

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

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- 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 Trautsonsgasse 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 Alî Ibn Bekkâr mit Schams An Nahâr* ('The story of Alî 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 Lübeks 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 the three cities – Vienna, Salzburg, and Augsburg – which together are called the

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 wissenschaftigsten Eigenthümlichkeiten des österreichischen Kaiserthums, 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.

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 Freimaurer 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.Ad1.5 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 Anonymous: “Kratter, Franz, Dr. phil”, in: *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*, pp. 869–870. Online available in Maconnie 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 teutsches 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°A: *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°I: *Vc*.”

The Polish version: “46 S. 8°(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 Glücke 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 Encyclopädie*, 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 bühhengemäße 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 Anonymous: “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 lexicæ, 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 Sirenengesangs 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 Main, bey Eßlinger. 1799. 190 S”, in: *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. 49, pp. 318–319. For pickleherring cf. Adelung. 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 provided 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 befell 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 Hof-theater 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 Kloistergasse.

(‘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".

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|---|---------|
| 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 Bimbambum 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)

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|---|---------|
| 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 |

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|--|------------|
| 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)

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|--|------------|
| 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.

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| 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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