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EDITORIAL

We are delighted to welcome readers to this first issue of *TheMA: Open Access Research Journal for Theatre, Music, Arts*. This new journal grew mostly from the multifarious activities of DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN, a non-governmental research and documentation centre in Vienna whose international symposia and publications helped generate an interesting network of scholars working on the history of theatre and other forms of cultural production in Central and Mediterranean Europe, and STUDIUM FÆSVLANVM, a non-governmental research centre dedicated to the artistic and intellectual relevance of Central Tuscany around Florence and her Etruscan ‘mother’ Fiesole in the history of culture; the home of the first ‘villa’ of modern times and the birthplace of what we know as ‘opera’.

TheMA is launched by these two research institutions in collaboration with the HOLLITZER WISSENSCHAFTSVERLAG to spin further what has turned out to be an exciting exchange of ideas that often transgressed the traditional borders of the various academic disciplines instituted to research the history of the performing and visual arts. In much the same vein, *TheMA* is launched with the goal of becoming a permanent platform for such exchanges. It welcomes contributions in its core area – the arts in Central and Mediterranean Europe from the seventeenth through the early twentieth century – in much the same way as it is open to papers beyond this focus. *TheMA* particularly invites contributions that go beyond the customary divisions in the study of theatre, music, architecture, painting, and other arts.

TheMA’s first issue presents three research papers, a note (which *TheMA* refers to as a “fragment”), and a book review. The papers all address the subject of trans-cultural encounters as imagined in drama and opera from the last quarter of the eighteenth century – a time of incisive cultural and social change in many a place, including Europe east of the Alps.

Matthew Head (King’s College, London) writes about a ‘seraglio opera’ by the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn (1732–1809): *L’incontro improvviso* (‘The unexpected encounter’) premiered at the palace of Eszterház in western Hungary as part of the celebrations of one Habsburg court’s visit in 1775. Yet, Head finds that it frustrates current understandings for the genre: its ‘politics’, he writes, are not those of ‘East-meets-West’, but those of enlightening absolutism in general – in the opera embodied by an Ottoman lady.

Gabriele C. Pfeiffer (University of Vienna) introduces us to three dramas by the Bavarian playwright Franz Kratter (1758–1830) who took up the job of theatre

director in the distant capital of Habsburg Galicia, Lemberg/Lviv. Here, sharp on the borders with the Russian and Ottoman empires, he wrote in the 1790s three plays set one century earlier, in the time of Tsar Peter I (r.1682–1725). Pfeiffer, who has excavated these dramas from the collection known as Komplex Mauerbach in the DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN, also discusses their author's links with contemporaries like Mozart, Goethe, Schiller and Vulpius in this context and also in the Komplex Mauerbach, she discovers a yet unpublished commentary by Emanuel Schikaneder on his *Zauberflöte* ('The magic flute', re-edition 1795).

After this journey from western Hungary across the Carpathians to Galicia, Tatjana Marković (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna; University of Arts in Belgrade) drives us to St. Petersburg to witness an opera, set in distant Siberia and based on a libretto authored by nobody less than Russian empress Catherine II (r.1762–1796): *Fevej* (1786). Marković explores with us a curious case of self-orientalizing in this first Russian 'oriental' opera.

The three research papers on theatre and opera are followed by a brief note in architectural history: Maximilian Hartmuth (Turkish Cultural Foundation, Istanbul) discusses how the design of mosques came to be seen as one potential task of Central European architects in the late nineteenth century, most probably due the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1878. Hartmuth sees this reflected in a rather forgotten manual by Ludwig Klasen, a Viennese architect, published one decade later.

TheMA's first issue concludes with a book review, also by Hartmuth, of a recent work by the Bulgarian-born historian Martina Baleva. The monograph deals with the question of image-production in, and about, the Balkans in a nineteenth-century context. The stress is on history painting and the international illustrated press – and the hitherto little-noticed links between the two.

We hope you will appreciate these contributions. Please share with us your observations by sending an email at thema@hollitzer.at. We also encourage qualified responses to papers written in the form of notes ("fragments"). Prospective contributors should be able to find all necessary information on our website www.thema-journal.eu, where approximately every six months a new issue of *TheMA* will be published. If you would like to be reminded of new issues, please subscribe to the newsletter at the aforementioned address.

The editors.

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INTERPRETING ‘ABDUCTION’ OPERA:
HAYDN’S *L’INCONTRO IMPROVVISO*,
SOVEREIGNTY AND THE ESZTERHÁZ FESTIVAL
OF 1775

MATTHEW HEAD (LONDON)

Abstract: *Austrian composer Joseph Haydn’s ‘seraglio opera’ L’incontro improvviso, which premiered at Eszterház palace in September 1775 as part of the celebrations for the visit of the Habsburg court, frustrates current understanding of this genre. With all characters from the Middle East, little attention to religious differences between Islam and Christianity, and a musical score that avoids the military topos of Janissary music, L’incontro does not stage a confrontation of East and West. Instead, it deploys the harem setting and rescue plot to celebrate the values of Enlightened Despotism, and to project the image of a benign, peace-loving sovereign. ‘Difference’ is structured not by ethnicity but social status and the opera is untouched by ideas of race. Inhabiting a harem that resembles a gallant salon, Princess Rezia embodies the contemporary ideal of woman as civilized and civilizing, and imparts a refined ‘femininity’ to sovereignty itself. The ‘exoticism’ of L’incontro did not refer primarily to a distant locale but to the context and occasion of its own performance – the opera’s luxurious sets and costumes testified to the seemingly magical power of Prince Nicolaus Eszterházy to bring forth illusions, command art and nature, and give pleasure to his imperial visitors.*

★ ★ ★

In a last-ditch effect to save himself from the sultan’s wrath, Ali, the romantic lead in Joseph Haydn’s (1732–1809) opera *L’incontro improvviso*¹ (‘The unexpected encounter’),

1 Original libretto: Carlo Friberth: L’INCONTRO IMPROVISO. | DRAMA GIOCOLO | PER MUSICA | TRADOTTO DAL FRANCESE, | E RAPPRESENTATO | Á ESTERHAZ. | IN OCCASIONE DEL FELICISSIMO | ARRIVO | DELLE A.A.L.L.R.R. | IL SERENISSIMO ARCIDUCA | D’AUSTRIA | FERDINANDO. | E | DELLA SERENISSIMA ARCIDUCHESSA | BEATRICE. | D’ESTE. | SUL TEATRO DI S.A. IL PRENCIPE | NICOLA ESTERHAZY | DE GALANTA. | NEL MESE D’AGOSTO DELL’ANNO 1775. | A OEDENBURGO, | NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIUSEPPE SIESS. || On p. [3]: “La Musica è di GIUSEPPE HAYDEN. Maestro di Capella in servizio di S. A. il Prencipe Esterhazy. La Poesia è di CARLO FRIBERTH parimente in servizio di S. A. il Prencipe Esterhazy.” Copy consulted in Trieste, Museo Teatrale, Inv.No. 2802 (Libretti 928).

disguises himself as French painter and seeks to distract the sultan's guard with a description of one of his recent pictures ("Ecco un splendido banchetto", III/5). In so doing, he reveals certain failings as an art critic, not least in mistaking visual for musical representation:

Trenta suonatori ubriachi,	(‘Thirty drunken fiddlers
S’affattican a suonare;	struggle to play;
Si conosce dagli attachi,	from their attack you can recognize
Ch’è armonia di Napoli.	it’s music from Naples.
Un ruscello vuo mostrare:	Let me show you a stream:
Vedi l’acqua serpeggiare,	look at the water winding,
Dolcemente mormorare:	murmuring gently:
Cla, cle, cli, clo, clu, cla, clu.	cla cle cli clo clu cla clu.
Ma il conflitto qui mirate:	But here see this battle:
Pin, pan, pon, le moschettate,	pin pan pon go the muskets,
Flin, flic, flac, flan sablate,	flin flic flac flan, flash the sabres,
Bombe psci, vis, vis, vis puh. ²	flin flic flac, go the bombs, tzing boom!’) ³

It’s a sobering scene for any critic embarking on an account of *L’incontro improvviso*, a work that may well end up making a fool of anyone who seeks to understand it. And why take the risk? Apparently performed only once in the eighteenth century, judged a relative failure by modern critics, unpopular in sporadic twentieth-century revivals, *L’incontro*’s only claim to fame is that it belongs to the genre of ‘seraglio’, ‘abduction’ or ‘Turkish’ operas.⁴ Indeed, it is based on one of the founding libretti of that genre –

2 Friberth: *L’incontro improvviso*, III/v, p. 56.

3 Unless otherwise noted, English translations of the libretto are by Lionel Slater from Joseph Haydn: *L’incontro improvviso*, dir. Antal Dorati with the Lausanne Chamber Orchestra, *Esterháza Opera Cycle* [1979–89] (Philips 432416-2, CDbooklet), liner notes pp. 58–179, here: pp. 151–152.

4 A typical assessment is offered by Howard C. Robbins Landon: *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2: *Haydn at Esterháza, 1766–1790*. London: Thames and Hudson/Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978, p. 265: “*L’incontro improvviso* is not really a first-rate opera: it is too long, too diffuse, and lacks the driving pace of its 1773 predecessor. Curiously, modern audiences feel the same lack of dramatic spirit: despite its much-publicized revival by Helmut Schultz in 1936, and various performances since then (including a complete broadcast by the Vienna Radio in 1959), the work has never been a success. Prince Esterházy, that wise judge of Haydn’s talents, did not reward him for this, the most lavish, expensive and expansive Opera so far produced at the Castle; nor do there seem to have been any repetitions after the first performances. Like its 1773 predecessor, this work was also dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (and ‘All the Saints’ as well): but this time the great *jongleur* was not on his best form.”

Florent Carton Dancourt's (1661–1725) *opéra comique* *La rencontre imprévue* –, set with spectacular success by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787) in 1764 for the court-sponsored Burgtheater in Vienna (and quickly translated into German for performance there as *Die Pilgrime von Mecca* [‘The pilgrims of Mecca’]). In these versions, the opera was the most frequently performed ‘abduction’ opera in German-speaking lands. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) almost certainly heard it during his childhood visits to the Imperial city in 1762 and 1767–1768, much later providing something like a sequel in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (‘The abduction from the seraglio’, 1782), a work commissioned for the same venue. Mozart’s homage to Gluck’s *alla turca* idiom in the Janissary choruses of *Die Entführung*, and his set of piano variations on a theme from Gluck’s *La rencontre*, established a prestigious Gluckean genealogy in Turkish matters and demonstrated Mozart’s knowledge of Viennese taste.

In choosing to adapt the libretto of *La rencontre imprévue* as *L'incontro improvviso* (an Italian semi-serious opera), Haydn and his librettist Karl Friberth (1736–1816) – who was also the lead tenor, Ali – may also have sought to acknowledge the theatrical taste of the Viennese court opera house. Their opera was produced especially for the visit of representatives of the Habsburg court to Eszterház palace in 1775, in the figures of Archduke Ferdinand Karl⁵ and his consort⁶. At this time, Eszterház palace south of Lake Neusiedl, in the west of Hungary, was on Habsburg territory, and the choice of libretto, an ‘abduction’ opera set in Cairo, provided (paradoxically) a home-from-home for the royal visitors. The choice of libretto was part of the diplomatic dance of the festival – the notions of fidelity and reunion around which the plot turns deemed apt to the occasion. Indeed, fidelity is put on trial in the opera: After a series of misfortunes have lost him his homeland and his sweetheart, Ali, a lovesick wanderer, is reunited with Rezia in Cairo where she has been sold into the harem of the sultan of Egypt, along with two female slaves, Balkis and Dardane. Captivity in the seraglio obviously poses a threat to her chastity, but we quickly learn that (true to the chivalric practices of courtly love) the sultan is enslaved to her, not the other way around. Indeed, when she discovers that Ali is in town, Rezia first tests *his* constancy by having her beautiful slaves attempt to win him. Fortunately, he passes the tests and there is a succession of heroic arias, worthy of *opera seria*, about love and freedom. (The word *libertà* works well for coloratura). In act 2, the lovers’ escape

5 Archduke Ferdinand Karl Anton Joseph Johann Stanislaus (1754–1806), youngest son of then regent Maria Theresa (1717–1780) and youngest brother of the future Joseph II (1741–1790).

6 Princess Maria Beatrice Ricciarda d’Este (1750–1829), heiress to the Duchy of Modena in northern Italy and the principalities of Massa and Carrara in central Italy.

is foiled by a treacherous dervish, the Calandro. In act 3 the benevolent sultan, although initially feigning severity, rewards the lovers' constancy by uniting them in marriage. The self-interest (that is, lack of fidelity to others) of the Calandro looks to be his undoing as the sultan (in the only glimpse of fabled Ottoman violence) orders him to be "scorticato ed impalato" ('flayed and impaled'). But he is only feigning severity, Rezia and Ali plea for lenience and the sentence is reduced to banishment. Resolving to cultivate virtue, the Calandro joins in the celebration of joy and peace. The lovers are united eternally.

Many elements of the opera frustrate current understanding of later eighteenth-century 'abduction' opera (just as Haydn's operas as a whole used to frustrate expectations for opera-as-drama formed on works such as *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte*).⁷ In an influential study, Daniel Wilson concretized 'abduction' opera as a genre in which 'East meets West' on stage:

In jedem dieser Werke reist ein junger Mann, der aus einer angeblich überlegenen Kultur stammt (bei Wieland [*Oberon*] und Lessing [*Nathan der Weise*] ist es Europa, bei Goethe ist es analog zu Europa), in ein "barbarisches", "unzivilisiertes" Land und verwickelt sich dort in einem Versuch, eine junge Frau zu retten, die eher der "überlegenen" Kultur anzugehören scheint. In jedem Fall wird die Religion zu einem Hauptfaktor in der Differenzierung der beiden Zivilisationen.⁸

(‘In each of these works a young man from a supposedly superior culture (in Wieland [*Oberon*] and Lessing [*Nathan the Wise*] it is Europe, in Goethe an analogue of Europe) travels into a "barbaric", "uncivilized" country. There he becomes involved in an attempt to rescue a young woman, who belongs to the "superior" culture. Religious differences are always crucial to the difference between the two civilisations.’)

Wilson's examples here are from literature, but he ascribes the same "Grundstruktur" ('basic structure') to 'abduction' operas. Indeed, he cites Gluck's *La rencontre / Die Pilgrime von Mekka* and Haydn's *L'incontro improvviso* as primary examples. But in Gluck and in Haydn, all the characters are from the Middle East, and the 'abduction'

7 That said, I do not want to offer another apology for, or recuperation of Haydn's operas. Recent studies by Mary Hunter, Caryl Clark and Jessica Waldorff have done much to establish contextually sensitive frameworks of interpretation.

8 Daniel W. Wilson: *Humanität und Kreuzzugsideologie um 1780*. New York: Peter Lang, 1984 (= Kanadische Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur 30), pp. 11–12.

scenario does not involve a distinction between the religion of the pasha/sultan and that of the young lover who comes to rescue his sweetheart. More broadly, the operatic fiction does not present a dichotomy between 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' cultures, the binary opposition through which Wilson defines 'abduction' opera as a genre.⁹ In other words, Wilson's focus on works of literature in which that dichotomy is undoubtedly present appears to over-determine his understanding of slightly earlier 'abduction' operas. At stake is not simply the accuracy of the plot archetype, but the set of meanings onto which it opens: specifically, the religious antagonism spawned by the medieval crusades and the later wars between the Ottoman Empire and Austria. Wilson reads 'abduction' opera as a working out of historical religious and military conflicts – conflicts he rightly characterizes as matters then passing into lore. The fact that Mozart's *Die Entführung* does involve an encounter of European-Christian and Ottoman-Islamic cultures made the framework pertinent, even seemingly natural, when it was adopted by Thomas Bauman in his Cambridge Opera Handbook on Mozart's opera.

Antagonism to Islam does figure in *L'incontro improvviso* but ambiguously so as part of a critique of an aspect of the 'home' religion: Catholic monasticism. Targeting the Koranic prohibition on alcohol, the opera opens with a hearty (laddish) drinking song for the apparently Muslim Calandro and his fellow dervishes.¹⁰ They live well on begging and feigned poverty. After a toast to Bacchus, the Calandro dismisses his followers (he is a tyrant within this all-male environment) and embarks on a session of begging to a stage song on a nonsense text "castagno, castagna" ('Conker, bonker').¹¹ (Incidentally, Haydn indulges in a little begging of his own at this point, modelling

9 The same is true of André Grétry and Jean François Marmontel: *Zémire et Azor* (1771), as noted by Thomas Bauman in: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, ed. Thomas Bauman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 (= Cambridge Opera Handbooks), p. 28.

10 Wilson describes such drinking songs as a signature of 'abduction' opera. Cf. Wilson: *Humanität und Kreuzzugsideologie um 1780*, pp. 31–32, citing instances from August Gottlieb Meissner and Johann Adam Hiller: *Das Grab des Mufti; oder: die zwey Geizigen* (1776) and, of course, Johann Gottlieb Stephanie and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.

11 By their nature, gobbledygook texts involving alliterative play on words and syllables do not yield to single, authoritative translations. 'Conker, bonker' is Slater's solution (Haydn: *L'incontro improvviso* (CD-booklet), p. 64), one that substitutes a rhyme ("-onker") for the gender-switching of the original ("Castagno" becomes "castagna"). In a private communication, H. E. Weidinger expressed his conviction that, regarding this line, there is no nonsense in the original words and their meaning, in literal translation, is 'chestnut tree, chestnut fruit'; he further notes the double rhyme between this line and the third line "Rimagno, rimagna", meaning 'I eat again, he/she eats again'. At the boundary of the decipherable and the nonsensical, the text of the Calandro's aria involves a quasi-musical play of signifiers – a playfulness that also (incidentally) characterizes Mozart's letters.

the grotesque stage song “Castagna” on Gluck’s earlier setting. Both composers make the begging song sound sinister, ugly and funny). Continuing what seems to be an affront to the devout, the Calandro explains to his new disciple Osmin that “E una vecchia canzone oscura | Di Maometo, tratta d’Alcorano”¹² (‘its an old secret chant by Mahomet | taken from the Koran’).¹³

There are, however, at least two reasons why the opening scenes of the opera would be misunderstood if they were deemed exclusively to denigrate Islam. First, and most obviously, the Calandro and his fellow clerics do not follow their religion: they pretend to be devout in order to trick others into giving charity. The libretto targets their dishonesty and greed. Second, the scene targets the clerical lifestyle, finding in it a paradox that the Calandro himself announces:

Ancor io la mia parte farò:	(‘I too will do my bit;
Che il vantar agli uomini la miseria,	for to extol privation and penury to men
E poverdate,	while enjoying secure comfort
Lorche godo felicità sicura,	is my sole pleasure,
E l’unico mio piacer,	my sole skill.) ¹⁴
L’unica mia bravura. ¹⁵	

Such a remark betrays another target: the Catholic monasteries in Austria. Considering monastic life unproductive, Joseph II (1765–1780 co-regent of the Habsburg territories with his mother Maria Theresia) closed over 700 monasteries. Selling off monastic lands, he funded the movement of clergy into the parishes they served. The interpretation of this opera as anti-clerical, as much as anti-Islamic, is supported by the reception of the libretto in its earlier setting by Gluck, which Count Karl von Zinzendorf (1739–1813) described in his diary as “une satyre bien mordante contre les Moines” (‘a very biting satire against monks’).¹⁶ The use of a dervish identity as a mask for the critique of monks was apparently easier to decode back then than it is today.

A related power struggle between Joseph II and the Catholic Church also makes an appearance in the opera when the sultan of Egypt decrees that Ali and Rezia will marry and announces the start of celebrations. Now that marriage can take place

12 Friberth: *L’incontro improvviso*, I/iv, p. 9.

13 Haydn: *L’incontro improvviso* (CD-booklet), p. 66. The correct meaning of “canzone oscura” is not ‘secret chant’, but ‘obscure chant’.

14 Haydn: *L’incontro improvviso* (CD-booklet), p. 62.

15 Friberth: *L’incontro improvviso*, I/ii, p. 7.

16 Bruce Alan Brown: “Gluck’s ‘Rencontre imprévue’ and Its Revisions”, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36/3 (Autumn 1983), pp. 498–518, here: p. 505, footnote 22.

at the end of a bungee rope, it is easy to forget the privilege historically enjoyed by the Church over the ceremony. Joseph II was irritated by this (the privilege not the bungee rope), and although he did not sanction drive-through weddings, he did redefine marriage as a civil contract and so wrested some control from the Church. It is apt, then, that Haydn announces the arrival of the Sultan not with Janissary music in the mould of Gluck and (later) Mozart but with a version of the *Törökös* ('Turkish'), a masked Hungarian wedding dance.

Indeed, the score as a whole is almost entirely without musical signs for Turkish military music: it is, so to speak, demilitarized. The image of the 'sabre-wielding Turk' associated with, among other encounters, the Second Siege of Vienna (1683), and so frequently evoked in the scholarly literature on musical-theatrical *turquerie*, is absent, except as the pasha's feigned severity (see above). While the libretto does allude to political unrest in Ali's native city of Basora (modern day Basra in Iraq), the opera transports the audience to a quiet, unruffled realm in which Ali reads about and dreams of eternal peace.

FEMINISING SOVEREIGNTY

Recent literature regards *opera seria* in Italy as not just the preferred entertainment of kings and queens but as a representation of the institution of sovereignty itself, containing elements of celebration and critique in its images of rulers that articulated and regulated official versions of the good ruler.¹⁷ For all its comic subplots, *L'incontro improvviso* remains at core an *opera seria*, and it is to this genre that the figure of the benevolent pasha can be traced. To put things bluntly, it simply would not do in an entertainment for the nobility, to picture an on-stage ruler in a negative light. While in the predominantly bourgeois genre of Singspiel a Middle Eastern setting sometimes authorized a portrait of a villainous leader, *opera seria* (and related genres) did not risk equating even its 'oriental' monarchs with evil.¹⁸ The

17 Reinhard Strohm: *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. – Martha Feldman: *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

18 Cf. Mozart: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, ed. Thomans Bauman, pp. 32–25, where the connection between the 'noble Turk' and Metastasian opera seria is made. Among the malevolent pashas conceived away from Habsburg court theatres are the Kaled in Sebastien Chamfort and Georg Joseph Vogler: *Der Kaufmann von Smyrna* (1771) and the Cadi in Issac Bickerstaff and Charles Dibdin: *The Captive* (1769).

particular political propaganda at play in the benign pasha of *L'incontro improvviso* is 'enlightened absolutism' (sometimes called 'enlightened despotism') – a tight-rope response on the part of European rulers to the critical, reforming ideals of English and French writers (particularly Voltaire [1694–1778]), variously expressed in 'rational' and 'humanitarian' reform of the law, the abolition of serfdom and the cultivation of the arts. The 'abduction' plot is suited to extol such ideals, at least through characterization of the pasha. In *L'incontro improvviso* he is seen to set aside his own desires for Rezia in uniting her with Ali, a gesture that expresses in miniature the use of power to further the welfare of subjects. The fact that Rezia remains chaste, and enjoys apparent freedom in the seraglio, further reveals a ruler who overcomes his own selfish or baser instincts, who wields power in a 'civilized' manner. 'Otherness', in this context, is not a matter of nationality or ethnicity but a characteristic of male servants and beggars, who think first and foremost of themselves, particularly of their bellies. Social hierarchy, not ethnicity, structures difference.

As does gender: Princess Rezia embodies a femininity that seems to explain the pasha's civility, as if her presence had transformed him. In a subtly feminine gendering of absolute despotism, she shares in, and lends qualities of grace to, sovereignty. Following courtly ideals, the role of 'woman' in the opera is to bring about a transformation, a reform of male manners (in this later eighteenth-century context she is the catalyst for the reform of despots). Just as Konstanze in Mozart's *Die Entführung* – in the heroic defence of her sexual virtue – acts as a civilising force, inspiring the pasha to overcome his desire to force 'love' upon her, so Rezia (and her two slaves) cast a spell of coloratura in their dream of romantic love, a spell at once erotic and urging restraint. If Haydn secretly codes this trio as Trinitarian (there are three threes – the trio text, the triple time signature, and the three flats of the key signature), this was for the eye rather than the ear, and not something authorized by the libretto.

A feminized realm of love, bound up with absolutist ideals of global peace and conviviality, takes centre stage. The 'abduction' plot notwithstanding, male adventure and heroism are rendered decorative. Even the pirates who abducted Rezia are polite to ladies, entertaining them aboard ship with gently teasing song. Ali arrives in Cairo accidentally, not as part of a rescue mission, and spends his leisure time reading, like a good enlightened prince.

L'incontro is suffused with an ideal of universal and eternal peace, familiar, again, from French courtly rhetoric validating the reign of the Sun King. This ideal is expressed allegorically through the love of Rezia and Ali. And in case the allegory was to remain opaque, it is spelled out at the beginning of Act 2. Here Ali sits alone, reading. In a delicious artifice, the words of his canzonetta are read from his book, which describes a utopia where love reigns and enemies are reconciled:

<p>Quivi in un seren gentile (<i>legendo</i>.) La stagion si spiega ogn' or; Ha l'arsura, e il gel a vile, Non la turba aquoso humor. Ride sempre un verde Aprile, Ride un candidetto amor.¹⁹</p>	<p>(‘There in gentle calm the season reigns forever that scorns torrid heat and frost, is untroubled by storms – a verdant April smiles eternally, as smiles a pure and innocent love.’)²⁰</p>
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The last clause discloses how the “candidetto amor” of Ali and Rezia is bound up with a political ideal of eternal peace. For this reason, love in *L'incontro* belongs to an absolutist semiotics of kingship – it is a way of extolling the competence, and mystical power, of the sovereign – even if it resonates with contemporary bourgeois sentimentalism (the discourse of romantic love in poems and novels). As Ali’s canzonetta continues, his book seems to allude to the myth of Orpheus, whose song, in Ovid’s telling, tamed wild animals:

<p>Gli animali in pace accoppia, Puo sicuro ognun dormir. Quivi unisce volpe doppia Con il Pollo i suoi desir. Quì l’augell’ in dolce coppia Con il nibbio va à garrir.²¹</p>	<p>(‘The beasts live together in peace, and each can sleep secure. There the fox joins the chicken, sharing the same desires. Here the bird warbles in sweet harmony with the buzzard.’)²²</p>
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The power of music is appropriated for a vision of global peace.

Peace, the opera suggests, involves men (whatever their social status) coming under the civilising, softening influence of women. The charms and influence of Rezia in the harem rhetorically rescue sovereignty from barbarism. At a point of furthest remove from the ‘oriental Other’ of opera a century and more later (Carmen, Delilah, Salome), Persian Rezia provides the moral insurance policy on the political organisation of ‘home’.

19 Friberth: *L'incontro improvviso*, II/i p. 29.

20 Haydn: *L'incontro improvviso* (CD-booklet), p. 102 (modified).

21 Friberth: *L'incontro improvviso*, II/i, p. 29.

22 Haydn: *L'incontro improvviso* (CD-booklet), p. 102.

EXOTICISM AND THE ESZTERHÁZ FESTIVAL

The exoticism of *L'incontro improvviso* does not exist to 'other' the Middle East, or even to establish it, in the manner of reverse critique, as superior to European society. Both of those strategies belong more to the practice of exoticism in non-court contexts – to the culture of the middling-social strata from the later eighteenth century onwards. Lawrence Kramer describes such strategies as comprising a “logic of alterity”, a bifurcation of reality under the headings of Self and Other, through which power is routed along a procession of hierarchically arranged terms: rational/irrational, orderly/chaotic, democratic/despotic, normal/abnormal, perfect/imperfect, moderate/extreme, civilized/primitive, inside/outside, virtuous/evil, and so on.²³ If Mozart and his librettists offer instances of such logic (as well as powerful examples of the attractiveness of the Other) in Osmin, the Queen of the Night, Monostatos, and Don Giovanni – all expelled from their opera's happy endings – *L'incontro improvviso* equivocally reembraces its chief rogue. The Calandro will be banished, but only beyond the city wall of Cairo, and, determining to cultivate virtue, he joins in, and forms part of, the concluding celebrations. Perhaps his banishment will prove temporary.

If the exoticism of *L'incontro improvviso* does not exist to establish difference between East and West, then how does it function? Part of the answer has already been suggested – exoticism functions like other literary-theatrical modes, such as pastoral, as a conventionalised disguise, a costume and setting, in which ideals of courtly conduct and character are represented.²⁴ But such interpretations do not engage the phenomenology of the opera, its glittering, candlelit splendour – a splendour which connects the fictional world of a pasha's palace and seraglio to the occasion of the opera's performance. The fabulous luxury and riches of the East, the endless pleasures of the seraglio, mirrored the aesthetics of the festival, and the lavish staging of the opera itself. Italian opera was itself an expensive, exotic import, offering in the illuminated night encounters with the (female) singing voice – 1001 arias. In a curious doubling, the exotic costumes of the cast cost a king's ransom; a detailed invoice in the court archives, reproduced by H. C. Robbins Landon, documents a bill

23 Lawrence Kramer: *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 34–35.

24 This could extend to exoticism as a vantage point from which to evaluate other modes, as in Pietro Metastasio's (1698–1782) *Le Cinesi*, set by Gluck, in which three Chinese princesses entertain themselves by performing, and discussing the merits of arias in tragic, comic and pastoral styles.

totalling 351 gulden (about a third of Haydn's annual salary at this time).²⁵ But not just the costumes, the musicians themselves were exhibited in the manner of costly resources at Prince Eszterházy's disposal.

The aesthetic and political principles of display employed in the festival were similar to those developed a century before at Versailles. They centred on the power of the royal host to bring forth illusions and spectacle through seemingly unlimited resources. The ability to give pleasure – particularly in the form of wonder and astonishment – testified to the almost magical power of the host, and, in turn, honoured the guests.²⁶ An array of intense, sometimes bizarre pleasures were engineered, pleasures captured in words like enchantment, wonder, marvel, astonishment. The natural world was drawn into the theatrical fiction – trees, plants, streams and fountains – “as one more element in the satisfying of the King”.²⁷ It was as if illusions appeared at the command of his Highness.

The festival and its opera were united in a single, continuous fiction. Echoing the larger structure of the three-day festival, the opera's three acts culminate in banquets and dancing – or rather the festival echoed these conventional features of *opera seria*. Just as the arrival of the Habsburg court at Eszterház was marked with fanfares of trumpets and kettledrums, so, as was customary, fanfares announce the arrival of the sultan in act 1.²⁸ Haydn did not write these out, but he indicated where the singers and orchestra should break off and the diegetic music intrude. Diana, Sun, Love and Fortune: these classical deities of the palace gardens return in the opera, ruling over the noble lovers Ali and Rezia, invoked by them in arias and duets, as if the world of the opera and the classically embellished landscape beyond belonged to the same theatrical presentation.²⁹ The power of culture to determine ‘reality’ is such

25 For the bill, see Robbins Landon: *Haydn at Esterháza*, pp. 220–222, and on Haydn's salary, *ibid.*, p. 41.

26 These comments are indebted to Georgia J. Cowart: *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIVth and the Politics of Spectacle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, especially pp. xvi–xvii. Cowart's emphasis on the dialogic, critical aspects of spectacle in relation to kingship at the court of Louis XIV poses important questions that I have not attempted to answer here – though my sense is that the images of artists in *L'incontro improvviso* (as when Ali disguises himself as a French painter, or Osmin turns singer-beggar) are so farcical that they posed little danger to the overall authority, and symbolic authorship, of Prince Eszterházy and his royal guests.

27 Gerry McCarthy: *The Theatres of Molière*. London: Routledge, 2002, p. 92.

28 Cf. [Anonymous]: “Beschreibung”, in *Pressburger Zeitung*, no. 73, September 13, 1775, pp. 6–8, here: p. 6, col. 1: “Nahe am Schloße war eine Bühne von grünen Zweigen aufgerichtet, worauf ein Chor Trompeter und Pauker stand, um mit ihrer Musik die Ankommenden zu bewillkommen.” (‘Near the palace was a stage made from green branches, on which stood a band of trumpeters and kettledrum players who welcomed the visitors with music.’)

29 Immediately before attending *L'incontro improvviso*, [Anonymous]: “Beschreibung”, p. 6, col. 2,

that, within this courtly environment, sovereign power elided distinctions between nature, theatre, fantasy and fact – there was no official place in the Eszterház festival for bourgeois common sense to divorce representation and reality.³⁰

The Eszterház festival is outlined in the appendix. The report in the *Pressburger Zeitung* emphasizes the orderly movement of the royal bodies about the Eszterház palace and grounds as if retracing a liturgical procession. The movement of the courtiers from one festive spectacle to the next becomes, in the narration, a spectacle in itself, viewed phantasmatically by the reader. The particular attention given in the report to exits and entrances resonates with the stage formalities of *opera seria* (that genre of kings): carriages rattling around the park of Eszterház like so many recitatives, while each entertainment laid on for the guests offered a moment of florid, intensely pleasurable stasis.

On August 28, the approach of the royal party was marked along the route with trumpet and drum fanfares, the arrival at Eszterház with a cannon salute. The travel weary guests retired after supper and a short German play. The next morning, the 29th, after the *levee*, they were entertained with *Feldmusik* ('a wind band') beneath their windows. A tour of the palace and its grounds included visits to garden temples dedicated to Diana, the Sun, Love and Fortune – mythological figures who return in Haydn's opera that followed immediately after. A masked ball in the Chinese ball room rounded off the day. On August 30, the guests enjoyed browsing in a mocked-up village market selling "trinkets" and "jewellery",³¹ before, in a clearing, an array of street entertainments: a Punch and Judy theatre, a quack on a wagon drawn by oxen and accompanied by monkeys, lions and tigers; a picture singer (*Bänkelsängerin*) describing a murder in French song; a dentist on stilts four or five metres high demonstrating his technique of tooth extraction; peasants singing and dancing; musicians; a marionette display, a cobbler acting out a farce, three characters from French farce – Harlequin, Pirot and Balliazo. The *frisson* attending such encounters with the low urban Other in the landscaped gardens of the Eszterház palace can only be imagined. The day was rounded out with a marionette opera, fireworks and another masked ball. On the finale day, which began with a deer hunt, the guests

relates, "der Dianentempel, der Sonnentempel, der Tempel der Liebe und der Fortuna, so wie die neue geschmackvolle und prächtige Ermitage und der größte Theil des Parks wurden in Augenschein genommen und bewundert" ('the Temple of Diana, the Sun Temple, the Temple of Love and of Good Luck, along with the new, tasteful and magnificent hermitage and the majority of the park were inspected and admired').

30 Such characterisation is inspired by McCarthy: *The Theatres of Molière*, p. 92, with reference to La Fontaine's description of royal entertainments at Vaux.

31 Howard C. Robbins Landon's words, glossing the *Pressburger Zeitung*, no. 73, September 13, 1775, via a translation in the *Haydn Jahrbuch*, vol. 8, in Robbins Landon: *Haydn at Esterháza*, p. 222.

attended a play in German by the troupe of Carl Wahr (b.1745) with incidental music by Haydn and then the *pièce de résistance* – in an oval clearing in the park were illuminations, flowers and stage sets showing *galant* scenes (*Konversationsgemälde*³²):

Aufeinen Kanonenschuß wurde zur allgemeinen Bewunderung der ganze leere Platz mit 2000 Unterthanen des Fürsten erfüllt, welche in einem Augenblicke aus allen Eingängen hervorkamen, nach ihrer Art, die Kroaten kroatisch, die Ungarn ungarisch, und alle nach ihrer Art und besondern Instrumenten um ihre Fahnen herum tanzten und mit allgemeinem Freudengeschrey die Luft erfüllten. Die Bauern wurden mit Wein, Bier, Brod und Fleisch bewirthe't, und tanzten biz an den Tag.³³

(‘To everyone’s astonishment, cannon fire summoned 2,000 princely subjects. They poured in, filling the empty clearing, each dressed according to his type – the Croatian Croatian, the Hungarian Hungarian, and so on, each with their particular tools, dancing around their [national] colours, and filling the air with cries of joy. The peasants were repaid with wine, beer, bread and meat, and they danced until dawn.’)

CONCLUSIONS

‘Abduction’ operas contain traces of diverse historical moments and cultural pre-occupations. Most archaic among these is the memory of the crusades. The notion of a Christian made a slave in the Holy Land was central to crusading ideology, authorising the type of ‘rescue’ of which ‘abduction’ operas are an oblique reminder. However, at the level of the libretto, *L'incontro improvviso* does not fit, because Rezia is a Persian princess, without explicit religious affiliation. While one might argue that she is a Christian ‘despite herself’, any connection to a crusading background is tenuous. Nonetheless, religion does come under the spotlight: the notion of a false religion transposed into a critique of false piety and hypocritical monasticism.

A more recent but still historical layer concerned the threat of the Ottoman Empire to Western and Central European security – a threat epitomized in the Second Siege of Vienna by Ottoman troops in 1683 but which had passed into lore by the 1760s. This is a significant aspect of modern scholarship on ‘abduction’ opera,

32 [Anonymous]: “Beschreibung”, p. 8, col.1.

33 [Anonymous]: “Beschreibung”, p. 8, col. 1. Cf. Robbins Landon: *Haydn at Esterháza*, pp. 222–223.

understandably so in the case of Mozart's *Die Entführung*, with its military-style Janissary choruses, menacing, *forte* bursts of 'Turkish' percussion in the overture, and the bloodthirsty coda to Osmin's famous aria "*Solche hergelauf'ne Laffen*". (Indeed, Mozart's *Rondo alla Turca* was probably composed to coincide with the centenary of 1683). But *L'incontro improvviso* is almost entirely free of such militaristic resonances. Although the sole recording uses the *batterie turque* for the overture, this is an editorial addition/suggestion. As we saw earlier, the pasha is associated not with Janissary music but with a Hungarian folk dance, appropriately enough given that he arranges the marriage of Rezia and Ali. I say appropriately because this was a masked wedding dance 'in the Turkish style'.

The 'politics' of *L'incontro improvviso* are not, in other words, those of 'East meets West' but of enlightened absolutism in general, and the practices of display in particular occasioned by the Habsburg visit to Eszterház. The power of those politics to condition visions of the Middle East are particularly apparent in the treatment of the pasha's seraglio. Far from being a site of female enslavement and male tyranny (tropes of the harem already in place in this period), the seraglio of *L'incontro improvviso* serves to stage the civilising, refining influence of 'woman'. At a time when civilisation was measured in no small part by the extent to which it accorded women 'freedom', the seraglio emerges as a symbol of refinement and modernity, albeit predicated, here at least, on Rezia's nobility.³⁴

In sum, the context of courtly entertainment goes along way to explaining the apparent anomalies, and the particular brand of exoticism, of *L'incontro improvviso*. Holding a mirror to the court, the opera not only afforded pleasure and spectacle but was about them: its content and its function were overlain. Middle-Eastern exoticism was in no small part a sign of the luxury and riches deployed on the occasion of performance: the noble and royal guests were immersed in a festival marked by apparently infinite resources, and by the seemingly magical power of the host to bring forth illusion. Absolutism found its expression in the power of the crown prince to assemble in one place, as if in a dream, a fleeting congress of natural and artificial pleasures; the night was illuminated, gardens were adorned with paintings, carriages bore visitors through landscaped parks to the temples of classical goddesses,

34 In this way, 'abduction' opera might seem to differ from that classic instance of the 'exotic-erotic' *1001 Nights* (translated into German in 1710 as *Tausendundeine Nacht*). Certainly, these stories are far richer than 'abduction' operas in their construction of 'the East' as a place of magical enchantment, adventure, incalculable riches, violence and sexual conquest. But the narrative conceit of *1001 Nights* – according to which Scheherazade evades consummation of her marriage to Sultan Shahriyar (and thence execution) by nocturnal story telling reveals a similar dialectic of female sexual power (lessness).

French markets and street entertainers appeared, magically, and vanished again, as if on royal command. From the Chinese décor of the marionette theatre, to Prince Eszterházy's collection of Japanese porcelain, the 'Turkish' costumes of the nocturnal masquerade balls, the scenes of Cairo and lavish costumes in *L'incontro improvviso*, the exotic functioned not just as imaginative escape but a sign of royal power, as the essence of aristocratic privilege to command the globe itself. The laws of time and space were banished, as Prince Eszterházy summoned China, France, Japan, Croatia and Cairo in scenes of miraculous, shimmering beauty.

APPENDIX

Theatrical and musical elements of the festival at Eszterház to honour the visit of the Habsburg court summarized via documents and editorial commentary in Robbins Landon (ed.): *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (see bibliography below).

August 28, 1775

Trumpet and drum fanfares welcome the royal party as they approach the Eszterház palace
Cannon salutes mark their arrival; more fanfares
"Ein kleines deutsches Schauspiel", possibly a marionette play

August 29, 1775

Feldmusik wakes the guests
Cannons punctuate the events of the day
A tour of the palace and grounds includes a visit to the garden temples of Diana, Sun, Love and Fortune
L'incontro improvviso in the opera house
Masked-ball in the Chinese ball room

August 30, 1775

In the park, a village market is contrived with stalls selling jewellery and trinkets
A clearing where an array of street entertainments and curiosities were arranged:
Punch and Judy theatre (a *pulcinello*)
A quack on a wagon drawn by oxen and accompanied by monkeys, lions and tigers
A picture-singer (*Bänkelsängerin*) describing a murder in a French song
A dentist on stilts 4 or 5 metres tall demonstrating tooth extraction

MATTHEW HEAD

Peasants singing and dancing

Musicians

A marionette display

A cobbler acting a farce

A marionette opera (a parody version of Carlos d'Ordonez's *Alceste*)

Fireworks

Masked ball

August 31, 1775

Deer hunt

Der Zerstreute, by the Wahr theatre troupe, translated from Regnard's *Le Distrait*,
with incidental music by Haydn

In an oval clearing in the park:

Illuminations, flowers and stage sets showing *galant* scenes (*Konversations-
gemälde*)

A cannon salute initiates a *Volksfest* comprising 2000 Hungarian and Croatian
peasants singing, dancing and shouting joyously

Masked ball

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FREEMASON, MOZART'S CONTEMPORARY,
AND THEATRE DIRECTOR ON THE EDGE:
FRANZ KRATTER (1758–1830) AND
DER FRIEDE AM PRUTH
(‘THE TREATY OF PRUT’, 1799).
CATALOGUING THE KOMPLEX MAUERBACH,
VIENNA*

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Abstract: *Among the plays in the collection of theatre texts known as Komplex Mauerbach are three dramas, written by the Bavarian Franz Kratter (1758–1830), which revolve around Tsar Peter I of Russia (r.1682–1725). My paper will investigate this ‘Russian Trilogy’, especially its last part: Der Friede am Pruth (‘The treaty of Prut’, Frankfurt, 1799). I will highlight certain aspects of the biography of its author, Kratter’s links to fellow freemason Mozart and his family, and discuss theatre life in the periphery of the Habsburg domain, in the Galician capital of Lemberg (Lviv), where Kratter resided and worked as a theatre director and writer between 1786 and 1830.*

The Komplex Mauerbach is an inventory of mostly German language theatre texts from the mid-eighteenth century to the first third of the twentieth century. Its booklets are part of the former *Kunstraub* assets, which means assets that had been Jewish property and were looted in Austria by the Nazi regime between the *Anschluss* (the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany in 1938) and the end of the Second World War (1945), and which could not be returned to their rightful owners or heirs thereafter. The looted booklets, together with other non-restituted objects, were classified by the Austrian government as “herrenloses Kunstgut”¹ (‘heirless art

* This article reflects the general path of my paper delivered at the *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre, From the Beginnings to 1800, W.A. Mozart & Sultan Selim III* symposium 2008. The written version is a far more elaborate and partly new one, composed in collaboration and long intense discussions with H.E. Weidinger about the history of the article’s subject. I am grateful for his contributions to the project. Also, I would like to thank Caroline Herfert and Käthe Springer-

commodity’) and from 1955 on were collected and preserved at Kartause Mauerbach, a former Carthusian monastery on the outskirts of Vienna, hence the name Mauerbach collection.² Forty years later, in 1995, after an investigative report on the Mauerbach collection had been published in the American periodical *ARTnews*,³ international pressure increased and ownership of these items was transferred to the Bundesverband der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinden (‘Federation of Austrian Jewish Communities’).

The entire Mauerbach collection was subsequently auctioned off in the Mauerbach Benefit Sale by Christie’s auction house, during the Austrian millennium year of 1996, to benefit the victims of the Holocaust, including survivors and their heirs.⁴ The total proceeds of the auction amounted to 154 million Austrian shillings (about 11 million euros), approximately four times the estimated value of the artefacts.⁵

Dissmann for their support, Stefano Cavallerin for editing the Freemasons’ paragraphs, and Reinhard Kraxner for supplementary corrections.

- 1 Cf. Anonymous: “Timeline: Restitution und Entschädigung in Europa nach 1945”, in: *Gedächtnis und Gegenwart: HistorikerInnenkommissionen, Politik und Gesellschaft*, ed. Forum Politische Bildung. Innsbruck, Vienna: Studien-Verlag, 2003 (= Informationen zur Politischen Bildung 20), pp. 147–152, p. 149.
- 2 The main part of the Mauerbach collection consisted of the so-called Münchner Restbestand (items stored in Munich that could not be restituted), which were among the artwork found (as in the salt-mine of Altaussee, for example) and collected by the US Army at the Central Collecting Point (CPP) in Munich, Germany. The Mauerbach collection has triggered the establishment of several laws to ensure the restitution of artwork:
 - Bereinigung der Eigentumsverhältnisse des im Gewahrsam des Bundesdenkmalamtes befindlichen Kunst- und Kulturgutes (‘Settlement of the ownership structure of art and cultural assets in custody of the Federal Monuments Office’), BGBl. 294/1969
 - 2. Kunst- und Kulturgutbereinigungsgesetz (‘Second revising law for art and cultural assets’), BGBl. 2/1986 amended by BGBl. 515/1995
 - Bundesgesetz über die Rückgabe von Kunstgegenständen und sonstigem beweglichem Kulturgut aus den österreichischen Bundesmuseen und Sammlungen und aus dem sonstigen Bundeseigentum (‘Federal law on the restitution of artworks and other movable cultural assets from Austrian federal museums and collections and other federal property’), BGBl. I 181/1998 amended by BGBl. 117/2009
 Cf. Hannes Hartung: *Kunstraub in Krieg und Verfolgung: Schriften zum Kulturgut*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005, p. 4; cf. also Ignaz Seidl-Hohenvelder: “The Auction of the ‘Mauerbach Treasure’”, in: *International Journal of Cultural Property* 6/2 (1997), pp. 247–265.
- 3 Cf. Andrew Decker: “A Legacy of Shame”, in: *ARTnews* 83 (1984), pp. 55–76 (the first of a dozen studies by *ARTnews* on the subject of artwork looted by the Nazis) and idem: “How Things Work in Austria: Stolen Works of Art”, in: *ARTnews* 92 (1993), p. 198.
- 4 Christie’s [auctioneers] (ed.): *Mauerbach Benefit Sale: Items Seized by the National Socialists to Be Sold for the Benefit of the Victims of the Holocaust*. MAK – Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, October 29 and 30, 1996. Vienna: Christie’s, 1996.
- 5 Cf. Anja Heuss: “Der ‘Mauerbach-Schatz’”, in: *kritische berichte* 2 (1997), pp. 25–28, p. 25; as well as Birgit Kirchmayr, who speaks about 155,166.810 Austrian schillings. Cf. Birgit Kirchmayr: “Es

By virtue of this auction (1996)⁶ and the confiscation (1998) by New York courts of two paintings by Egon Schiele (1890–1918), *Bildnis Wally* ('Portrait of Wally') and *Die Tote Stadt III* ('Dead city III'),⁷ from the Sammlung Leopold ('Collection Leopold') in Vienna, a broad public became increasingly aware of the issue of looted works of art stored in federal museums and public collections. In 1998, the federal Kommission für Provenienzforschung ('Commission for Provenance Research')⁸ was instituted in order to force the restitution of looted artwork from holdings of federal museums and collections. Of course, provenance research was also conducted regarding the so-called Komplex Mauerbach.

ging mehr um den persönlichen Wert...: Der NS-Kunstraub im Kontext kultureller Auslöschungspolitik", a contribution at the Conference 5. *Österreichischer Zeitgeschichtetag in Klagenfurt am 6. Oktober 2001*, available in: *eForum zeitGeschichte* 3/4 (2001);

http://www.eforum-zeitgeschichte.at/set3_01a6.htm, accessed April 2, 2008.

- 6 Nowadays the appropriateness of the auction is contended, as Sophie Lillie, author of *Was einmal war: Handbuch der enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens* (Vienna: Czernin, 2003), explains in an interview: "In 1995 it seemed to everyone that this was the right thing to do, but that's on the assumption that the government had done everything it could to return the property to its owners. Today we know this is not the case, but now the legal possibilities at the disposal of the legal heirs to the works for the Mauerbach collection are few." Quoted by David Rapp: "Stealing beauty: What became of the thousands of artwork stolen from their Austrian Jewish owners by the Nazis? A persistent young Jewish researcher went on a journey of discovery in her native Vienna – and found a heap of dusty answers", in: *Haaretz.com*, February 13, 2004; <http://www.haaretz.com/culture/arts-leisure/stealing-beauty-1.113869>, accessed July 7, 2010. Cf. also Josephine Leistra and Hector Feliciano: "The Mauerbach Case", in: *Spoils of War* 3 (1996), pp. 22–27.
- 7 The painting *Die Tote Stadt III* belonged to the well known cabaret artist Fritz Grünbaum (Franz Friedrich Grünbaum, who was born 1880 in Brno and died in 1941 in the concentration camp at Dachau after failing twice to commit suicide). The painting was on loan from the Sammlung Leopold (Vienna) to the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1998 and clinched the restitution of a federal law that required the return of works of art which are stored in federal museums and public collections (BGBl. I/181/1998). Cf. Lillie: *Was einmal war: Handbuch der enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens*, pp. 429–433.
- 8 For provenance research in Austria cf. the website of the Kommission für Provenienzforschung: <http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at>, accessed February 15, 2010. – Gabriele Anderl (ed.): ... *wesentlich mehr Fälle als angenommen: 10 Jahre Kommission für Provenienzforschung*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2009 (= Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Provenienzforschung 1). – Clemens Jabloner and Eva Blimlinger: "Die Regelung der Kunstrückgabe in Österreich", in: *Verantwortung wahrnehmen: NS-Raubkunst – eine Herausforderung an Museen, Bibliotheken und Archive*, ed. Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste. Magdeburg: Koordinierungsstelle für Kulturgutverluste, 2009, pp. 203–223 (English version pp. 225–243).

KOMPLEX MAUERBACH AT THE DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN

Among the 8,423 exhibits grouped into 1,231 lots sold at the Mauerbach Benefit Sale, twelve lots (no. 749 to no. 760) consisted of theatre texts. Lots 749, 750 and 751, for example, were described in the *Mauerbach Catalogue* as “A collection of circa 240 plays, in German, published in Leipzig, Cologne, Berlin and Jena [...]”, “A collection of circa 200 plays, in German, published in Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig, and Prague [...]”, and “A collection of circa 220 plays, in German, published in Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig and Stuttgart [...]”⁹, etc. According to the catalogue the twelve lots consisted of circa 2,900 booklets.¹⁰ All twelve lots were acquired by Hans Ernst Weidinger, represented by Stefan Riedl. The purchaser and current owner does not define the booklets as a ‘collection’, but with a nod to Sigmund Freud (1856–1939),¹¹ describes the material as a “Komplex” (‘complex’ of multiple origin). Accordingly, the ensemble of booklets is now called the Komplex Mauerbach.

INVENTORYING

In 2007, the Don Juan Archiv Wien was entrusted with the task of making an inventory and establishing a catalogue of items contained in this Komplex, since then preserved in the Don Juan Archiv (Goethegasse 1, A-1010 Vienna).¹² According to the total inventory executed by the Don Juan Archiv, the Komplex consists of 2,972 booklets which are comprised of about 3,600 plays.

With this catalogue, the Komplex can be presented and made available for a broad scientific and scholarly public. Since 2009, while being inventoried and catalogued, the booklets have been filed in acid-free boxes in order to ensure durable conservation of the holdings.

THE MAUERBACH ‘TURKISH’ PLAYS

A small fraction – 2.4% – of the catalogued inventory as of January 31, 2008, representing eighty-six plays, can be clearly identified as ‘oriental plays’. These were printed between 1751 and 1909. The series starts with *Mahomed der Vierte* (‘Mahomed the

9 Cf. Christie’s: *Mauerbach Benefit Sale*, pp. 339–340.

10 The booklets were provided with consecutive numbers. However, the origin of this numbering is unclear: it looks as though these numbers were given when the booklets were kept in the Kartause Mauerbach. The Don Juan Archiv adopted the numbers in its own cataloguing.

11 “Benennung im Sinne Freud’s durch den Eigentümer” (‘denomination by the owner in the sense of Freud’), according to an email of the owner to the author on January 25, 2008.

12 Today Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Vienna.

Fourth', Vienna 1751, Mauerbach number [henceforth: MB] 1435), the eponymous protagonist of which was Sultan III Selim's great-grandfather Mehmed IV (1642–1693, r.1648–1687), and it concludes with *Die Geschichte des Alí Ibn Bekkâr mit Schams An Nahâr* ('The story of Alí Ibn Bekkâr with Schams An Nahâr', Vienna/Leipzig 1909, MB 0001). The majority of the texts are plays; however, the collection also includes Singspiel libretti, such as one composed by Mozart's last student, Franz Xaver Süßmayr (1766–1803), *Solimann der Zweite oder Die drei Sultaninen* ('Soliman the Second or The three sultanas', Vienna 1799, MB 1000).

The titles of these plays may refer to specific character types such as 'the Moor' in *Der Mohr von Semegonda* ('The moor of Semegonda', Vienna 1805, MB 0560-61), or to historic figures such as sultans in *Selim der Dritte* ('Selim the Third', Vienna 1872, MB 1766), written by an Ottoman diplomat, the Austrian Franz von Werner, who adopted the name Murad Efendi (1836–1881).¹³ A series of diplomats is described in plays such as *Mädchenfreundschaft oder Der türkische Gesandte* ('Girls' amity or The Turkish envoy', Vienna 1811, MB 1380/05). The host cities for this symposium, Vienna and Istanbul, are represented in texts such as *Die Wäringier in Konstantinopel* ('The Varangians in Constantinople', Berlin 1828, MB 1813) and *Die Türken vor Wien* ('The Turks before Vienna', s.l. [1883], MB 0308). And, not surprisingly, the inventory includes a few plays on seraglios and harems such as *Hababah oder die Eifersucht im Serail* ('Hababah or Jealousy in the seraglio', Vienna, 1772, MB 2526) by Paul Weidmann and *Der Harem* ('The harem', Vienna 1811, MB 1387/06) by August von Kotzebue (1761–1819), one of the most successful playwrights in Central Europe around 1800. Accordingly, thematic groups within the Oriental plays can be established, such as (in order of chronological appearance in the Komplex Mauerbach) sultan dramas and comedies (1751–1909), historical plays (1751–1872), harem and seraglio plays (1772–1843), and diplomat plays (1811–1903). A list of these plays is included in the appendix of this article.

THE 'RUSSIAN TRILOGY'

Among the plays in the Komplex Mauerbach, three dramas by the Bavarian Franz Kratter focus on Tsar Peter I of Russia (1672–1725, r.1682–1725): *Das Mädchen von*

13 See Caroline Herfert: "'German Poet and Turkish Diplomat': Murad Efendi, Ottoman Consul in Temesvár, and the Tragedy *Selim III*", in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of W.A. Mozart and Sultan Selim III*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger. Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, in print. Cf. also Caroline Herfert: *Der 'Wiener Türk' Murad Efendi (1836–1881): Ein Beitrag zur Wiener Theaterhistoriographie und Orientalismuskurs im 19. Jahrhundert*. Master's thesis, University of Vienna, 2009.

Marienburg, ein fürstliches Familiengemälde in fünf Aufzügen ('The girl from Marienburg', Frankfurt 1795, MB 1422/01); *Alexander Menzikof* ('Alexander Menzikof', Wien 1794, MB 1417), reworked and better known as *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen* ('The conspiracy against Peter the Great', Frankfurt 1795, MB 1422/02); and *Der Friede am Pruth, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen* ('The treaty of Prut', Frankfurt 1799, MB 1422/03).¹⁴ This last play touches on a special part of early eighteenth-century history, still well known in the late eighteenth century, and also treated by Christian August Vulpius (1762–1827) in his *Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender* (the Komplex Mauerbach version stems from Vienna, 1809, MB 2487).¹⁵

This 'Russian Trilogy', especially its last part, will be the subject of the following investigation, together with certain aspects of the life of its author, Franz Kratter, the links to Kratter's fellow Mason in Vienna, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), and to Mozart's family and theatre life on the edge of the Habsburg states, in Lemberg, capital of Galicia, close to the Austrian borders with both the Russian and Ottoman Empires.

14 Kratter's plays in the Komplex Mauerbach:

1416	Kratter	<i>Adelheid von Werdingen</i>	1806	Wien	J. B. Wallishausser
1417	Kratter	<i>Alexander Menzikof</i>	1794	Wien	J. B. Wallishausser
1418	Kratter Franz	<i>Das Mädchen von Marienburg</i>	1795	Wien	J. B. Wallishausser
1419	Kratter Franz	<i>Der Friede am Pruth</i>	1799	Grätz	s.typ.
1420	Kratter Franz	<i>Der Vizekanzler</i>	1789	Wien	Joh. Joseph Jahn
1421	Kratter Franz	<i>Die Sklavin in Surinam</i>	1805	s.l.	s.typ.
1422/01	Kratter Franz	<i>Das Mädchen von Marienburg</i>	1795	Frankfurt	Friedrich Eßlinger
1422/02	Kratter Franz	<i>Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen</i>	1795	Frankfurt	Friedrich Eßlinger
1422/03	Kratter Franz	<i>Der Friede am Pruth</i>	1799	Frankfurt	Friedrich Eßlinger

15 Vulpius's plays in the Komplex Mauerbach:

2486	Vulpius	<i>Carl XII. bey Bender</i>	1800	Grätz	o. V.
2487	Vulpius	<i>Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender</i>	1809	Wien	Joh. Bapt. Wallishausser
2488	Vulpius C.A.	<i>Glücksproben</i>	1793	o. O.	o. V.
2489	Vulpius C.A.	<i>Liebesproben</i>	1790	Baireuth	bei Johann Andreas Lübecks Erben
2490	Vulpius C.A.	<i>Sie konnts nicht übers Herz bringen</i>	1788	Weißenfels/Leipzig	Friedrich Severin

FRANZ KRATTER (1758–1830)

The *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte* ('German-Austrian literary history') remarks that Kratter spent "ein Menschenalter (von 1786 bis 1830) in dem Neuland [Galizien] als Schriftsteller und Theaterdirektor" ('a lifetime [from 1786 until 1830] in the new territory [Galicia] as writer and theatre director') and was "bei seinem Tod allgemein als Senior der deutschen Literatoren und josephinischen Culturträger geachtet" ('at his death generally appreciated as senior of the German men of letters and Josephinist culture-bearers').¹⁶ Ludwig Abafi (1840–1909), the historian of Freemasonry in Austria and Hungary, describes Kratter as "Staatsraths-Beamter, nachmals Theater-Director in Lemberg, vielseitiger Schriftsteller" ('State Council's employee, later theatre-director in Lviv, versatile writer').¹⁷ In recent Mason history he is considered a founder of several short-lived outside lodges.¹⁸

Kratter was born in "1758 zu Oberdorf am Lech in Schwaben",¹⁹ a municipality near Augsburg, which was Leopold Mozart's (1719–1787) native city, and one of

16 Johann W. Nagl, Jakob Zeidler and Eduard Castle (ed.): *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte: Ein Handbuch der Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Oesterreich-Ungarn*. Vienna: Carl Fromme, 1899–1937, 4 vols., vol. 2, p. 404.

17 Cf. Ludwig Abafi: *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn*. Budapest: Ludwig Aigner, 1890–1899, 5 vols., vol. 4, pp. 152, 167, 171–174, 263.

18 Helmut Reinalter (ed.): *Joseph II. und die Freimaurerei im Lichte zeitgenössischer Broschüren*. Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau, 1987, pp. 21–25, 66, 136–137, 142, 147, 150–151. – Abafi: *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vol. 4, pp. 171–174. – Anonymous: "Kratter, Franz, Dr. phil.", in: *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*. Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe 1932, ed. Eugen Lennhoff and Oskar Posner. Vienna, Munich: Amalthea, 1980 (orig. 1932), p. 869. This entry is also online available (however in defective transcription) in: *Maçonnieke Encyclopedie*; <http://www.vrijmetselaarsgilde.eu/ma%C3%A7onnieke%20encyclopedie/KMAP~1/Klenn-08.htm#klenn-18>, accessed February 10, 2008.

19 Johann Jacob Heinrich Czikan: *Oesterreichische National Encyclopädie, oder alphabetische Darlegung der wissenschaftlichsten Eigenthümlichkeiten des österreichischen Kaiserthumes, in Rücksicht auf Natur, Leben und Institutionen, Industrie und Kommerz, öffentliche und Privat=Anstalten, Bildung und Wissenschaft, Literatur und Kunst, Geographie und Statistik, Geschichte, Genealogie und Biographie, so wie auf alle Hauptgegenstände seiner Civilisations=Verhältnisse. (Vorzüglich der neueren und neuesten Zeit.) Im Geiste der Unbefangenheit bearbeitet*. Vienna: In Commission der Friedr. Beck'schen Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1835–1837, 6 vols., vol. 3 (J–M). Cf. also Joseph Kürschner: "Kratter: Franz", in: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912, 56 vols., vol. 17 (1883), pp. 55–56. – Anonymous: "Kratter, Franz", in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich: Enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750 bis 1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen Kronländern gelebt haben*, ed. Constant von Wurzbach. Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Statsdruckerei, 1865–1923, 60 vols., vol. 13 (1865), pp. 144–145. – "Kratter"; <http://www.med9.com/lexikon-5/k/Kratter.htm>, accessed October 2, 2008.

the three cities – Vienna, Salzburg, and Augsburg – which together are called the *Mozartstädte* ('Mozart cities'). Kratter studied philosophy and theology in Dillingen on the Danube, at the time the main residence of the prince-bishop of Augsburg. The Mozart family, returning home from their western Europe trip of 1763 to 1766, probably passed by there in August 1766.²⁰ Dillingen is also the town where the libretti for the Prince of Thurn und Taxis' court of Dischingen were printed. These two places are not to be confused, as has happened to Mozart cities.

Kratter later studied law in Vienna, the city which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart had visited already as a six-year-old boy. The years 1781 to 1791 were Mozart's Viennese years, when he moved from Salzburg to Vienna, where he remained for the rest of his life. Vienna also became the city where Kratter became a follower of Joseph II²¹ and, at an unknown date, joined Masonry.²²

FREEMASONS, MOZART AND KRATTER

Under the rule of Joseph II, 1785 became an important year for Masons in the Habsburg hereditary states. The leading figure of the Austrian Freemasonry was Ignaz von Born (1742–1791),²³ member of the lodge *Zur wahren Eintracht* ('True concord'), a sister lodge of *Zur Wohlthätigkeit* ('Beneficence') where Mozart²⁴ had been a member since December 14, 1784. Mozart often visited the *Wahre Eintracht*, where his father Leopold, like his son a member at the *Wohlthätigkeit*, became journey-man (April 16) and master (April 22) during his visit to Vienna in the carnival

20 Leopold Mozart, letter to Lorenz Hagenauer, Lyon, August 16, 1766, in: *MBA*, vol. 1, pp. 228–230, no. 111, lines 1–22, 37–38. See Käthe Springer-Dissmann: "Mozart Goes to Constantinople! The Real Conditions of a Fictitious Journey", in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of W. A. Mozart and Sultan Selim III*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger, in print.

21 Born 1741, Holy Roman Emperor from 1765 to 1790, co-ruler of the Habsburg lands, together with his mother, Empress and Queen Maria Theresa from 1765 to 1780, ruler of the Habsburg lands from 1780 to 1790.

22 Cf. Anonymous: untitled document; <http://vdeutsch.eduhi.at/vorlesungen/bukowina.doc>, accessed June 5, 2009.

23 Cf. Anonymous: "Born, Ignaz Edler von", in: *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*, pp. 209–210.

24 Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart had very early knowledge of and contact with Masonry. Cf. Anonymous: "Mozart. 1. Leopold; 2. Wolfgang Amadeus", in: *Internationales Freimaurermuseum*, pp. 1068–1070. Wolfgang wrote his first composition related to the Masonic world when he was not yet twenty years old: 1774 "O heiliges Band der Freundschaft treuer Brüder" ('O holy band of trusty brothers' friendship'; words by Ludwig Friedrich Lenz) for voice, chorus of one voice, piano (KV 125h = 148); traditionally dated 1772, but Wolfgang Plath suggests 1774–1776; we opt for the period round the incidental music to the play *Thamos, König von Egypten* ('Thamos, King of Egypt', KV 345 = 336a) by Tobias Freiherr von Gebler.

and lent season of 1785; this was also the year when Mozart wrote the highest number of his musical compositions for the Brotherhood.²⁵

In 1785 von Born asked Joseph II to restrain pasquils against Masonry, but the emperor turned the screw the other way round: on December 11, 1785, Joseph II released the “Freymaurer-Patent” (‘Freemason patent’, published on December 17 and effective January 1, 1786), thus limiting the Brotherhood’s influence in his states. The number of lodges was drastically reduced to a few *Sammellogen* (‘collective lodges’); in Vienna, for example, the maximum was set at three. By circumstances, these three were merged into two: *Zur Wahrheit* (‘Truth’) where Born presided, and *Zur neu gekrönten Hoffnung* (‘New crowned hope’), later known by its original ‘pre-reform’ name *Zur gekrönten Hoffnung* (‘Crowned hope’), where most of the members, including Mozart, were artists.

For the inauguration of *Zur neu gekrönten Hoffnung* on January 14, 1786, Mozart wrote the music for both the opening and closing ceremonies: this remained the only Masonic music he wrote for the next five and a half years.²⁶ Mozart himself

25 Mozart’s Masonic compositions in 1785 (five items):

1785 III 26 “Die ihr einem neuen Grade” (‘You who a new grade’; Lied “Gesellenreise”

[‘Journeyman’s travel’]; words by Joseph Franz Ratschky) for voice and piano (KV 468).

1785 IV 20 “Sehen, wie dem starren Forscherauge” (‘To see, how the researcher’s rigid eye’;

Kantate “Die Maurerfreude” [‘The mason’s joy’]; words by Franz Petran) for tenor, male chorus; two violins, viola, basso, two oboes, one clarinet, two horns (KV 471).

1785 VII “Trauermusik” (‘Funeral music’) for two violins, viola, violoncello, basso, two oboes, one clarinet, three basset-horns, counter-bassoon; revised early November 1785 as “Maurerische Trauermusik” (‘Masonic funeral music’) with two horns instead of basset-horns two and three (KV 479a = 477).

1785 VIII “Zur Eröffnung der Meisterloge” (‘Opening of the Master Lodge’; “Des Todes Werk” [‘The work of death’]; words by Gottlieb Leon); presumably represented by Mozart and the tenor Valentin Adamberger for the promotion of Karl von König to the grade of Master in *Zur Wahren Eintracht*, August 12, 1785 (lost, KV deest).

1785 VIII “Zum Schluß der Meisterarbeit” (‘Ending of the Master Lodge’; Lied “Vollbracht ist die Arbeit der Meister” [‘Accomplished the masters’ work’], words by Gottlieb Leon); see above entry (lost, KV deest).

Three instrumental compositions, distinguished by the use of basset-horns – a special form of clarinet and very new at the time – are often attributed to Mozart’s ‘Masonic’ works, but no proof can be given for this claim; in general they are presumed to have been written by the end of 1785. They are altogether in the tempo of Adagio and lack any further distinction. We list them for completeness: Adagio (Fragment) for clarinet and three basset-horns (KV 484c = Anh. 93); Adagio in F major (KV 440d = KV 410 = 484 d) for two basset-horns and one bassoon; and Adagio in B flat major (KV 440a = KV 411 = 484a) for two clarinets and three basset-horns.

26 Mozart’s Masonic compositions 1786 (two items):

1786 I “Zerfließet heut, geliebte Brüder” (‘Today melt into tears, beloved brethren’; words by Augustin Veith Edler von Schittlersberg) for voice, chorus of three voices, organ (KV 483).

did not attend the inauguration ceremony, excusing himself with collywobbles and headache.²⁷ Mozart was surely disappointed by the developments regarding Freemasonry in the emperor's states, but he was obviously not interested in causing an affront to the Brotherhood's new officials. Accordingly, he wrote the music, but protested the inauguration of the new lodge by refraining from taking part in the ceremony.

From that point Mozart started to act on his own, both within his private circle and in public.

During the carnival season, on February 19, 1786, Mozart appeared at a masked ball in Vienna at a Redoute in der Hofburg (the ballroom is now called Redoutensäle ['Redoute halls']) dressed as an Indian philosopher, and distributed pamphlets featuring riddles that attacked the aristocracy.²⁸

It may be during this period that he planned to found a proper secret society called Die Grotte ('The grot'), as many years later his widow Constanze relates:

Er hat auch eine Gesellschaft unter dem Namen: die Grotte, stiften wollen. Ich habe nur ein bruchstück von seinem Aufsatz darüber gefunden und Jemanden, der es vielleicht im Stande ist, weil er Theil hatte, zu ergänzen gegeben.²⁹

('He also wanted to establish an association under the name: The Grot. I found only a fragment of his essay on it and I gave it to somebody who might be capable of complementing it because he had another part of it.')

In his last year of life Mozart turned to frequenting the Masonic lodges and writing music for Masonic events.³⁰ He also treated publicly the theme of secret societies in a

1786 I "Ihr unsre neuen Leiter" ('You, our new wardens'; words by Augustin Veith Edler von Schittlersberg) for voice, chorus of three voices, organ (see above entry) (KV 484).

27 W. A. Mozart, letter to Otto Freiherrn von Gemmingen, the new "Meister vom Stuhl", Vienna, undated, in: *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 490, no. 921, lines 1–2.

28 Cf. W. A. Mozart, letter to his father, Vienna, before February 19, 1786, in: *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 506–507, no. 933, lines 1–20 and Leopold Mozart, letter to his daughter Maria Anna, March 23, 1786, in: *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 521, no. 943, lines 81–97. The riddles were published quite soon in *Oberdeutscher Staatsanzeiger*, March 23, 1786.

29 Constanze Mozart, letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, Vienna, November 27, 1799, in: *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 300, no. 1269, lines 57–59. Cf. also in the same volume Constanze Mozart, letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, Vienna, July 21, 1800, p. 360, no. 1301, lines 5–9. These two letters are not translated by Emily Anderson.

30 Mozart's Masonic compositions 1791 (three items):

1791 (?) "Dir, Seele des Weltalls" ('To you, soul of the universe'; cantata [fragments]; words by Lorenz Leopold Haschka), for two tenors and one bass; two violins, viola, numbered basso, one flute, two oboes, one clarinet, two horns (KV 420a (429) = 468a).

1791 VII "Die ihr des unermeßlichen Weltalls Schöpfer ehrt" ('You Who Honour The Maker of

text written by a co-Mason and long-time friend Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812), a subject to which we will return later. Schikaneder was of Bavarian origin, as was Franz Kratter, whose story we now follow further.

In 1784 Kratter travelled through Galicia, collected material, and wrote about the situation in Galicia in letters published anonymously two years later as *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand Galiziens. Ein Beitrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntnis*,³¹ which continued to be read for almost two generations.³²

Kratter's relationship with Masonry became critical when he started to criticize Ignaz von Born publicly in a pseudonymous paper after von Born had written a letter to Karl Theodor of Bavaria (1724–1799, elector of Pfalz since 1742 and of Bavaria since 1777) regarding the persecution of the Illuminates. Kratter was exposed and had to explain his behaviour during the Freemason convention on March 10, 1786. Reacting to his exposure, in a pamphlet entitled *Freymaurer Auto da Fé* ('Freemasons's Auto-da-fé'),³³ Kratter informed the public about the situation, prompting Born to publish a text in response. The whole dispute provoked a revived flow of pamphlets, which moved Born to quit his activity in the Zur Wahrheit lodge on July 21, 1786, and to declare his full retirement from Masonry on September 12; this led to a new flourishing of esoteric Masonry formerly marginalized by Born.³⁴

the Boundless Space'; "Eine kleine deutsche Kantate" ['A Little German Cantata']; words by Franz Heinrich Ziegenhagen), for voice and piano (KV 619).

1791 XI 15 "Laut verkünde unsre Freude" ('Loud Announce Our Joy'; "Eine kleine Freymaurer Kantate" ['A Little Freemason's Cantata']; words presumably by Karl Ludwig Giesecke) for two tenors and one bass; two violins, viola, basso, flute, two oboes, two horns (KV 623).

This was Mozart's last finished composition.

31 Franz Kratter: *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien: Ein Beitrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntnis*. Leipzig: Wucherer, 1786, 2 vols. Just one year later a contemporary of his also wrote about Galicia. Cf. also Alphons Heinrich Traunpaur Chevalier d'Orphanie: *Dreißig Briefe über Galizien oder Beobachtungen eines unparteiischen Mannes*. Vienna: Wucherer, 1787. Concerning d'Orphanie's and Kratter's writings on Galicia cf. Larry Wolff: "Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland", in: *Slavic Review* 63/4 (2004), pp. 818–840, especially pp. 826–828.

32 Kratter's "anonym erschienenen Briefe über den Zustand von Galizien [...] 1786, sind mehr ein Pasquill zu nennen und werden deßhalb noch jetzt [1835] gelesen." ('His anonymous letters about the condition in Galicia [...] 1786 are more to be called pasquill and are still read now [1835].') Cf. Czikkann: *Oesterreichische National Encyclopädie*, vol. 3, p. 283. Cf. also Anonymous: "Kratter, Franz", in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 13, p. 145.

33 [Franz] Kratter: *Freymaurer Auto da Fé in Wien*. Vienna: Georg Philipp Wucherer, 1786. A copy is available in the collection of autographs and old prints of the Austrian National Library, HAD (305909-A.Ad.5 Alt Mag).

34 The most relevant study on Mozart as a Freemason stems from Hans-Josef Irmen: *Mozart, Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften*. [Zülpich]: Prisca Verlag, 1988.

The *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon* describes this dispute as follows:

Auch in einer pseudonymen Schrift “Drei Briefe über die neueste Freimaurerrevolution in Wien von Ignaz Berger” (d. i. K[ratter].) trat er [Kratter] gegen Born polemisch auf. Dieser glaubte nun den lästigen Pamphletisten unschädlich machen zu müssen. Am 10. März 1787 fand eine Freimaurerzusammenkunft im Wiener Freimaurerkasino statt; hierbei las Born die Pamphlete vor. K. leugnete die Autorschaft ab. Es kam zu erregten Szenen, im Verlaufe welcher K. schließlich vor Tätlichkeiten flüchten mußte. Dieses sogenannte Freimaurer-Autodafé schilderte K. in einer Broschüre, deren Druck Born verhindern wollte. – Die Affäre kam bis vor Kaiser Joseph II, der entschied, daß die Broschüre gedruckt werden dürfe. Eine wahre Hochflut von Pamphleten war die Folge dieser Affaire, bei der sich Born durch persönliche Rücksichtnahmen zu Schritten verleiten ließ, die seiner Person nicht angemessen waren. K. taucht nach seinem unrühmlichen Abschied von der regulären Freimaurerei dann noch mehrmals als Gründer von Winkellogen auf, die sich jedoch nicht halten konnten. (Näheres s. Adolf Deutsch, “Ignaz v. Born”, im “Freimaurermuseum”, Band VI, ferner die Broschürenliteratur bei Wolfstieg.)³⁵

(‘Also in a pseudonymous script “Three Letters on the Newest Masonic Revolution in Vienna by Ignaz Berger” (i. e. K[ratter].), he [Kratter] acted polemically against Born. The latter was convinced of having to disarm the bothersome pamphlet writer. On March 10, 1787, a Masonic assembly took place in the Viennese Masonic Casino; at this, Born read out the pamphlets. K. denied authorship. Agitated scenes came about, over the course of which K. finally had to flee from assaults. K. narrated this so-called Masonic auto-da-fé in a brochure, the printing of which Born wanted to avert. The incident came before Emperor Joseph II, who decided that the brochure should be allowed to be printed. A veritable flood of pamphlets was the aftermath of this incident in which Born – due to personal considerations – was fooled into doing actions which were not appropriate to his character. After his disreputable leave from regular Masonry, K. appears several times as the

35 Anonymus: “Kratter, Franz, Dr. phil”, in: *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*, pp. 869–870. Online available in Maconnieke Encyclopedie zoekt; <http://www.vrijmetselaarsgilde.eu/ma%C3%A7onnieke%20encyclopedie/KMAP~1/Klenn-08.htm#klenn-18>, accessed June 26, 2009.

founder of private lodges, which, however, could not hold their ground. [For full particulars see Adolf Deutsch, “Ignaz v. Born”, in: “Freimaurermuseum”, vol. 6, and the brochure literature at Wolfstieg.]’)

Dramatic situations concerning Masons were also of interest for the stage. In the Komplex Mauerbach, for instance, are two plays by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1744–1816) and August von Kotzebue that deal with this subject.³⁶

W. A. MOZART AND POPULAR THEATRE IN VIENNA

Apart from being Kratter’s contemporary and also a Freemason, Mozart is also undoubtedly linked to Kratter by their similar love of theatre. The day after Mozart ‘got the boot’ at Vienna by Karl Joseph Felix Maria Graf Arco (1743–1830),³⁷ treasurer of prince-archbishop of Salzburg Hieronymus Graf Colloredo (1732–1812, r.1772–1803/1812) on June 8, 1781, Mozart wrote insouciantly,

Meine einzige Unterhaltung besteht im Theater; [...] überhaupt kenne ich kein Theater, wo man alle Arten Schauspiele *vortrefflich* aufführt; aber hier [Wien] ist es jede Rolle.³⁸

(‘My sole entertainment is the theatre. [...] Generally speaking, I do not know of any theatre where all kinds of plays are *really well* performed. But they are here.’)³⁹

H. E. Weidinger supposes that Mozart must have been thinking of the theatre in Leopoldstadt when he wrote to his sister in July 1781.⁴⁰ This assumption is based on

36 [Friedrich Ludwig Schröder]: *Die Freymaurer. Ein Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen. Aufgeführt auf dem k.k. Nationalhoftheater*. Vienna: Logenmeister, 1784 (= MB 2150). – August v. Kotzebue: *Der Freymaurer. Lustspiel in einem Act*, in: *Theater von Kotzebue. Ein und fünfzigster Band*. Vienna: Anton Doll, 1818, pp. 47–96 (= MB 1403/02).

37 Mozart was metaphorically as well as literally thrown out through the door and given a boot in the ass (“zur thüre hinaus schmeist, und einen tritt im Hintern giebt”). Cf. W. A. Mozart, letter to his father, Vienna, June 9, 1781, in: *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 125–126, no. 604, lines 9–10.

38 W. A. Mozart, letter to his sister, Vienna, July 4, 1781, in: *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 138–139, no. 610, lines 16–19.

39 Translation in: Anderson, Emily (ed.): *The Letters of Mozart & his Family*. London: Macmillan, 1938, 3 vols., vol. 3, no. 415, p. 1117, lines 17–21.

40 Hans Ernst Weidinger: *Il Dissoluto punito: Untersuchungen zur äußeren und inneren Entstehungsgeschichte von Lorenzo da Pontes & Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Don Giovanni*. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2002, 16 vols., vol. 2, p. 528: “mögliches Indiz für Mozarts Kenntnis des Leopoldstädter Theaters”.

Mozart's drafts for comedies such as *Der Salzburger Lump in Wien* ('The Salzburg rascal in Vienna', KV 509b) and *Die Liebes Probe* ('The love proof', KV 509c), both of which feature characters such as "Wurstl" and "kasperl" [sic] who are Zanni derivatives. The drafts of both plays are undated and, according to Mozart experts, date back to 1787 (KV 509a and b); however, Weidinger sets the year of the creation of these drafts as 1781, coinciding with Mozart's first year in Vienna and the opening of the Leopoldstädter Theater (October 20, 1781).⁴¹ He points out that the earliest piece of direct evidence concerning Mozart's connection with the Leopoldstädter Theater is a composition for the actor Friedrich Baumann (1763–1841): "Ein deutsches kriegslied: Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser seyn" ('A German battle song: I would fain like to be the Emperor'; KV 539).⁴² Baumann sang this war-themed song on the occasion of an "Akademie" ('academy' = concert) on March 7, 1788,⁴³ at the beginning of the last Austro-Ottoman War (1788–1791).

We may assume that Mozart visited the Leopoldstädter Theater several times, although the only documented visit was when he went to see Joachim Perinet's (1763–1816) play *Kaspar der Fagottist oder Die Zauberzither* ('Kaspar the bassoonist or The magic zither'), with music by Wenzel Müller (1767–1835), that premiered⁴⁴ on June 8, 1791, and immediately became popular. Mozart had seen the premiere and gave his decided opinion on the play: "gar nichts daran"⁴⁵ ('not worth caring about').⁴⁶

At that time Mozart was working on *Die Zauberflöte* ('The magic flute', KV 620, premiered September 30, 1791), the libretto for which was written by his freemason brother Emanuel Schikaneder – who, just one decade later, would engage Perinet as poet of his theatre.

Die Zauberflöte. | Eine | große Oper in zwey Aufzügen. | Von | Emmanuel Schikaneder. | Die Musik ist von Herrn Wolfgang Amade | Mozart, Kapellmeister, und wirklichem k. | k. Kammer = Compositeur. | Wien, gedruckt bey Ignaz Alberti, 1791.⁴⁷

41 Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 526–528.

42 Cf. also W. A. Mozart: "Verzeichniss aller meiner Werke 1788, den 3.ten Jenner. 1788", in: *MBA*, vol. 4, no. 1075, pp. 62–63.

43 Cf. *MBA*, vol. 6, commentary to no. 1075, p. 367.

44 For details of first nights cf. Universität Köln (ed.): *Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770–1830*; <http://www.opernprojekt.uni-koeln.de>, accessed October 12, 2008.

45 W. A. Mozart, letter to his wife, Vienna, June 12, 1791, in: *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 137, no. 1161, line 22.

46 Translation in: Anderson: *The Letters of Mozart & his Family*, vol. 3, no. 600, p. 1420, line 26.

47 "107, (1) S., 8°. A: *Wn* (2 Exemplare), *Wst* – D: *Mbs* – *GB*: *Lbl*" (Rudolph Angermüller and Johanna Senigl: *Bibliographie der Mozart Libretti*, unpublished typescript, Don Juan Archiv Wien).

To this opera and the largely unknown 1795 edition of the text by Schikaneder himself (a copy of which is held in the Komplex Mauerbach) we will return at the end of this study.

MOZART'S 'TURKISH' SINGSPIELS AND THE KOMPLEX MAUERBACH

It is no secret that Mozart was composing for the theatre. *Zaide* (KV 344) was the first of Mozart's two 'Turkish' Singspiels based on the libretto by Johann Andreas Schachtner (1731–1795). We should remember that the original title of this unfinished composition was *Das Serail* ('The seraglio') and that from the first edition of 1838 it was given the title *Zaide*. This title was chosen by the play's first editor, Johann Anton André (1775–1842), and reflects the name of the play's heroine. Various additional "Zaide" texts are contained in the Komplex Mauerbach, two of which relate especially to Mozart.

The author of one of these *Zaide* texts is Karl Friedrich Hensler (1759–1825), whose play is entitled *Zaide oder Das Weib in ihrer wahren Schönheit* ('Zaide or The woman in her true beauty', Vienna 1792, MB 0848) and was performed during Mozart's lifetime in the Vienna Leopoldstädter Theater on August 4, 5, 6 and 8, 1790.⁴⁸ Friedrich Hensler, like Kratter, worked as theatre director and dramatist, and was a Freemason, too. He belonged to the Carolina zu den drei Pfauen ('Carolina to the three peacocks') lodge and was also nominated for the Zu den drei Adlern ('Three eagles') lodge; from 1786, like Mozart, he was a member of Zur neu gekrönten Hoffnung.⁴⁹ Hensler also wrote the "Maurerrede auf Mozarts Tod" ('Masonic oration on Mozart's death'). This funeral booklet was printed by Ignaz Alberti (1761–1794), a co-Mason, who also happened to be the printer of the first libretto of *Die Zauberflöte*.⁵⁰ And let us not forget to mention that Hensler, before becoming a successful playwright, had aspired to a career in the diplomatic service. But when his first play, *Der Soldat von Cherson* ('The soldier from Cherson', Vienna,

48 *Deutsche Schaubühne*, 5/2, 1793. – Cf. Franz Hadamowsky: *Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781–1860*. Vienna: s.typ., 1934 (= Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien 3), p. 289.

49 Heinz Schuler: "Die Mozart-Loge 'Zur gekrönten Hoffnung' im Orient von Wien", in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 37/1–4 (1992), p. 27. – Heinz Schuler: *Mozart und die Freimaurerei: Daten, Fakten, Biographien*. Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel (Heinrichshofen-Bücher), 1992, p. 103.

50 Otto Erich Deutsch: *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, translated by Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble. London: Simon & Schuster, 1990 (orig. *Mozart. Dokumente seines Lebens*, 1963), pp. 447–451.

1790, MB 0863), earned great success, he dropped his aspirations and become instead the poet, and later the director (1803–1813), of the extremely popular Leopoldstädter Theater. From there Hensler moved on to be the director of Emanuel Schikaneder's Theater an der Wien, there producing most of Mozart's major stage works, and in 1822 he became director of the Theater in der Josephstadt, where he finished his career.

Another *Zaide* author is Joseph Alois Gleich (1772–1841). Like Hensler, he was a successful playwright of his time, and his play *Die bezauberte Leyer oder Allerich und Zaide* (Vienna 1809, MB 0564) was performed at the Leopoldstädter Theater on January 5 to 8, and 11, 1809.⁵¹

There is also a *Zaide* work in the Komplex Mauerbach written by an authoress, Madame de la Fayette (1634–1693). She makes *Zaide* the subject of a novel, *Zayde, Histoire Espagnole* ('Zayde, a Spanish story')⁵², which first appeared in 1670. But this novel has nothing in common with Schachtner and Mozart's Singspiel.⁵³

Schachtner's *Serail* – as we have seen, known as *Zaide* since 1838 – may be called a precursor of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ('The abduction from the seraglio'). The Komplex Mauerbach includes a second 'precursor', *Belmont und Constanze oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ('Belmont and Constanze or The abduction from the seraglio', Leipzig 1781, MB 0215) by Christoph Friedrich Bretzner (1748–1807). It premiered in Berlin on May 25, 1781, with music by Johann André (1741–1799), founder of a well-known publishing house. Johann André's son Johann Anton André (1775–1842) purchased W. A. Mozart's musical bequest from his widow Constanze Mozart (1762–1842) after it had been catalogued by her second husband, Georg Nikolaus Nissen (1761–1826). Closing this part, let us again consider the poet of Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*: Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger (1741–1800) did the adaptations of Bretzner's libretto since he was already familiar with an

51 [Joseph Alois] Gleich: *Die bezauberte Leyer. Eine komische Zauberoper. Für das kaiserl. Königl. Privil. Theater in der Leopoldstadt*. Vienna: Wallishauser, 1809. Cf. Hadamowsky: *Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781–1860*, p. 330 and <http://www.opernprojekt.uni-koeln.de>, accessed February 9, 2010.

52 Marie Madeleine de La Fayette: *Zayde: Histoire Espagnole*. Paris: C. Barbin, 1670. The Komplex Mauerbach copy is a Parisian edition from 1826 (MB 0454).

53 Cf. Alfred Einstein: "Die Text-Vorlage zu Mozarts 'Zaide'", in: *Acta Musicologica* 8/1–2 (1936), pp. 30–37, p. 31: Otto Jahn assumed that Schachtner's model went back to a French original. Treating a completely different subject, Jahn expressly excluded Mme. La Fayette's *Zaide*; he further mentioned Jean de La Chapelle's (1655–1723) tragedy *Zaide* (1681), and *Zaide, reine de Grenade* (1739), an opera in three acts by Abbé de La Marte (1708–1742) and Joseph-Nicolas-Panrace Royer (ca.1705–1755). Einstein claimed instead that *Zaide* did not go back to a French model.

‘oriental milieu’ through his play *Die Sklavin und der großmüthige Seefahrer* (‘The slave and the magnanimous seaman’, Wien 1781, MB 2336). Now, after a look at Vienna’s popular theatre scene of Mozart and Kratter’s time, let us shift to the most distant of the Habsburg states, the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and its capital city.

THEATRE CITY LEMBERG

In 1772 Lemberg⁵⁴ became the capital of the Austrian kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. It had an international reputation for having never been invaded by enemy forces, not even by the Ottomans in 1672. Only Charles XII of Sweden (1682–1718, r.1697–1718) had conquered Lemberg when he arrived with his troops in 1704. In 1773 Joseph II visited Galicia for the first time and was shocked by the social circumstances.⁵⁵ At that time, the emperor’s reaction was much like Kratter’s when he arrived there eleven years later in 1784, the year when Joseph II reorganized the university in Lemberg.

At Joseph II’s request the first printing office of the country was established in Lemberg. The book printer Anton Piller was sent from Vienna to Lemberg to found in 1773 a “Guberniumsdruckerei” (‘Government’s Print Office’), with the mandate to print schoolbooks and news in German and Polish. Two Italian language theatre prints serve as evidence of the existence of print shops in Lemberg at that time. Both prints are works by Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782): *Il re pastore* printed in Warsaw and Lviv by Michael Gröll in 1780,⁵⁶ and *Artaserse* published by J. Piller in Lviv in 1782.⁵⁷ Research has not yet determined whether the dates of these printed versions correspond to performances in Lemberg. The first German language newspaper was published by Piller’s widow, Josepha Piller, on January 1, 1786, and was entitled *Lemberger wöchentliche Anzeige*.⁵⁸

54 Polish: Lwów; Ukrainian: Lviv; Italian: Leopoli.

55 Concerning Joseph II’s sojourn in Galicia cf. Wolff: “Inventing Galicia”, p. 820.

56 Cf. Weidinger: *Il Dissoluto punito*, vol. XIV/3, p. 520, and Claudio Sartori: *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini fino al 1800: Catalogo Analitico con 16 Indici*. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli Editori, 1990–1994, 7 vols., here vol. 1, p. 26, no. 19626: “IL RE PASTORE. Warszawa y Lwów [sic]: Michal Gröll, 1780. Pag. 96.//PL: Kc-Kj-Wro”.

57 Cf. Weidinger: *Il Dissoluto punito*, vol. XIV/3, p. 520, and Sartori: *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini fino al 1800*, vol. 1, p. 327, no. 3086: “L’ARTASERSE. Tragedia di Pietro Metastasio.//Lwow [sic]: J. Pillera, 1782.//PL: WRc”.

58 Isabel Röskau-Rydel (ed.): *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Galizien Bukowina Moldau*. Berlin: Siedler, 1999, pp. 49–50.

The 1780s

In fact, “the 1780s, the decade of Joseph’s sole rule, brought to Galicia a new breed of Josephine travelers, including Franz Kratter [...], taking stock of the province according to the values of the Enlightenment.”⁵⁹ In 1786, Kratter’s *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand Galiziens* were published anonymously and generally were received as “Aufsehen erregend” (‘sensational’). According to Wurzbach’s *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, the letters had

seiner Zeit großes Aufsehen erregt, wurden noch viele Jahre nachher, nachdem ihre Wirkung sich bereits abgeschwächt, viel gesucht und gelesen und haben dem Verfasser nicht geringe Ungelegenheiten bereitet. Immerhin aber behalten sie, da sie den Stempel der Wahrhaftigkeit an sich tragen, noch heute culturgeschichtliches Interesse.⁶⁰

(‘at that time caused a great stir and many years later – after their impact had already weakened – were still quite sought after and read. The letters have caused the author more than just slight inconveniences. As they bear the mark of truth, the letters are still nowadays of historical-cultural interest after all.’)

In these letters, Franz Kratter, a decade before he became theatre director in Lemberg, had already documented his familiarity with the theatre of Galicia’s capital. In “Zwölfter Brief” (‘Letter no. 12’), he describes the theatre as a wooden hut which was in danger of falling apart:

Das Schauspielhaus ist eine hölzerne Hütte [...] der man, weil es den Einsturz droht, auf beiden Seiten mit Stützen entgegen kommen mußte.⁶¹

(‘The theatre playhouse is a wooden hut [...] which had to be fitted with stilts on both sides, because it impends to cave in.’)

He audaciously presumes that a smart management can last long, even if only half of the seats of the theatre are occupied at each performance. And in a later letter, “Vierzehnter Brief” (‘Letter no. 14’), he even calculates an optimal financial program for the theatre:

59 Wolff: “Inventing Galicia”, pp. 818–819.

60 Anonymous: “Kratter, Franz”, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, p. 145. Cf. also Kürschner: “Kratter: Franz”, p. 56. – Nagl, Zeidler and Castle: *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 403–407. – Wolff: “Inventing Galicia”, pp. 822–823.

61 Franz Kratter: “Zwölfter Brief”, in: *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*, vol. 1, p. 99.

Wenn die Woche viermal Schauspiel gegeben wird, so beläuft sich die jährliche Einnahme auf 19200 fl. den jeweiligen Fond vom Staat auf 2000 – gerechnet macht des Jahres sichere Summe von 21200 fl.⁶²

(‘If plays were to be performed four times a week, the annual revenue amounts to 19,200 fl, the relative state-fund to 2,000; that would mean an annual secure amount of 21,200 fl.’)

Kratter was a “prominent advocate of Josephinism in Galicia”,⁶³ which he expressed in his letters. Kratter’s travel account had “for the first time, made Galicia into a subject for discussion in the public sphere, beyond the restricted circles and channels of the Habsburg government”.⁶⁴

In 1787, one year after the *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand Galiziens* were published, Joseph II was in Lemberg again on his way to Kherson to meet and form an alliance with Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796, r.1762–1796). He had to leave Vienna in the first half of April in 1787 and travelled the common route via Brno and Olomouc to Lemberg, where he stayed for a couple of days before he continued his journey to the Ukraine. On May 7 he spent the night on Austrian soil for the last time.⁶⁵ At the beginning of July 1787, a few days after the emperor’s return from Russia, the marriage of his oldest niece Maria Theresa (Italian: Maria Teresa) with the heir to the Saxon throne was drawing near. The emperor planned to celebrate the wedding in Prague, wanting all the members of the Imperial family to be present.⁶⁶ Mozart’s plan to give his new opera, *Don Giovanni*, on the occasion of the wedding must have evolved at this time. In July 1787 the emperor had already changed his mind about such a performance, but *Don Giovanni* remained on the Prague celebration program. In the end, it was not given at the Tuscan princess’ arrival, nor during her stay, but was shifted to a later date (October 29).⁶⁷

In 1789, Franz Heinrich Bulla (1754–1819) founded a permanent theatre house in Lemberg. It is well documented that Kratter provided financial assistance to Bulla on several occasions.⁶⁸

62 Franz Kratter: “Vierzehnter Brief”, in: *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien*, vol. 1, p. 110.

63 Wolff: “Inventing Galicia”, p. 839.

64 Wolff: “Inventing Galicia”, p. 822.

65 Cf. e.g. Karl Gutkas: *Kaiser Joseph II.: Eine Biographie*. Vienna, Darmstadt: Zsolnay, 1989, pp. 441–442.

66 Joseph II, letters to his brother Leopold of Tuscany, July 9 and 19, in: *Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana. Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790*, ed. Alfred Ritter von Arneth. Vienna: Braumüller, 1872, 2 vols., vol. 2: 1786–1790, pp. 85–87. – Cf. Weidinger: *Il Dissoluto punito*, vol. 4, pp. 800–802.

67 Cf. Weidinger: *Il Dissoluto punito*, vol. 4, pp. 944–945 and 988–989.

68 Cf. Hugo Lane: “Friedrich Heinrich Bulla und der Aufstieg des polnischen Theaters in Lemberg”,

The 1790s

Two prints of 1792 indicate that the first representation of Schikaneder's *Zauberflöte* after the Vienna premiere in the Freihaustheater on September 30, 1791,⁶⁹ did not take place in Prague,⁷⁰ as is often suggested, but in Lemberg, almost precisely one year after the Vienna premiere:⁷¹

Die Zauberflöte. | Eine | Oper in zwey Aufzügen. | Von | Emmanuel Schikaneder. | Die Musik ist von Wolfgang Amade Mozart, | Kapellmeister, und k. k. Kammer = Com= | positur. | Zum erstenmal aufgeführt | Von der Bulla'schen Gesellschaft | im Monat September. | Lemberg, | gedruckt mit Pillerischen Schriften. | 1792.

For the occasion a Polish version was also printed:

CZARNOXIĘŻKI | FLET | WIELKA OPERA | WE DWOCH AKTACH | OD | EMANUELA SCHIKANEDER | Muzyka zaś od Pana Wolfganga | Amade Mozarta, Kapelmaystra i ak- | tualnego C. Kr. Kamer. Kompozytora | pierwszy raz | OD | TOWARZYSTWA | PANA BULLA | W MIESIĄCU WRZESNIU | GRANA. | W LWOWIE, | 1792.

It was in 1795 – the year when, under Francis II⁷², all Masonic lodges were forbidden – that Kratter started his career as a theatre director:

Seine Neigung zum Bühnenwesen und im Besitze von einigen Mitteln veranlaßte ihn, die Leitung des Lemberger Theaters zu übernehmen. Als solcher versuchte er sich auf dramatischem Gebiete [...].⁷³

in: *Herausforderung Osteuropa: Die Offenlegung stereotyper Bilder*, ed. Thede Kahl, Elisabeth Vyslonzil and Alois Woldan. Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2004, pp. 164–175.

69 Vienna, September 30, 1791: “Die Zauberflöte. | Eine | große Oper in zwey Aufzügen. | Von | Emmanuel Schikaneder. | Die Musik ist von Herrn Wolfgang Amade | Mozart, Kapellmeister, und wirklichem k. | k. Kammer = Compositeur. | [vignette] | – | Wien, gedruckt bey Ignaz Alberti, 1791./107, (1) S., 8^oA: *Wn* (2 Exemplare), *Wst* – *D*: *Mbs* – *GB*: *Lbl*.”

70 Cf. the catalogue to the Mozart 2006 exhibition in Vienna, under the number “796 Emanuel Schikaneder”, signed WB [= Walther Brauneis], in Herbert Lachmayer (ed.): *Mozart: Experiment Aufklärung im Wien des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006, p. 357. The date of the Prague premiere was October 25, 1792.

71 With gratitude to Rudolph Angermüller for his commendable work and for giving a copy of his unpublished typescript to the Don Juan Archiv Vienna:

The German version “44 S. 8^oI: *Vc*.”

The Polish version: “46 S. 8^o(Polnisch) *PL*: *Kj*.”

72 1768–1835, r.1792–1806; as Francis I Emperor of Austria 1804–1835.

73 Anonymous: “Kratter, Franz”, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, p. 144.

(‘His penchant for theatre and for being in possession of some funds led him to take over the direction of the Lemberg theatre. As director, he dabbled as an author in the dramatic field.’)

Also in 1795, the first two parts of Kratter’s so-called Russian Trilogy, *Das Mädchen von Marienburg* and *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen*, were published. While Wojciech Romuald Bogusławski (1757–1829) directed the theatre in Lemberg between 1796/97 and 1797/98, Bulla again was theatre director, this time together with Kratter, from 1798/99 until 1818 or 1819. In the first year of that co directorship Kratter completed his Russian trilogy with *Der Friede am Pruth*. There are no further notes on the theatre direction, yet contrary to many reports about Kratter’s directorship, in 1816 the two directors were praised for their merit as directors.⁷⁴

1800–1830

When Mozart’s son, Franz Xaver Wolfgang (1791–1844), moved near Lemberg as a music teacher in 1808, Kratter was still theatre director there. Whether they met each other is not supported by documentary evidence; however, presumably they did meet there. Wolfgang Mozart jun., as he called himself, settled down in Lemberg in 1813 and, apart from a long concert journey from 1818 to 1821, remained there until 1838. There, he could witness at least a long part of Kratter’s directorate.

In 1819, after Bulla’s death, Kratter continued the direction of the theatre, together with a Polish man, Mieczyslaw Kamiński, until the 1823/24 season. Additionally, he made it possible to have a summer theatre in Lemberg, either by providing the funds or the land to build the theatre. But there is no definitive evidence of exactly what he provided.⁷⁵ As contemporaries declare, Kratter was not especially successful as theatre director,⁷⁶ but it is not clear for how long he served in the role, nor is it known whether Kratter assigned his function before he died in Lemberg on November 8, 1830.

74 Cf. Jerzy Got: *Das Österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Aus dem Theaterleben der Vielvölkermonarchie*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 167. Cf. also Kürschner: “Kratter: Franz”, p. 55: “kam er 1791 nach Lemberg und führte dort von 1800–1819 mit Bulla, dann bis in die Mitte der 20er Jahre mit dem Schriftsteller [Jan Nepomuk] Kaminski die Direktion des Theaters, ohne dabei von besonderem Glück begünstigt zu werden.” (‘1791 he came to Lemberg and there directed the theatre from 1800–1819 together with Bulla, then until the mid 1820s together with the writer [Jan Nepomuk] Kaminski, without being especially lucky.’)

75 Cf. Got: *Das Österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, p. 138.

76 Czikann: *Oesterreichische National Encyklopädie*, vol. 3, p. 283. Cf. also Kürschner: “Kratter: Franz”, p. 55.

KRATTER'S RUSSIAN TRILOGY

Kratter's dramatic work is characterized as follows by the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*:

Man suche bei Kratter's dramatischen Arbeiten nicht Tiefe in der Auffassung des historischen Stoffes, auch nicht poetische Verklärung; aber man wird bei ihm finden, was man bei so vielen Anderen vermißt, verständige Anlage, geschickte bühngemäße Ausführung und richtiges Erfassen der herrschenden Geschmacksrichtung.⁷⁷

(‘In Kratter's dramatic works one may not look for profound perception of the historic material, neither for poetic transfiguration; but one will find with him what one is missing in so many others: judicious composition, skilled execution, and accurate gathering of the prevalent taste.’)

Of the numerous plays he wrote,⁷⁸ Kratter's historical plays concerned with Turkish themes are *Das Mädchen von Marienburg, ein fürstliches Familiengemälde in fünf Aufzügen*, *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, and *Der Friede am Pruth, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*.

Das Mädchen von Marienburg (1795)

Das Mädchen von Marienburg pays tribute to a famous and shining figure, none other than Tsarina Catherine I of Russia (1683–1727, r.1724–1727). The play is concerned with one particular episode of her life, when Catherine I was still Martha Skavronska, who had been raised by Ernst Glück (1654–1705), a Lutheran pastor in Marienburg. She was working as a house servant, living in the Swedish province Livland (Livonia, comprising part of actual Latvia and Estonia). Since 1700, the tsar of Russia was engaged in a war against the king of Sweden, Charles XII, from which he emerged victorious in 1709. The Swedish king then fled south to the Ottoman Empire and set up at Bender.⁷⁹ Initially the king was received warmly and was protected by Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736, r.1703–1730), the grandfather of Selim III (1761–1808). During the Great Northern War (1700–1721) over the supremacy in the Baltic Sea, when Sweden was challenged by the so-called Northern Alliance formed of Russia,

77 Anonymus: “Kratter, Franz”, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, p. 145.

78 For a list of his works cf. e.g. Karl Goedeke: *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*. Zweite ganz neu bearbeitete Auflage. Dresden: Ehlermann, 1884–1966, 15 vols., vol. 5, p. 288 and vol. 11/2, pp. 231–232.

79 Cf. e.g. Jörg-Peter Findeisen: “Von Poltawa bis Prut”, in: *Karl XII. von Schweden: Ein König der zum Mythos wurde*, ed. Jörg-Peter Findeisen. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992, pp. 145–165.

Denmark-Norway, Poland-Lithuania and Saxony, residents were taken prisoner by the Russians, and among them were Pastor Glück and Martha Skavronska. Martha ended up being in the household of Field Marshal Boris Sheremetev (1652–1719) and later in the house of Prince Aleksandr Menshikov (1673–1729), the best friend of Peter the Great (1672–1725, r.1682–1725). In 1703 Peter the Great was visiting Menshikov at his home, met Marta Skavronska there and shortly thereafter took her as his mistress. She converted to Orthodoxy and changed her name to Catherine.

Kratter's play represents these historical facts about Catherine's background. The story the play tells is set in the time when Catherine – Chathinka – lived far away from home with Menshikov and his wife in their house, the wife becoming the girl's friend. Her father, the pastor Gluck [sic], and her brother are on the way to look for her. Literary reviews in 1797 (the second part of the trilogy had already been published two years before) described the characters as having been created in a manner that every reader, and probably also every visitor to the theatre, could not help but empathize with. As an anonymous review in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* suggests,

Der Charakter [sic] Katharines, ihres Vaters, ihres Bruders, und des Czar sind von dem VF. [Verfasser] so gezeichnet, dass sie jedes Lesers Zuneigung und Achtung gewinnen müssen.⁸⁰

('The characters of Katharina, of her father, her brother and of the tsar are drawn by the A. [author] in a way that they have to earn sympathy and respect by every reader.')

Finally, true to formal standards, the father finds his daughter, the girl is reunited with her father and brother, and she receives a proposal of marriage from Peter the Great. This is the happy ending; or is it merely the beginning?

Various sources mention that *Das Mädchen von Marienburg* was given "auf allen deutschen Bühnen" ('on all German stages') and survived until about the midnineteenth century⁸¹ in the theatre repertoires, including in the Viennese court theatre. Among other pieces by Kratter, such as *Die Sklavin von Surinam* ('The slave from

80 Anonymous: "Schöne Künste", in: *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1/11 (1797); http://zs.thulb.uni-jena.de/servlets/MCRViewServlet/jportal_derivate_00084347/ALZ_1797_Bd1u2_043.tif?mode=generateLayout&XSL.MCR.Module=iview, accessed May 7, 2009.

81 Anonymous: "Kratter, Franz", in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, p. 144. Cf. also Got: *Das Österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, p. 3. – ÖAW (ed.): *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*. Vienna, Graz, Cologne: Böhlau, 1969, vol. 4 (Lfg. 18), p. 217.

Surinam'; four presentations between March 16 and August 6, 1801), *Das Mädchen von Marienburg* was performed at the court theatre 133 times between October 4, 1793, and January 21, 1848.⁸²

It is worth making a couple of notes about the relationship between the court theatre, Kratter, the Mozarts and Vulpius. The figure who links them all is Mozart's beloved sister-in-law Aloysia Weber (1759/61–1839), an excellent opera singer who played Donna Anna in the first Vienna production of *Don Giovanni* in 1788. She was married from 1780 until 1795 to the actor Joseph Lange (1751–1831), who was still on stage at the age of seventy when he performed as tsar in Kratter's play *Das Mädchen von Marienburg* on July 22, 1822, in Kremsmünster (Upper Austria). The couple's oldest daughter, Maria Anna Sabina (b.1781),⁸³ made her début as an actress at the court theatre on April 27, 1808, in Vulpius' play *Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender* ('Sitah Mani or Charles XII bey Bender').⁸⁴ We will return to Vulpius at the end of this discussion.

Das Mädchen von Marienburg is considered to be the reason for Kratter's theatrical success as it was part of the repertoire of nearly every German language stage at that time. The success inspired Kratter to remain a playwright and to continue the subject, writing *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen*, followed by *Der Friede am Pruth*, published in 1799.

Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Grossen (1795)

In 1707, four years after Peter the Great had taken Catherine as his mistress, they were secretly married and she accompanied him on his military excursions. Thus it happened that Catherine was with Peter on his Prut campaign in 1711, and it is said that it was she who saved him and his empire. Surrounded by overwhelming numbers of Turkish troops, Catherine suggested, as an alternative to surrendering, that her jewels and those of the other women might be used in an effort to bribe the Grand Vizier Baltacı to allow a retreat, which he eventually did. This is the historical background which lies behind the play's plot.

In fact, there is little data available about *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen*. The anonymous reviewer in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* remarks that the tragedy contains

82 Cf. Minna von Alth and Österreichischer Theaterverband (eds.): *Burgtheater 1776–1976: Auf-führungen und Besetzungen von 200 Jahren*. Vienna: Ueberreuther, 1979, 2 vols., vol. 1, pp. 63, 86. I would like to thank Matthias J. Pernerstorfer for this information.

83 To the genealogy of the Weber family cf.

<http://www-public.rz.uni-duesseldorf.de/~molberg/webnach1.html>, accessed December 20, 2009

84 Cf. *MBA*, vol. 6, commentary to no. 596, pp. 65–66.

viele traurige herzerschütternde Szenen, doch löst es sich für die Personen, die den Leser am meisten interessiren, zuletzt noch glücklich auf.⁸⁵

(‘many sad, heart shattering scenes. However, regarding the characters which interest the reader the most, the drama resolves itself happily at last.’)

Friedrich Nicolai’s *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* provides a little note about the popularity of Kratter’s historical Russian plays:

Namentlich Kratters Schauspiele aus der russischen Geschichte erfreuten sich großen Erfolges, “Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen” wurde 1790 von der deutschen Gesellschaft in Mannheim preisgekrönt.⁸⁶

(‘Especially Kratter’s plays of the Russian history enjoyed great popularity; “The Conspiracy Against Peter the Great” in 1790 got an award by the German association of Mannheim.’)

In relation to *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen*, Kratter’s play entitled *Alexander Menzikof* should also be mentioned. In bibliographic and literary lexica, information differs about this play, including the precise title of the play, as well as its connections to *Die Verschwörung*. According to secondary literature,⁸⁷ it is unclear whether *Alexander Menzikof* and *Die Verschwörung* are two separate plays or one play with a double title. Yet a comparison of *Alexander Menzikof* (the copy in the Komplex Mauerbach, Vienna 1794, MB 1417, indicates that the play was prized as early as 1790) and *Die Verschwörung* suggests that *Alexander Menzikof* is an earlier version of *Die Verschwörung*, as the dedication to Reichsfreiherr Dalberg in the Mauerbach copy of *Alexander Menzikof* is dated Lemberg, March 28, 1794, whereas the dedication in *Die Verschwörung* is dated four months later: Lemberg, July 28, 1794. Regarding the text and *dramatis personae*, the two plays differ minimally, indicating that *Die Verschwörung* is a gently refined version of *Alexander Menzikof*, and therefore that this latter is the first written play of Kratter’s Russian Trilogy.⁸⁸

85 Cf. the anonymous review of *Das Mädchen von Marienburg* and *Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen*: “Schöne Künste”, in: *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1/11 (1797), pp. 81–84, p. 83.

86 Quoted after Rudolf Krauß: *Schwäbische Literaturgeschichte*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1897–1899, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 317. Cf. also Kürschner: “Kratter: Franz”, p. 56.

87 Cf. Kürschner: “Kratter: Franz”, p. 56. – Anonymous: “Kratter, Franz”, in: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, p. 145. – Goedeke: *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, vol. 5 (1903), p. 288 and vol. 11/2, pp. 231–232.

88 [Franz] Kratter: *Alexander Menzikof. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Für das k.k. National-Hoftheater. Von der Churfürstl. Deutschen gelehrten Gesellschaft in Mannheim 1790 mit dem Preis gekrönt*. Vienna: Wallishauser, 1794. For the price given by the Churfürstl. Deutschen gelehrten

Der Friede am Pruth (1799)

On July 23, 1711, as a result of the historical Treaty of Prut, the tsar was obligated to guarantee the king of Sweden a safe journey home. (The river Pruth is tributary to the Danube, originating in what is now the Ukraine and forming the border between today's Moldova and Romania.)

In 1798 the play *Der Friede am Pruth* was finished and circulated as a manuscript in the theatres. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), theatre-director at the Weimarer Hoftheater from 1791 to 1817,⁸⁹ read it on November 28 that year, as he notes in his diary: “28. [...] Der Friede am Pruth von Kratter [...]”⁹⁰ (‘28. [...] The treaty of Pruth by Kratter. [...]’)

In 1799, Kratter's play *Der Friede am Pruth* was printed. The longest critique preserved, published in the *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, reflects a contemporary opinion of that time. This review remarks about Kratter's play *Der Friede am Pruth* that people who are looking for “Abentheuer” (‘adventure’) and “Geschwätz” (‘gossip’) will find it there; however, “those who are looking for something more special for heart and brain, will come away from Kratter's play empty-handed”:

Der Friede am Pruth; ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Franz Kratter. Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Esslinger. 190S. 8. 10 x [= Kreuzer].

Als Ergänzung des ersten Bandes sämtlicher Stücke dieses Dramatikers anzusehen: da dann das Mädchen von Marienburg und die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen voranzubinden sind; weshalb auch das Ganze seinen Haupttitel hier erhalten hat. – Wie es scheint ist dieser Schriftsteller nicht

Gesellschaft in Mannheim cf. *Schriften der Kurfürstlichen Deutschen Gesellschaft in Mannheim* (Mannheim, 1.1787–10.1794), and Thomas Charles Rauter: *The Eighteenth-Century “Deutsche Gesellschaft”: A Literary Society of the German Middle Class*. Ph.D. thesis, Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970. – Eduard Wlassack: *Chronik des k.k. Hofburgtheaters*. Vienna: Rosner, 1876, pp. 76–77. The chronicle registers that the play premiered on October 4, 1793, and was in the repertoire until January 21, 1848.

The play was given also in Prague: *Alexander Menzikof* was given on January 1, 1795, at the Hibernertheater (also called “Vaterländisches Theater”, [‘Fatherlandish Theatre’]) and repeated on January 14. Cf. Alena Jakubcová's repertory of the years 1795–1797, published in the conference volume *Jeden jazyk naše heslo bud'*, ed. Jaroslav Vyčichlo. Radnice: Spolek Divadelních Ochoťníků, 2005, p. 65.

89 Cf. Reinhart Meyer: “Das Musiktheater am Weimarer Hof bis zu Goethes Theaterdirektion 1791”, in: *Der theatralische Neoklassizismus um 1800: Ein europäisches Phänomen?*, ed. Roger Bauer. Bern: Peter Lang, 1986, pp. 127–167.

90 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: *Tagebücher: Historisch kritische Ausgabe in 10 Bänden*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000, vol. 2, pp. 222–225; <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Goethe,+Johann+Wolfgang/Tageb%C3%BCher/1798> November, accessed May 5, 2009.

abgeneigt, Rußlands Staatsgeschichte noch weiter hin zu dramatisiren; und da es unstreitig der Zuschauer und Leser in Menge giebt, die von dem wahren Verlauf der Dinge wenig oder gar nichts wissen: so sieht Rec[ensent]. nicht ab, was an diesem Einfalle sonderlich zu tadeln wäre. Höchstwahrscheinlich haben dergleichen Ignoranten von dramatischer Kunst eben so unvollkommenen Begriff, und da Leuten dieses Schlags nur darum zu thun seyn kann, etwas Unerhörtes zu sehn: so kann vorliegendes Schauspiel, das an Abentheuern und seltsamen Geschwätz keinem Romane in der Welt etwas nachgiebt, zuverlässig eben den Beyfall finden, der schon den früheren Erzeugnissen dieser Feder geworden ist.

Für den Zeitvertreibslustigen hingegen, der irgendein merkwürdiges Ereigniß dergestalt in Handlung gebracht sehen will, daß Kopf und Herz nicht leer dabey ausgehe, die Aufmerksamkeit in zunehmender Spannung erhalten, und am Ende der Laufbahn ein praktisches Resultat gewonnen werde, für solch einen Zuschauer ist in vorliegender Staats- und Heldenfarce nicht das mindeste zu suchen. Peter der Große wird hier als Besitzer jeder Tugend dargestellt, und bleibt ein wenig anziehender Charakter; Katharina zeigt eine Geistesbildung und Herzensgüte – wozu Natur seitdem die Form zerbrach; der arme Alexiowitsch aber macht Streiche, als schwerlich noch ein Thronerbe sich einfallen ließ; einer der beyden Großveziere sinkt bis zum Pickelhering herab, indeß sein Kollege den Grandison selber beschämt. Alle diese Personen, und noch ein Dutzend anderer, eben so stark gezeichneter oder verzeichneter; denn auch der tollkühne Schweden=Carl muß einen Dialog mit Peter und Katharinen bestehn; bringen so viel Verwirrung und Lerm hervor, daß auch die klügern, oft superklugen Sentenzen, die ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit entwischen, darüber unhörbar werden, und in dem Meere von Abentheuerlichkeit ersaufen. Was dem Wirrwarr einen noch sonderbarern Anstrich giebt, ist der Vortrag. Wie es ganz danach aussieht, hat der Autor in Jamben schreiben wollen; mag aber doch auf unerwartet Schwierigkeiten gestoßen, und mit seinem Ohr darüber nicht aufs Reine gekommen seyn. Wo indeß ein jambischer oder trochaischer Vers ihm in die Feder lief, ließ er ihn stehn; und tief in das Stück hinein rollen deren so viele mit unter, da ihr Abstich gegen die sie umgebende baare Prosa gerade deßhalb nur um desto fühlbarer wird, und den Declamator äußerst peinigen muß. Gegen das Ende zu fällt zwar alles ungleich prosaischer aus; metrische Absätze bleiben ihm jedoch noch immer willkommen; und wie viel er sich von Dichtkunst überhaupt verspricht, belegt schon der Umstand, daß der staatskluge Bruder Katharinens (die Geschichte kennt ihn als grundeinfältigen Tropf) den Lauf

des Krieges in türkische Verse bringt, und durch diesen Meisterstreich die Mutter des Großsultans wirklich zu Gunsten Russlands umstimmt. Katharina findet diesen Einfall vortrefflich! Schade, daß uns dieses Drama selbst, nicht wenigstens Bruchstücke dieses Sirengesangs aufbehalten hat! So was könnte den berühmten Bounaparte [sic] aus aller seiner Verlegenheit helfen.⁹¹

(‘The treaty of Prut; a play in five acts by Franz Kratter. Frankfurt am Main, at Esslinger, 190p. 8,10x [= Kreuzer, equivalent to pence].

To be seen as supplement of the first volume of complete plays by this playwright: because *The Girl from Marienburg* and *The Conspiracy Against Peter the Great* are to be placed in front, the whole obtained its main title here. It seems that this dramatist [Franz Kratter] is not unwilling to dramatize the history of Russia further; and because it is undoubted that there are spectators and readers who know little or nothing about the true course of action, therefore this Rev[iewer]. does not see what should be especially criticized about this idea. Most probably such ignorant people have an imperfect idea of dramatic art and all the people of this kind can just ask to see something outrageous: Thus the play at hand, which is not inferior to any novel in the world concerning adventures and strange verbiage, can reliably find the applause that already was obtained by earlier products by this pen.

However, for the friend of pastime, who wants to see some odd event that is set in action in such a way that head and heart do not come away empty-handed, to get attention in increasing suspense, and at the end of the course to achieve a practical result, for such a spectator not the least is to be sought in the state’s and hero’s farce. Peter the Great is represented as possessor of every virtue and remains a little-appealing character; Katharina shows some education of the mind and goodness – for which nature destroyed the form since then; poor Alexiowitsch plays tricks that scarcely a heir to the throne would come up with; one of the two grand viziers degenerates to a pickle-herring, while his colleague humiliates the poet himself. All these characters and another dozen, which are as strongly shaped or wrongly shaped (also daring Swedish Carl has to pass through a dialogue with Peter and Katharina), create so much confusion and noise that the more astute and super astute sentences which occur from time to time become inaudible and drown in the ocean of

91 “Theater: *Der Friede am Pruth: ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Franz Kratter*. Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Eßlinger. 1799. 190 S”, in: *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. 49, pp. 318–319. For pickleherring cf. Adelong. http://lexika.digitale-sammlungen.de/adelung/lemma/bsb00009133_4_1_1068, accessed November 18, 2010.

adventurousness. What gives this hurly-burly an even stranger touch is the speech. It seems that the author wanted to write in iambic verse, however he may have unexpectedly encountered difficulties and because of this did not come clean with his ear. Where an iambic or trochaic verse came across his pen, he allowed it to stand; occasionally, many of them flood deeply into the play, so their disparity towards the surrounding bare prose is thus felt the more; and this must torment the declaimer exceedingly. In fact, towards the end everything becomes more prosaic; however, metric paragraphs remain welcome to him. How much he expects from poetry altogether proves the fact that Katharina's politically clever brother (history knows him as a bovine ninny) brings the course of the war in Turkish verses and thus changes the great sultan's mother's mind to the benefit of Russia with this masterstroke. Katharina finds this idea excellent! It's a pity that this drama itself has not preserved at least fragments of this siren song! This disembarrasses the famous Bonaparte in all quandary.'

In late spring of the very same year, *Der Friede am Pruth* was published. The play was already in the repertoire of the Weimar court theatre. The piece also appealed to Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), as he wrote from Jena on June 11, 1799, to his friend Goethe, then the Weimar court theatre's director:

Wenn ich nicht zu viel Zeit verlöre, so hätte ich wohl eine Versuchung gehabt, das Stück welches morgen in Weimar gegeben wird zu sehen. Bei meinem jetzigen Geschäft könnte die Anschauung eines neuen historischen Stücks auf der Bühne, wie es auch sonst beschaffen sein möchte, nützlich auf mich wirken. Die Idee, aus diesem Stoff ein Drama zu machen, gefällt mir nicht übel. Er hat schon den wesentlichen Vortheil bei sich, daß die Handlung in einen thatvollen Moment concentrirt ist und zwischen Furcht und Hofnung [sic] rasch zum Ende eilen muß. Auch sind vortrefliche [sic] dramatische Charaktere darinn schon von der Geschichte hergegeben. Das Stück mag aber nicht viel besonders seyn, da Sie mir nichts davon sagten.⁹²

(‘If it did not cost me too much time, I would be seduced to see the piece which will be given in Weimar tomorrow. With my current occupation, the viewing of a new historical piece on stage, however else it may be

92 Friedrich Schiller: letter to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jena, Tuesday, June 11, 1799, in: *Briefe an Goethe*. Gesamtausgabe in Regestform, ed. Karl-Heinz Hahn. Weimar: Böhlau 1980–1995, 7 vols, vol. 3 (1983), p. 86; <http://www.wissen-im-netz.info/literatur/schiller/briefe/1799/179906111.htm>, accessed April 14, 2008.

conditioned, could suitably affect me. The idea of making a drama out of this material does appeal to me not half bad. It has indeed the essential advantage that the action is concentrated in one vigorous moment and has to hasten, between dread and hope, and rush towards the end. Also excellent dramatic characters are pro-vided inherently by the story. But the play may not be that special since you did not tell me anything about it.’)

Goethe’s reply of June 5, 1799, does not take up this subject and remains quiet about Schiller’s intention to attend the performance of *Der Friede am Pruth*.⁹³

In charge of the administration of the Weimar court theatre and supporting Goethe, Franz Kirms (1750–1826) recommended Kratter’s play *Der Friede am Pruth* in a letter to Christian August Vulpius, brother of Goethe’s partner and later wife Christiane Vulpius (1765–1816). Kirms wrote to Vulpius in 1798 that he could get the text “wohlfeil” (‘cheap’).⁹⁴

A MOZARTIAN EPILOGUE

The historical period treated in Kratter’s *Der Friede am Pruth* is depicted by another Komplex Mauerbach writer, the aforementioned Christian August Vulpius – since 1806 brother-in-law of Johann Wolfgang Goethe – in his *Carl XII. bey Bender* (Grätz 1800, MB 2486). A later edition of Vulpius’ play bears the name *Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender*, and also exists in the Theater-Library Pálffy.⁹⁵ With this play Vulpius tried to avoid stereotypes by concentrating on historicizing. Even though it had its world premiere on August 29, 1797, in the court theatre of Vienna, it was not a great success, despite the thorough research that Vulpius had been conducting since 1785.⁹⁶ After a series of performances in Vienna, Munich, Kassel, Dresden, Carlsbad,

93 Cf. Goethe: letter to Friedrich Schiller, June 5, 1799, in: *Johann Wolfgang Goethe mit Schiller: Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche. 24. Juni 1794 bis 9. Mai 1805*. Vol. 1: *Vom 24. Juni 1794 bis zum 31. Dezember 1799*, ed. Volker C. Dörr. Frankfurt/Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1998, pp. 686–688.

94 Cf. Franz Kirms: letter to Christian August Vulpius, November 24, 1798, in: Hahn: *Briefe an Goethe*, vol. 2, p. 434.

95 Christian August Vulpius: *Sitah Mani oder Charles XII Bey Bender*. Vienna: Wallishausser, 1797 (BP 274/01). See Matthias J. Pernerstorfer: “The Second Turkish Siege of Vienna (1683) Reflected in its First Centenary: ‘Anniversary Plays’ in the Pálffy Theatre Library, Vienna”, in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of W.A. Mozart and Sultan Selim III*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger, in print.

96 Cf. Christian August Vulpius: *Eine Korrespondenz zur Kulturgeschichte der Goethezeit*, ed. Andreas Meier. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Brieftexte*, p. LIX. Cf. also Alth: *Burgtheater 1776–1976*, vol. 2, p. 170: In total, *Sitah Mani* was given forty-one times at the court theatre

Nurnberg, Salzburg and Breslau, in 1799 Vulpius asked Schiller for his opinion about the play:

Die Antwort Schillers [...] war diplomatisch, aber vernichtend, denn sie forderte indirekt, das Stück völlig neu zu schreiben.⁹⁷

(‘Schiller’s answer was diplomatic but devastating, because it indirectly asked [Vulpius] to rewrite the play completely.’)

Thus, Vulpius’ play on Charles XII of Sweden befall a judgment by Schiller explicitly quite close to the one which, two years later, would befall Kratter’s play on the same subject by Goethe’s silence.

Weimar 1794: The Bid

At this point we may finish this study with another statement about Vulpius, expressed by Mozart and handed down to us by Schikaneder. Our point of departure is a production of the *Zauberflöte*, with a text reelaborated by Vulpius in 1794:

Die Zauberflöte. Eine Oper in drei [sic] Aufzügen. Neubearbeitet v. C.A. Vulpius. Die Musik ist von Mozart. Aufgeführt auf dem Herzoglichen Hoftheater zu Weimar zum erstenmale am 16. Januar 1794. Leipzig 1794 bei Johann Samuel Heinsius.⁹⁸

(‘The Magic Flute. An opera in three acts. Adapted by C. A. Vulpius. The music is by Mozart. Represented for the first time at the Duke of Weimar’s court theatre on January 16, 1794. Leipzig 1794, at Johann Samuel Heinsius.’)

Adapting operas was one of Vulpius’ main jobs in Weimar – among many others he treated several of Mozart’s operas: *Le nozze di Figaro* (‘The marriage of Figaro’), *Così fan tutte* (‘So do the ladies all’) and *La clemenza di Tito* (‘Titus’ mildness’). We must

between August 29, 1797, and February 20, 1814.

97 Quoted after Roberto Simanowski: *Die Verwaltung des Abenteuers: Massenkultur um 1800 am Beispiel Christian August Vulpius*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, p. 198.

98 Quoted after Gerald Fischer-Colbrie: “Eine Linzer Flugschrift von 1794 über die Zauberflöte: Erstaufführung, Textänderungen, Ausdeutungen”, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1992*, ed. Archiv der Stadt Linz. Linz: Stadtarchiv, 1992, p. 32, footnote 20 (http://www.oogeschichte.at/uploads/tx_iafbibliografiedb/hjstl_1991_0029-0040.pdf; accessed October 21, 2009). Fischer-Colbrie mentions a copy in Vienna, ÖNB, Theatersammlung (sign. 3628920-A). About the reception and dissemination of Vulpius’ adaptation cf. *ibidem*, pp. 32–35. A microfiche copy is in ÖNB, microforms (3258-MFS Neu Mik, FN 18422/43-44).

remember that the general manager of the Weimar court theatre during that period was none other than Goethe.⁹⁹

Regarding *Die Zauberflöte*, Vulpius declared in the foreword his reasons for the adaptation:

Es war uns schlechterdings unmöglich, die Zauberflöte nach dem Originale, welches Mozart durch seine himmlische Komposition [sic] gleichsam veredelt hatte, vor unser delikates Publikum hier auf das Theater zu bringen. [...] Wer das Original kennt, wird wissen, was ich geleistet habe, oder nicht. Den Dialog habe ich ganz neu umgeschaffen. Die Verse habe ich geändert und wenigstens – vom Nonsens gereinigt, wie ich hoffe! Dennoch wird man hier und da noch harte Reime genug finden. [...] Das Originalstück hat gar keinen Plan. Die Menschen gehen darinne nur, um wieder zu kommen, und kommen, um abgehen zu können. – Ich habe es versucht, einen Plan hineinzudrängen. [...] In dieser Rücksicht habe ich auch das Stück in drei Aufzüge abgetheilt, weil der Zwischenraum von Nacht und Tag mir dadurch bestimmter gemacht zu seyn schien, und weil überhaupt der zweite Aufzug durch seine unverhältnißmäßige Länge, ermüdete. Weiter weiß ich vor der Hand nichts zu sagen.¹⁰⁰

(‘It was simply impossible for us to bring the Magic Flute in the original, which Mozart had refined through his heavenly composition, here on stage for our subtle audience. [...] Those who are familiar with the original will know what I accomplished, or not. I have completely reworked the dialogue. I changed the verses and, I hope, at least purified them from nonsense! Nevertheless, one will still find here and there enough hard rhymes. [...] The original play has no conception at all. In it, people make exits just to make an entrance again, and make entrances to make exits. I have tried to press some conception in it. [...] In this regard I also divided the piece into three acts, because the space between day and night seemed to me better defined, and because generally the second act tires through its disproportional overlength. For the nonce I do not know to say more.’)

99 Vulpius’ adaptation of *Zauberflöte* was given in Weimar eighty-one times between January 16, 1794, and April 11, 1814. Cf. Vulpius: *Eine Korrespondenz zur Kulturgeschichte der Goethezeit*, vol. 1: *Brieftexte*, p. XLVIII.

100 *Die Zauberflöte. Eine Oper in drei [sic] Aufzügen. Neubearbeitet v. C.A. Vulpius. Die Musik ist von Mozart. Aufgeführt auf dem Herzoglichen Hoftheater zu Weimar zum erstenmale am 16. Januar 1794.* Leipzig 1794 bei Johann Samuel Heinsius, pp. A2–A3. The foreword is dated January 30, 1794.

Vienna 1795: The Double

The news of the adaptation reached Schikaneder, the opera's poet, possibly together with a copy of the Vulpius libretto. This contributed much to a new edition of the opera in 1795 which is also contained in the *Komplex Mauerbach* (MB 2025). On the frontispiece of this new edition Schikaneder refers specifically to Vulpius:

Die Zauberflöte. Eine Oper in zwey Aufzügen, Von Emanuel Schikaneder, k. k. priv. Unternehmer des Wiedner Theaters. Die Musik dazu ist von Herrn Wolfgang Amade Mozart, weil. Kapellmeister, und wirklichen k. k. Kammer Kompositeur. Neue Auflage. Mit ein paar Worten an Herrn Vulpius, seine Umarbeitung der Zauberflöte betreffend. 1795. Wien bey J. G. Binz, im Zwettelhof auf dem Stephansfreydhof und in Linz in der akademischen Buchhandlung in der Klostergasse.

(‘The Magic Flute. An opera in two acts, by Emanuel Schikaneder, Imperial Royal Privileged Entrepreneur of the Wieden Theatre. The music thereto is by Wolfgang Amade Mozart, late bandmaster and Imperial Royal Chamber Composer. New edition. With a few words to Mister Vulpius, regarding his adaptation of The Magic Flute. 1795. Vienna, with J. G. Binz, at the Zwettel court on the St. Stephen’s churchyard and in Linz at the academic bookshop in the Cloister’s Alley.’)

In his introduction Schikaneder thoroughly discusses the adaptation of the *Zauberflöte* Vulpius had undertaken:

Zu diesem allem würde ich kein Wörtchen gesagt haben – allein – er [Vulpius] nahm sich sogar die Freyheit, diese sogenannte Umarbeitung drucken zu lassen, und in einer kurzen Vorrede dem Publikum zu sagen, daß die Oper in ihrer vorigen Gestalt seinem Publikum nicht hätte behagen können! – Sonderbar! – Man sieht aus den Journalen der auswärtigen Bühnen, daß unsere Opern draußen behagen, welches man doch von den Opern, welche zu uns hereinkommen, selten sagen kann! Der seelige Mozart hatte, ehe noch meine Zauberflöte fertig war, Elisinden und den Schleyer, beyde – Opern des Herrn Vulpius gelesen, und sich doch nicht entschließen können, eine Musik drauf zu setzen, weil er für die Musik zu wenig Handlung fand.¹⁰¹

101 Emanuel Schikaneder: *Die Zauberflöte, Neue Auflage. Mit ein paar Worten an Herrn Vulpius, seine Umarbeitung der Zauberflöte betreffend.* Vienna: J. G. Binz im Zwettelhof auf dem Stephansfreydhof, 1795 (MB 2025), p. 4.

(‘To all this I would have said not one single word. Alone, he [Vulpius] permitted himself the freedom to give this so-called reworking to print and to explain to his public in a brief foreword that the opera in its prior form would not have pleased the spectators! Strange! One sees from the foreign theatres’ journals that our operas there do please, which can be said quite rarely about operas that reach us from there! Mozart, may God rest his soul, had, before I had finished *The Magic Flute*, read *Elisinde* and *The Veil* both – operas by mister Vulpius – and he could not convince himself to set them into music, because for music he found there to be too little action.’)

In the following long and precise comparison, rich with quotations, Schikaneder analyses Vulpius’ intervention and strips it down completely. Highly illuminating is a comparison he undertakes of his own original text of *Pamina* and Papageno’s duet “*Bey Männern, welche Liebe fühlen*” (‘With men in grade of feeling love’) with Vulpius’ adaptation, starting with “*Wer zärtlich liebt, kann nicht betrügen*” (‘Who tender loves, can not betray’).¹⁰² At the end, Schikaneder specifies his report of Mozart’s opinion concerning Vulpius’ dramatic products:

Seine Opern *Elisinde* und den *Schleyer* fand der verewigte Mozart zu langweilig, und die Verse zu hart.¹⁰³

(‘The late Mozart found his [Vulpius’] operas *Elisinde* and *The Veil* too boring, and the verses too hard.’)

What Schikaneder tells us here about Mozart – his reading of dramatic literature as research for pieces to set to music and his opinion of two of Vulpius’ dramatic products – seems a statement which, as far as I can see, did not receive any attention in the abundant literature on *Die Zauberflöte* and both its authors until now.

On his side, Goethe himself commented on Vulpius’ adaptation of Schikaneder’s text in the way he commented on Kratter’s *Friede am Pruth*: with not one word. Casually or not, Goethe started his own *Magic Flute* Project in 1795 with the writing of *Der Zauberflöte zweyter Theil* (‘The magic flute’s second part’).

Vienna 1801: The Overhead

When on February 24, 1801, the Vulpius version was given in Vienna’s Kärntnertor-Theater, the above mentioned playwright Joachim Perinet – at the time in service

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 11.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 15.

at Schikaneder's Wiedner Theater following his engagement at the Lepoldstädter Theater, – published a commentary:

Mozart und Schikaneder. Ein theatralisches Gespräch über die Aufführung der Zauberflöte im Stadttheater. In Knittelversen von ☼*****
☼*****. Wien. Gedruckt mit Albertischen Schriften.¹⁰⁴

(‘Mozart and Schikaneder. A dramatic conversation on the representation of The Magic Flute in the City’s Theatre. In doggerel verse by ☼*****
☼***** Vienna. Printed by Alberti’.)

Again we meet the group of Mozart’s theatrical co-Masons co-acting: Schikaneder, Perinet, and Alberti. The *Mozart und Schikaneder* text is an example of a traditional literary genre, the “Conversation in the Netherworld”, which was very popular in Vienna at the time. Awakened with the three trombone accords of the overture, Mozart is informed by Schikaneder about the progress of the opera as it made its way from the suburbs of Vienna through the cities of Germany, to penetrate in altered form Vienna’s strong city ramparts. Mozart’s spirit goes to see the play, but instead of entering he stops at the doorway, commenting on the advertisement:

Mozart. A propos! Es ist zwar ein Bettel,
 Aber, warum steht denn mein Name auf dem Zettel,
 Und warum ist der deinige denn ausgeblieben?

Schikaneder. Man hat ihn halt nicht draufgeschrieben.
 Und es wär ja auch ein Überfluss,
 Da ihn jedes Kind schon wissen muss.¹⁰⁵

(‘Mozart. Oh golly gosh! Be this a hard-bitten mitten,
 Tell, why is my name on the ad fully written,
 And why is just yours dropped out and omitted?’)

104 Copy in Wienbibliothek, (sign. A 144241). There are three other printed netherworld conversations on this subject: “Mozarts Traum nach Anhörung seiner Oper die Zauberflöte im Stadttheater. Jupitern und Schikanedern erzählt im Olymp in Knittelversen von H. v. P. Z. Wien 1801” (‘Mozart’s dream after having heard his opera The Magic Flute in the City Theatre. Told to Jove and Schikaneder in doggerel verse by Mr. v. P. Z. Vienna 1801’); “Jupiter, Mozart und Schikaneder nach der ersten Vorstellung der Zauberflöte im neuen Theater an der Wien in Knittelversen. Wien 1802” (‘Jove, Mozart and Schikaneder after the Magic Flute’s first night in the New Theatre on the River Wien. Vienna 1802’); and “Das Theatralische Gespräch zwischen Mozart und Schikaneder über den Verkauf des Theaters. Wien 1802” (‘The dramatic conversation between Mozart and Schikaneder regarding theatre’s vending. Vienna 1802’).

105 Ibidem, s. p.

Schikaneder. Oh simply because there was no one to fit it.
Indeed, it would seem rather perfect profusion,
as each kiddy knows without any confusion.’)

Such a point of view shows the poet’s pride; all the more so, as Schikaneder was already involved with the construction of a new theatre building where, as he explains to his composer friend, *Die Zauberflöte* would be given in the true and brilliant way:

Mozart. O, könnt’ ich doch auch bey der Aufführung seyn!

Schikaneder. Sorg dich nicht, du kommst gewiß hinein.
Und von dem Tage, wo ich sie will produzieren,
Soll dein Bild meinen neuen Tempel zieren;
Dir, von mir, als meiner Dankbarkeit Stempel,
Und allen Compositeurs zum Muster und Exempel.¹⁰⁶

(‘Mozart. Oh could I be there when the spectacle runs!

Schikaneder. Don’t worry, for sure you go in with your buns.
From that very day, when I start the production
Your portrait embellishes my new construction;
For you, and from me, as my gratitude’s punch,
For the other composers a model to crunch.’)

When in that very same year, on June 12, 1801, the Theater auf der Wieden was closed after fourteen years of activity, the poet announced that a new theatre on the other side of the river Wien would open just one day later, on June 13, Schikaneder kept his word: as a demonstration of his “eternal” partnership with Mozart, he had ordered the curtain to be painted all over with an allegoric arrangement of the *Zauberflöte*’s most beautiful scenes and a portrait of Mozart. Schikaneder’s Theater an der Wien resisted the squalls of two centuries and, since the Mozart year of 2006, again acts as one of Vienna’s leading opera houses: the painted curtain is still in its place, and anyone who does not believe it, is invited to come and see.

In this way, we may call the circle closed, altogether ending the first trip of discoveries across and around the Komplex Mauerbach at Don Juan Archiv, Vienna.

106 Ibidem, s. p.

APPENDIX:

REGISTER OF 'ORIENTAL' PLAYS IN THE KOMPLEX MAUERBACH

As already mentioned, the inventory of 'oriental plays' included in the Komplex Mauerbach starts with *Mahomed der Vierte* ('Mahomed the Fourth', Vienna 1751, MB 1435), written by Ephraim Benjamin Krüger (1719–1789). The inventory also features another play that was published quite early, *Mustapha und Zeangir* ('Mustapha and Zeangir', Leipzig 1776, MB 2563/02) by Christian Felix Weiße (1726–1804), the first print of which – not included in the Komplex Mauerbach – is dated 1763.¹⁰⁷ Another very early play may not pertain exactly to the subject of the Ottoman Empire, as the symposium's title indicates, but is set in the 'Orient' in general: *Das arabische Pulver* ('The Arabic powder', [Leipzig] s.a., MB 0937) by Ludvig Holberg¹⁰⁸ (1684–1754). The example of this play in the Komplex Mauerbach does not display a year, but bibliographical research suggests that it was first presented in Hamburg and Leipzig in 1743. Additionally, August von Kotzebue's *Die Wüste* ('The desert', Vienna 1818, MB 1403/01) draws on a generally 'oriental' motif.

In the following appendix is a selection of those texts in the Komplex Mauerbach which refer in particular to the symposium's subject, categorized and arranged by theme. (Some of these works appear in two different subcategories.)

Historical Plays (1751–1872)

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------|
| 1. | Ephraim Benjamin Krüger: <i>Mahomed der Vierte</i> . Wien, 1751 | MB 1435 |
| 2. | Karl Friedrich Hensler: <i>Der Soldat von Cherson</i> . Wien, 1790 | MB 0863 |
| 3. | [Franz] Kratter: <i>Alexander Menzikof</i> . Wien, 1794. | MB 1417 |
| 4. | Franz Kratter: <i>Das Mädchen von Marienburg</i> . Wien, 1795 | MB 1418 |
| 5. | Franz Kratter: <i>Das Mädchen von Marienburg</i> . Frankfurt, 1795 | MB 1422/01 |
| 6. | Franz Kratter: <i>Der Friede am Pruth</i> . Frankfurt, 1799 | MB 1422/02 |
| 7. | Franz Kratter: <i>Der Friede am Pruth</i> . Grätz, 1799 | MB 1419 |
| 8. | Christian August Vulpius: <i>Carl XII. bey Bender</i> . Grätz, 1800 | MB 2486 |
| 9. | August W. Iffland: <i>Luassan, Fürst von Garisene</i> . Wien, 1843 | MB 1099/03 |
| 10. | Dercia: <i>Die Höhle bey Kosire</i> . Wien, 1803 | MB 0361 |
| 11. | Christian August Vulpius: <i>Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender</i> . Wien, 1809 | MB 2487 |

107 Cf. Christian Felix Weiße: "Mustapha und Zeangir", in: *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater*, ed. Christian Felix Weiße. Leipzig: Dyk, 1763.

108 There is no author mentioned in MB, just a handwritten annotation, "Holberg".

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 12. Carl Kaltenbrunner: <i>Konstantin XI., letzter griechischer Kaiser.</i>
Linz, 1836 | MB 1206 |
| 13. Carl Stegmayer: <i>Die Schlacht bei Essegg.</i> Wien/Leipzig, 1843 | MB 2289 |
| 14. Murad Efendi: <i>Selim der Dritte.</i> Wien, 1872 | MB 1766 |

Sultan Dramas and Comedies (1751–1909)

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1. Ephraim Benjamin Krüger: <i>Mahomed der Vierte.</i> Wien, 1751 | MB 1435 |
| 2. August von Kotzebue: <i>Sultan Wampun oder die Wünsche.</i>
Wien, 1801 | MB 1291 |
| 3. August von Kotzebue: <i>Sultan Wampun oder die Wünsche.</i>
Wien, 1810 | MB 1363/01 |
| 4. August von Kotzebue: <i>Sultan Bimbabum oder Der Triumph
der Wahrheit.</i> Wien, 1811 | MB 1378/06 |
| 5. J. F. Jünger: <i>Selim, Prinz von Algier.</i> Wien, 1805 | MB 2171/02 |
| 6. J. F. Jünger: <i>Selim, Prinz von Algier.</i> Wien, 1805 | MB 1150 |
| 7. Joseph Stephan von Menner: <i>Asiens Edelster.</i> Wien, 1807 | MB 1652 |
| 8. Murad Efendi: <i>Selim der Dritte.</i> Wien, 1872 | MB 1766 |
| 9. Ludwig Fulda: <i>Der Sohn des Kalifen.</i> Stuttgart, 1897 | MB 0498 |
| 10. Robert Adam: <i>Die Geschichte des Alí Ibn Bekkâr mit Schams
An Nahâr.</i> Wien/Leipzig, 1909 | MB 0001 |

Harem and Seraglio Plays (1772–1843)

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. Palissot de Montenoy: <i>Der Barbier von Bagdad.</i> Frankfurt/
Leipzig, 1772 | MB 1824 |
| 2. P[aul]. Weidmann: <i>Hababah oder die Eifersucht im Serail.</i>
Wien, 1772 | MB 2526 |
| 3. [Charles Simon] Favart: <i>Solimann der zweyte oder die drey
Sultaninnen.</i> Münster, 1777 | MB 0453 |
| 4. Jean-François Marmontel: <i>Zemire und Azor.</i> Breslau/Leipzig,
1779 | MB 1612 |
| 5. C[hristoph]. F[riedrich]. Bretzner: <i>Belmont und Constanze
oder die Entführung aus dem Serail.</i> Leipzig, 1781 | MB 0215 |
| 6. Heinrich Keller: <i>Algar und Ylly oder Der Sieg ächter Liebe.</i>
Dessau, 1784 | MB 1216 |
| 7. Franz Xaver Huber: <i>Soliman der Zweite oder die drey
Sultaninnen.</i> Wien, 1799 | MB 1000 |

FRANZ KRATTER (1758–1830) AND *DER FRIEDE AM PRUTH*

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 8. Joseph A. Gleich: <i>Die bezauberte Leyer oder Allerich und Zaide</i> .
Wien, 1809 | MB 0564 |
| 9. August von Kotzebue: <i>Der Harem</i> . Wien, 1811 | MB 1387/06 |
| 10. Theodor Hell: <i>Zulima</i> . S.l., s.a. | MB 0789 |
| 11. August W. Iffland: <i>Achmed und Zenide</i> . Wien, 1843 | MB 1096/01 |

Princes of the Ottoman Empire Named Selim (1804–1872)

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. J. F. Jünger: <i>Selim, Prinz von Algier</i> . Wien, 1805 | MB 2171/02 |
| 2. J. F. Jünger: <i>Selim, Prinz von Algier</i> . Wien, 1805 | MB 1150 |
| 3. Murad Efendi: <i>Selim der Dritte</i> . Wien, 1872 | MB 1766 |

Moorish Plays (1805–1897)

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Joseph Alois Gleich: <i>Der Mohr von Semegonda</i> . Wien, 1805 | MB 0560 |
| 2. Joseph Alois Gleich: <i>Der Mohr von Semegonda</i> . Zweyter und
letzter Theil. Wien, 1805 | MB 0561 |
| 3. Friedrich Wilhelm Ziegler: <i>Die Mohrin</i> . Wien, 1834 | MB 2680 |
| 4. Ignaz Franz Castelli: <i>Alamar der Maure</i> . Wien, s.a. | MB 0264 |
| 5. Richard Voss: <i>Der Mohr des Zaren</i> . Frankfurt am Main, 1883 | MB 2485/03 |

Diplomat Plays (Not Only Oriental) (1811–1903)

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. August von Kotzebue: <i>Mädchenfreundschaft oder der türkische
Gesandte</i> . Wien, 1811 ¹⁰⁹ | MB 1380/05 |
| 2. Theodor Hell: <i>Der Gesandte</i> . S.l., s.a. | MB 0791 |
| 3. Theodor Hell: <i>Der Gesandte</i> . Dresden/Leipzig, 1827 | MB 0809/02 |
| 4. Eduard Bauernfeld: <i>Exzellenz oder Backfisch</i> . Wien, 1872 | MB 0089/06 |
| 5. Leonhard Kohl von Kohlenegg: <i>Die Liebesdiplomaten</i> .
S.l., 1872 | MB 1262/01 |

¹⁰⁹ Kotzebue wrote this play shortly after Selim III's death (1808). Considering "türkische Gesandte" ('Turkish envoys'), a reader might immediately think of the Ottoman diplomacy and the establishment of permanent ambassadors in Europe under Selim, as there were embassies in St. Petersburg in 1792, London in 1793, Vienna in 1795, and Berlin and Paris in 1796. At St. Petersburg, Kotzebue was sent to participate in negotiations after the Jassy Treaty of 1792. See Suna Suner: "The Earliest Opera Performances in the Ottoman World and the Role of Diplomacy", in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of W. A. Mozart and Sultan Selim III*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger, in print.

6. Leonhard Kohl von Kohlenegg: Ein unschuldiger Diplomat. Stuttgart, 1872 MB 1262/04
7. Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer: Diplomatische Fäden. Stuttgart, 1873 MB 0670
8. Paul Lindau: In diplomatischer Sendung. Berlin, 1879 MB 1576/02
9. Arthur Pserhofer: Die Diplomatin. Berlin, 1903 MB 1883

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EAST OF THE EAST:
THE ORIENT OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA IN THE
COMIC OPERA *FEVEJ* (1786) BY
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Abstract: *Fevej* (1786), a comic opera by the Russian composer Vasilij Aleksejevič Paškevič (ca. 1749–1797), is based on the dramatic work *Skazka o careviče Feveje* ('The tale of Prince Fevej', 1783) by Empress Catherine II. It is regarded not only as one of the earliest Russian fairytale operas, but also as one of the first 'oriental' Russian operas. Interestingly, this work was written as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. In Russia, this was a time of great economic and cultural expansion, which also witnessed the promotion of enlightenment ideas through theatre and music. Prominent institutions such as the Bol'šoj ('Grand') Theatre and the Hermitage Theatre were established during this period; it was also here that operas and other forms of stage music were performed. With her own dramatic works, Catherine II made a contribution to their repertoire. Some of these works served as libretti for comic operas with an educational aim, dedicated to her grandchildren. The opera *Fevej* is a story about the teenage Siberian Prince Fevej's dream about the exotic Princess Danna and his fantasy to discover and travel to distant places. His father, the Siberian Tsar Tao-au, together with the empress, succeed in their attempt to prevent their son's departure thanks to the help of their advisor Rešemyšl ('resolute thinker', 'voice of reason'), who arranges Fevej's marriage with Princess Danna. Although a Siberian emperor's family is – from a Western point of view – already exotic enough a subject, they have their own exotic Other: Kalmyk ambassadors at the emperor's court and a group of Tatars. The Other is presented in several numbers of the opera, the most characteristic of which is the Chorus of the Kalmyks, an embodiment of the Mongolian world. Due to the specific characteristics of Russian comic opera – presence of folk music, popular songs – both the Self and the Other have their own distinct musical spheres in the opera. Their harmonious co-existence shows that the treatment of the East in the specific Russian context reveals a kind of self-orientalization.

★ ★ ★

Fevej, a comic opera by Vasilij Aleksejevič Paškevič based on the libretto by Empress Catherine the Great (Catherine II, born Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst, 1729–1796, reigned 1762–1796), is regarded not only as the first Russian

fairytale opera, but also as one the first ‘oriental’ Russian operas.¹ This work, according to Warrack,

not only contrasts a Russian musical idiom with an ‘Oriental’ one, but makes some use of the idea of accompanying a repeating folk melody with a changing background – a technique that arises from Russian folk music and was brought to prominence by Glinka.²

Interestingly, *Fevaj* was written as early as the second half of the eighteenth century – in a style close to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, composed four years earlier – and can be seen as a precursor of the characteristic nineteenth-century Russian opera style. It is also one of only three operas that were published in Russia in the eighteenth century.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE IN RUSSIA DURING THE REIGN OF EMPRESS CATHERINE II

In Russia, the eighteenth century was a time of great economic and cultural expansion. Catherine II continued the cultural policy of Peter the Great (reigned 1682–1725) of Europeanization and Russification, as well as encouraging Russianization. Up to this time, Russia was frequently understood as an Asiatic culture and hence as part of the oriental world.³ This was not only because of its geographical position and its relations with the Far East, but also because of the predominant Orthodox religion; more precisely, the Orthodox Church objected to the drive for Westernization in the second half of the eighteenth century, since it saw the Latin influence as a possible threat to herself and to Russia in general. Nevertheless, political, military and cultural efforts by the empress also resulted in a strengthening of Russia’s position in Europe.

During her 34-year long reign, regarded as a ‘golden age’ in Russian history, the territory of her empire was significantly expanded: following the First Russo-

1 In this paper I have used a system of transliteration for Russian personal names, names of the compositions and the institutions in accordance to the ISO 9/1995 standard.

2 John Warrack: “Russian opera”, in: *A History of Russian Theatre*, ed. Robert Leach and Victor Borovsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 200.

3 “[Louis-Philippe, comte de] Ségur had a name for the space that he discovered when he seemed to leave Europe but still remained in Europe; eventually he located himself in ‘the east of Europe’, which in French, as *l’orient de l’Europe*, offered also the potentially evocative possibility of the ‘the Orient of Europe.’” Cf. Larry Wolff: *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, p. 6.

Turkish War (1768–1774), Russia got direct access to the Black Sea, having conquered southern Ukraine, the northern Caucasus and the Crimea. Under Catherine II's auspices, several expeditions were sent to study the culture, languages, and religions of Slavs, Tatars, Cossacks, and Mongols in the eastern or northern parts of the Russian Empire. During her reign, the relations with non-Christians were much more tolerant than before. The first academic expeditions (1761–1802), both scientific and ethnographic, were organized by her – now led by Russians rather than foreigners. These were critical monuments in the genesis of a national identity.⁴

Ethnographic exploration was part of multifaceted project of self-discovery, intrinsically linked to literary and historical debates, which allowed the development of a sense of the Self based on the knowledge of Russia's own territorial domains and cultural resources, including both its Asiatic and European characteristics.⁵

Along with the expansion to the East and the study of eastern cultures, Catherine II strongly fostered enlightenment thought through direct contacts with leading French philosophers, such as Voltaire and Diderot. She even modelled her progressive social reforms in the *Nakaz* (Instructions for the Guidance of the Assembly, 1766) mainly after Montesquieu's ideas. In the very first sentence of this text, the empress defined Russia as a 'European nation'. Her political and cultural promotion of Russia placed St. Petersburg and Moscow on the map of European cultural centres. Voltaire wrote to her in 1722, "you make your court the most delightful in Europe, while your troops are the most formidable"⁶.

4 Russian identity was formed over a long historical period and is characterized by its complexity and deep division between East and West: "The idea of theocratic absolutism, maintained by the Rurik dynasty and culminating in Ivan the Terrible's rule, crystallized Russian identity as inseparable from Orthodox and was personified in the Tsar, ordained by God to rule the land ... Although Peter broke the church's dominance, he could not eradicate this thorny duality between *religious-national-old (stable) and secular-extraneous-new (changeable)*, and it was this antinomy that constituted one of the important factors that prevented Russia from completely joining Western Europe ... It is thus hardly surprising that two identities took shape long before Petrine Russia: the first – that of the Orthodox Church sanctifying the old Byzantine values, and the second – secular and/or Western-oriented." Cf. Marina Ritzarev: *Eighteenth-Century Russian Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 10.

5 Giulia Cecere: "Russia and its 'Orient'. Ethnographic Exploration of the Russian Empire in the Age of Enlightenment", in: *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, ed. Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, p. 199.

6 Voltaire's letter to Catherine the Great, March 12, 1772, is quoted in: Lurana Donnell O'Malley: *The Dramatic Works of Catherine the Great: Theatre and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006, p. 6.

Enlightenment ideas were promoted also through her general cultural policy, in particular through theatre and musical life. During the reign of Catherine II, there were the so-called Stone and Wooden theatres (where Locatelli's company performed opera buffa), as well as a permanent Russian theatre established in 1756. The Stone Theatre, the first music theatre in Russia, with 2000 seats, was constructed according to Catherine II's orders. Completed in 1783, it came to be known as the Bol'shoj teatr (Grand Theatre), and in 1896 was replaced by the Conservatory. She also established the Hermitage Theatre in her Winter Palace, which in 1785 replaced an earlier house constructed in 1763. The Hermitage Theatre was the site of numerous court performances: plays by the Russian and Italian court troupes were staged there, as well as musicals and dramas, including presentations of the empress's own plays and operas. Therefore, theatre and musical life there was comparatively rich, demonstrated also by a report about the repertoire from the *Sankt Peterburgskie vedomosti* ('St. Petersburg Gazette') in 1783:⁷

Stone Theatre (1783)	Tuesday: Russian comedies with ballet Friday: Italian comic opera with ballet
Wooden Theatre (1783)	Wednesday: German comedies with ballet Saturday: French comedies with ballet Sunday: Russian comedies with ballet Monday: one of the previous, without ballet

The empress formalized theatrical training in Russia by founding the Imperial Theatrical School for actors, singers, and dancers in 1779.

She also made a direct contribution to the theatre repertoire through her own dramatic works, some of which served as libretti for comic operas, thus promoting "her Enlightenment belief in the value of education for her entire populace"⁸. Three works to the libretti by Empress Catherine were written with the help of her

7 "Sankt Peterburgskie vedomosti (The St. Petersburg Gazette) (in 1914–17 Petrogradskie vedomosti), one of the oldest Russian newspapers, appearing since April 1728 in the Petersburg Academy of Sciences Press in Russian and German languages, and was the successor of the Petersburg's first newspaper Vedomosti. Following its first editor, academy member G. F. Miller, among others Y. Y. Shtelin I. F. Bogdanovich held the position in the 18th century. In 1728–42 the paper published its supplement Primechaniya k Vedomostyam being the first journal in the Russian language (the name repeatedly changed). In the 18th century the paper came out twice a week, from 1800 circulated as a daily." *The Encyclopaedia of Saint Petersburg*
http://enc-dic.com/enc_spb/Sankt-peterburgskie-vedomosti-1437.html

8 O'Malley: *The Dramatic Works of Catherine the Great*, p. 2.

literary secretary Aleksandr Hrapovickij: 1) *Fevej* (1786, music by V. A. Paškevič);⁹ 2) *Načal'noe upravlenie Olega* ('The beginning of Oleg's reign', 1790; choir text by Mihail Lomonosov and Euripides, music by V. A. Paškevič with Carlo Cannobio and Giuseppe Sarti); and 3) *Fedul s det'mi* ('Fedul and his children', 1791, music by V. A. Paškevič and Martín y Soler).

The music for these three comic operas was written by one of the leading opera composers of the time, Vasilij Aleksejevič Paškevič, however, only the first opera was composed solely by him.¹⁰ Paškevič (ca. 1749–1797) was a composer as well as a singer, actor, violin player, court Kapellmeister, and the empress's favourite Russian composer. Although his biography has not yet been completely reconstructed, it is known that his duties at the court started with the position of violin player in the ball orchestra (1776). Subsequently, he worked as composer and director of the orchestra at Knipper's Free Theatre and, in 1789, was appointed music director for court balls.¹¹ He composed music for eight operas, starting with *Nešast'je ot karety* ('Misfortune from a coach', performed in 1779 at the Hermitage Theatre), for three of which, including one of his later operas, *Fevej*, he was the sole author.

DEPICTING THE SELF THROUGH THE SIBERIAN COURT

The drama *O careviče Feveje* was dedicated to, and sought to influence, Catherine II's grandson Aleksandr. Hence the choice of a fairytale to communicate what she perceived as the highest political and moral values is understandable. Through the communicativeness of the simple plot, folk songs, and ballet spectacle, the drama is close to sentimentalism, which replaced classicism as the dominant style in literature and theatre in the last third of the eighteenth century. Rejecting a differentiation between the 'high' and the 'low' in art, sentimentalists endeavoured to bring art as close to life as possible. Theatre was richly significant as a reflection of the social values and political ideology of the times.¹²

9 The source of the story about Fevej is Catherine II's original fairytale '*The Tale of Prince Khlor*' (*Skazka Carevič Hlor*, 1781). Later on, the empress wrote a new tale, a continuation of the tale about the little prince, who became the fifteen-year-old Fevej. Cf. Inna Naroditskaya: *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 89.

10 Beside Paškevič, the most prominent eighteenth century Russian opera composers were Dmitrij Stepanovič Bortnjanskij (1751–1825) and Jevstignej Ipat'jevič Fomin (1761–1800).

11 A. L. Porfir'eva: "Paškevič, Vasilij Aleksejevič", in: *Muzikal'nyj Peterburg: Enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, vol. 2 (K–P). Saint Petersburg: Kompozitor, 1998, pp. 340–344.

12 Victor Borovsky: "The Emergence of the Russian Theatre, 1763–1800", in: Leach and Borovsky:

This was precisely the aim of the author: to praise virtues such as family, matrimonial love, and the rightfulness of a merciful emperor. The story is about the fifteen-year old Siberian Prince Fevej who, inspired by a dream about an exotic princess, wishes to leave his country and to discover and travel to distant places. His father, the Siberian Tsar Tao-au, together with his tsarina, succeeds in preventing their son's departure from home with the help of their advisor Rešemysl ('resolute thinker', 'voice of reason'), who arranges Fevej's marriage with Princess Danna, the girl from Fevej's dream.

The use of a Siberian royal family was not accidental, but rather represented a particular symbolic significance in a Russian context: the 1552 conquest of Kazan had opened Siberia to Russia and eastward expansion into this vast region became an important mainstay of Russian identity.¹³ From a Western point of view, a Siberian emperor and his family alone may have been perceived as exotic enough, but in this Russian opera even the Siberians have exotic Others: Kalmyk ambassadors, a group of Tatars, and an eastern princess named Danna.

Thus the Self in this opera is represented not only by the emperor, the empress and their son Prince Fevej, but also by people of the Siberian court. This sphere is signified by idyllic scenes of a strong and peaceful empire, a perfect marriage, gentle and caring parents with an obedient son who expresses virtues and decent behaviour under all circumstances, even when confronted with a savage group of Tatars. This world of the Self is presented by the music numbers of the empress and the emperor – both in duets and their arias respectively – and the courtiers, including in some cases Russian folk songs. The only shadow in this perfect world appears in the very first music number, Fevej's aria, in which his wish to leave his parents and travel to distant (eastern) places is expressed. As a consequence, the plot starts immediately, resulting in a juxtaposition to the exposition of the characters.

The first part of the opera, that is, the first and second acts, is the space of the Self. The most interesting music number in this part is certainly the aria by Ledmer, "a song consisting of ostinato-variations on a folklike tune about neighbours, often cited by historians of Russian music as the earliest ancestor of Glinka's orchestral work *Kamarinskaâ*"¹⁴. This aria, based on two four-bar phrases, is followed by a folk dance.¹⁵

A History of Russian Theatre, p. 58.

13 See O'Malley: *The Dramatic Works of Catherine the Great*, p. 85.

14 Richard Taruskin: "Pashkevich, Vasily Alexeyevich", in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 19. London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 183.

15 I have used the piano score of the opera: Vasilij Paškevič: *Opera komičeskaâ Fevej*. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiâ Gornago učiliša, 1789.

As some Russian musicologists, such as Ūrij Keldyš, have noted, other folk songs are used by Paškevič at other points in this opera. The two folk melodies Keldyš had in mind are used at a very appropriate moment – when the court ladies Miâ and Naâ tried to convince Fevej not to leave their homeland;¹⁶ in addition, there is one, which ‘does not belong to the primordial Russian melodies’¹⁷. The presence of folk music is brought up also in the context of a ‘sequence of fresh and interesting moments’¹⁸ in the opera.

It is precisely this discourse of Russian traditional music that was the only aspect in the opera to be approved of by musicologists in the Soviet Union. All other aspects of the libretto and music were evaluated negatively. It was claimed, for instance, that the empress’s libretto was of very doubtful artistic quality, including senseless comedy of lavish court ballet¹⁹ and ‘conservative’²⁰, ‘impersonal’ music of ‘gallant lyricism’²¹, typical of the eighteenth-century arts. Paškevič was actually regarded as a ‘realist’, which was the most positive remark in music criticism in the Soviet Union, but ‘unspeakably’ poor libretto did not allow him to show his talents.²²

DEPICTING THE OTHER: TATARS AND KALMYKS

The Other is represented first by somewhat inaccurate images of a distant country in the East through negative and positive aspects of the orientalism. Moreover, the Other is found placed not only in the East, but also in the South-East, even the West, if Siberia is taken as the centre.

Insight into the history of Western Mongols, Kalmyks or Oirats, and their relation to Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when they settled near the Volga river,²³ shows a fascinating actuality of the drama, that is, the opera *Fevej*. Namely,

16 According to Keldyš, these two folk songs are “Molodka molodaâ” and “Ah ty, dušen’ka, krasna devica”. Cf. Ū. Keldyš: *Istoriâ russoj muzyki*, vol. 1. Moscow, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe muzykal’noe izdatel’stvo, 1948, p. 209.

17 A. S. Rabinovič: *Ruskaâ opera do Glinki*. Moscow: MUZGIZ, 1948, p. 63.

18 Keldyš: *Istoriâ russoj muzyki*, p. 209. Naroditskaja mentions six folk songs woven into the libretto of *Fevej*. Naroditskaja: *Bewitching Russian Opera*, p. 96.

19 Keldyš: *Istoriâ russoj muzyki*, p. 209.

20 T. Livanova: *Ruskaâ muzykal’naja kul’tura XVIII veka v eë svâzakh s literaturom, teatrom i bytom*, vol. 2. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe muzykal’noe izdatel’stvo, 1953, p. 178.

21 Rabinovič: *Ruskaâ opera do Glinki*, p. 63.

22 Ibidem, p. 62.

23 “The appearance of the Kalmyks near the Volga River in the early seventeenth century represented the last wave in the traditional pattern of migration of nomads from their homeland in Inner

Catherine II was herself engaged with Tatars, Kalmyks and other people in Russian territories that she wanted to ‘civilize’. Her politics were also presented on stage: while the relations with Tatars were problematic because of their insubordination to Russia, the situation with Kalmyks was better, since they struggled with Russia against the Ottomans. Indeed, they were presented accordingly in the opera.

References and hints of the Other can be seen throughout the first two acts:

1. **Aria Fevej**: a dream about a distant land he would like to learn about, to find out about its court, army, joy, nature: the East is introduced as a place where a wonderful princess lives through the fantasy, as an object of interest and longing (by means typical of the Classical style);

8. **Quartet Miâ, Naâ, Tina, Fevej**: the three girls promise the empress to convince Fevej not to leave his home, they talk about the beauties of Siberia (2/4, C major), but Fevej does not want to listen to them and at the same time mentions the distant country in a more concrete way (the place where mountains are high, meadows are big, the sea is deep, the cities exciting) and promises to bring them lavish gifts (6/8, G major);

11. **Aria Rešemysl** (hint of denouement): he mentions a ‘foreign, alien, distant, unknown country’, where one cannot feel at home (modulation d minor–F major, minor second ‘trembling’ in semiquavers); the future bride is mentioned for the first time in the spoken dialogue after this aria: she should be good, pleasant, graceful, and should have white face;

(12. **Chorus** about the beautiful future bride of Fevej);

(14. **Aria Fevej**: mentions the princess from his dream).

After these hints, the second part of the opera (that is, the third and fourth acts) is reserved for the appearance of the Other, the three Kalmyk ambassadors, and later the Princess Danna. Symbolically, both sides are finally united by the wedding of Danna and Fevej. Thus the more exotic people – at least compared with the Siberian

Asia to the Caspian steppes.” As Khodarovsky also points out, “It was only in the course of the nineteenth century that the Kalmyks adopted the name *Kalmyk* to identify themselves. Even then it was predominantly used in relations with outsiders and with neighboring states.” Michael Khodarovsky: *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 1.

The fact that Catherine II used the term ‘Kalmyk’ instead of ‘Oirat’ shows that she had a presentation of the empire to international spectators in mind.

court representing St. Petersburg – are introduced. While the Kalmyk ambassadors are musically exhibited in a way that one could describe as ‘positive orientalism’ – they are barbarians, but friends – the image of another group, Tatar traders, is drawn in a more negative light. Consequently, the Tatars appear only in spoken dialogue (in which they threaten to kidnap Fevej) without music. In spite of the unpleasant experience, Fevej – as any merciful ruler in an eighteenth-century opera would – asks the court guard to let them go without reprimand.

The Kalmyk ambassadors come to ask the Siberian (or Russian) emperor for a favour: they request an extension of their territory. Given that they were at that time a “totally nomadic society”²⁴, this request could have only meant that they needed the emperor’s allowance to move through wider space, which was not a very demanding wish. After receiving many ‘exotic’ presents typical of the Kalmyk culture, the emperor not only grants them their wish, but also presents them with a big feast. The Kalmyk ambassadors, announced to the emperor as young people with big fore-heads covered by winter fur hats, express their gratitude and joy through folk dance and song.

This episode is a further documentary detail in which the Siberian (Russian) court is presented in a most positive light. Kalmyk embassies namely followed certain etiquette when they visited the Russian or some other court. Usually they were not received by the emperor, but rather by a high-ranking court representative.

The presentation of the gifts was an important part of the diplomatic ritual. For the Kalmyks, each gift had a symbolic significance. The most common Kalmyk gifts were horses, sabers, bows and arrows, and saddles. Offerings of Chinese or Bukharan handicrafts, expensive brocades, silk, or musk were rarer ... The presentation of nine gifts meant particularly friendly intentions.²⁵

The opera scene of the Kalmyk ambassadors’ appearance is set very much in accordance with actual practices, including the aforementioned ‘rare’ cases (they were received by the emperor personally and brought the most precious gifts). The Kalmyks are presented as slightly awkward when they enter the emperor’s room – the three ambassadors simultaneously talk about different issues, which produces a

24 “The Kalmyks were organized into a loose confederation of tribes with no urban centers or even winter headquarters where hay could be stored. Instead, they followed seasonal migration routes throughout the entire year. Kalmyk society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was totally nomadic society.” Khodarovsky: *Where Two Worlds Met*, p. 15.

25 *Ibidem*, p. 61. Interestingly enough, certain presents, such as sword or bow “served to underscore commitment to a military alliance”. Cf. BA: *Nâme-i Hümayun*, in: *Ibidem*, p. 61.

comic effect: while the first kindly expresses wishes from Tao-au, the second asks the emperor to serve them food and drink, and the third lists all the gifts they have brought – all almost at the same time. Among the presents are a sabre, a bow, a horse, a kind of tent, a blanket of sable's fur, sixty ells of Chinese silk, fifty ells of expensive blue brocades, caps of sable fur with velvet at the top, astrakhan sashes and golden vodka – even more than nine. Obviously, the empress Catherine II was not only excellently informed about the results of the mentioned expeditions, but also promoted her political ideas very seriously and consequently even in a fairytale comic opera.

The eight stanzas of the Kalmyk choir are obviously variations of the first one, based on the repeating four out of five lines (see Example 1, Example 2). The musical form is constructed in the same way, typical for folk dances: the units consisting of two measures are multiply repeated or slightly varied, with drone octaves (G major tonic), and also a characteristic reverse of the dotted rhythm. There are no extensive studies about this opera, and in short reviews in several histories of Russian music or certain articles, the opera is mentioned mainly because of this music number (if mentioned at all), designated as the first expression of the Russian opera orientalism and exoticism, later characteristic of fairytale operas by Glinka or Rimskij-Korsakov. Both worlds in the opera are presented by (early-) classical musical means, symmetrical phrases, simple harmonies including modulation to the closest tonalities and also by the folk songs and dances.

RECEPTION OF THE OPERA *FEVEJ*

It was unusual that the opera *Fevej* was premiered at the public Stone Theatre in April 1786, was then performed at the Hermitage three days later and afterwards remained in the repertoire for an entire decade. The Hermitage Theatre was used for ceremonial performances in the presence of the diplomatic corps, however, this opera was presented also for the nobility and foreign ambassadors at the court. Some of them wrote about their delightful impressions. According to these reports about the court spectacle performances, oriental aspects were also expressed in the iconography of the opera. The performance of the opera *Fevej* in 1791 at the Hermitage Theatre was attended by the ambassador of Louis XVI at the Russian court, Count Valentin Esterházy, who reported of the spectacle in a letter:

Hier, j'y ai été encore à un opéra russe don't la musique est toute des anciens airs du pays ... Les paroles sont de Sa Majesté. Le spectacle est superbe. La

scène se passe en Russie dans l'ancien temps. Tous les costumes sont de la plus grande magnificence, faits d'étoffes turques de ce temps-là et comme on les portait alors. Il y a une ambassade de Kalmouks qui chantent et dansent à la manière tartare, des Kamtschadale vêtus à la manière du pays et dansant aussi les danses du nord de l'Asie ... On y voit les peuples différents qui composent l'empire, chacun avec ses habillements. Je n'ai jamais vu un spectacle plus varié et plus magnifique; il y avait plus de cinq cents personnes sur le théâtre et quoique les petits Grand-ducs et les quatre petites Grandes-duchesses y fussent, avec leurs gouverneurs et leurs gouvernantes, nous n'étions par cinquante spectateurs, tant l'Impératrice est difficile pour ceux qu'elle admet dans ses Ermitages.²⁶

(‘Yesterday I was at the Russian opera, all the music of which was composed of ancient native melodies ... The libretto is written by Her Majesty ... The setting was magnificent. The scene took place in Russia in ancient times. All the splendid costumes were prepared with the greatest luxury from Turkish fabrics, identical with those which are worn there. There were Kalmyk ambassadors, who were singing and dancing with Tatar melodies, as well as Kamchadali who were dressed in national costumes and also performed dances of Northern Asia ... In the closing ballet were represented all the different peoples inhabiting the Empire, each in his own peculiar dress. I have never seen a spectacle more varied and wonderful; on the stage were more than five hundred people. In the auditorium, however, although the young princes and the four noble princesses with their governors and governesses were all assembled there, there could not have been more than fifty spectators, so rigid is the Empress in the manner of access to her Hermitage.’)²⁷

The opera's splendid performance is confirmed in another diplomatic source:

The magnificence of the theatres, and the sums that have been expended on them, surpass every possible description. I was present at the representation of the pieces *Olga* and *Fevy*, written by the empress herself, and played with a perfection worthy of the author ... *Fevy* is not less interesting: it exhibits the different costumes, usages, and dances, of all the nations in subjection to

26 *Lettres du comte Valentin Esterhazy à sa femme 1784–1792*, ed. Ernest Daudet. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Comte, 1907, pp. 318–319.

27 The translation into English appears in: O'Malley: *The Dramatic Works of Catherine the Great*, 175. This description is also quoted in a book by Inna Naroditskaya, but under the wrong name of Victor Esterházy. Cf. Naroditskaya: *Bewitching Russian Opera*, p. 86.

Russia. This mixture forms the most striking and agreeable *coup d'œil*. The illusion is even carried so far, as to have imitated the scenery of the countries, represented as much to the life as the costume and dresses. This exhibition concluded with the most delightful ballets.²⁸

Due to the specifics of this Russian comic opera – namely the presence of folk music and popular songs – both the Self and the Other have their own musical spheres in the opera, but they are not all different from each other. Their harmonious co-existence shows that the treatment of the oriental world in a Russian context assumes a kind of self-orientalization – an ‘exotic self’ from the Western point of view.²⁹

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29 David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye: *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 199–223. “Balakirev did not see the Oriental style as a means for representing a separate, alien people, and Other, in current parlance, but as an essential component of musical Russianness.” In: Marina Frolova Walker: *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008, p. 153.

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Example 1. V. A. Paškevič, *Fevaj*: No. 22. Hor Kalmyckoj ('Kalmyk choir'), text.

V narode vo Kalmyckom Kušaût kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, Tabak kurât, Kumys varât.	('The Kalmyk people Eat kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, Smoke tobacco, Boil koumis.
Pri reke ležal kamen'. Tut eli kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, Tabak kurili, Kumys varili.	Near the river there was a stone. There they ate kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, Smoked tobacco, Boiled koumis.
Na tom kamne Kalmyčka Glotala kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, Tabak kurila, Kumys varila.	A Kalmyk girl was sitting on the stone She ate kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, She smoked tobacco, She boiled koumis.
(solo) Prihodil k nej Kalmzčok, Poprosil kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, (tutti) Tabak pokurit', Kumys povarit'.	A Kalmyk guy came to her, asked for kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, To smoke tobacco, To boil koumis.
(solo) Ty čto činiš' devočka, Ty ela kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, (Solo+Tutti) Tabak pokurila, Kumys povarila.	What are you doing, girl, You ate kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, You smoked tobacco, You boiled koumis.
(Solo) Cvetočki rvu, venočki v'ju: Ja em kajmak, Sul'âk i turmak, (Tutti) Tabak pokurû, Kumys povarû.	I pick flowers, make the wreaths, I eat kajmak, Sul'jak and turmak, I smoke tobacco, I boil koumis.

THE ORIENT OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA IN THE COMIC OPERA *FEVEJ* (1786)

(Solo) Daj mne hot' edin cvetok.
Ty eš' kajmak,
Sul'âk i turmak,
(Tutti) Tabak pokuriš',
Kumys povariš'.

Give me but a single flower,
You eat kajmak,
Sul'jak and turmak,
You smoke tobacco,
You boil koumis.

Ne tokmo edin, hot' vse vozmi,
Beri kajmak,
Sul'âk i turmak,
Tabak pokurim,
Kumys povarim.

Not just one, but take them all,
Take the kajmak,
Sul'jak and turmak,
We shall smoke tobacco,
We shall boil koumis.')

Example 2. V.A.Paškevič, *Fevėj*: No. 22. Hor Kalmyckoj ('Kalmyk choir'), m. 1–26.

CLXIV.

ХОРЪ.
КАЛМЫЦКОЙ
Allegretto.

Tutti.

Въ нѣ ро лѣ во вѣлѣ кѣмѣ
Въ нѣ ро лѣ

THE ORIENT OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA IN THE COMIC OPERA *FEVEJ* (1786)

CLXV

Музыкальный фрагмент из оперы «Февей» (1786), номер 165 (CLXV). Он состоит из трех систем нот, каждая с двумя голосовыми линиями (верхней и нижней) и лирическими надписями на русском языке. Первая система содержит текст: «Купишь ли чайникъ, сѣвьянъ и турмакъ, Табакъ курить». Вторая система: «Купишь варить». Третья система: «При рѣкѣ жила къ мѣню. Цуа въ ти чайникъ». В начале третьей системы есть динамическое обозначение *mf*.

Купишь ли чайникъ, сѣвьянъ и турмакъ, Табакъ курить.

Купишь варить.

При рѣкѣ жила къ мѣню. Цуа въ ти чайникъ.

mf

CLXVI.

Слова и церковна, слова кирилли бимыль варити.
На твое каменн кул
На твое
Мл
Слова и церковна, слова кирилли бимыль варити.

The image shows a musical score for a piece labeled 'CLXVI.'. It consists of three systems of music. The first system has a vocal line with the lyrics 'Слова и церковна, слова кирилли бимыль варити.' and a piano accompaniment. The second system features a vocal line with the lyrics 'На твое каменн кул' and 'На твое', and a piano accompaniment starting with a 'p' dynamic marking and the word 'Мл'. The third system has a vocal line with the lyrics 'Слова и церковна, слова кирилли бимыль варити.' and a piano accompaniment.

REVIEW OF MARTINA BALEVA:
BULGARIEN IM BILD:
DIE ERFINDUNG VON NATIONEN AUF DEM BALKAN
IN DER KUNST DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS.
COLOGNE, WEIMAR, VIENNA: BÖHLAU, 2012.*

MAXIMILIAN HARTMUTH (VIENNA)

Monographs concerned with aspects of the artistic heritage of the Balkan Peninsula are an absolute rarity, and even more so when they are published in western languages. Martina Baleva's book on the image in a nineteenth-century Bulgarian context is a most welcome addition to a body of critical literature that is only beginning to emerge. The informative introduction reveals that the author's interest in pursuing an inquiry along these lines was awakened during her studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, where she came to be exposed to theories of nationhood that sounded, as she writes, 'quasi-heretical' to someone hailing from the Balkans. The ethnically-defined nation, so it was now claimed, was not a matter of fact, but a bourgeois construct that dated back no further than two centuries. To become palatable to various social strata, it had to be promoted through visual and other media. Eventually, state institutions that work to reproduce existing society, such as schools and universities, helped to strengthen people's convictions of belonging to such imagined communities.

Confident that images are a vital means of consolidating national communities, Baleva began to look into the case of her native Bulgaria. Striking similarities with the states of affairs in neighbouring Balkan nations convinced her that this case may in fact be seen as exemplary for the whole region. And indeed, the reader is provided with vital insight into the foundations of modern image-making – not only in Bulgaria, but in an entire European region. This is only partly reflected in the witty title of this dissertation-turned-book, *Bulgarien im Bild*.

Particular attention is paid to the various extra-regional factors that played a part in the emergence of this tradition. One of Baleva's principal points concerns the vital role of western visual prototypes in the development of a Balkan tradition in representational art. In terms of subject matter, western audiences' demand to read of

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unspeakable cruelty and see it visualized led many draughtsmen to specialize in that genre. Few actually witnessed the battles or uprisings on which they were paid to report. Fortunately for them, they could already draw upon a rich repertoire of ethnic types and assorted cruelties, typically reproducing the antithesis of male/Muslim/perpetrator and female/Christian/victim. The Christian iconographic tradition also offered many prototypes for rape and murder scenes, as did the mass-produced anti-Ottoman propaganda of the sixteenth century. The determination to trace the history of certain images throughout the centuries is one of the author's strengths.

A foundational role for Balkan-themed painting of the 'realist' kind is given by Baleva to Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), who's famous *Massacre of Chios* of 1824 recycled western iconographic traditions as a commentary on contemporary events. Less known is that this was a calculated move by an artist hoping to further his career by attracting attention. After a couple of quiet decades, it was only in the 1860s that painters from Central and Eastern Europe, such as Jaroslav Čermák (1831–1878), Ivan Mrkvička (1856–1938), and Konstantin Makovsky (1839–1915) began following Delacroix. They perfected a genre that was eventually enthusiastically appropriated by local painters, who were occasionally taught by the aforementioned artists. The subject matter of their work often translated the scenes of violence and exodus that had already been visually present thanks to the western illustrated press into an artistically more reputable medium – a 'fine' art. This press, however, acted according to the logic of the market: rather than sensible reportage, the buyer's behaviour encouraged sensationalism bolstered by the claim of accuracy. Differently stated, artists' careers depended on the exaggeration of events they had not witnessed.

This had repercussions far beyond the study of art produced in the past. The constant exposure to images of victimization impacted the collective memory of an entire region. History paintings such as Uroš Predić's (1857–1953) *Kosovo maiden* have helped, and do still help, rally the masses for a cause. In that sense, and although one might wish at times that Baleva had articulated these significant claims more pointedly, the author quite impressively demonstrates that Art History (and its disciplinary relatives dealing with the study of the visual and material world) 'can matter': it/they can contribute knowledge supportive of disarming claims and ideas that have led, and do lead, to physical and structural violence. Baleva has had a first experience of this when her involvement in a critical project (discussed in the book's chapter VI) led to death threats against her in her native country.¹ This only

1 For this incident, see Maximilian Hartmuth: "Image-ing the Balkans: Non-creative Others, Attention Deficits, and Art as a Problem", in: *Kakanien Revisited* (2009), <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/MHartmuth2.pdf>.

illustrates the profundity and magnitude of a problem that Baleva's book can be hoped to alleviate.

It is not hard to identify minor shortcomings in the book. The chapters could have been structured in a way that better reflects the course of the argument; direct citations and details in the chapters concerned with the illustrated press could have been omitted or abridged rather considerably; the separation of text and illustrations may have been detrimental to the book's idea, etc. However, it must be admitted that none of these really concern the author's scholarly method, which is impeccable. More importantly, Baleva's book truly offers something new on several fronts. Her disinclination to hide behind disciplinary boundaries is most refreshing. This has also helped her produce an account that should interest an audience beyond that of Balkan historical studies.



Ill. 1. "Kinderraub durch Baschi-Bozucs", from *Ueber Land und Meer* XXXVI/51 (1876), p. 1016.

ISLAMIC BUILDINGS AS A NEW CHALLENGE FOR CENTRAL EUROPEAN ARCHITECTS AT THE END OF THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

MAXIMILIAN HARTMUTH (VIENNA)

In 1889, the Viennese architect and engineer Ludwig Klasen published the eleventh volume of his manual *Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden aller Art* in Leipzig: *Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden für kirchliche Zwecke*. Part of a series intended to supply architects and engineers with plans and elevations of historical buildings, this volume dedicated to church architecture followed earlier volumes on dwellings and shops (I), restaurants and hotels (II), schools (III), hospitals (IV), markets and slaughterhouses (V), financial and industrial buildings (VI), clubs and theatres (VII), orphanages and other charitable buildings (VIII), government buildings (IX), and buildings for the sciences and the arts (X). Generously illustrated, these volumes were designed for practical use by architects and engineers who, confronted with a particular task, could consult the book as to how problems of form and function had been solved in the past.

Today Klasen's work seems to be most often utilized as a repository of drawings of plans and elevations of historical buildings, which its author reproduced from earlier works. This is also how I came across this series. What struck me as noteworthy browsing the volume devoted to religious buildings, however, is that it contains not only information on churches of the kind commonly built in German-speaking lands in the late nineteenth century and their historical precedents, but it also contains substantial chapters dedicated to the architectural planning and decoration of Orthodox churches, synagogues, and even mosques.

Here we should be reminded that since the Counterreformation in Central Europe harsh restrictions had been in force concerning the monumentality of non-Catholic buildings in Austrian lands. Laws had been implemented in order to visualize the supremacy of Catholicism over other confessions – a system remarkably similar to that of the Habsburg's Ottoman archenemy, in whose domain such restrictions applied to non-Muslims. Klasen's contribution was very timely, for it supplied ready models at a time when the old repressive system, softened as early as the 1780s, was finally disestablished. Even so, in Vienna the first Protestant church with a monumental belfry was erected only in the 1890s – and not in the city centre but in the recently incorporated suburban neighbourhood of Neu-Währing.

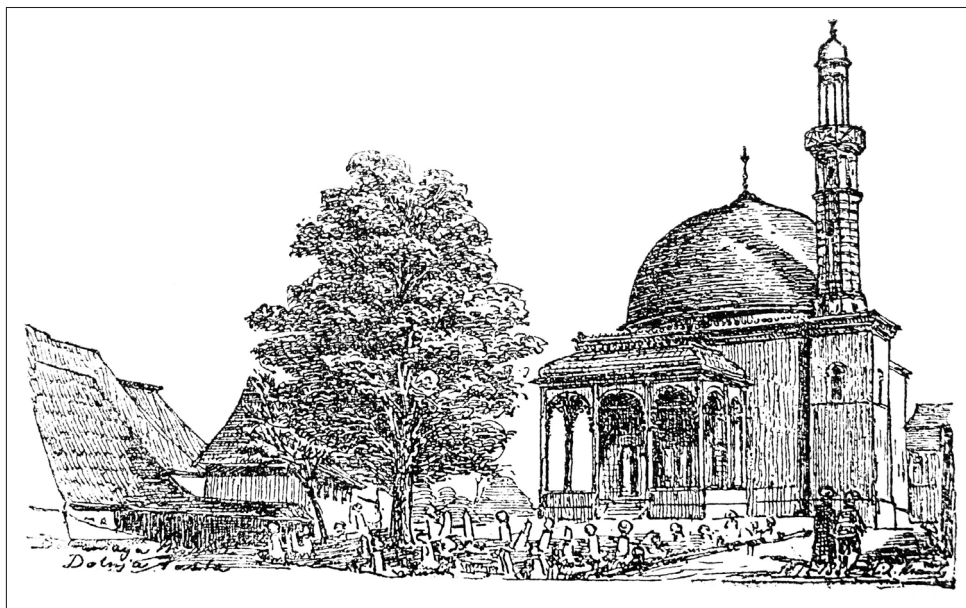
The inclusion of mosque architecture in Klasen's volume eleven was very probably related to the expansion of Habsburg territory to include Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. Many young graduates from the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts were sent there to help transform towns like Sarajevo while communicating through orientaling façade decorations so that this would not preclude some sort of cultural continuity. Perhaps Klasen and his contemporaries also anticipated further expansion of Austria-Hungary (or Germany, for that matter) into Muslim territory, or he had noticed that places like the Ottoman capital or Cairo were becoming an increasingly attractive environment for work by foreign architects. Be this as it may, what is important is that Klasen thought that the design of Muslim buildings was a challenge architects of his day might be confronted with, and that his supplying of information on that matter might help the buyers of his book to master such challenge.

The three sections on non-Catholic religious architecture in the *Grundriss-Vorbilder* – Orthodox, Muslim, and Jewish buildings – are unbalanced with regard to their chronological focus. In the first one there is almost an equilibrium between medieval buildings and those of Klasen's own day: the focus is on Russia, though recent buildings for Greek, Serb, and Russian communities in Trieste, Vienna, Dresden, and Wiesbaden are also considered and depicted. The section on synagogues is strongly focused on nineteenth-century buildings in German-speaking lands. In the section on mosques, which broadly follows the sequence "Arabs-Turks-Indians", the reader is presented with only two examples of recent mosque designs: the mosque designed for the Ottoman section of the 1867 Paris Exposition by Léon Parvillée and a little-known mosque just completed in the Bosnian town of Tuzla. Built according to design by the otherwise unknown architect "v. Michanovich", the small domed building is a curious juxtaposition of a typical Ottoman spatial arrangement overlaid with Mamluk and Moorish decoration. Klasen has little to say about it, but finds it distinguished by its "delicate architecture" and "tasteful colouration", which he thought invested it with an overall pleasant impression.

It is not known why Klasen did not include the 'modern' Ottoman mosques built during his lifetime, such as the ones at Aksaray, Dolmabahçe, Yıldız, and Ortaköy. All of these mosques were built prior to the publication of volume eleven of the *Grundriss-Vorbilder* and would have greatly benefited the book as regards the author's objective. Very probably, Klasen, who did not have a history of interest in things eastern, was simply not aware of them. It is not impossible that he merely included Islamic religious architecture so that his manual could claim to be exhaustive with regard to the diverse tasks with which German-reading architects might be confronted in the late nineteenth century. Still, the fact that Klasen thought that

mosque design might be one of these tasks, as a consequence of a new relationship with the Muslim world, seems well worth highlighting.

Ludwig Klasen: *Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden aller Art Abth. XI: Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden für kirchliche Zwecke: Handbuch für Baubehörden, Bauherren, Architekten, Ingenieure, Baumeister, Bauunternehmer, Bauhandwerker und technische Lehranstalten*. Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1889.



Ill. 1. New Mosque and “Turkish cemetery” in “Dolnja-Tuzla”, reproduced from Ludwig Klasen: *Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden aller Art Abth. XI: Grundriss-Vorbilder von Gebäuden für kirchliche Zwecke: Handbuch für Baubehörden, Bauherren, Architekten, Ingenieure, Baumeister, Bauunternehmer, Bauhandwerker und technische Lehranstalten*. Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1889, p. 1517; originally published in Paul Kortz: “Bericht über die Studienreise im Mai 1888”, in: *Wochenschrift des Österr. Ingenieurs- und Architekten-Vereines* XIII/36 (1888), pp. 321–327.

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