If I am rich, that’s my business.” Eventually Fritz wishes to escape from the images of his wife with other suitors and his own poverty. Hope appears and saves him. Fritz awakens, changed, and wants to work and earn money. Boros replies that images from the future are great motivators. Herr Steigerl chastises his wife for the role she played in supporting Fritz’s spendthrift habits.

26 “Dein Glück hängt von dir selbst ab, in der Hand deines Weibes liegt dein Schicksal.”
27 “Was geht das dem Bettvolk an, wenn ich reich bin? Wenn ich reich bin, so bin ich’s für mich.”
26 “Wenn jeder Strahl des Tages verschwindet,/ Und Finsternis den Geist umflirrt;/ Kein Laut mehr Rettung uns verkündet--/ Verzweifelnd schon der arme Pilger irrt--/ Da schwingt her Hoffnung lichter Engel/ Den deutsungsreichen Lillentengel.”
[“When the day’s glimmer disappears, darkness surrounds the spirit, no plea for help assists us, and doubt confuses the poor pilgrim, then hope arrives as a bright angel and guiding lily branch.”]
29 “Es gibt kein sicheres Heilmittel für entartete Menschen, als der Spiegel der Zukunft ist.” [“There is no more certain a cure for corrupted people than a mirror of the future.”]

Adolf Bäuerle's Die Bürger in Wien [The Citizens of Vienna], which premiered at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 23 October 1823, shows the reward of devoted love over jealousy and wealth. In Act 1, Kätchen and the poet Carl pronounce their love for each other. Her father Redlich is against this potential marriage because Carl is poor; Redlich prefers his daughter to marry the rich suitor Müller. Redlich's wife Therese initially supports Kätchen and her love for Carl. Staberl the umbrella maker is introduced and engages in a frivolous discussion about Viennese politics with Redlich. Therese appears impressed with Müller's money. Redlich's servant Hans delivers a note from Therese's brother who advances Redlich with 500 Gulden from his father-in-law's will. Redlich changes his mind about Müller as a son-in-law, and he refuses the marriage. The act ends with Redlich holding a party for his son who is to join the military.

In Act 2, Staberl and Hans become friends while Staberl serves as a city sentry. Müller reappears and, through tricking Therese with his enormous wealth, plots to kidnap Kätchen. Staberl, meanwhile, holds a lengthy monologue and sings about his ability to drink 97 glasses of wine. In his drunken stupor, he mistakes Kätchen's affection for Carl as her love for him. Carl arrives too late to prevent Müller from taking Kätchen. After telling Redlich about Müller's evil deed, Carl rescues his love after
she jumped into a river. Staberl viewed the rescue from a nearby bridge.

The play concludes with the marriage of Carl and Kätchen. Müller is imprisoned. Staberl exaggerates his role in the daring rescue. After Carl receives money from the count, Staberl leads everyone in drinking and singing.

*Der verwunschene Prinz [The Enchanted Prince]*, which premiered at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 3 March 1816, resembles the fairytale *Beauty and the Beast*. In Act 1, Sandelholz brings his three daughters Zemire, Fanny, and Lise to a new land in search of the beast Azor. At a local tavern, the owner and his servant Hans tell the story of Azor, who is both incredibly rich and hideously ugly. Sandelholz visits Azor because he hopes to earn money. Azor decides that he will take Zemire as a bride because she is pure. Zemire visits Azor, appears initially frightened, but tells him that she will remain true to him. Azor gives her a ring so she can briefly return to her father and sisters; however, she must return soon or Azor will die.

In Act 2, the piece deviates from the traditional fairytale. Several women, hoping to marry Azor, arrive at the tavern. Sandelholz and the tavern owner realize that they must dupe an especially naive girl who could capture Azor's heart, or they could risk losing a chance at sharing Azor's wealth. Zemire returns to her sisters; they see her beautiful ring and learn that Azor is not to be feared. Zemire's sisters trick her and steal her ring in order to gain riches for themselves. The sisters arrive at Azor's court, but
the magician Fendor tricks them with his magic. Azor assumes the form of a prince, returns to Sandelholz, and rejoins his love Zemire. Azor marries Zemire and the tavern owner marries the naive girl.
APPENDIX E
PLAYS FROM CHAPTER EIGHT


*Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs* [The Diamond of the King of the Spirits] premiered on 17 December 1824 in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. Josef Drechsler (1782-1852), professor of music at the St. Anna school and composer in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, wrote the score. The chief characters include the following:

- Longimanus, the King of the Spirits (played by Korntheuer)
- Zephises, a magician
- Eduard, Zephises’ son (played by Schaffer)
- Florian Waschblau, servant to Eduard (played by Raimund)
- Mariandel, a cook (played by Theresa Krones)
- Amine, Eduard’s gift for Longimanus

The source of this play is *The Story of Prince Seyn Alasnam and the King of the Spirits*, from the Arabian Nights.

In Raimund’s play, the action involves Eduard, the son of the wealthy, recently-deceased magician Zephises. Although Eduard inherited six valuable magic statues, Zephises forgot to bequeath Eduard the magic necessary to acquire the seventh and greatest treasure in the world, a rose-red diamond. Eduard summons the King of the Spirits, Longimanus, to assist him; Longimanus agrees, but he will grant Eduard’s request only when he has found a girl who has never told a lie. This girl is to become the bride of
Longimanus. Eduard and Florian travel to the "Land of Truth and Austerity"; although they initially search optimistically, they encounter only difficulty. As Eduard searches for the appropriate girl, Florian is subjected to a magical spell; whenever Eduard touches a girl who has told a lie, Florian experiences great physical pain, and whenever Eduard finds the right girl, Florian experiences great joy.

In the strange country, Eduard and Florian find a girl who is to be banished; she refuses to praise the King Veritatius, who does not exhibit great nobility. Before the King banishes her, Eduard arrives and offers to take Amine as his bride. As Eduard and Amine leave for Longimanus' palace, Eduard realizes how deeply he loves Amine; she also confirms her love for him. Bound to his commitment, he sadly presents Amine to Longimanus. After his return home, he finds that the seventh statue has transformed into Amine; Longimanus has rewarded Eduard for his devotion in service and truthful openness to his own feelings. Eduard marries Amine and Florian marries his love Mariandl.

Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt oder der Bauer als Millionär

[The Maid from Fairyland or the Farmer as Millionaire] premiered in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 10 November 1826. The major characters include the following:

Lakrimosa, a powerful fairy who is banned from the fairy castle (played by Madame Haas)

Fortunatus Wurzel, a peasant farmer who discovers wealth (played by Raimund)
Lottchen, the daughter of Lakrimosa who is reared by Wurzel (played by Ms. Gärber)
Lorenz, servant to Wurzel
Habakuk, another servant to Wurzel (played by Mr. Tomaselli)
Karl Schilf, a poor fisherman (played by Mr. Schaffer)

This piece illustrates the great range of Raimund as actor.
The action of the play involves Lakrimosa and her daughter Lottchen, who have been banned from their fairy kingdom because Lakrimosa conceived of Lottchen with a mortal man and she wishes Lottchen to marry a fairy prince. The Queen of the Fairies takes Lakrimosa's powers and orders Lottchen to marry a mortal man before the age of eighteen. Lakrimosa can regain her powers and return to the kingdom when Lottchen completes these steps.

The farmer Fortunatus Wurzel assumes guardianship of Lottchen and raises her in a respectable manner. Lottchen falls in love with the hard-working and honest fisherman Karl Schilf. Meanwhile, Wurzel encounters the fairy Envy, who showers Wurzel with wealth; Wurzel decides to allow Lottchen to marry only a wealthy suitor. Fearing that she will never be able to return to her kingdom, Lakrimosa sends a fairy to change Wurzel's mind; Wurzel replies only that he would have to turn old and weak before allowing Lottchen to marry a poor man. In a stirring scene, the figure of Youth leaves Wurzel and Old Age replaces him. Evil fairies tempt Karl, but he chooses his love Lottchen over wealth when given a choice. The play ends with the marriage of Lottchen and Karl, Lakrimosa regaining her powers, and Wurzel returning to his younger state.
Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfiend (Mountain King and Misanthrope) premiered on 17 October 1828. The chief characters include the following:

- Astragalus, the Mountain King (played by Mr. Lang)
- Herr von Rappelkopf, a wealthy merchant (played by Raimund)
- Sophie, Rappelkopf's wife (played by Ennöckl)
- Malchen, Rappelkopf's daughter from his third marriage (played by Schreiber)
- Herr von Silberkern, Sophie's brother and a merchant in Venice
- August Dorn, a young painter
- Lieschen, Malchen's maid (played by Rohrbeck)
- Habakuk, Rappelkopf's servant (played by Tomaselli)
- A poor mountain family
- Rappelkopf's three deceased wives

The action takes place on Rappelkopf's property and surrounding environs.

This piece presents the consequences of unfounded mistrust. Rappelkopf mistrusts other people so greatly that he lives in seclusion with his fourth wife, Sophie, family and servants. Apparently Rappelkopf's hatred has killed his previous three wives; Sophie must endure Rappelkopf's rages. Malchen keeps her love August Dorn a secret from Rappelkopf, who would never approve of a painter as a son-in-law. Rappelkopf demonstrates his mistrust when Habakuk enters the room with a knife; Rappelkopf interprets his entry as an attempt on his life. He destroys his furniture and storms out of the house in paranoia.

He finds a poor peasant family in the mountains, the family of Christian Glüwurm. Glüwurm lives with his wife, four children,

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1 Grillparzer compares the production set to the great Dutch paintings from the seventeenth century: "Jene Szene in dem 'stilien Haus', der an niederländischer
and grandmother in a dilapidated hut; Rappelkopf finds the hut suited to his needs and purchases it. He rudely throws the family from their home. After the family leaves, the Mountain King Astralagus appears and tells Rappelkopf that he has only himself to blame for his miserable state. To prove his accusation, Astralagus transforms Rappelkopf into his own brother-in-law; Astralagus assumes the form of Rappelkopf. They return to his family. After Rappelkopf can no longer endure the mistrusting behavior of Astralagus, he reveals his identity and reforms to trust others. Rappelkopf blesses the marriage of Malchen and August and praises the love and loyalty of his wife and servants.

Der Verschwender [The Spendthrift] premiered in the Theater in der Josefstadt; Raimund wrote the piece between 17 October and 2 December 1833. In this piece Raimund returns to the theme that wealth corrupts and moderation is the best axiom for life's pursuits, themes presented in Das Mädchen aus dem Feenwelt, Meisl's Der lustige Fritz oder Schlaf, Traum und Besserung (1818), and Gleich's Die Brüder Liederlich (1820). The chief characters include the following:

Julius von Flottwell, a wealthy noble (played by Mr. Fischer)
The fairy Cheristane (played by Mrs. Fischer)
Valentin, servant to Flottwell (played by Raimund)
Rosl, Valentin's love and future wife (played by Ms. Dielen)

The play begins by presenting Julius von Flottwell as a reckless spendthrift who carelessly throws his money into every whimsical venture. Flottwell’s secretary Wolf is in charge of managing Flottwell’s financial affairs; Wolf’s greedy nature surfaces when he awards a building project to the contractor who will offer the largest bribe. Valentin and Rosl appear as contented and devoted servants, appreciative of working for Flottwell. The fairy Cheristane also appears; she felt a fondness for Flottwell as a youth and consequently provided his father with wealth to raise his son. She recognizes that Flottwell’s wealth impedes any development of maturity; she sends the spirit Azur disguised as a beggar to warn Flottwell of impending doom. Flottwell takes no heed.

In act 2, Flottwell courts the beautiful Amalia; however, her father President Klugheim refuses to give his daughter’s hand to a spendthrift. Valentin and Rosl, meanwhile, are dismissed as servants by Wolf; Wolf trumped up charges of theft on the two servants because Rosl refused Wolf’s advances. Flottwell flees to England with Amalia; but after squandering his fortune, he loses her and their child on a voyage to South America.

In the final act, Flottwell returns home as a poor beggar. Wolf has assumed control of Flottwell’s estate. Valentin has married Rosl and they have seven children. Valentin sings the famous Hobellied [song of the carpenter’s plane], a refrain that claims all men will end up in the same condition. Valentin has remained devoted to Flottwell through the years and allows him to spend the remainder of his life with his family.

Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus oder Das liederliche Kleeblatt [The Evil Spirit Lumpazivagabundus or The Roguish Trio] premiered as a Benefiz-Vorstellung, or "benefit performance", on 11 April 1833 in the Theater an der Wien. This piece was produced 259 times during Nestroy's lifetime, and 1,000 times before 1881, clearly his most popular play. The title acknowledges the baroque performance tradition of Haupt- und Staatsaktionen, as two titles appear in the title; the first title reveals a main action and the second title introduces a secondary plot.

The play, a Zauberposse mit Gesang in drei Aufzügen [magic comedy with song in three acts], takes part in Ulm, Vienna, Prague, and in the Fairy Kingdom. Nestroy played the role of the beggar Knieriem and Wenzel Scholz the role of Zwirn. The music was composed by Adolf Müller. The source is Carl Weisflog's Das große Los (1827, The Winning Ticket).

Lumpazivagabundus brings together the magical world of fairies and nineteenth-century Vienna. The introductory scene reveals that all is not well in the magical kingdom. The spirit Lumpazivagabundus seduced the children of the older magicians into a life of squander. Mystifax complains to King Stellaris, who in turn orders Fortuna to return the possessions to the children. Lumpazivagabundus appears and ridicules the gesture, since he argues that goods will not improve the condition of the children. Mystifax's son Hilaris, in fact, interjects that only true love can
improve conditions. He voices his love for Fortuna's daughter Brillantine. The fairy of true love, Amorosa, supports the young lovers. Fortuna is against the young lovers, but she offers a proposition: three beggars shall receive sufficient wealth; if two of the three make good use of the wealth, Fortuna wins the bet and Hilaris must give up Brillantine. If two beggars squander their wealth, Amorosa wins the bet.

Three beggars, Leim, Zwirn, and Knieriem, each encounter a vision while they are sleeping: they all dream of the same lottery number. Upon awaking, they rush to purchase a ticket, win a large sum of money, and rush off independently to improve their life. Whereas Leim uses the winnings as a dowry for his love, Zwirn squanders his riches to impress other people and Knieriem spends his money on alcohol. Leim attempts to change the behavior of his friends Zwirn and Knieriem; only in the concluding perfunctory magic scene are the two misfits transformed by love.
APPENDIX F
SIZE AND ADMISSION CHARGES FOR VIENNA’S THEATRES

The following charts compare the size and admission charges for the theatres presented in this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kärntnertortheater</th>
<th>Theater in der Leopoldstadt</th>
<th>Theater auf der Wieden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building</strong></td>
<td><strong>House</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stage</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1710</td>
<td>32.3 m x 17.1 m</td>
<td>44 loges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>34.2 m x 17.1 m</td>
<td>auditorium: 11.4 m l x 9.5 m w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>15.2 m w, 9.5 m d</td>
<td>orchestra: 5.7 m w x 3.8 m d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>22 loges in 1st gal.</td>
<td>2 parterres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 loges in 1st gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 loges in 2nd. gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 loges in 3rd. gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 loges in 4th gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 loges in 5th gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>parterre: 15 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>orchestra: 15 m l x 2 m d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Theater an der Wien

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>45 m l x 21 m w</td>
<td>13 m d, with capacity for 700 seats, additional 10.5 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theater in der Josefstadt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>20.5 m l, 12.5 m w auditorium: 10 m l 5.5 m w x 7.5 m d parterre: 7.5 m²</td>
<td>14 loges, capacity: 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Kärntnertortheater

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dukat (Montague)</td>
<td>Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Kreuzer (Burney)</td>
<td>Seat in Front Parterre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Rear Parterre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Kreuzer (Schlager)</td>
<td>Seat in Galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden (1775)</td>
<td>Seat in Gallery or Parterre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden</td>
<td>Fee for Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in 1st or 2nd Gal. Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in 3rd Gallery Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden</td>
<td>Obstructed View Seat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theater in der Leopoldstadt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Seat in Parterre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1803 (Protkhe)</td>
<td>Seat in Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Parterre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Gulden</td>
<td>Reserved Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden, 20 kr.</td>
<td>Seat in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden, 30 kr. (IN 13,599)</td>
<td>Seat in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Large Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Small Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in other Loges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Fremdenloge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden, 30 kr.</td>
<td>Seat in Part., 1st Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in Part., 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Theater an der Wien

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1820 (IN 94,677)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Gulden</td>
<td>Standing in Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Gulden</td>
<td>Loge in Parterre or 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Parterre or 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in Part., 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 4th Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Gulden</td>
<td>Standing in Large Loge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 1820 (IN 13,598)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Large Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Gulden</td>
<td>Loge in Parterre or 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Parterre or 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in Part., 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 4th Gallery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theater in der Josefstadt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 1820 (IN 13,597)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Gulden, 48 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Large Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Gulden</td>
<td>Seat in Small Loge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in Parterre or 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in Part., 1st Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Seat in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 2nd Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Kreuzer</td>
<td>Standing in 3rd Gallery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

After graduating in 1983 from Jenison Public High School in Jenison, Michigan, Gregory J. Dykhouse attended the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, receiving his BA in 1987. As a student in the University of Michigan's Residential College, he encountered his first significant experience with the theatre, as he performed the role of Der Bürgermeister in Friedrich Dürrenmatt's Der Besuch der alten Dame and smaller parts in Max Frisch's Biedermann und die Brandstifter. He returned to West Michigan to work for two years before enrolling at Bowling Green State University in the Department of German, Russian, and East Asian Languages as an MA candidate in German. Here he performed as Der Ausruf in Peter Weiss's Marat/Sade play. After receiving his degree, he continued his graduate studies as a PhD candidate in the Department of Theatre at Louisiana State University. Upon completing his general examinations, he was the recipient of a Fulbright grant to study in Vienna, Austria, during the academic year 1993-1994. He successfully defended his dissertation on 2 November 1995 and graduated with his PhD on 22 December 1995.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Gregory J. Dykhouse

Major Field: Theatre

Title of Dissertation: Popular Theater in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Vienna: Stage Characters and Performance Sites

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures of committee members]

Date of Examination: November 2, 1995