

THE REFLECTION OF VIENNESE LIFE AND SOCIETY IN THE DRAMAS
OF FERDINAND RAIMUND

Dorothy J. James

M.A. Degree
London, 1962.

C7 27 JUN 1962

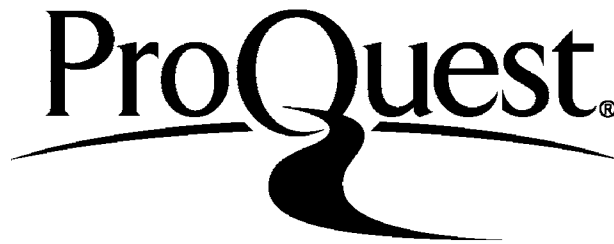
ProQuest Number: 10097258

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10097258

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT

This thesis represents an attempt to analyse the manner in which the plays of Ferdinand Raimund reflect the life and society in the city of Vienna, taking into account the theatrical heritage of popular comedy and the practical considerations of the commercial theatre as well as the artistic aspirations of Raimund himself.

The introduction contains a brief account of Raimund's life and an attempt is made to place the events of his life and his career as an actor against their social and theatrical background.

In the first chapter, allusions occurring in the texts of the plays to localities, to local customs and institutions, to topical events and to theatrical productions are explained and some mention is made of problems posed by the dialect.

In the second chapter the significance of the local allusion in the genre of local parody is considered as well as the incorporation of local elements in stage-sets, in properties and in courses of action. Attention is drawn to the gradual abandonment by Raimund of these stock devices for comic effect.

In the third chapter the characters of Raimund's plays are examined and the extent to which they derive from stock characters of the popular theatre and from characteristics of actors of the Leopoldstadt ensemble is considered. An attempt is made to assess the extent of their affinity with the citizens of Vienna.

The fourth chapter contains a discussion of the reflection in Raimund's early plays of the superficial gaiety of the city and a suggestion that as he develops as a dramatist, his plays penetrate the surface to some extent.

The thesis is concluded with some remarks upon the relationship of Raimund's talent with the city in which it was nurtured.

INTRODUCTION

In 1780, the year of Ferdinand Raimund's birth,

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, died and was succeeded

by his brother Leopold. On April 6th Leopold received

Introduction..... p. 4

Chapter I: REFERENCES TO THE LIFE AND SOCIETY OF
VIENNA IN THE TEXTS OF RAIMUND'S PLAYS. p.28.

Chapter II: RAIMUND'S USE OF VIENNESE LIFE AND SOCIETY
AS A SOURCE OF SETTING AND ACTION p.78

Chapter III: THE DEBT OF RAIMUND'S CHARACTERS
TO THE PEOPLE OF VIENNA p.124

Chapter IV: THE MOOD OF THE CITY MIRRORED IN THE
PLAYS OF RAIMUND p.181

Conclusion..... p.232

Bibliography..... p.236

1. See Johann Pezzl: Chronik von Wien, Vienna, 1842, p.252.

INTRODUCTION

In 1790, the year of Ferdinand Raimund's birth, Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, died and was succeeded by his brother Leopold. On April 6th Leopold received the oath of allegiance in Vienna and all day long the most fashionable square in the city was the scene of riotous merry-making: wine flowed, music was played and bread, roast meat and coins were thrown to the people who thronged to the celebrations.¹ This was the last time that Allegiance Day was celebrated in this traditional way. Only two years later, after the sudden death of Leopold, when his son became Emperor, the money was divided instead among the poorest inhabitants of the city. Even the return of Franz from his coronation in ^{Buda pest} ~~Ofen~~, Frankfurt and Prague lacked some of its ancient splendour: at the wish of the Emperor, the money intended for the erection of triumphal arches for his entry into Vienna was used instead to remove the ugly huts and stalls which stood on St. Stephen's Square and detracted from the appearance of the cathedral. Thus the era of Emperor Franz began with a lack of extravagance, a negative virtue, which was to become an important feature of his reign and which was particularly appropriate in the year which saw the outbreak of the wars with revolutionary France. The

1. See Johann Pezzl: Chronik von Wien, Vienna, 1842, p.252.

period which followed was one of humiliation and danger for the Emperor and his people. Franz was forced to relinquish the title of Holy Roman Emperor and the capital of his shrinking Empire was twice invaded and occupied by Napoleon and the French army. During these years of privation for the Viennese people, Ferdinand Raimund grew up in a suburb of the city and there conceived the ambition to become an actor. His own years of hardship and insecurity were already coming to an end in 1815, when the Congress of Vienna and the final defeat of Napoleon at last brought peace to Europe. His greatest success as an actor and a playwright came then at a time when the inhabitants of Vienna, rejoicing in their new-found peace and prosperity were at their most receptive to the art of the theatre. In 1835 the Emperor died and a year later Raimund committed suicide. His lifetime had been spent in the Vienna of Emperor Franz and like the Emperor, he died before the mass of the Viennese people had become discontented under the restrictive rule of the imperial government. A year after the death of Raimund when the first edition of his plays¹ was published in Vienna Grillparzer wrote:

"... Raimunds grosses Talent ungeschmälert, hat das

1. Ferdinand Raimund: Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Johann Nepomuk Vogl, Vienna, 1837.

Publikum ebensoviel daran gedichtet als er selbst.
Der Geist der Masse war es, in dem seine halbunbewusste
Gabe wurzelte..."¹

While the work of Raimund as an actor and writer of
the Viennese popular theatre can scarcely be considered
without reference to the society in which he lived and
worked, it is not possible to measure the justice of this
unequivocal, contemporary verdict without first examining
his own life against its social and theatrical background.

Raimund was born in Mariahilf, one of the suburban
districts of Vienna which lay outside the city walls and
were bounded by an outer circle of fortifications. The
gap between the people who lived inside the walls and those
who lived outside was a far greater one than that indicated
by the six hundred paces² required to cross the Glacis, the
open ground which separated them. The noblemen of Vienna
might choose to build their palaces and summer residences in
the more pleasant parts of the suburban area: minor
officials, retired officers and others in straitened
circumstances might make their homes in the suburbs where

1. Franz Grillparzer: "Studien zur deutschen Literatur",
Sämtliche Werke, ed. August Sauer, Stuttgart, 1893,
vol. XVIII, p.137.
2. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.3.

the cost of living was considerably lower than in the town:¹ but the tradesmen of the suburbs, no matter how successful they might be in their home districts, had one ambition -- to set up in business in the town. This might well have been the dream of Jakob Raimann,² the master-turner whose workshop lay in the main street of Mariahilf. Certainly his son Ferdinand was to cherish a lifelong ambition to cross the Glacis to the court theatre and the fact that it remained unfulfilled lessened for him the triumph of his success in the suburban theatre.³

The Raimann family was poor. When the father died in 1804 he left his son and daughter with no means of subsistence. The district of Mariahilf, however, in which they had spent their childhood was by no means one of the poorest of the Viennese suburbs. The main road to Schönbrunn, Linz and

1. "Es ist in den Vorstädten um ein merkliches wohlfeiler zu leben, als in der Stadt. Eine Wohnung, die euch in der Stadt zwei hundert Gulden kostet, die habt ihr in der Vorstadt für hundert zwanzig Gulden." Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna, 1789, p.34.
2. Raimund's birth certificate gives his father's name as Raimann; 'Raimund' was the name which he took as an actor. On his marriage certificate his name appears as "Hr. Ferdinand Reimann, vulgo Raimund." See Ferdinand Raimund: Sämtliche Werke, ed. Fritz Brukner & Eduard Castle, Vienna, 1925/34 (hereafter referred to as S.W.), vol. III, p.335.
3. Heinrich Anschütz, an actor in the Burgtheater, wrote of Raimund after his death, "Und dieser grosse Geist hatte die kleine Schwäche zu beklagen, dass er nicht Hofschauspieler sein könnte, und dass seine Dramen vom Burgtheater ausgeschlossen waren. Und wie hoch stund er und wieviel mehr wirkte er als Raimund." H. Anschütz: Erinnerungen aus dessen Leben und Werken, Vienna, 1866, p.410.

Bavaria passed through it and despite the dust caused by the constant stream of carriages in and out of the city, this was one of the most pleasant streets in Vienna. It was a

wide cobbled street of two-storey houses, which rose quite steeply from the city-gate, so that the district commanded a fine view of the town.¹ The church, from which the area had taken its name had been a place of pilgrimage for more than a century and had always attracted travellers to the area.

In 1760 Prince Kaunitz had built his garden palace near the Mariahilferstrasse: other noble families following his example had built houses in the vicinity and the district had flourished.² Situated as it was between the district of Lerchenfeld, where many of the city's factory-workers lived, and Gumpendorf, a centre of spinning and weaving, Mariahilf itself was not without its factories. In the main, however, it housed shopkeepers, small tradesmen and merchants and

1. The altitude of the district caused serious difficulties, particularly for the poorer inhabitants, in seasons of drought, when water was so scarce that it had to be bought.
2. cp. Wilhelm Kisch: Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädten, Vienna, 1888/95: "Die vielen hohen GÄste, die er hier bei sich versammelte, und die glänzenden Feste, die er hier veranstaltete, trugen zum raschen Aufblühen der Mariahilfer-Vorstadt nicht wenig bei, denn der Verkehr belebte die Strassen, brachte Geld und Wohlstand unter die Leute und viele Adelsfamilien siedelten sich dem Fürsten zu Liebe hier an und baute ihre Paläste und Sommerschlösser." (p.324).

contained numerous guest-houses and places of refreshment for travellers to and from Vienna.¹

The boy Ferdinand was sent into the town to the school of St. Anna, founded by the Empress Maria Theresia in 1771 to serve as a model-school for all elementary schools in the Austrian monarchy. Its course covered four years and the basic instruction was in reading, writing and arithmetic.² The death of Jakob Raimann cut short his son's education even before this elementary stage was completed and at the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a confectioner. Little is known of his life during these years but it is apparent that the career of a confectioner did not appeal to him, since he left the business at the age of eighteen to seek his fortune with the small touring companies of actors who led a precarious existence on the outskirts of Vienna. He had few natural advantages to help him in his career as an actor on the popular stage. He was not handsome, nor was he ugly

1. **cp.** Ignaz de Luca: Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand unter Josephs Regierung, Vienna, 1787: "Zu den hier ansässigen Einwohnern gehören: Bäcker,4; Bildhauer,2; Hutmacher,1; Landkutscher 2; Schlächter,4; Schreiner,4; und Wirthe, 10. Ausser diesen wohnen hier Handelsleute, die von allen Arten Specerey-Material-Wollen-Seiden- und Leinenwaren, Papier u.s.w. verkaufen..... Es sind auch hier 2 Leinewandhändler, 2 Apotheken, 2 Caffeehäuser und verschiedene Fabriken zu finden. (p.186
2. Other subjects on the curriculum were German language, geometry and mechanics, civic architecture, natural history, geography and history, composition, drawing, the rudiments of Latin and religious instruction. See Guido List: Die alte Schule zu St. Anna in Wien, Vienna, 1896, pp.9f.

enough to be a natural figure of fun.¹ He did not sing very well and he had a slight speech impediment connected with the pronunciation of the letter 'r', which years of patient effort never quite eliminated.² Yet his early difficulties in securing an engagement with a theatrical company did not deter him. It is said that during the four years which he spent as a confectioner's apprentice a part of his work was to sell refreshments at the Burgtheater and that his ambition to become an actor dates from that time. It is possible that his predilection for tragedy and his reluctance to be type-cast as a comedian may have derived to some extent from the impressions of these early years. It is unlikely, however, that his only experience of the theatre at the outset of his own career was of the Burgtheater. Despite the upheavals of the Napoleonic wars, the years of Raimund's childhood and youth were years when even the poorest Viennese suburbs had begun to awaken to the theatre. In 1776 the disintegration of the company at the Kärnthnerthor theatre, where sixty-four years previously Johann Stranitzky had established the peculiarly Viennese brand of Hanswurst-comedy, ended in the

1. cp. S.W., vol.V, pp.265f.

2. cp. S.W., vol.V, p.88.

annulment of the privilege until then held by this theatre. Popular comedy disappeared entirely from the court-stage, only to gather new strength in the Viennese suburbs. Small theatres began to appear in every district:¹ little groups of actors playing on makeshift stages with inadequate properties and costumes performed all the plays on the repertoire of the Burgtheater as well as their own popular comedies. By the turn of the century, the Leopoldstadt, Josefstadt and Wieden theatres,² had established their

1. In 1794, the Eipeldau peasant writes: "Seit vierzehn Täg'n lauf ich bloss von ein Theater ins andre herum. Eher hat nur d'Leopoldstadt ihren Kasperl ghabt; jetzt aber hat jede Vorstadt ihren eigenen." See Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe ed. Eugen v. Paunel, Munich, 1917, vol.I, p.48. (The letters of the Eipeldau peasant to his cousin in Kargran constituted a monthly magazine, each letter giving a resumé of approximately a week's events in Vienna. The first three series of these letters, of which the original title was "Briefe eines Eipeldauers an seinen Herrn Vetter in Kargran über d'Wienstadt. Aufgefangen und mit Noten herausgegeben von einem Wiener.", were written by Josef Richter in the years 1793/97, 1799/1801 and 1802/1813. They provide amusing comments in the local vernacular on the day to day happenings in Vienna, and while they cannot be taken too seriously as social commentaries, they give considerable insight into everyday life and customs and into the fashions and foibles of the age. Paunel's edition contains a selection of the letters written by Richter himself. From 1813 to 1819 the publication was continued by Franz Karl Gewey and from 1819 to 1821 by Adolf Bäuerle. In Austrian critical writings it is customary to refer to the author at all stages of the publication as "Der Eipeldauer".)
2. "Das Theater in der Leopoldstadt" was founded in 1781, and "Das Theater in der Josefstadt" in 1788. The theatre in the district of Wieden was founded in 1786 in the so-called "Freihaus", a building which fronted on the Schleifmühlgasse. Its official title was 'Das Wiedner Theater im hochfürstlich-Sarhembergischen Freyhause' and it was known locally as the 'Freihaustheater' or the 'Wiedner Theater'. Mozart's Die Zauberflöte was first performed here. Schickaneder, then

superiority and the smaller companies gradually died out, but by that time the habit of theatre-going had become firmly entrenched even among the lowest classes of the population. It may have been in the Burgtheater that Raimund's dream of a theatrical career began, but it was surely among the apprentices and shopkeepers, the serving-maids and street-vendors,¹ the people of his own class and background who constituted the regular audience of a Kreuzer-theatre² that he had begun to see the practical possibilities of entering the acting profession.

Any romantic illusions which he might have had about life as an actor must have been dispelled during the years 1808 to 1814 which he spent touring with provincial companies, latterly with the Kunz company in the region of Raab and

continued from p.11, footnote 2:director, built a new theatre in the district of Laimgrube near the Wienfluss in 1801 and the old Freihaustheater was demolished. The new theatre was called "Das Theater an der Wien" and still stands on the same site in the Millöckergasse.

1. cf. Jakob Blümel: Die Geschichte der Wiener Vorstädte, Vienna, 1886, vol.c, "Das Publikum welches die Stammgäste eines solchen Theaters bildete, bestand aus Grëisslern, Barbiergesellen, Sesselträgern, Hökerinneren, Hausmeistern, dienstlosen Bedienten, Diebstmägden u.s.w." (p.59).
2. This name arose from the price of entry to such a theatre, which was one Kreuzer. It was not unknown for the audience to demand the return of its money, if the performance did not prove satisfactory. On the other hand they were sometimes asked for more. The Eipeldau peasant draws attention to the latter practice: "Aber das sind pfiffige Leut die Kreutzer-Impressari! Sie vertranschirn ihre Stück, wie sie's beym Nazionaltheater mit der Walischen Opera machen, und lassen sich für ein jeden Akt ein neus Leggeld gebn." Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed. cit. vol.I, p.246.

Odenburg. His contribution to the company is summed up in one of the few extant reviews dating from this period, "Herr Raimund spielt alles!"¹ The experience which he gained during these hard years led to his first important contract. In 1814 the theatre in Josefstadt was renovated and several new members were added to the company, among them Raimund, who was engaged to play the parts of villains and comic roles of secondary importance. He made his debut on the Viennese stage as Pachter Feldkümmel in Kotzebue's comedy Die Belagerung von Saragossa and as Franz Moor in Schiller's Die Räuber. He was well-received by audience and critics but in the rôle of Franz Moor he was accused of imitating in every detail the Burgtheater actor Ochsenheimer, whose interpretation of the rôle was much admired in Vienna. Similar accusations of imitation continued to be made by the critics until in 1815 Josef Alois Gleich wrote Die Musikanten am Hohen Markt in which the main rôle, the fiddler Adam Kratzerl, was intended for Raimund himself. Two sequels followed in quick succession² and Raimund's name as a local comedian was made.

1. Theaterzeitung, 342, 1813: see S.W. vol.V, p.9.
2. Die Musikanten am hohen Markt was first produced on 28th March 1815. The first two sequels were : Herr Adam Kratzerl von Kratzerlfeld -- première 29th August, 1815. Der Pudel des Herrn von Kratzerl -- première 18th December, 1815. Others followed: Herr Kratzerl und seine Familie oder Der Pudel als Kindsweib, 20th June, 1817. Herr Adam Kratzerl als Dorfrichter oder Die Landkomödianten, 15th July, 1817.

In 1817 he was engaged by the Leopoldstadt theatre to play major comic rôles. He went to live near the theatre and the rest of his life was spent in the district of Leopoldstadt. It was a very different area from the suburb of Mariahilf where he had lived as a child. It lay outside that part of the inner city where a natural boundary was formed by the Danube-canal. It extended to the North as far as the Danube and since it could only be reached from the city by bridge or by boat it had an insular quality which increased the sense of community within the district and at the same time attracted visitors by its very novelty. The earliest settlers of the area had been fishermen and gardeners and in the early nineteenth century its two chief sources of prosperity were still its waterways and its gardens. With increasing trade, the importance of the freight-ships on the Danube also increased and all classes of tradesmen and merchants moved into the area.¹ Its gardens, however, now public parks, made it the best loved district in Vienna. The Augarten and the Brigitten-Aue were very popular for summer excursions, but it was the Prater, opened to the public by Joseph II in 1766, which drew to Leopoldstadt all

1. A detailed history of Leopoldstadt and a description of the area in the time of Raimund is to be found in Leopold Weschell, Die Leopoldstadt bey Wien, Vienna, 1824.

sections of the Viennese population, from the Emperor and his court driving in their carriages along the main promenade to the common people jostling their way through the stalls and games-booths, the puppet-theatres and the beer-houses of the Wurstlprater. The main street out of the city over the Ferdinand-bridge¹ to the Prater was the Jägerzeile in which the Leopoldstadt theatre stood. A popular theatre could scarcely have been better situated and since Johann Menninger and his troupe of actors had established themselves there in 1781 it had become the most popular of the suburban theatres, not least because of the famous character Kasperl, created by Johann Laroche, one of the original company.² He died in 1805, the last of the Viennese actors of popular comedy to be completely identified with the character whom he played, but since his death the main stay of the repertoire had continued to be local comedy.

1. This bridge, rebuilt and named after the Crown Prince Ferdinand in 1819 had added to the attractions of the area. The five coffee-houses which stood near the end of the bridge in the Leopoldstadt were among the most popular in the whole town.
2. Kasperl was so popular that the theatre came to be known by his name: "Von diesem letzten erhielt das Theater im Munde des Volkes den Zunamen "beim Casperl", der ihm auch zum Theil jetzt noch anbleibt, obgleich diese Periode sammt ihrer komischen Maske längst verschwunden ist." See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.601. cp. a public invitation issued on 24 March 1822 to the play Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg with Raimund as Käsperle, which contains the words: "Morgen können Sie im Ernst sagen, heut gehen wir zum Kasperl." See S.W., vol.V, p.184.

At the time when Raimund joined the company Adolf Bäuerle (1786-1859) and Karl Meisl (1775-1853) were the resident playwrights and they were later joined by Josef Alois Gleich (1772-1841). They were all experienced in writing for the popular stage¹ and were now writing for a company of experienced actors, whose strength lay in their ability to work together as an ensemble. They knew the potentialities and the limitations of their actors, of their stage and its machinery and above all they knew and understood their audience. The Leopoldstadt theatre had by this time a tradition: there had been variations in the types of plays performed since its opening but the emphasis had always been on entertainment. It was a smaller theatre than its two rivals in Josefstadt and Laimgrube. The building itself had changed very little since 1781 and even then it had not been noted for its comfort.² It had remained badly lit³ and it must still

1. The first performance of a play by Karl Meisl was in 1802, by J.A. Gleich in 1805 and by A. Bäuerle in 1813. See Otto Rommel: "Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Theaterstücke der Volksdramatiker J.A. Gleich, K. Meisl, und A. Bäuerle," Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, pp.1028ff.
2. See G.A. van der Stranden: Unpartheyische Betrachtungen über das neu erbaute Schauspielhaus in der Leopoldstadt, Vienna, 1781: "Einige konnten den üblen Geruch nicht vertragen, der sich aus der Retirade in so vollem Masse ganz unabhaltbar ihren Nasen zudrängt.. Andere die eben nicht, sehr geneigt waren, sich rheumatischen Anfällen preiszugeben, schimpften in ziemlich unsanften Ausdrücken über die durch die Thüren gewaltig ziehende Luft... Einige endlich... glaubten, bey den Logen wäre mehr auf den hohen Preis, als ihre Bequemlichkeit gesehen worden. (pp.21f.)
3. A police report on conditions in the 'Theater an der Wien' contains the following statement regarding the Leopoldstadt theatre: "Das Theater in der Leopoldstadt wird ganz vorzüglich durch seine Lage

have smelt strongly of beer and sausages which were still sold throughout the performances. Thus as late as the eighteenth-twenties the theatre retained much of the atmosphere of the local stages of the previous century. This endeared it to its Viennese audience who still went to Kasperl's theatre for an uproarious evening of entertainment. When Raimund was engaged by Director Karl Friedrich Hensler, the popularity of the 'Zauberspiel' was at its height; this type of play, a magical burlesque alternating in scene between Vienna and fairyland gave him an excellent opportunity to show his versatility as an actor in the quick-change rôles which were written for him by all three playwrights of the theatre.¹

continued from p.16, footnote 3: ... und Nebenumstände begünstigt. Hätte ein Direktor den Einfall eine glänzende Beleuchtung des Parterres und der Galerien zu veranstalten, ich glaube er würde seine Einnahme um ein Drittel schneiden." See S.W., vol.IV, p.XXXIII / Adolf von Schaden comments outspokenly on the lighting of the theatre: "Bühne und Haus sind nichts weniger als geräumig und das letztere wird zugunsten der Freudenmädchen nicht erleuchtet." A. von Schaden, Meister Fuchs, Dessau, (1823), p.272.

1. In the first of these, Der Gespenst auf der Bastei (1819) by Karl Meisl, he played the part of the ghost of the hero's great grandfather who appeared in three guises, a gentleman from Berlin, a poet and a stranger. In Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche (1820) by J.A. Gleich, he played the part of Ydor who appeared on earth in five forms, a stupid peasant boy, a wealthy man, an official, a miser and a travelling musician. These are typical examples of this kind of play, which was primarily an exhibition-piece for the leading actor.

The necessity of constantly producing new plays of a similar type¹ imposed upon the work of Bäuerle, Gleich and Meisl a repetitive nature, which demanded expert performances by the actors to ensure enthusiastic reception by the audience. Raimund became accustomed to eking out the inspiration of his script-writers with his own interpolations, sometimes with songs which he had prepared, at other times with extemporised witticisms despite the fact that the latter were strongly forbidden by the censors. After several years of great success the inventive powers of the three writers began to fail and Raimund's dissatisfaction with their work increased.² Although urged by his friends and admirers to write his own plays,³ he hesitated for some time to do this. He was very sensitive to criticism and was inclined to attribute adverse comment on his acting to the machinations of his jealous rivals. In the small theatre-world of Vienna there were undoubtedly rivalries and intrigues; but Raimund, always suspicious of his fellow-men, often saw insults where none were intended and exaggerated his

1. According to Otto Rommel's index of the plays of these three dramatists (see above, p.16, note1), Bäuerle wrote at least 78 plays, Meisl 184 and Gleich 224: by 1824 Bäuerle had already written 55, Meisl 94 and Gleich 151.
2. In a letter to Antonie Wagner in 1821, he writes: "Mit unsern Dichtern geht es immer miserabler; sie betreiben ihre Kunst blos um Geld herauszulocken, nicht um Ehre zu ärnten, und es ist zum verzweifeln, was man für Schmierereyn lesen muss." see S.W. vol.4, p.25
3. This was common practice among actors of the popular theatre. Ignaz Schuster, Friedrich Korntheuer and Therese Krones all wrote plays for themselves.

fear of jealousy to the point where he would not write his own plays lest he should make enemies of the playwrights as well as the actors.¹

In 1823 however Meisl was writing a play for him based on a fairy-tale from Wieland's collection, Dschinnistan, and Raimund became so impatient with his repeated delays that he wrote the play himself. The success of this play Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel encouraged him to write another in the following year, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, this time based on a tale from the Arabian Nights, and in the period prior to his resignation from the theatre in 1830 he wrote five more plays with no acknowledged sources. These plays were not all equally successful. Raimund knew his theatre and his audience as well as his fellow-playwrights did; he had been a producer since 1821 and in 1828 he became director of the theatre. As his confidence in his creative powers grew, however, he showed an increasing reluctance to be confined by the practical considerations of the theatre. For obvious commercial reasons, theatrical companies of this kind were run on a system of type-casting, whereby actors were engaged to play particular rôles, and since

1. K.L.Costenoble, actor in the Burgtheater, tells of Raimund's reaction to the suggestion that he should write his own plays: "Mein Gott" - rief Raimund ganz melancholisch - "hab ich nicht Feinde und Zischer genug im Parterre? Soll ich mir die paar Freunde auch noch wegschreiben?" See S.W., vol.V, p.227.

the Leopoldstadt theatre specialized in local comedies, the leading actors were of course comedians. Thus when Raimund's Die gefesselte Phantasie was to be performed there in 1828, serious difficulties in casting arose because the title rôle was not a comic one and none of the leading actresses of the company were qualified to play the part. The reactions of the first night audience are thus described in the 'Sammler' on January 8th:

"Die einen bemangelten die zu ernste Tendenz des Ganzen; andern war der Komiker zuwenig beschäftigt; viele fanden die Rollen nicht zweckmässig besetzt; und noch mehrere hielten dieses Zauberspiel, als sich ausser dem Kreise dieser Schaubühne bewegend, für dieselbe nicht geeignet."¹

In the previous year, Raimund had tried to avoid this criticism of the serious note in his work by having his play Moisasurs Zauberspruch performed not in the Leopoldstadt theatre but in the Theater an der Wien, where the audience was prepared to accept plays of a more serious kind. When, however, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, 'ein tragisch-komisches Original-Zauberspiel' was performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre in 1829, the Viennese critics were unanimous in their condemnation of Raimund's trend towards tragedy and felt that the play had no place on the popular stage, certainly not on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre with its tradition of

1. Sammler, 35, 1828: see S.W., vol.V, pp.398f.

laughter and entertainment. Raimund himself would accept no adverse criticism of his dramatic work, least of all on the grounds that it was unsuitable for the popular theatre. This, in his opinion, was a fault of the theatre, not of his plays. His ambition had never been to write comedies¹ any more than his original ambition as an actor had been to become a comedian. He himself had strong tendencies towards melancholy which at several stages in his life assumed the proportions of illness, and despite all practical evidence to the contrary he persisted in thinking that his natural bent as a playwright was towards tragedy.

By the end of the decade the administrators of the theatre had encountered considerable financial difficulties. It was finally sold in 1828 to Rudolf Steinkeller, a Pole, who knew very little about Vienna and still less about the theatre, and who brought about the disintegration of the company by dismissing many of the older actors and engaging

1. On October 20th, 1836, Costenoble writes in his diary: "Karoline Müller erzählte, dass sie einst mit Raimund in Gesellschaft diesem etwas Artiges habe sagen wollen und übel angekommen sei. "Es ist recht heilsam für die Kunst" -- sagte Karoline -- "dass Sie mit Ihren Schauspielen dem Volkstheater und der Lokalkomik eine höhere und edlere Richtung gegeben haben." -- Raimund fuhr auf, wie von Zangen gezwickt und schrie: "Lokalkomik? Volkstheater? -- Ich will gar keine Lokalstücke schreiben und nichts wissen von Volkstheater." Das war Raimunds Krankheit. " See S.W. vol.V, pp.76lf.

only mediocre actors to take their place. Raimund, who was then director of the theatre, became more and more angry about these changes which were made without consultation with him and his resignation from the company was announced on 24th August, 1830.¹

During the last years of his life he accepted no contract with a theatrical company but spent much of the time on tour in Germany, giving guest performances, mainly in his own plays, in Munich, Hamburg and Berlin. Despite initial dialect difficulties he was greeted with acclaim by audiences and critics who did not judge his plays by the yardstick of their suitability for the popular stage as the majority of Viennese critics had done. His guest performances in the Viennese theatre, however, during this time also met with great success, particularly the series at the Josefstadt theatre in 1834 when his last play Der Verschwender was performed. The success of Der Verschwender helped to maintain the "Zauberspiel" in its leading place on the repertoire of the popular theatre, but it could not prolong its popularity indefinitely. A change was beginning to take place in Vienna and in the audience of the popular theatre.

1. Sammler, 406, 1830: S.W., vol.V, p.535.

Increasing industrialisation was bringing an influx of working people from all parts of the Austrian Empire, who had no place in the traditional order of Viennese society. Certain sections of the community, notably the intellectuals, were beginning to voice their discontent with the system of government and the endless restrictions which it imposed upon the individual. The sharp wit and satirical humour of Johann Nestroy, whose first outstandingly successful play Der böse Geist, Lumpazivagabundus¹ had been performed in the Theater an der Wien in 1833, suited the changing mood of the age better than the gently moralizing, often sentimental humour of Raimund's plays.

It is doubtful whether Raimund himself was ever entirely aware of this. To see his suicide in 1836 as the consequence of a sense of failure is to misinterpret the facts of his situation at the time and to overlook the factor of his own unbalanced temperament. The reception of Der Verschwender alone proves that his place in the affections of the Viennese public was still secure. His guest-performances in Germany had been a success not only artistically but financially, and having lived a fairly frugal life, always saving a

1. See Johann Nestroy: Sämtliche Werke, ed. Fritz Brückner & Otto Rommel, Vienna, 1924, vol.II.

2/ portion of his income he was now in a strong financial position. In 1835 he was able to buy a country house in Gutenstein in the pleasant valley of Brühl just outside Vienna where he had often before sought relaxation. The events of his personal life however had not provided a calm background to his life in the theatre and he had become almost incapable of enjoying his good fortune when it came. In 1820 he had made a very unhappy marriage with the actress Luise Gleich. The child who was the only link between them died soon after birth and the couple separated.¹ This union prevented Raimund, who remained all his life a devout Roman Catholic, from marrying Antonie Wagner whom he had met in 1819. Her parents, who kept a coffee house in the Leopoldstadt, had at this time strongly disapproved of the young actor and of his unstable profession and had refused to countenance his marriage with their daughter.

9/ On the 10th April, 1821, however, the couple who could now never enjoy lawful matrimony, solemnly vowed faithfulness to each other before the statue of the Virgin Mary in Neustift

1. Married on 8 April, 1820, they were legally separated on 14 January, 1822. See S.W., vol.V, p.122 and p.178.

and informed Antonie's parents of their decision. It was not until 1830 that they were at last permitted to live together, and by then the jealousies and mutual suspicions, the constant quarrels which are revealed in the letters of Raimund to Antonie during this time,¹ had so undermined their relationship that mere co-habitation could not give Raimund peace of mind. His bouts of melancholy had increased in intensity and he was a victim of hypochondria which in 1836 brought about his death. In his house in Gutenstein he was bitten by a dog and although the bite itself was of no consequence, he became obsessed with the idea that the dog was mad and that he would therefore lose his reason. On his way back to Vienna to seek medical advice he shot himself.

It was the deed of a man whose actions were no longer the result of logical thought, and although it happened at a time when his career was perhaps at a turning-point, when a rival had appeared on the Viennese stage who was to take his place as the favourite of the public, his suicide cannot justly be described as a consequence of this.

In considering the life of an artist against the background of his age, a confusion of cause and effect can often arise. There is danger of a similar confusion in a

1. See "Ferdinand Raimunds Briefe", S.W., vol.IV.

consideration of the artist's work as the product of his age. It is particularly tempting in the case of the Viennese popular theatre to interpret its plays as commentaries on contemporary life and society, but this can all too easily be a misinterpretation if it ignores any of several factors governing the work of the popular dramatist. Not only is he drawing to a considerable extent on the stock characters and situations of the popular theatre, but he is bound by the commercial nature of this theatre to consider the talents and often the personal characteristics of the actors at his disposal, and while he must never forget the desire of his audience to be entertained he has also to bear in mind the prohibitions of the censor. A consideration of the plays of Ferdinand Raimund cannot ignore the additional factors of his own efforts to free himself from the popular tradition and his reluctance to be confined by the dictates of the commercial theatre. His contemporaries could not agree as to whether his artistic ambitions constituted his weakness or his strength. M.G. Saphir, pouring scorn on Raimund's inability to reach the heights of literary creation to which he aspired, wrote:

"Herr Raimund zäumt seinen Pegasus im Äther auf, und führt ihn dann ins Lerchenfeld¹ zur Tränke,"²

and this is a fair comment on some of Raimund's work. He was not altogether successful in his conscious attempts to rise above the popular tradition, yet these attempts alone prevent unquestioning acceptance of Grillparzer's judgement of his work which attributes equal creative responsibility to playwright and public.³

A careful analysis of the picture of Viennese life and society which emerges from Raimund's plays will perhaps prepare the ground for a balanced judgement of his work, and having looked at contemporary Vienna through his eyes, it may also be possible to see him more clearly as the product of his age.

1. Lerchenfeld was the district in Vienna where the lowest classes of the population lived. See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna, 1835, vol.I. "Wer hat nicht von Lerchenfeld gehört? Das Lerchenfeld ist für Wien, was St. Antoine für Paris, Sachsenhausen für Frankfurt usw. -- der Tummelplatz des Pöbels." (p.120).
2. Theaterzeitung, 779, 1835: see S.W. vol.V, p.685.
3. See above, p.5.

CHAPTER I

REFERENCES TO THE LIFE AND SOCIETY OF VIENNA IN THE TEXTS OF RAIMUND'S PLAYS

Raimund the actor was already a favourite of the Viennese theatre-going public when he wrote his first play in 1823. He was greeted by the theatre-critics of Vienna as a welcome addition to the group of established playwrights who provided the popular stage with its nightly entertainment. The general atmosphere of goodwill which surrounded the performance of his first dramatic work was given simple expression by the critic of the Abendzeitung, who wrote,

"Wir wünschen Hrn. Raimund Glück zu seinem Debut als Lokaldichter."¹

When his second play was performed a year later, the same critic wrote:

"Raimund hat auch zum zweitenmale sich den Lorbeer als Lokaldichter errungen, er wusste ein Bild darzustellen, das vom Anfange bis zum Ende vor Lachen den Zuseher nicht zu Atem kommen lässt..."²

Thus at the outset of his career, Raimund proved himself to be a competent and successful local dramatist. Whole-hearted approval greeted his early plays which contained all the elements of a box-office success in the Leopoldstadt theatre --

1. Abendzeitung, 340, 1823: see S.W., vol.V, p.226.

2. Abendzeitung, 160, 1825: see S.W., vol.V, p.250.

gay songs and dances, spectacular use of stage machinery, comic characters speaking the local dialect and alluding constantly to the locality in a dialogue of jokes, puns and all manner of witticisms.

The disappointment of the critics was consequently great, when in some of his later plays, he seemed to be deliberately setting his face against his success and deviating sadly from the set path of popular comedy. Unanimous disapproval greeted Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone which ran for only thirteen performances. The essence of this disapproval was expressed by the critic of the Theaterzeitung in his forthright condemnation of the play:

"Das Stück ist kein lokales, es passt auf keine Volksbühne....."¹

The primary objection to the play as material for the popular theatre was clearly stated by the critic of the Sammler who wrote:

"Möchte Hr. Raimund doch jene Winke beachten, die ihm schon gegeben wurden, und bei Verfassung seiner Werke die Lokalität mehr berücksichtigen; es ist denn doch ein grober Missgriff, in dem Hause der frohen Laune an Pest, Erdbeben, Todesfülle und gelbes Fieber erinnert zu werden."²

Whatever Raimund himself felt about his poetic vocation, it

1. Theaterzeitung, 662, 1829: see S.W.vol.V, p.505.

2. Sammler, 598, 1829: see S.W., vol.V, p.509.

was as a local dramatist that he was judged by his contemporaries, and the term 'local' as they used it, involved considerably more than 'pertaining to the locality'. The local dramatist wrote plays which were certainly rooted in the life of Vienna and were full of allusions to familiar places and local events, but the one indispensable element of local drama was comedy. The writer for the popular stage was expected to have regard for the locality and this meant providing comic entertainment in the manner to which the audience was accustomed. Thus when Saphir condemned Raimund for his inability to maintain the high poetic standard which he set himself¹ his quarrel was not with the descent into Lerchenfeld but rather with the grandiose conceptions which made this descent, inevitable as it was within the terms of the popular theatre, not comedy but bathos. As an illustration, he quotes the lines of the allegorical figure Phantasie in Die gefesselte Phantasie,

"Ich steck' die Sonne auf den Hut,
Und würfle mit den Sternen,
Doch vor des Beifalls Harmonie
Beugt sich selbst die Phantasie!!!"²

1. See above, p.27.
2. The underlining of these words and the exclamation marks are Saphir's. The quotation occurs in his article: "Ad vocem Nestroys: Zu ebener Erde und im 1. Stock," Theaterzeitung, 779, 24. Sept. 1835. See S.W., vol.V, p.685. It differs slightly from the version in the standard text which reads: "Ich steck die Sonne auf den Hut / Und würfle mit den Sternen, / Doch vor des Beifalls Melodie / Verbeugt sich tief die Phantasie." S.W., vol.I, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act I, Scene 11, p.338.

"Zwei Ohrfeigen tun nicht so weh," writes Saphir, "als dieser Ikarussturz!" There is certainly no more obvious textual illustration of the conflict between Raimund's artistic aspirations and his concessions to tradition and public taste. These four lines occur in the stanza of a song directed explicitly at the audience.¹ The obeisance of Phantasie to the harmony of applause is a verbal expression of the actress's curtsey at the end of the song² and as such, an accepted formula of popular comedy. It was current practice in the Viennese popular theatre for actors to address the audience directly, to ask for indulgence and to express thanks for applause. The comic actor was able to speak to his audience in the course of the performance without destroying the illusion of the play because, without stepping out of his part he was speaking a prosaic language closely akin to that of the spectators. Throughout the history of the Viennese popular theatre from Stranitzky's Haupt- und Staatsaktionen to the local comedies of Raimund's contemporaries in the Leopoldstadt theatre, the distinction between comic and serious rôles is clearly marked. The comic characters speak the Viennese dialect, using every-day idioms and alluding to

1. S.W., vol.I, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act I, Scene 11, p.338, stage direction: "ans Publikum".

2. ibid, stage direction: "sich tief verneigend."

familiar places and local events. The serious characters speak a language which is nearer High German and is lacking in specifically local elements. The contact between the comic actor and his audience is very close, and even when he makes his speech of thanks at the end of the performance or returns in answer to applause to sing another verse of a song as an encore, so identified is he with his rôle and so immediate is the impact of the rôle on the audience that no element of personal intrusion or of destruction of illusion is present. The serious actor had long since taken second place in the popular theatre, with its emphasis on comedy, and the difficulties encountered by Raimund in casting Die gefesselte Phantasie¹ are indicative of the practical problems raised by his attempts to ennoble popular comedy. The anti-climax caused by the attention of Phantasie to the audience-reaction shows that there were aesthetic problems too. The line between comic and serious rôles is not always as distinct in Raimund's plays as it is in those of his contemporaries, and while he can with impunity write speeches of thanks for his local characters, he is on dangerous ground when he tries to do this for characters who

1. See above, p.20.

are meant to be taken seriously by the audience. The theatrical convention of a closing appeal to the audience again seems misplaced in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind. Rappelkopf, the least local rôle which Raimund wrote for himself,¹ brings the closing song of the play almost to an end with a stanza pointing the moral of self-knowledge which is the core of the play:

"Der Mensch soll vor allem sich selber erkennen,
Ein Satz, den die ältesten Weisen schon nennen,
Drum forsche ein jeder im eigenen Sinn:
Ich hab mich erkannt heut, ich weiss, wer ich bin."

The final stanza is then added as a conventional gesture to the audience:

"Erkannt zu sein wünscht sich vor allem die Kunst.
Die feine Kokette bewirbt sich um Gunst.
Und wird sie auch heute mit Ruhm nicht genannt,
So werde denn doch nicht ihr Wille verkannt!"²

The effect of Valentin's appeal to the audience at the end of Der Verschwender is quite different. The humble, good-natured carpenter having expressed his satisfaction that all has ended happily, sings:

"Jetzt gehn wir zur Tafel, die macht erst den Schluss
Für heut ist beendet ein jeder Verdruss,
Doch heb ich bei Tische den Ehrenplatz auf
Vielleicht setzt sich Ihre Zufriedenheit drauf".³

1. See S.W., vol.IV. Letter from Raimund to Johann Nepomuk Stepanek, "Rappelkopf wird von mir nicht lokalisiert." (p.374)
2. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 15, p.200.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scene 11, p.454.

The impression here is not of a conventional formula fitted into the text without regard to context or character but of a natural gesture of good-will quite in keeping with Valentin's character. Rappelkopf's image of art as a fine coquette courting public favour is scarcely less disturbing in its context than that of the willingness of the artistic imagination to conform to public taste. Such apparent lack of aesthetic sensibility can only be explained by reference to the conventions of the popular theatre.

The audience expected an appeal for indulgence and even for money. The closing song of Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel ends with a stanza written especially for the benefit-performance.¹ Each of the leading actors of the theatre was from time to time allowed such a performance, for which he would choose or write his own play. He would receive the box-office takings for the evening and could expect his patrons to contribute more than the price of the ticket. Raimund wrote Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel for his own benefit performance on 18th December 1823. The theatre-bill advertising the play bears the heading customary on such occasions -- "Freye Einnahme" -- and the title

1. See stage-direction: "Zur Benefiz", S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 27, p.75.

of the play is preceded by the words "Zum Benefiz des Unterzeichneten". After the cast-list, is Raimund's message to his prospective audience:

"Der Unterzeichnete wagt es wiederholt, seine ergebenste Einladung zu machen und empfiehlt sich dem Antheil und der Huld des verehrungswürdigen Publikums."¹

Quecksilber's closing stanza expresses the artist's hope that the audience has responded generously to his appeal:

"Mir gehts heut nicht schlecht,
Alle Tag wärs so recht,
's wird was Schönes sein,
Wenn man brav Geld nimmt ein,
Hab' ich nicht recht?
Nu, wenn S'erlauben."²

This frankness would delight the audience, whose members were very conscious of their own contribution to the evening's entertainment and liked to be acknowledged by the actors. They also liked to be complimented in the way in which Florian compliments them in an encore verse of his song in praise of Mariandel in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs:

1. This theatre-bill (Theaterzettel) is reproduced, S.W., vol.I, facing p. XXXV.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 27. cp. S.W., vol.I, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act II, Scene 9: (Repetition) Auch 's Geld hab ich vorher veracht, / Ich unerfahrnes Bübel. / Hetzt hab ichs nochmal überdacht, / 's ist doch nicht gar so übel. / Und wenn ich eine Einnahm hätt, / Ich glaub, dass ich sie nehmen tät. (p.299). The first night of this play was also a benefit performance for Raimund. See reproduction of theatre-bill: S.W., vol.II, facing p.212.

"D'Mariandel ist gar gescheid,
D'Mariandel ist nicht dumm,
D'Mariandel meint, in Wien dahier
Wär's beste Publikum!"¹

An allusion to the audience could be woven into the text in a way that would be instantly comprehensible to the contemporary patrons of the theatre but might be misunderstood or overlooked by the modern reader. When Quecksilber in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel sings a song describing his possessions in various parts of the world, he ends with the stanza:

"Die Jägerzeil lieb ich vor allen,
Dort wünsch ich den Leuten zu gefallen,
Dort hab ich einziges Haus
Da zieh ich mein Lebtag nicht aus."²

Since the Leopoldstadt theatre no longer exists³ and the Jägerzeile, the road in which it stood, is now called the Praterstrasse, this reference would have no immediate significance to a modern audience, even in Vienna. Raimund's

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.142.

2. S.W?, vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, p.19.

3. The Leopoldstadt theatre was bought in 1838 by Karl Carl (pseudonym for Karl Andreas Bernbrunn) then director of the 'Theater an der Wien'. In 1845 the Theater an der Wien was sold to Pokorny, Carl's rival from the Josefstadt theatre and Carl transferred his entire company to the much smaller Leopoldstadt theatre, which was then entirely rebuilt and re-opened on 10 December 1847 under the new name of Carl-Theater. Twenty five years later it was further enlarged and remained unaltered until it was damaged by bombs in the Second World War. The final demolition of the building in 1948 is reported in the Wiener Tageszeitung, 266, 13 November 1948, in an article entitled "Das Ende des Carl-Theaters."

audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre, however, would recognize it as a tribute to themselves, just as they would appreciate all the other local allusions in this song.¹ The magnificent fields "auf der Schmelz", which are mentioned as part of Quecksilber's Viennese property, would be a source of amusement to people who knew the Schmelz to be a very dusty stretch of open land² used mainly as an exercise ground for military manoeuvres. The incongruity of mentioning the Schmelz in conjunction with the Brühl would add to their amusement, since the picturesque valley of Brühl³ from Mödling, a village on the outskirts of the city, to the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz, was, in fact, a popular beauty spot. When Quecksilber goes on to describe his hobby of building houses, his audience would have a mental picture

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, pp.18f.
2. See Realis: Curiositäten- und Memorabilienlexikon von Wien Vienna, 1846: "Sie hat ihren Namen von mehreren Schmelz arbeiten, welche ehemals nur hier verrichtet werden durften, und sie ist ein blosses Ackerfeld voll Kiesel..." (p.308).
3. In view of Raimund's own affection for the area, the comment of Adolf Schmidl in his guide book to the surroundings of Vienna is of interest: "Der Brühl, oder wie man in Wien allgemein unrichtig sagt, "Die Briel", ist weltbekannt, und in der That, wer zur Romantik nichts bedarf, als einige Felsen und ein paar modernisierte Ruinen wird nicht anstehen, den Brühl für hochromantisch zu erklären, um so mehr, als nicht leicht die Kunst für eine Gegend tun kann." See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen auf zwanzig Stunden im Umkreise, Vienna, 1835/39, vol.I, p.162.

d/

of each district at the mere mention of its name. Rossau and Thury were two adjacent suburban areas¹ which at that time were still rural in character, whereas the district of Wieden, where Quecksilber claims to own and let half the houses, was made up of narrow winding streets where the houses were packed close together.² The twenty excessively cheap houses with which Quecksilber ends his list are in Lerchenfeld, then the most thickly-populated district of Vienna, housing the poorest working people of the city in cramped living conditions.³

Allusions of this kind are only effective when actors and audience have a common background and field of reference. Where this is the case, they heighten the feeling of intimacy in the theatre, at the same time antagonising the stranger to the community. Thus while local allusions delighted contemporary Viennese audiences in the popular theatre, they have always been inimical to the acceptance of the plays outside Vienna

1. Now part of the 9th district of Vienna.
2. cp. F.X.Gewey and Karl Meisl: Wien mit seinen Vorstädten humoristisch geschildert, Vienna, 1820, Book II: the verse addressed to the district of Wieden contains the lines: "Denn wie man oft den Wald vor lauter Baumen / So sieht man Dich vor Häusern nicht." (p.6.)
3. See Realis: Curiositäten und Memorabilienlexikon von Wien, Vienna, 1846: "Aus diesem aus 9 Gassen, 238 Häusern (mit beinahe 10,000 Einwohnern) bestehenden Grunde ist die Bevölkerung in ihrer grössten Dichtheit, denn die grösstentheils sehr kleinen Häuser nehmen bei Weitem nicht soviel Raum ein, als die Palläste der Stadt und beherbergen doch viel mehr Einwohner." (p.146).

language, is a necessary prerequisite for the understanding and render some parts of the texts incomprehensible in modern Vienna. Even such names as have remained the same have sometimes lost the associations they once had: Lerchenfeld, for example, is no longer immediately associated with the lowest classes of the population and all that remains of the thSmelz is a group of allotments in the built-up area which now constitutes the 14th and 15th urban districts. An English visitor to the Leopoldstadt theatre in the time of Raimund writes:

"The broadest farce and most extravagant caricature, exaggerated parodies, and the wildest fairy inventions, are all made the vehicle of humour and satire, which would scarcely be understood anywhere else, for they are generally founded on some local and temporary interest, full of allusions to the passing follies of Vienna, and written in the broad national dialect of the Austrian common people. One must be an Austrian to enjoy them. They are in great measure lost to a stranger as well from the local allusions as from the language."¹

This difficulty of comprehension, shared very often by German speaking visitors to Vienna, cannot but be increased by the years which separate the modern reader from the plays of the Viennese popular theatre. Despite Raimund's efforts to remove his work from the sphere of purely local comedy, a knowledge of Vienna, its districts and streets, its customs and its

1. John Russel: A Tour in Germany and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire in the years 1820, 1821, 1822, Edinburgh, 1824, vol.II, p.270.

language, is a necessary prerequisite for the understanding of many passages in his plays. In order that a non-Viennese reader may feel more than an eavesdropper on a conversation full of private jokes, that he may enter into that intimate circle where the name of a street raises a laugh, the mention of a name produces a significant nod, a quotation from a popular play brings a roar of recognition, he must look behind the lines of the text to the town where the Emperor in the ^{Imperial} ~~Royal~~ Box laughed at the same jokes as the beer-drinkers in the Gallery.

The period immediately following the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was one in which the Viennese people were well-pleased with themselves and with their city. They had seen the most powerful men in Europe assemble within their walls and for six months had been witness to the gay and lavish social life of the Congress. Vienna seemed to them to be the capital of Europe and the popular dramatists were reflecting the mood of the public when they introduced songs in praise of Vienna and Austria into their plays. That they were using the current wave of self-satisfaction rather than expressing a personal patriotism is borne out by many of Adolf Bäuerle's own footnotes to an edition of his works published in 1821, where he is at pains to point out how his plays can be adapted for production elsewhere. To the most famous of the

patriotic songs "Ja nur ein' Kaiserstadt, ja nur ein Wien!"¹
he appends the footnote, "Wenn diesem Liede beziehende Texte

nach der Stadt eingelegt werden, wo das Stück
gespielt wird; wenn die komischen Eigenheiten
und drolligen Tagsbegebenheiten jeder Ortlichkeit
vorkommen und der patriotische Refrain: es ist
nur eine Königsstadt, nur ein Berlin, oder: Dort
möcht ich seyn, nur ein München oder Dresden allein:
muss der Effekt, wie in Wien entsprechend seyn."²

In his first two plays Raimund contrives to introduce such
songs with their popular patriotic appeal. Quecksilber's
description of the wealth and possessions which make him a
worthy suitor for the hand of Princess Zoraide, provides a
pretext for the praise of Austria:

"Im Östreich-Landel,
Da bin ich zu Haus,
Da geht mir das Glück
Und die Freude nie aus."³

and for the typical enumeration of places in Vienna which ensues.⁴
He and Linda plan their travels with the magic girdle in a
song with the characteristic conclusion:

"Das sollst du schon wissen, das ist ja bekannt,
Am sichersten ruht man sichs im Östreich Land."⁵

1. This is the refrain of a duet sung by Zilli and Bims in
Aline oder Wien in einem andern Weltteile, Act I, Scene 19: see
Adolf Bäuerle: Komisches Theater, Pest, 1821/26, vol.VI, pp.35ff.
2. Adolf Bäuerle, op.cit. vol.VI, p.36.
3. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I,
Scene 11, p.18.
4. See above, p.37.
5. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 10, p.47.

A common pretext for this type of song is the home-sickness of a character who is exiled from his native city. Florian in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs is threatened with arrest on the Island of Truth and laments the fact that he may never see Vienna again in a song which expresses the familiar sentiment, "Nur in Wien ists am besten, das weiss man schon gewiss".¹ Raimund's patriotic songs are as repetitive as those of his contemporaries, and he has no more pretensions to originality of thought in following the stock pattern than they have. The lines in Florian's lament, for example,

"Soll ich nicht die schöne Gegend
Drauss bei Währing² wieder sehen
Nimmer mehr am heitern Ufer
Beim Kanal³ spazieren gehen?"⁴

are almost a verbal echo of Zilli's song expressing her homesickness in Bäuерle's Aline:

"Noch einmal die schöne Gegend
Meiner Heimath mocht ich seh'n.
Noch einmal am heitern Ufer
Uns'rer Donau möcht ich steh'n!"⁵

- 2/
1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 14, p.14.
 2. Währing, then a rural district just outside the outer walls was a favourite summer resort for the Viennese making an afternoon excursion to escape the heat of the city. It is now a thickly populated part of the 18th urban district.
 3. A favourite walk of the city's inhabitants was and still is along the banks of the arm of the Danube on which Vienna is situated, the "Donaukanal".
 4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 14, p.153.
 5. Adolf Bäuерle: Aline, ed.cit. Act I, Scene 7, p.16. Aline was first performed in Vienna on 9 October 1822.

A common form which such songs take is a line by line juxtaposition of familiar places and landmarks in Vienna with exotic names of foreign lands. Thus in the daydream of Linda and Quecksilber, Linda sings, "Im Morgenland nehmen das Frühstück wir ein" and Quecksilber continues, "Und ich trink in Grünzing¹ geschwind ein Glas Wein".² This type of popular song is not found in Raimund's later work, though in Die gefesselte Phantasie the dialogue of Arrogantia and Vipria, describing their travels, is an obvious legacy of the stock song, both in form and content. Arrogantia's words, "Wir haben doch die ganze Welt durchreiset",³ provide a typical pretext for the ensuing list of ludicrous contrasts. The plains of India have as their Viennese counterpart the fields of Mätzleinsdorf⁴, the suburban district with the highest altitude in Vienna: it had only five streets and the rest of its houses were scattered among fields and gardens.

1. Grinzing, (spelt in the text with the dialect ü in place of i) lies just outside Vienna in the midst of vineyards. It still retains its village character and is still a popular centre for drinking new wine.
2. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act II, Scene 10, p.46.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 6, p.323.
4. Now part of the 5th district.

The Egyptian pyramids have their parallel in the "Spinnerin am Kreuz", a Gothic pillar on the southern boundary of the city and one of the best known Viennese landmarks. The height of Mont Blanc is contrasted with the depth of the "Tiefer Graben" a street in the central part of the city built along a former river bed and consequently eighteen steps below the ground level of the district. The final contrast, between the deserts of Arabia and the meadows surrounding Nussdorf, a pleasant village within walking distance of Vienna, leads to the stock conclusion:

"Arrogantia: Doch unter allen diesen Welten haben wir
zwei Lieblingsinseln uns erwählt.

Vipria: Die meine liegt am Donaustrom.

Arrogantia: Die meine heisset Flora."¹

The use of familiar place-names in incongruous combinations is a simple device for comic effect which not only figures prominently in the songs of the period but also occurs frequently in the dialogue. When Florian sings,

"Denn mir liegt nichts an Stammersdorf und nichts an Paris,
Nur in Wien ists am besten, das weiss man schon gewiss."²

the effect on the audience who knows Stammersdorf to be a

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 6, p.323.

2. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 14, p.155.

village of no importance just outside Vienna,¹ is comic, as it is when Florian says,

"Wenn wir zuruckkommen, dürfen S' mich gleich auf siebenzehn Jahr nach Gastein oder ins Bründelbad schicken".²

thus placing the "Bründelbad", a mineral-bath in the Alser district of Vienna, on a level with Gastein, a fashionable spa in Tyrol.

In his later plays Raimund avoids this facile means of achieving comic effect. The one instance of it which does occur in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind is a natural consequence of situation and character rather than a joke fitted into the text. Habakuk has been forbidden by Astralagus to utter his favourite sentence "Ich war zwei Jahr in Paris". The simpleminded servant, whose greatest delight is in the constant repetition of these words, finds it almost impossible to repress them and when Astralagus demands angrily, "Wo warst du zwei Jahr? Warst du in Paris?"³, he cries in

1. See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna 1835/9, vol.II, "Stammersdorf hat gar nichts Merkwürdiges als eine Mariensäule und die alte Sakristei der Kirche." (p.222).
2. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 13, p.151.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 10, p.180.

comical fear and confusion, "Nein in Stockerau"¹.

The traditional verbal pattern frequent in the dialogue of Hanswurst comedy in which the elevated sentiments of the hero are repeated in local and comic terms by his servant provides ideal opportunity for the popular juxtaposition of exotic and familiar names. Throughout Die gefesselte Phantasie the Fool at Hermione's court mocks the languid, affected poet Distichon and at one point his mockery takes the form of a traditional verbal parallel:

"Distichon: Mein Vaterland ist der Parnass.
Narr: Ich bin vom kahlen Berg zuhaus."²

The mountain which the Fool chooses as a local counterpart to Parnassus is ^{the} Kahlenberg, one of a pleasant group of wooded hills outside Vienna. A local allusion disguised in the text in this way may be lost on the reader who does not know Vienna. Similarly a pun on a local name may be overlooked. Tutu, in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel says, for example, of his daughter's education:

"Sie hat drei Gouvernanten ghabt: eine von Paris, die andere von Lyon und eine vom breiten Feld".

1. See Adolf Schmidl, op.cit. vol.II: "Dieser stattliche freie Markt von 3200 Einw. ist in kommerzieller und industrieller Hinsicht eben so wichtig, als er für den Reisenden uninteressant ist." (p.244).
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 4, p.319. Dialect pronunciation renders the parallel even more striking since it causes the two lines to rhyme: - 'Parnass, z' Has'.

The comic anti-climax of this speech loses part of its force unless the reference to Breitenfeld¹, a Viennese suburb, is recognized. At the time when the play was written, it was one of the most recently founded districts of Vienna. Until the turn of the century it had been nothing more than a strip of ploughed land known as the "Alserbreite" inside the Lerchenfeld boundary of the city. In 1801 it was established as a separate suburb and within twelve years it was built up into four streets containing ninety-three houses.²

Names of streets also provide the dramatist with material for local witticisms. When Linda, in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, for example, has difficulty in crossing a ditch, Zadi says: "Sie kann nicht über den tiefen Graben." Quecksilber interprets this jokingly as a reference to the Tiefer Graben³ in the city and replies "So soll s' übern Kohlmarkt gehen".⁴

1. It bears this name no longer but is now a part of the eighth district, Josefstadt.
2. See Jakob Blümel: Die Geschichte der Wiener Vorstädte, Vienna, 1884/86, vol.C., pp.175f.
3. See above, p.44.
4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 17, p.55. Of the versions of these two lines which occur in various editions of Raimund's work this is perhaps the least satisfactory, since the Tiefer Graben and the Kohlmarkt had no actual connection with one another. The Graben and the Kohlmarkt were adjacent streets. See F. Raimund, Sämtliche Werke, ed. C. Glossy and A. Sauer, Vienna, 1881, vol.I,: "Zadi: Sie kann nicht über den Graben. Quecksilber: So soll s'übern Kohlmarkt gehen." (p.70). The Tiefer Graben, on the other hand, was crossed by the Hohe Brücke, a stretch of the Wipplingerstrasse. See F. Raimund, Sämtliche Werke, ed. J.N. Vogl, Vienna, 1837, Part III: "Zadi: Sie kann ja nicht über den tiefen Graben. Quecksilber: So soll sie über die hohe Brücke gehn." (p.71).

A play on the literal meaning of familiar names is often the basis for jokes of this kind. Quecksilber jests in his description of where he was educated:

"Die Botanik hab ich im Krautgassel studiert, die Sternkunde bei den zwölf Himmelszeichen."¹

Concerned about his appearance, he says later,

"Wenn ich mich nur sehen könnte. Jetzt sollt ich halt in der Spiegelgasse sein."²

The Krautgasse, the inn "Zu den zwölf Himmelszeichen" in the Kirchengasse and the Spiegelgasse were all situated in the inner city.

Allusions by name to localities in and around Vienna which are obvious on the most superficial reading of the texts raise the question of setting. Some plays of the popular theatre are specifically set in Vienna: in others a part of the action may take place there, or one or more of the characters may be described as Viennese, so that the playwright justifies at the outset the references to Vienna which are to occur in the text. Raimund's Quecksilber is a barometer maker from Vienna and Nachtigall in Die gefesselte Phantasie is a Viennese harpist.

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I, Scene 11, pp.20f.

2. *ibid.* Act II, Scene 16, p.53.

Longimanus, the king in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, is a frequent visitor to the world of mortals and particularly to Vienna. In the other five plays, no specific mention of Vienna is made, but in all of them references to Vienna are implicit in the texts regardless of where the scene is set or whether the characters have any acquaintance with the city. When in Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone the cowardly tailor Simplicius Zitternadel drinks a magic potion and suddenly becomes strong and violent, he is on the island of Kallidalos. He reacts, however, as if he were in Vienna, shouting,

"Wenn ich wo unter der Hand billige Kanonen zu kaufen bekäm, ich erschösset die ganze Stadt, und die Vorstadt auch dazu."¹

Many of the comic characters in Raimund's plays express their reactions similarly in terms of the walled city of Vienna with its circle of suburban districts, and much of their dialogue is drawn from its life and customs. Tutu, ruler of the Magic Island in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, who has never set foot in Vienna says in growing indignation at Quecksilber's impertinence:

"Sie sind ja auf meine Insel herkommen und haben nicht einmal einen Pass ghabt."²

1. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 6, p.291.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 3, p.32.

thus claiming for his supernatural island the human law which forbids entry to a foreigner who is not in possession of a passport. By Viennese law all strangers to the city were compelled to give up their passport at the city gates and register with the police within twenty-four hours.¹

The reactions of Quecksilber himself to events and crises on the island are always those of a new arrival from Vienna who still speaks in terms of his city's institutions. When he arrives, having saved himself from the shipwreck by swimming ashore, he says,

"Das war noch mein grösstes Glück, dass ich den vorigen Sommer zweimal im Prater in der Schwimmschul war und zugschaut hab; da hab ichs abgspickt², sonst wär's nicht möglich gwesen."³

In 1821, two years before the play was written, a military swimming school had been set up in the Prater as a result of experiences of the Napoleonic Wars, when swimming had proved to be a necessary accomplishment lacking in the Viennese regiments. In conjunction with this, a school for civilians had also been established where those who were simply curious could

1. See Johann Pezzl: "Vorläufige Notizen für Fremde", Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.xiii.
2. See F.S. Hügel: Der Wiener Dialekt, Vienna, 1873: 'abspicken', von Anderen Gemachtes nachahmen." (p.16).
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, p.6.

watch the proceedings.¹ Quecksilber's mention of his presence there as a spectator is therefore quite plausible. When he hears about the beautiful princess of the island he says,

"Dieses Wunder will ich kennen lernen, und weil auf dieser Insel kein Auskunfts-komptoir ist: so fahren wir längst der Küste so lange herum, bis wir Leute entdecken."²

If he had been in Vienna and had wished to locate any notable person he would have inquired at the "Allgemeines Anfrage- und Auskunfts-komptoir" which was situated in the Kohlmarkt. Here, for a modest fee, all kinds of information about the city and its inhabitants could be obtained.³ Despite the lack of such an information-centre on the island, Quecksilber finds the princess, but in his dealings with her loses two of his magic talismans. Faced with total ruin, he sees no alternative but to pawn his golden ship:

"Ich weiss jetzt kein anders Mittel, als dass ich mein goldenes Schiff ins Versatzamt schick damit wir ein Reisegeld kriegen."⁴

1. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826: "Bloss Neugierige können der Übung im Schwimmen zusehen." (p.308).
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3, p.12.
3. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826: "Die Unternehmer... geben gegen mässiges Honorar Auskunft über hier sich aufhaltenden In-und Ausländer, über Doktoren der Medecin und der Rechte, über Beamte, Gelehrte, Künstler, über das Locale und die Einrichtung öffentlicher Institute; über Behörden und Stadtsbeamte, über alle Arten von Compagnie-Geschäften: über Darlehen auf Hypotheken und Waaren; über vorhandene Natur- und Kunstprodukte für Käufer und Verkäufer; über Reisegelegenheiten; über Dienstgeber und Dienstsucher: über Kaufe und Pachtungen von Häusern, Realitäten usw. über Wohnungen, Magazine, Stellungen, Fabriken, kurz über alle bürgerliche und gesellschaftliche Geschäfte und Verhältnisse, welche zu wissen erlaubt ist." (pp.257f.)
4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 10, p.45.

he says, turning as would any Viennese in this difficult situation to the "K.k. Versatzamt und Leihhaus" founded in 1707 and situated from 1787 in the Dorotheergasse. It was a pawn shop on a large and official scale: the objects deposited there were kept for a year and two months, and if not claimed they were publicly auctioned. Quecksilber, however, is not reduced to this last resort because Linda devises a plan which will retrieve the talisman and restore his wealth. Quecksilber, thinking, of the most extravagant gift which he can bestow upon her to show his gratitude, says:

"Wenn ich wieder reich bin, so vergold ich dir den Drathnerhof und mach dir'n zum Präsent."¹

The Trattnerhof was greatly admired by the Viennese people. It was built in 1776/77 by the court-printer Johann Thomas Edler von Trattnern, whose name had become almost synonymous with wealth in the city.² Of all the buildings in Vienna, Quecksilber could hardly have chosen a more appropriate symbol of the fortune which he hopes once again to possess. Their plans, however, go awry and Quecksilber in flight from the court eats some figs which make his nose swell to an enormous size. He exclaims in horror:

"Wenn ich mit der Nase nach Wien komme, lassen s' mich bei gar keiner Linie hinein."³

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 10, p.45.

2. See F.S. HÜgel, op.cit. "Trattnerisch: etwas im Überfluss haben. (Red.): Er hat's trattnerisch (d.h. viel Geld, die besten Karten u. dgl.) (p.166).

3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 17, p.54.

At this time the thirty-four suburbs of Vienna were surrounded by the so-called "Linien" which consisted of a moat and a twelve-foot high wall broken by eleven gates named according to the districts they served, Mariahilfer-Linie, Lerchenfelder-Linie etc. These fortifications had been constructed as a means of outer defence against the Hungarian rebels in 1703 but had ceased to be of military value and were now used primarily for the business of checking goods and merchandise which were brought into the city. All carriages and pedestrians were stopped at the gates, questioned regarding dutiable articles and searched at the slightest suspicion. Thus Quecksilber's first thought when his nose swells is the commotion which his ridiculous appearance will cause at any of the city gates if he tries to return to Vienna.

Quecksilber's reactions involve the institutions of his city more frequently than do those of Raimund's later characters, though instances occur in the other plays. Florian Waschblau, who with his master Eduard from Vienna is embroiled in some strange adventures at the behest of the King of the Spirits, is threatened with arrest and imprisonment in a lunatic asylum on the Island of Truth. At once he imagines the round 5-storey high building in the grounds of the general hospital in the main street of the Alser district of Vienna, officially described as the "K.k. Irren-Heilanstalt" but generally known by the

name which Florian uses:

"Was? Mich wollen s' in den Narrenthurm sperren, und ich bin gscheider als sie alle".¹

Nachtigall, the harpist, is kidhapped by the wicked fairies Vipria and Arrogantia and taken to the island of Flora. He is ordered to compose by the seventh hour a poem which will win the hand of the queen Hermione. The hour approaches and a bell begins to sound quietly in the distance announcing the approaching ceremony in the Temple of Apollo. Nachtigall departs with the words

"Jetzt muss ich fort, jetzt läuten s' siebene im Apollosaal"²

The application of this name to the temple of Apollo would cause much amusement in contemporary Vienna where the Apollosaal was well-known as a dance-hall and place of entertainment in the suburb Schottenfeld. It was opened in 1808 and was at the height of its popularity when Raimund wrote Die gefesselte Phantasie.

Two more of Raimund's leading comic characters refer to

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 14, p.152. See also vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act II, Scene 5. "Bauer Wurzel: Jetzt weiss ich nicht, bin ich im Narrenthurm oder zu Haus?" (p.221), and vol.II, Moisasurs Zauberfluch, Act I, Scene 6, "Gluthahn: Jetzt halt ichs nimmer aus..... Ich Komm in Narrenthurm mit samt den Weib." (p.21), and ibid, Act II, Scene 7, "Gluthahn: Und das ganze Weib kann gegen mich nicht zeugen, die gehört in Narrenthurm und nicht vors Gericht." (p.66).
2. S.W., vol.I, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act II, Scene 11, p.375.

familiar institutions, but in a different way. When Gluthahn says,
"Jetzt weint die auch. Das ist ein völliger Klagbaum heut"¹

and when Wurzel says,

"Nicht eh darf diese Verbindung vollzogen werden, bis aus dem Blut, das wie geschmolznes Eisen glüht, ein Himbeergefrornes wird -- bis diese kräftigen Zwillingsbruder, meine Fäust, so kraftlos sind, dass ich nicht einmal einen Kapauner mehr transchieren kann, -- bis dieses kienrusssschwarze Haupt sich in einen Gletscher verwandelt -- kurz, bis ich so ausschau, dass ich auf den Aschenmarkt hinaus ghör!"

the "Klagbaum", an old hospital in the district of Wieden²

and the "Aschenmarkt" a fruit market situated on open ground formerly used for the unloading of ashes³ are being used in a purely figurative sense.

The language of the local characters is frequently coloured by imagery drawn not only in this way from familiar institutions but also from accepted customs. The custom whereby fourteen days' notice was required for the termination of domestic service is used for example by Zoraide to express her anger at Quecksilber's proposed departure,

"Hast du dich denn nicht verbindlich gemacht, der Sklave meines Herzens zu sein? und jetzt sagst du mir nicht einmal den Dienst auf, wie es sich gehört, rennst davon, ohne deine vierzehn Tag abzuwarten."

1. S.W? vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act I, Scene 11, p.204:
"Das Siechenhaus zum Klagbaum" was founded in 1267 and was so called because it was built near a dead tree, from whose branches wailing sounds were said to be heard. Although the tree was felled in the thirteenth century, it was still a popular superstition that wailing could be heard in the early nineteenth century. (See Realis, op.cit.pp.106f).
2. S.W., vol.II, Moïsasurs Zauberfluch, Act I, Scene 9, p.34.
3. The ground was first used as a fruit market in 1793. In the course of the 19th century, as its original connection with ashes was forgotten, it became known as the Naschmarkt which is the name it bears today.

Quecksilber replies, quite logically,

"Ich bin ja keine Köchin!"¹

The source of this local imagery is not always as obvious as it is in this case. When Zoraide requests an assurance that Quecksilber's intentions are serious she uses an image which would have no immediate significance for the modern theatre-goer:

"Dein Herz wird kein Retourbillet verlangen oder sich gar das Entrée seiner Treue bei Amors Kassa zurückzahlen lassen?"²

In the local theatres of the wandering players the audience, if not satisfied with the performance, felt quite entitled to demand its money back. In the established theatres this practice was expressly forbidden though ticket-money might be refunded to any member of the audience who made a request for it before the performance began. The rule relating to this is expressed in Pezzl's guide-book thus:

"Bis zum Anfange des Schauspiels wird die Entrée zurück erstattet, im Falle man sich entfernen wird: nach aufgezogener Courtine aber findet keine Rückgabe des Leggeldes statt."³

All public spectacles for which tickets were sold were subject to rules of this nature. Adolf Schmidl points out in connection with the popular fire-work displays in the Prater that 3 o'clock in

1. S.W., vol. I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act II, Scene 5, p.35.
2. ibid. Act I, Scene 12, p.23.
3. Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.597.

the afternoon was the hour "nach welchen kein Retourbillet mehr ausgegeben wird"¹ These are the terms in which Zoraide couches her request for Quecksilber's constancy.

This kind of imagery drawn from local customs occurs throughout Raimund's work. While Rappelkopf, for example, does not refer overtly to the habits of everyday life in the manner of Quecksilber, his language is nevertheless coloured by terms drawn from the life of the city. Quecksilber finding himself locked in a room, cries,

"Es ist ja zu. Ja, es ist ja noch nicht zehn Uhr? Da sperren s' die Haustür schon vorm Essen zu. He! Hausmeister! aufgemacht. Auf!"²

Such an unmistakable reference to a Viennese custom³ is nowhere made by Rappelkopf, whose references are discreetly incorporated in his imagery. In his extreme hatred of mankind, he says, "Der ganzen Welt künd auf Michäli ich auf",⁴ a natural image for a Viennese man of property since Michaelmas day was the end of a quarter as far as rents were concerned.⁵ When his

1. Adolf Schmidl, Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna, 1835/39, vol.II, p.37.

2. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I, Scene 13, p.26.

3. See Adolf Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833: "Um 10 Uhr Abends werden die Linienthore, so wie die Thore der Privathäuser in der Stadt gesperrt; in den Vorstädten um 9, im Sommer gleichfalls um 10. Wer später kömmt, gibt dem Hausmeister (Portier) eine Kleinigkeit für das Öffnen". (pp.18f.)

4. S.W., vol.II, Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, Act I, Scene 11, p.115.

5. See Adolf Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833: "Immer sind auch grössere Wohnungen, besonders in den Sommermonathen zu haben, nur versäume niemand die Aufsagezeit zu Georgi und Micheli". (p.274).

former wives are resurrected to torment him, he says,
"Ich sag, die Weiber habn heut ihren Ausgehtag in der Höll".¹
using the term which was applied to the free afternoon allowed
once a fortnight to female domestic servants. To assure
Astralagus of his confidence in his own righteousness he
says,

"Ich geh und übergeb Dir meinen Geist, von dem ich
weiss, dass er so wenig Fehler hat, als die Donau
Linienschiffe trägt..."²

The impossibility of finding "Linienschiffe" sailing on the
Danube can only be appreciated if it is known that this was
the local nickname for the "char-a-bancs" which were stationed
outside the "Linien" for the benefit of those members of the
public who could not afford a private carriage to take them
out of the city.³

References such as these to everyday terms and customs can
easily be overlooked or misunderstood. The least comprehensible
of all local allusions however are those to topical events, since
they could often lose their significance within months of being
written. References to the giraffe, for example, in popular

1. S.W., vol.II, "Text in Raimund's Konzept", p.206. See also Sämtliche Werke, ed. K. Glossy and A. Sauer, Vienna, 1881, vol.III, p.286.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 1, pp.158f.
3. See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna, 1835, vol.I, "Der minder Bemittelte bediente sich daher hauptsächlich der Chars à bancs, welche unter den mannigfachsten Spottnamen vor den Linien (Barrieren) Wiens halten, daher gewöhnlich "Linienschiffe" genannt, auch Zwölfgläserwägen, Luftbiskotten", deren eigentlicher Name aber "Zeiselwagen" ist, welchem sie vielleicht halb Europa bekannt sind." (p.2.)

plays of 1828 may puzzle the modern reader. In the summer of 1828 the first giraffe ever to be seen in Vienna was presented by the Viceroy of Egypt to the Imperial Menagerie at Schönbrunn. Vienna greeted the arrival of this strange animal with great excitement and new fashions in clothes, jewellery, gloves and all kinds of commodities were named "à la Giraffe". Adolf Bäuerle wrote a burlesque for the Leopoldstadt theatre called Die Giraffe in Wien oder Alles à la Giraffe. Since Raimund's play Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind was written in the same year and first performed on 17th October he could scarcely fail to include in it a reference to the current fashion. Thus in a song in which Rappelkopf plans the life he will lead away from the society of men, he sings,

"Den Westwind ernenn ich zu meinem Friseur,
Der krauselt die Locken und weht um mich her,
Und wenn ich ein hohes Toupet vielleicht schaff,
Frisiert mich der Sturmwind gleich à la Giraff."¹

A year later the excitement had died down and the fashion changed. Raimund wrote a new encore stanza for Wurzel's "Aschenlied" in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt.

"Seit die Giraff ist tot,
Sind Schleifen in der Mod;
Sechs Schleifen auf dem Hut,
Es wird eim fast nicht gut."²

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 17, p.136.
2. Sung c.25 August 1829 in the Leopoldstadt theatre: see S.W., vol.II, p.275.

A year later the fashion had changed again and Wurzel sang

"Seit die Giraff ist tot,
Sein d'Maschen in der Mod."¹

The numerous versions of the popular "Aschenlied"² which are still in existence provide a good example of the way in which local dramatists adapted their plays and particularly their songs to celebrate local events and to suit certain occasions.

Raimund wrote for example a version of the "Aschenlied" for the New Year in January 1827 and one for the carnival in February 1827. He sang a special version at his performance in Munich on 22nd February 1831:

"Vom alten Isterland
Zieht still zum Isarstrand
Der Aschenmann von Wien
Gedankenvoll dahin."³

and another in Munich on 13th November at the time of the cholera epidemic:

"Hin ist die schöne Zeit,
Wo alles sich erfreut,
Ein jeder fürchtet ja,
Die arge Cholera.
Ein Aschen!"⁴

1. Sung 14. December 1830 in the 'Theater an der Wien': see S.W., vol.II, p.276.
2. For Raimund's own versions, see S.W., vol.II, pp.270ff; for versions by others -- folk-singers, harpists etc. -- see E. Blümml and G. Gugitz, Altwienerisches, Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1921, vol.I, pp.144f.
3. S.W., vol.II, p.279.
4. S.W., vol.II, p.281.

By inserting topical songs into his plays and topical stanzas into his songs, the actor-playwright could indulge the talent for extemporising which he had not officially been allowed to develop since 1752. Raimund's encore stanzas and alternative versions of songs contain many more references to topicalities and personalities than the texts of his plays. Where such references are preserved in the plays themselves, they are meaningless to the modern reader. Nachtigall, for example, is afraid to pass two white lions guarding the palace gates and says:

"Wenn einer unrecht versteht, so macht er statt der Tür den Rachen auf. Da geh der Aken hinein, ich nicht."¹

No-one in Vienna even could now be expected to know that at the time when the play was written there was a lion-tamer called Aken who kept a menagerie in Vienna.² The modern reader is equally mystified when Zoraide, seeing Quecksilber fly through the window on a cockerel cries:

"Wie schön er oben sitzt, wie ein englischer Reiter."³

1. S.W., vol.I, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act II, Scene 1, p.355.
2. Frankl's anecdotes about Raimund are of dubious validity but the one which tells of a chance meeting between Grillparzer and Raimund in "van Aken's Menagerie in Wien" is perhaps worthy of mention in connection with this allusion. See L.A. Frankl: Zur Biographie Ferdinand Raimunds, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1884, p.11.
3. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act II, Scene 12, p.49.

Even the peasant from Eipeldau found it necessary to explain this term to his cousin in Kagran. In 1794 after describing the performance of two circus-riders visiting Vienna, the German Johann Kolter and the Spaniard Peter Mahyeu, he wrote:

"Der Herr Vetter wird sich wundern, warum man die Leut engiländische Reiter nennt, da doch eine ein Spaninger und der andre ein Deutscher ist? aber da will ich den Herrn Vettern 's Rätsel gleich auflösen. Da ist einmahl einer nach der Wienstadt kommen, der die ersten solche Halsbrechersprung aufm Pferd gmacht hat und weil der ein Engiländer gwesen ist, so heisst jetzt ein jeder solcher Gauckler, und wenn er von Eipeldau herein kommen soll ein engilischer Reiter."¹

The English horseman who first performed equestrian acrobatics in Vienna was J. Hyam, who visited the city for a time in 1781 and returned in subsequent years to give further displays. This form of entertainment became very popular with the Viennese public and in 1807 Christoph de Bach set up a permanent circus arena in the Prater. By this time the term "englischer Reiter" had become synonymous with "Kunstreiter" and it would have been immediately understood by Raimund's audiences.

A whole sphere of topical reference which is lost to a great extent on the modern audience is that of the contemporary theatre. The people who, night after night, made up the audience of the Leopoldstadt theatre knew the ensemble so well that the playwrights

1. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.I, p.230.

could make the personal characteristics of the actors the object of laughter. Local dramatists often alluded in jest to the height of Korntheuer, for example, for whom Raimund wrote the part of Longimanus in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, and Bäuerle the part of Longinus in Der neue Don Juan. Florian addresses the Spirit King Longimanus impertinently as "Euer Langmächtigkeit" and "Euer Hochmächtigkeit"¹ and Longinus, brother of the newly-rich Wilden, hero of Bäuerle's play, makes such jokes about his own height as this:

"Da hab ich noch eine Stund forttanzt, wie die Musik schon aus war. Und die Bauern, die haben ihren Spass mit mir g'habt, die haben sich grad aufg'lacht über mich, und weil ich so gross bin, und so kirzengrad mich umdreht hab, so habens g'sagt, da tanzt der Kirchtagsbaum -"2

Otto Rommel draws attention to the quite unscrupulous use made by local dramatists -- including Raimund -- of their actors' personal characteristics and even of their disabilities; he quotes the example of Korntheuer:

"Korntheuer selbst war ... daran gewöhnt sich auf der Bühne durch Anspielungen auf seine Statur oder sogar auf sein quälendes Blasenleiden foppen zu lassen. Die "nassen Wolken"³ gegen die sich Longimanus im Diamant verwahrt, erinnern heute noch daran."⁴

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 4, p.136.
2. Adolf Bäuerle, ed.cit., vol.V, Don Juans Streiche, Act I, Scene 1, p.5.
3. See S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 5. Longimanus: Wer hat mich heut nacht aufgebettet? Pamphilius: Ich, mächtigster Sultan der Welt. Longimanus: Dass du mir keine so feuchten Wolken mehr einbettet. Ich will trocken liegen, ich glaub gar, du hast Regenwolken erwischt." (p.95).
4. Otto Rommel: Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, p.743.

The Viennese community was sufficiently compact for such personal allusions to be instantly understood by the local audience and in the intimate atmosphere of the Leopoldstadt theatre it is doubtful whether laughter thus provoked was ever malicious.

The audience could also be relied upon to recognize quotations from the words and music of plays and operas in the repertoires of the Viennese theatres. Quecksilber in his rôle of suitor at the courts of Tutu dressed as a dandy in an evening suit of gold cloth with a silver waistcoat, makes his entry to the music of the first aria of Figaro from The Barber of Seville.¹ This opera had been given its first performance in Vienna on the 16th December 1820 in the Kärnthnerthor theatre, and by 1823, the year of Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, had already been performed so often that the critic of the Theaterzeitung was moved to write: "Der Barbier von Sevilla wird zu oft gegeben".² Rossini himself had come to Vienna in 1820 and his music was exceedingly popular. Kolophonius, the guard of the singing tree in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, commands the tree to perform its task of enticing strangers up the Magic Mountain, saying:

"Lockt sie hinauf. Singt! bezaubernde Melodien singt,

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I, Scene 11, p.17.
2. Theaterzeitung, 22 July 1823, "Tagebuch unserer Bühnen".

singt Rossinische, sie locken ja ins Schauspielhaus,
so werden sie auch hier ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlen".¹

Eduard is suitably entranced and even more so when the tree
proceeds to sing

"Kannst du denn widerstreben
Selbst dieser Töne Macht?"²

to the melody of "Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben" from Mozart's
Don Giovanni. Such musical quotations were common practice in
the Viennese theatre and are often instantly recognized by a
modern audience -- an obvious example being Mozart's quotation
in Don Giovanni from his own Marriage of Figaro. The quotation
of well known lines from other popular plays raises more
difficult problems, since these plays are rarely performed. Where
the quotation is from the text of a song which has become a
popular folk-song in its own right the effect on the modern
audience in Vienna is not lost. In Der Barometermacher auf der
Zauberinsel Zoraide quotes from such a song when she asks,

"Ist denn die Liebe nicht ein Rausch? und sagt darum
nicht Schiller: Wer niemals einen Rausch ghabt, das
ist kein braver Mann?"

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 26, p.128. There are two other references to Rossini's works in Raimund's plays: Phantasie sings a Rossini melody in Die gefesselte Phantasie (S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 12, p.341) and Quecksilber refers to Rossini's opera of 1819, La Donna del Lago, in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, when he says at the appearance of Lidi, a nymph: "Himmel! was ist das? Welch eine krudelschöne Person? Nympe des Waldes oder Donna del Lago!" (S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, p.8.)
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 27, p.128. For the songs of the singing tree, see S.W., vol.I, p.171.

Quecksilber replies:

"Der Schiller sagt das bei Ihnen? Bei mir singst das der Hausmeister im Neusonntagskind."¹

Das Neusonntagskind was an adaptation by Joachim Perinet of Philipp Hafner's Der Furchtsame. It was a very popular play and between 1793 and 1829 was performed 164 times in the Leopoldstadt theatre alone.² The song from which Zoraide quotes was sung by the drunken caretaker, a rôle which Raimund himself played on occasions.³ Quotations are not always so clearly announced and sometimes occur without explanation in the text.

When Quecksilber wants to blow his magic horn and summon an army to defend him, he says,

"Ich kann ja eine Armee herblasen! Viktoria! O Pizichi! Pizichi! blas anstatt meiner Fagott!"⁴

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.36.
2. This figure is quoted by Otto Rommel. See Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Barocktradition im österreichisch-bayrischen Volkstheater, (hereafter referred to as DLER Barocktradition) vol.III, p.355, note 181, 5.
3. Raimund played this rôle in the Josefstadt theatre on 8th July 1814 and in the Leopoldstadt theatre on 3rd and 6th July 1822. For the song in question, see Joachim Perinet, Das Neusonntagskind, Pressburg, 1794, Act II, Scene 2: "Wer niemals einen ~~einen~~ Rausch hat g'habt / Das ist ein schlechter Mann / Wer seinen Durst mit seiteln labt, / Fang lieber gar nicht an / Da dreht sich alles um und um / In unserm Capitolium. usw." (p.52).
4. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I, Scene 14, p.27.

This is a direct quotation of Kasperl's cry in Perinet's musical play Kaspar der Fagottist oder die Zauberzither. He too possesses a musical instrument with magical powers and in moments of danger calls on Pizichi, the little genius, to blow the bassoon for him. He sings a song with the refrain,

"O Pizichi, Pizichi! hilf mir aus Noth
O Pizichi, blas anstatt meiner Fagott."¹

Raimund also makes references to other plays without actually quoting from them. When, for example, Nachtigall realises that Phantasie will not help him to write the prize poem he says

"Das Weibsbild hält mich für einen Narren. Die Zeit vergeht, ich bring nichts zsamm. Wenn nur die zwei Schwestern von Prag da waren."²

thus wishing for the help which Hanswurst and Crispin give to their masters when they both appear disguised as Odoardo's sister from Prag in Perinet's play Die Schwestern von Prag³ -- adapted from Hafner's Der von dreyen Schwiegersöhnen geplagte Odoardo oder Hanswurst und Crispin, die lächerlichen Schwestern von Prag.

1. Joachim Perinet: Kaspar der Fagottist, DLER Barocktradition, vol.I. Act I, Scene 11, p.218.
2. S.W., vol.II, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act II, Scene 11, p.374.
3. First performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre 11 March 1794. The date of the first performance of this play is taken, as are the dates of premières of the other plays referred to in this chapter, from Franz Hadamowsky's very valuable catalogue: Das Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, vol.III, Vienna, 1934. As well as a history of the Leopoldstadt theatre, this work contains an alphabetical list of the plays performed there, giving title, genre, number of acts, author, composer, date of première and dates of subsequent performances, review of first performance as well as details of documents -- manuscripts, printed texts, illustrations of stage-sets etc. -- available in various sections of the Nationalbibliothek.

When Quecksilber, as he is about to leap through the window and escape from Zoriade, cries:

"Lasst mich! ich bin Ludwig der Springer."¹

he is referring to the romantic hero Ludwig, Landgraf von Thüringen who, in the play Ludwig der Springer² by Gustav Hagemann, leaps from a high tower where he is imprisoned into a ship which carries him to safety.³ Longimanus, making himself comfortable for an hour's reading says to his chamberlain,

"Richt alles her. Mein Tischel, vier Wachskerzen und dann das Buch von der Agnes Bernauerin. Das Stück les ich jetzt schon vierzähmal; und ich weiss immer noch nicht, warum sie s' denn eigentlich ins Wasser gworfen haben."⁴

The play Agnes Bernauerin by Graf von Törring was one of the most frequently performed dramas of chivalry in the Viennese repertoires. The chief cause of its popularity was undoubtedly Agnes' plunge into the water which was supposed to take place before the eyes of the audience.⁵ The story is told of a performance in the makeshift theatre of Margarethen where pandemonium broke

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act II, Scene 14, p.51.
2. Reviewed in the Theaterzeitung? I, 1st July, 1806.
3. cp. Karl Meisl, Theatralisches Quodlibet, Pest, 1820/25, vol.III, Das Gespenst auf der Bastey [1819] Act I, Scene 13, Heinrich: Die Gläubiger suchen mich -- was bleibt mir übrig, als Ludwig den Springer im Stadtgraben vorzustellen (er will auf die Mauer). (p.73).
4. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 6, p.143.
5. See Josef August Graf von Törring und Kronsfeld: Agnes Bernauerin, ein vaterländisches Trauerspiel [1784], Deutsche Schaubühne, vol.XIV Augsburg, 1790, Act V, Scene 6, pp.460f.

out because the leading actress, who was suffering from a cold, refused at the crucial moment to be thrown into the water until each member of the audience paid an extra Kreuzer towards the expenses of the medicaments which she would need as a result.¹ It is probable that Longimanus' audience shared his confusion and indeed indifference to the motives behind Agnes' plunge, the important factor being the plunge itself.

References to the contemporary theatre, like all other local allusions, decrease in Raimund's later plays, though there are isolated examples to be found. In Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind Rappelkopf when preparing to leave his home and family says,

"So! -- Der Timon ist fertig; nun fehlt nur noch sein Kompagnon, der Esel -- und wenn ich der auch jetzt nicht bin, so war ichs doch."²

and when he imagines that Habakuk is about to assassinate him he cries,

"Hinaus, du mörder! du Abällino! du Ungeheuer in der Livree!"³

1. See Jakob Blümel: Geschichte der Entwicklung der Wiener Vorstädte, Vienna, 1886, Part C. pp.59f.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 20, p.146. Der Esel des Timon, (see Karl Meisl: Theatralisches Quodlibet, Pest, 1820/25, vol.IV) was first performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre 3rd June 1819. Raimund played the part of Midas, Timon's servant. The performance is reviewed in the Wiener Zeitschrift, 557, 3rd June, 1819: see S.W., vol.V, p.86.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 14, p.125. The hero of Heinrich Zschokke's tragedy Abällino is a bandit involved in a plot of assassination in Venice. (See J.H.D. Zschokke: Abällino der grosse Bandit, Leipzig, Frankfurt, 1796). The play was first performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre on 24th March 1809.

The only quotation in Der Verschwender, Raimund's last play is at least one which needs no more explanation today than when the play was first performed. Rosa, horrified at Valentin's intention of leaving home and taking all the children with him, says

"Ah, das ist mir ja noch gar nicht vorgekommen"

to which Valentin cries exultantly:

"Gelt? O, es gibt Sachen, wovon sich unsere Philosophie nichts träumen lässt."¹

The delight and laughter of the audience when this play is performed in modern Vienna² at this incongruously adapted quotation gives perhaps some idea of the reaction of the audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre³ on whom all these quotations with their special associations would make an immediate impact. Modern productions of the plays have to omit such of these references as are entirely incomprehensible or substitute a suitable equivalent. For example, in Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone Zitternadel, in fear of being thrown into the debtor's prison, says:

"Um halb zwölf kommt der Weinhandler, der wird mich anzapfen um sein Geld und wenn ich ihn nicht zahlen kann, so heisst es: Marsch nach Kamtschatka!"⁴

1. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scene 9, p.442.
2. Der Verschwender is still a very popular play in Vienna. There is a production of the play in the current repertoire of the Burgtheater and it is performed for example on such special occasions as the Christmas Day matinée.
3. Raimund played the part of Hamlet in the Leopoldstadt theatre in the travesty of the original by J. Perinet, Hamlet, Prinz von Tandelmarkt Karikatur mit Gesang in Knittelreimen, Vienna, 1807. His performance in this rôle is reviewed in the Theaterzeitung, 228,

Kamtschatka, a mountainous peninsula of Siberia, was known as a place of banishment to the audiences of Raimund's day. It provided the setting for Kotzebue's play Graf Benjowski oder die Verschwörung auf Kamtschatka (1795)¹. In the most recent production of Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone in the Burgtheater² allowance was made for the inability of the modern audience to appreciate this point and Zitternadel said instead,

"... so heisst es: Marsch nach St. Helena".

In the same production, when Zitternadel equips himself for battle, with sword and helmet, his line

"So! Jetzt ist der Stephan Fädinger fertig."³

was omitted altogether, since the modern audience has not the benefit which Raimund's audience enjoyed of acquaintance through several plays of the period⁴ with Stefan Fädinger, a leader of

continued from p.70, footnote 3: ...21 April, 1820: see S.W., vol.V, p.130. See also reproduction of "Raimund als travestierter Hamlet", S.W., vol.V, facing p.128. Gieseke's "Travestierter Hamlet" (1794) had previously enjoyed considerable success on the local stages of Vienna.

4. (p.70). S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 8, p.242.

1. [See DLER
Barocktradition,
vol. VI, p.290]

1. Otto Rommel states that the source of the familiarity of Raimund's audience with Kamtschatka as a place of exile was Kotzebue's play. [It seems more likely however that the name and its associations were common knowledge. 'Kamtschatka' seems to have been in general use as is 'Siberia' in the present day. cp. S.W., vol.V, p.193 "Einladung", 24 ~~April~~^{October 1823}, 1823, "... in seinem Herzen wird die Flamme der Dankbarkeit so stark brennen, dass alle Schneegestöber von Kamtschatka nicht imstande sind, sie auszulösen." A direct reference to a play by Kotzebue occurs in Die gefesselte Phantasie, S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 6: Narr: Also nicht der arme Poet vom Kotzebue? A.F.F. Kotzebue: Der arme Poet, Deutsche Schaubühne, Augsburg, Leipzig, (1811/12) vol.18.

2. Première, 20 March 1961; producer Rudolf Steinboeck.

3. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 9, p.297.

4. Otto Rommel quotes two of these: e.g. Paul Weidmann:

the Austrian peasants who was killed in the siege of Linz in 1626.

Such allowances have to be made for the Viennese themselves but they do not solve all the problems of the foreign visitor to the Viennese theatre, whose primary difficulty in appreciating popular comedy lies in the Viennese dialect. A German visitor to the Leopoldstadt theatre in 1822, describing his impressions of Raimund himself writes:

"...[er] sprudelt in dem gemeinsten Volksdialekte die Worte dermassen schnell und seltsam hervor, dass Fremde ihn unzählgemal gehört haben können, ohne je eine Sylbe verstanden zu haben; der gebildete Norddeutsche glaubt eine ausländische Sprache zu hören und bedarf eines Dollmetschers, der ihm diese Töne auslegt, die Herr Raimund schreiend und unter widerlicher Verzerrung des Gesichts ausstösst."¹

The reader who, unlike the casual visitor to the theatre, can peruse the texts of Raimund's plays at his leisure, will probably feel less violently about the problems posed by the dialect. He is spared the laughter of other people which isolates him in his ignorance and with a dialect dictionary at his side he can combat the feeling of helpless annoyance

continued from p.71, footnote 4: ...Stefan Fadinger oder Der Bauernkrieg, 1777. B.D.A. Cremeri: Der Bauernaufstand ob der Enns, 1792: see DLER Barocktradition, vol.VI, p.290. Weidmann's play was adapted as a musical play by Joseph Schuster and first performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre on 22nd June 1816 under the title Stefan Fadinger.

1. Adolf von Schaden: Meister Fuchs oder humorischer Spatziergang von Prag uber Wien und Linz nach Passau. Dessau, (1823), p.273.

a remark which might be interpreted as a simple and regular
aroused by failure to understand a joke. The difficulties
by the reader who does not know that in the dialect
presented by the obvious pun involving dialect words can
"Schillinge bekommen" is synonymous with "Prügel bekommen",
in this way be overcome. Nachtigalls comment, for example,

In the case of puns which are dependent on dialect
in Die gefesselte Phantasie when he is told that he is to
pronunciation the visitor to the theatre has the advantage over
marry a queen:

The reader with his dictionary. Raising his not consistent in
"Sie Gspassige, Sie foppen mich. Eine Kinigin soll
ich erhaschen? Ein Kiniglhasen vielleicht."¹

is an obvious play on the words "Kinigin" meaning queen,¹
and "Kiniglhasen" meaning rabbit. Where a pun depends, however,
on two meanings of a single word, one known to the reader and
the other, the dialect meaning unknown, the pun may be

overlooked altogether. In the first scene of Das Mädchen aus

wenn man nur nicht so viel ausgemacht wird dabei. Mich
der Feenwelt Antimonia is defending her little son against
Kaffeehäuser hinausgeworfen, weil ich gar so schlecht
the gibes of the assembled musicians who consider him to be
Wastling, aber jetzt freut mich niemand mehr."²
a spoilt child. She says to Bustorius,

the pun on "Whist" and "Wastling" which is entirely dependent
"Mein Herr! das könnte mich beleidigen. Er ist der
on the erste Violinspieler im ganzen Feenreich, er hat einen
englischen Meister, der für jede Lektion zweihundert
the best Schillinge bekommt."²

The musicians undeterred proceed with their offensive remarks
and in the course of the conversation Bustorius says, laughingly:

"Das ist gute Erziehung. Buben tut sie schön und
Meister gibt sie Schilling"³

1. Whist was in fact played in Viennese coffee-houses: E. Hölzl
writes of Nagelmann's Koffee-haus in Leopoldstadt: "Und
nächstens wird in ersten Stock mitunter / politisiert und recensiert
und munter / Ein laises
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 1, p.178. moristische Gedichte über
3. ibid, p.179. Times, Vienna, 1820, p.14. As well as card games,
chess and billiards were played.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 1, p.178.

a remark which might be dismissed as a simple non-sequitur by the reader who does not know that in the dialect "Schillinge bekommen" is synonymous with "Prügel bekommen".

In the case of puns which are dependent on dialect pronunciation the visitor to the theatre has the advantage over the reader with his dictionary. Raimund is not consistent in his spelling, sometimes giving the phonetic dialect spelling and sometimes the High German form. He writes "Grünzing" instead of "Grinzing" for example, but does not consistently replace the High German "i" by the dialect "ü". Thus when Longimanus says in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs:

"Whist spielen s'? Ist ein schönes Spiel, das Whist, wenn man nur nicht so viel ausgemacht wurd dabei. Mich haben s' einmal auf der Erden unten aus fünf Kaffehäuser hinausgeworfen, weil ich gar so schlecht gespielt hab.¹ Ja! damals war ich noch ein rechter Wüstling, aber jetzt freuts mich nimmermehr."²

the pun on "Whist" and "Wüstling" which is entirely dependent on the dialect pronunciation is lost on the reader who has not the benefit of hearing the words spoken.

Difficulties in understanding the local language which were experienced by many foreign visitors to the Leopoldstadt when

1. Whist was in fact played in Viennese coffee-houses: K. Meisl writes of Hugelmann's coffee-house in Leopoldstadt: "Und höchstens wird im ersten Stock mitunter / politisiert und recensiert / Und bey Tarok und Whist oft froh und munter / Ein leises Geistesweh'n verspürt." K. Meisl: Humoristische Gedichte über die Vorstädte Wiens, Vienna, 1820, p.14. As well as card games, chess and billiards were played.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 10, p.99.

it was at the height of its popularity often caused them to write disparagingly about its plays and its actors. This in turn provoked the Viennese to defend their theatre against its critics from abroad. Adolf Schmidl, justifiably incensed by the readiness of visitors to despise what they could not understand, suggests a possible solution to their problems:

"Noch immer sprechen die Fremden mitleidig lächelnd vom 'Käseperle' obwohl er mit Freund Thaddädl und Hanswurst längst, selbst dem Namen nach verschwunden ist. Eben so wenig herrscht auf dieser Bühne der österreichische 'Bauern-Dialekt' wie einige Reisende wollen sondern die eigentliche Wiener Volks- (nicht Pöbel) Sprache. Dass diese mit all' ihren Witzen und ihrer bildlichen Kraft jedem Deutschen, der den meissnischen Dialekt für die deutsche Sprache hält, unverständlich bleiben und barbarisch undeutsch erscheinen muss, ist natürlich. Nur an der Seite eines kommentirenden echten Wieners, d.h. der sich seines Volkes nicht schämt, sondern seiner Eigenthümlichkeit sich erfreut, wird diese Bühne dem Fremden einen genussreichen Abend verschaffen können."¹

The lack of such a commentary as Schmidl suggests must be felt by any foreigner who attempts to read the plays which were performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre. The contact between actor and audience was intensified by the use of their common language, by allusions to familiar places and local events, by the very factors which create a barrier between the playwright of the popular theatre and the reader of today. This barrier must be removed before the plays can be fully appreciated;

1. Adolf Schmidl; Wien wie es ist, 1833, p.211.

local allusions and dialect words must be explained; but at the same time the reader must beware of attaching too much significance to the local colour which the dialogue contains. The playwrights of the popular theatre were not naturalists. The society in which they lived and for whom they wrote is reflected in their work and their use of local colour contributes to this reflection but they did not use it in a deliberate attempt to depict their milieu. The primary purpose of all local allusions was to create comic effect and it is in order to join in the laughter that the newcomer to the theatre must familiarise himself with the local background. He must not be misled by the wealth of local allusions and realistic details into identifying too literally the illusionary Vienna of the popular stage with the real Vienna of the day. That the foreign critic is particularly prone to stray into this kind of misinterpretation is indicated by Otto Rommel's warning remarks on the subject of post-Congress popular comedies:

"Nichts wäre irriger als diese Stücke als Kulturdokumente wörtlich zu nehmen, wie es von ortsfremden Forschern gelegentlich geschehen ist... Wohl spiegelt sich in diesen Stücken das wienerische Leben, aber gebrochen durch Witz und Spott und bedingt durch die Gegebenheiten einer zur höchsten Virtuosität entwickelten Schauspielkunst."¹

1. Otto Rommel: Das parodistische Zauberspiel, DLER Barocktradition, vol.3, p.19.

A commentary on the literal meaning of the texts provides a little knowledge, which will add to the reader's appreciation of the plays but which may prove a danger to his assessment of their significance. If the mistake is made of equating use of local colour with realistic representation of life and society, then the plays of Raimund will appear to move progressively away from reality, since his early plays like those of his fellow playwrights contain many local allusions and his later plays ~~very~~ few. In Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel for example, six suburban districts, five streets, five public buildings, two inns and one coffee house are mentioned by name and there are at least ten references to local customs and five to current theatrical productions. In Der Verschwender on the other hand, no place names occur¹; there is only one specifically local allusion² and only one quotation.³ It is quite legitimate to

1. There is one passage in Der Verschwender which requires explanation in this connection, viz: Dumont: Bon jour, Madame! Wo tragen Du hin das Holzen? Weib: Nach Haus. Gleich ins Gebirg, nach Blunzendorf. Dumont: Blonsendorf? O schöner Nam." S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 5, p.384. 'Blunzendorf' is not a real village but a colloquial name for an obscure and insignificant place, as it were, at the back of beyond. The word has an immediate comic effect on the modern Viennese audience in the current Burgtheater production of Der Verschwender. It is worth noting in this connection that the dialect word 'Blunzen' means 'Blutwurst' and is also used as a term of abuse for a stupid person. F.S. Hugel quotes examples (Red.) Dei Weib is a dicki Blunz'n' and "Er is blunz'ndumm! op.cit.p.42.
2. This is an allusion to the proverbial coarseness of the sedan-chair bearers. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene I, p.375.
3. See above, p.70. Eduard Castle draws attention to another possible quotation in Act III, Scene 7, viz: Valentin: Das jüngste Kind meiner Laune. (S.W., vol.II, p.431). In his annotation to this line he points out that Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune is a title of a collection of works by

deduce from a purely numerical analysis of textual references that in the course of his career as a playwright Raimund moves away from the traditional techniques of his contemporaries in the theatre. It is not legitimate however to conclude, because very little actual knowledge of Vienna is required to understand Der Verschwender, that it necessarily reflects Viennese life and society less than does Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, whose text is in part incomprehensible without adequate background knowledge. The plays of Raimund reflect the life of Vienna, but the factors conditioning the reflection change to some extent as he develops as a dramatist. The decrease in the number of local allusions is one indication of this development; but the textual examination which reveals this decrease is only the first step towards assessing the nature of the reflection and the extent to which it changes in the course of Raimund's work.

1. Various known as "Parodie", "parodierende Poesie", "Karikatur-Zeichnis", "Seitenstück zu...", "Gegenstück zu..." etc. in the continued from p.77, footnote 3: ...Kotzebue, Leipzig, 1793/97. See Ferdinand Raimund: Sämtliche Werke, ed. Castle, Leipzig, (1903) p.507.

1. Verschieden bekannt als "Parodie", "parodierende Poesie", "Karikatur-Zeichnis", "Seitenstück zu...", "Gegenstück zu..." etc. in der Fortsetzung von S. 77, Fußnote 3: ...Kotzebue, Leipzig, 1793/97. Siehe Ferdinand Raimund: Sämtliche Werke, ed. Castle, Leipzig, (1903) S. 507.

CHAPTER II

RAIMUND'S USE OF VIENNESE LIFE AND SOCIETY AS A SOURCE OF SETTING AND ACTION

Der Parodist als dramatischer Dichter - described as being

The popular dramatist in Vienna did not use local colour in his plays in order to present a realistic picture of the society in which he lived. He did, however, use it extensively to create the illusion that his plays were set in Vienna. The creation of this illusion was an inexhaustible source of comedy on the popular stage and it constituted the basic element of a dramatic form which was a mainstay of the popular repertoire in the early nineteenth century -- the Parody.¹ Whether the object of the parody were a dramatic work or a literary genre, a myth or a fairytale, the method of the parodist was invariable: the action was given a Viennese setting, supernatural beings were endowed with human characteristics and royalty and the nobility with middle-class habits: heroic action was made trivial and heroic characters were made ridiculous by virtue of their incongruous setting. Mythological

1. Various known as "Parodie", "parodierende Posse", "Karikaturgemälde", "Seitenstück zu..", "Gegenstück zu.." etc., in the Viennese popular theatre, parody constituted a genre in itself. See Otto Rommel: Das parodistische Zauberspiel, DLER, Barocktradition, vol.III: "Die Parodie ist auf dem Alt-Wiener Volkstheater nicht ein vereinzelt Ereignis, das eines besonderen Anlasses bedurfte, sondern eine ständige Gattung. Sie fehlt als Neuerscheinung in keinem Jahr und kommt als Reprise in jedem Monat, ja oft in jeder Woche vor. Manchmal erfasst parodistischer Übermut ein ganzes Theater, sodass Monate hindurch (z.B. im Josefstadttheater im November und Dezember 1818) fast nur Parodien aufgeführt werden." (p.14).

and magical parodies were at the peak of their popularity in the Leopoldstadt theatre when Raimund wrote his first play Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel. Described as "eine Zauberposse mit Gesang und Tanz in zwei Aufzügen als Parodie des Märchens: Prinz Tutu", it differs in no way from the many popular parodies which held the stage at that time. Raimund applies to fairytale the stock process of localisation,¹ and the play which he thus creates is scarcely a satire on the fairytale but rather a rollicking local comedy for which the tale has provided the basic plot and characters. The inhabitants of the Magic Island as well as the strangers from Vienna speak the Viennese dialect throughout and allude frequently to Viennese life and customs so that the action of the play takes place against a background of Vienna while remaining itself the unreal action of a fairytale. It is in the light of this method of localisation for comic effect that the stock local allusion of the popular theatre must be seen. Not only in parodies, but in all types of popular comedy of this period, the accumulation of local allusions combines with the use of dialect to provide a Viennese background for plots which have no inherent connection with life in the real city.

1. This term is used throughout in place of the more specific German term "Verwienerung" which describes the process exactly but cannot be rendered into English other than by a circumlocution.

of Vienna, and the resulting incongruity is a constant source of laughter.

To state then that local colour is used in the popular theatre solely to the end of provoking laughter is not in any way to diminish its importance: on the contrary, since the local dramatist sought above all else to create comic effect, its importance as part of his stock-in-trade can scarcely be overestimated. Even a local allusion which is not in itself a joke contributes to the process of localisation and thus to the overall comic effect of the play. In Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, for example, when Quecksilber plans to celebrate his victory over the King of the Magic Island, and contributes to the local colour which is the basic source

"Auf die Nacht wird ein grosses Feuerwerk veranstaltet; eine brennende Pyramide mit zwei tausend Feuerräder,"¹

his command has in itself no comic effect. It would, however, be an obvious choice of celebration in Vienna, where firework-displays were a very popular form of entertainment. An

enclosure in the Prater was designed for them and contained a scaffolding on which the lavish set-pieces were constructed. Six to eight would be set off at short intervals, representing gardens, temples, waterfalls, sieges and any number of spectacular scenes. Between May and September four or five

1. S.W., vol. I, Act II, Scene 1, p. 30.

The official title of the Feuerwerk is 'Barricadenwerker und Lanonier des Zauberinsels' (1818, p. 39) by Sauer's title, see above, page 1. Similar terms occur in other plays, e.g. Die Unselbständige Zauberkrone, S.W., vol. II, Act II.

displays were regularly arranged by the Stuver family who held the Viennese privilege at this time¹ and on these occasions the public would throng to the Feuerwerksplatz, pay their entrance fee of 24 Kreuzer and wait for darkness to fall. Most occasions for public rejoicing were marked in this way: the public celebrations arranged for the opening of the Congress of Vienna for instance began with a display of fireworks. Quecksilber's order for a burning pyramid of two thousand Catherine wheels² is not comic nor is it immediately recognizable as a local allusion, but it is an order for a typically Viennese celebration and as such contributes to the local colour which is the basic source of comedy in the play.

The accumulated direct and indirect local allusions in the dialogue effectively localize the action, whether or not the scene of the play is explicitly set in Vienna, but the

1. In 1777 Johann Georg Stuver, a native of Vienna, acquired the ground in the Prater where his first firework display took place on 23 May. He soon surpassed his rivals, Girandolini and Melina and in 1784 received permission to use the title of "k.k. privilegierte Kunst- und Lustfeuerwerker". He retired in 1799 and his son Kaspar Stuver carried on the privilege until his death in 1819. Anton Stuver, younger son of Kaspar, took over the direction in 1826. The popularity of the Stuver fireworks displays despite their almost proverbial ill-luck with the weather, continued until the revolution in 1848.
2. Words drawn from the familiar terminology of pyrotechnics occur elsewhere in Raimund's plays; the vocabulary used by the Feuergeist provides many examples. (S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scenes 1 & 2, pp.87ff) The official title of the Feuergeist is 'Oberfeuerwerker und Kanonier des Zauberkönigs' (ibid, p.89); cp Stuver's title, see above, note 1. Isolated terms occur in other plays, e.g. Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone, S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 6, p.290.

local dramatist often used stage-scenery to strengthen the local impression. When it is Tutu's turn to celebrate in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, the celebration which he chooses has an unmistakably local flavour: he says:

"Jetzt richt alles zum Fest her. Und meine rosshaarenen Pölster nicht vergessen. Im chinesisches Lusthaus wird gespeist, auf hundertfünfzig Personen. Nach Tisch wird grosser Ball, und wenn ich vielleicht einschlummern sollte, so machts mir den Menuett mit den Paukenschlag, von Ding da, wie heisst er denn? Ja von Haden."¹

A lavish banquet in a summerhouse followed by a ball was a celebration which might be chosen by any Viennese nobleman or by the Emperor himself, though the insistence of Tutu, the stage-king, on his horse-hair cushions and his crudely worded allusion to Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony² lend an appropriately ludicrous tone to his order. In this case, however, the local allusion is carried further than that of Quecksilber to the firework-display. Several scenes later, the curtain rises on an 'Indian garden'³: on one side of the stage is a

continued from p.82, footnote2: ... Zitternadel: Wollen sie sich duellieren mit mir, auf congrevische Raketen? (p.290).

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 16, p.52.
2. This was one of the 'popular classics' of the times: cp. F. Gewey and K. Meisl, Wien mit seinen Vorstädten humoristisch geschildert, Vienna, 1820, Book I: "Sie spielen das Terzett der Molinara / Das dim so gefallen hat / Dann das Duettchen aus der Cosa Rara / A vista, hurtig, weg vom Blatt / Die Arie "In diesen heil'gen Hallen" / Und Papagenos Hauptduett / Den Landwehr- und den Bürgermarsch vor allen / Und dann den Paukenschlag Menuett" (p.50).
3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 20, p.60.

throne of flowers and on the other a Chinese summer house. The summer house was a familiar sight in the parks and gardens of Vienna. The Prater Lusthaus was a typical round two storey pavilion ringed with three open balconies. The Chinese summerhouse¹ a variation on this style, was one of the many decorative constructions with which the gardens of the rich were adorned.¹ Presented on the stage in this way as part of the scenery it is a direct reflection of the Viennese scene. It is an extension of the local allusion in that it adds a visual impression to the verbal one, but its function is the same: it contributes to the process of localisation.

Many plays of the popular theatre were set in Vienna and the hilarious and improbable events of their plots took place against a backcloth representing perhaps a well-known square, or the interior of a favourite coffee-house. Without making the setting specifically Viennese in this way, the local dramatist often incorporated familiar sights and landmarks of the city into his stage-scenery in the way in which Raimund sets his Chinese summerhouse in the exotic Indian garden. Just

1. Schönholz describes this style of garden architecture, which he considers representative of the period 1780-1810: "Eine Masse von Gedanken, Einfällen, Absichten in einem grösseren und kleineren Raum, breitspürig auseinandergelegt oder erstickend zusammengedrängt Heckengänge, Laubgewölbe, Wiesenplätze, Haine, Blumenparterres, Durchsichten, schlängelnde Bäche, Duodezseen, Wasserfällchen, Springbrunnen, Spritzwerke, Goldfischteiche, Schwanenhütten, Fasanzwinger, Volièren, hängende, fliegende, Dreh-, Bogen-, Vexierbrücken, Eremitagen, chinesische Türme, Schweizerhäuschen, Tempel, Grabmäler, Arkaden, Gnomone, Pavillons, Ruinen, Grotten, Katakomben und Gott weiss, was alles und dieses meist plump, effektlos, malplaziert, und wenn auch sinnreich und ergötzlich,

as the local allusion constitutes a realistic element in dialogue which has no bearing on real life, so too, realistic elements were built into stage-sets which were never intended to portray realistic scenes. In Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt Raimund sets a scene in an enchanted garden. This time a large summer-house is painted on the backcloth and diagonally across the stage stands a skittle-alley. Many of the public houses of Vienna possessed skittle-alleys and they were a particularly popular form of entertainment in the Wurstlprater where they stood among the booths and sideshows.¹ The stage-set of the enchanted garden clearly owes its origin to the Viennese scene, but the stage directions make it quite clear that no attempt is being made to present on the stage a realistic picture of a Viennese skittle-alley. On the contrary, the scene is explicitly idealised:

"Quer über die Bühne ist eine ideale Kegelbahn, mit Gold verziert. Neun kleine ausgeschnittene Büsten von Geistern, die auf Hermen stehen, sieht man statt der Kegel. Den Kopf der Büste ziert ein Helm, auf welchem wie bei den Geistern eine verhältnismässig kleine

continued from p.84, footnotel: ...fastimmer unedel und, wie kolossal, doch kleinlich gedacht und ausgeführt." Friedrich Anton v. Schönholz: Traditionen zur Charakteristik Oesterreichs,^{ca} Gustav Gugitz, Munich, 1914, vol.I, pp.78f.

1. See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna, 1838: "Zwischen allen diesen Hütten und Schaubuden befinden sich zahlreiche Wirthshäuser ... jedes mit einer oder mehreren Kegelbahnen, die immer von dichten Gruppen belagert sind. Die Virtuosität der 'Praterscheiber' ist in Oesterreich sprichwörtlich geworden." Vol.II, p.34.

Spiritusflamme brennt. Der mitterste Kegel hat eine kleine Krone auf dem Helm. Eine goldne Kugel. Der Stand für die Scheiber ist auch ideal pompös und eine Art Rosenlaube."¹

This set has its basis in real constructions -- the summer-house and the skittle alley -- but these are overlaid with fantastic decoration which renders them completely unreal. Similarly, in the scene which ensues, the basic action derives from normal

Transformation scenes of this nature appeared to the procedure in a skittle-alley. The attendant asks for the fee, Viennese audience who delighted in all kinds of spectacle. The Karl's name is entered in the book, he steps on to the player's stand and tries his luck. The terms used are those of a Viennese skittle-alley, where the alley itself is called "die Pudel"² and the player's deposit, which he wins back or loses according to his success, is called 'die Schnur', but the context in which these two words alone are used indicates how little relation the action bears to reality. Nigowitz the attendant says:

"Wer auf der Pudel alle neun schiebt, wird ein wilder Millioneur."³

This is no ordinary game of skittles. Death is the penalty for hitting less than nine and a ring of untold wealth is the prize for the winner. Only by acquiring this wealth can Karl seek the

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 12, p.238.

2. "die Pudel" is also the Viennese dialect word for a shop-counter.

See F.S. HÜgel, op.cit.p.123.

3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 13, p.239.

hand of Lottchen, so that the game for him is a question of winning or losing her.

"Lottchen heisst die Schnur, mein muss sie sein,"¹ he cries and rolls the ball down the alley, hitting all nine skittles. The skittle-alley vanishes in a clap of thunder to reveal an enormous blue eagle holding the ring in its beak.

Transformation scenes of this nature appealed to the Viennese audience who delighted in all kinds of spectacle. The depth of the stage even in the small Leopoldstadt theatre was considerable: it could accommodate five movable sets at once so that the quick transformations of scene required by so many of the magical burlesques and parodies could be carried out to great effect. The complicated and efficient stage machinery which the theatre possessed gave the dramatist ample scope in the invention of spectacular scenes. The "Maschinist" was an important member of the ensemble, whose name featured prominently on theatre-bills, and his stock equipment included a variety of stage properties adapted from real objects to the fantastic ends of magical comedy. Some of those most designed to appeal to the Viennese thirst for spectacle were adapted from the familiar horse-drawn vehicles of the Viennese streets.

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 13, p.241.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the question of transport in Vienna was already one of considerable importance to inhabitants of the city: financial advantage to be derived from living in the cheaper suburban areas was offset for some people by the problems of travelling to and from their work: Johann Pezzl writing in the reign of Joseph II gave strong expression to the matter when he wrote:

"Aber wehe Euch, wenn ihr in der Vorstadt wohnt, und doch in der Nothwendigkeit stehet, alle Tage die Stadt zu besuchen: entweder verzehren die Staubwolken eure Lungen oder die Fiaker eure Einkünfte."¹

The Viennese had a variety of vehicles which combatted the transport problem and were variously devised to suit all pockets, ranks and purposes. Richard Bright, visiting the city at the time of the Congress described the courtyard of the inn where he stayed as being "crowded with tilted waggons, shattered calashes and other swinging and springless machines which will not submit themselves to the English nomenclature."² The native of the city, however, knew well how to differentiate between the vehicles

1. Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna and Leipzig, 1789, p.35.
2. Richard Bright: Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary with some remarks on the State of Vienna during the Congress in the year 1814, Edinburgh, 1818, p.4.

which crowded the narrow, winding streets. For a long journey, the traveller chose the comfortable, closed mail coach, the "k.k. Postwagen" or if he wished to travel privately, he hired a "bürgerliche Landkutsche".¹ For an excursion to a nearby beauty spot, he booked a seat on a "Gesellschaftswagen"² a comfortable and elegant carriage, seating up to twelve people, which travelled at set times and at fixed prices to the more fashionable resorts in the environs of the city. The less wealthy made his way to the outer boundaries of the city and climbed into one of the open "Zeiselwagen" which were always stationed there. Even the wealthy man who desired to visit an outlying and unfashionable place was obliged to make use of a "Stellfuhr" which was simply an open cart with seats. Inside the city, the carriage in which a man drove was a guide to his social standing. The numbered hackney-cabs, "Fiaker" were the most usual means of transport for those who did not possess a private carriage. They stood waiting for hire on recognised squares in the city and could be hired by the hour or for particular journeys. There was no set price and the stranger

1. cp. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 19: Kolibri: O, das geht nicht so geschwinde, es ist gar ein weiter Weg, ich muss mich erst um eine Landkutsche umsehen. (p.117).
2. cp. S.W., vol.II, Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act I, Scene 13: Epaminondas tells Zitternadel he should book a place in the foreigners' cemetery to which Zitternadel replies: "Einen Platz soll ich mir bestellen? Wie auf einen Gesellschaftswagen?" (p.259)

who did not take the precaution of inquiring the price before he entered the cab was often grossly overcharged. It was more elegant to hire a hackney-cab for permanent use since it was then no longer required to carry a number and might therefore pass as a private carriage. The "bürgerliche Stadt-Lohnkutsche" was the most elegant vehicle available for hire: it was particularly favoured by ladies and was most often used for paying social calls. The cautious could still make use of the sedan-chair. Like the hackney-cabs the sedan-chairs were numbered and by 1833 there were still thirty-seven¹ of them in Vienna, though they were considered to be somewhat old-fashioned.

It was not surprising that many of these colourful vehicles found their way into the plays of the popular theatre. In plays which often alternated in setting between real and supernatural worlds they provided the dramatist and his technicians with a convenient and spectacular means of transporting characters from one world to another. In Der

Diamant des Geisterkönigs Eduard and Florian are to be spirited away from Vienna: the sound of the post-horn heralds the arrival

1. Adolf Schmidl quotes this figure in his guidebook Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833. According to the figures which he gives, there were at this time 60 "bürgerliche Stadtlohnkutschen", more than 650 hackney cabs and approximately 1200 crudely built carriages of the type of "Zeiselwagen". (pp.268, 270).

of the mail coach drawn by two Russian horses: the postillion cracks his whip and stamps his foot, shouting coarsely,

"Mordkreuzbataillon! Die Schnellfuhr ist da".¹

The mail coachmen in Vienna prided themselves on speed and punctuality. The "Schnellfuhr" or "Eilfuhr" had been introduced in 1823, only a year before Raimund wrote Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs and was gradually replacing the slower mail coaches on all routes; it was thought to be incredibly fast.²

The fairy postillion is anxious to be on his way and finally drives the tardy Florian on to the servants' platform, shouting, "Jetzt weiter in Teuxels³ Namen!"⁴

The hilarity of the scene is increased by the incongruity of the little genie Kolibri, in his rôle of gruff postillion, shouting curses in his high-pitched voice and cracking his huge whip.

Raimund adapts his carriages to suit their supernatural occupants. The allegorical figure Jugend in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt arrives on her visit to the peasant Wurzel in a carriage

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 23, p.123.
2. In Pezzl's Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, the imperial institution of the "Eilfuhr" is described and the author who quotes the times of several journeys, e.g. Vienna to Brunn 14-15 hours, Vienna to Prague 36-38 hours, Vienna to Trieste, 71 hours, comments "Die Schnelligkeit ist fast ungläublich", (p.634).
3. The word 'Teufel' was disallowed on the popular stage by the censor. Alternatives were Teuxel, Vitzliputzli, der Mon-Mon etc.
4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 24, p.125.

which is described as being made of gold and brimful of flowers.¹

When Hohes Alter arrives, Wurzel refuses to let him in but he flies through the glass door in his conveyance -- a hay-wagon,

drawn by two old cart-horses and heaped with straw.² The

wicked fairies in Die gefesselte Phantasie abduct Nachtigall,

from his beer-house in a sinister carriage with two flaming torches instead of lanterns and drawn by six ravens.³ The kindly

fairies and magicians summoned to the aid of Lakrimosa in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt depart at the end of their solemn

council in cloud-carriages along a cloud-street with the lights of fairy castles winking in the distance.⁴

Scenes involving properties drawn from the real city of Vienna often follow a pattern of action which, like that in the

skittle-alley, clearly derives from recognized procedure. The departure of Lakrimosa's guests is a direct reflection of the

scene at the end of a Viennese social gathering. Lakrimosa

has told her long and sad tale and thanked her guests graciously

for their assurance of help -- then her tone of voice changes.

"Im Konversationston" she offers them a little glass of punch and

the evening is at an end. The guests put on their coats, and the

reject the theory that Raimund might have intended a sausage

to be brought on stage. The remarks of the peasant from

Zipeldau are perhaps of interest in this matter: Josef

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.221. it., vol.II: "Die Wurst

2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 7, p.228. oder höchstens nur bey

3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 13, p.342. jetzt fahra d' eleganten

4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3, p.186. Wurstchen herua, und da weil

der gnädige Herr u. der Lohr auf der halbeten Wurst." (pp.151f).

carriages are called. The middle back-cloth is raised and the scene changes to the cloud-street. Two servants step forward with torches to light the departing guests to their carriages.

d/ Public street lighting in Vienna did not extend to the doorways and courtyards of private houses. A servant calls "Fiaker 243, vorfahren!"¹ the coachman roars "Ja" and the magician Bustorius who has ordered number 243 climbs in, his servant jumps up behind and they depart. One more carriage leaves and then a "Wurst" appears and several magicians and fairies ride away in it. The "Wurst" or "Wurstwagen" was a long narrow coach seating several persons which could be hired for excursions or for journeys inside the walls.² Finally Lakrimosa offers to

o/ have her own carriage harnessed to take her cousin, the Swabian magician Ajaxerle to his hotel. He refuses her offer because he has his lantern-boy with him. The lantern-boys of Vienna

1. S.W., vol. I, Act I, Scene 3, p.187.

2. For a discussion of the term "Wurst" as applied to a particular kind of carriage in other German cities, as well as in Vienna, see two contributions in the Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift, vol.IV, Heidelberg, 1921, Kleine Beiträge: Anton Büchner, "Raimunds, geflügelte Wurst", p.117 and Paul Kluckhohn, "Raimunds, geflügelte Wurst" p.319. Both writers reject the theory that Raimund might have intended a sausage to be brought on stage. The remarks of the peasant from Eipeldau are perhaps of interest in this matter: see Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed. cit., vol.II: "Die Wurst habn einmal nur fürs Lakeyvolk ghört oder höchstens nur bey einer Jagd für d'Herrschaften; aber jetzt fahrn d'eleganten Herrn sogar in der Stadt auf klein Würsten herum, und da reit der gnädige Herr u. der Lakey auf der halbeten Wurst." (pp.151f).

served those of the public who did not choose to take a cab but did not care to make their own way through the darkness of the streets. Street-lighting by oil, which had been greatly improved under Joseph II, was reasonably adequate in the inner city and on the main roads leading to the suburbs but the majority of the suburban areas were at this time still without any street lighting at all. Ajaxerle's little lantern boy springs forward with his lantern and rudely imitates Ajaxerle's order of "Voraus, Spitzbüble!" with its Swabian accent, in the manner of the cheeky Viennese street-urchin imitating a foreigner. The curtain falls "unter allgemeinem Lärm und Empfehlungen: Kommen Sie gut nach Hause! u.s.w.", a cosy end to a supernatural gathering.

The stage directions to this scene make it clear that the cloud-carriages are to resemble real carriages, at least in so far as they are to progress along the floor and not fly through the air.¹ This direction was undoubtedly necessary since producers of the popular theatre would make use of any opportunity for adding spectacular effects. Raimund, no less than his fellow playwrights, panders to his audience's love of spectacle in his early plays. In Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs he even indulges in the fashionable practice of bringing a

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3: "Die Wolkenwagen fahren vor und gerade in die Kulisse ab, nicht durch die Luft." (p.186).

selection of animals on to the stage¹ and in the same play he introduces a spectacle of scientific invention which had excited the Viennese for three decades and had already appeared on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre.² Longimanus intends to send Eduard and Florian in his ceremonial carriage on their quest for a girl who has never told a lie. This proves impossible because one of the dragons has a broken wing so the King sends to the stables for a balloon.³ Since 1783 when the Montgolfier brothers first succeeded in launching a manned balloon in Paris, the Viennese public had witnessed several similar attempts in the Prater. The Viennese family of pyrotechnists, the Stuwers, were quick to seize upon the idea and in 1784 in a display in the Feuerwerkplatz, Kaspar Stuer was lifted by a balloon above the height of the fire-work stage before an audience of 1,500: the experiment was followed by a display of fireworks entitled "Denkmal der Ehre auf die Erfindung des Herrn Montgolfier". Similar minor attempts were superseded by the flight by the first professional airman

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 26, p.127. cp. Die Zauberflöte, DLER Barocktradition, vol.I, Act I, Scene 15, p.282.
2. See J. Perinet: Kaspar der Fagottist [1791], DLER Barocktradition vol.I, Act I, Scene 4: Kaspar: Fort, fort Frau Fee, und lasst uns durch eure höllische Laternbuben leuchten. Pesirime: (winkt) Dieser Luftballon wird euch bequemer an Ort und Stelle bringen (Ein Luftballon lässt sich nieder) (p.212). See also Karl Meisl: Die Entführung der Prinzessin Europa [1816], ed.cit, vol.I, Act I, Scene 3: Jupiter: Doch da kommt so eben mein Postillion d'amour. (Merkur kommt in einem Luftballon durchs Fenster geflogen. Hier wird auf dem Theater das Posthorn geblasen). (p.15).
3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.140.

Blanchard who took off at 12 O'clock on the 6th July 1819 from the Prater and landed an hour later on the other side of the Danube in Gross-Enzerdorf, some four hours walk from the city. He was made an honorary freeman of Vienna, as was the Frenchman Robertson who ascended in a balloon with his wife in 1811. Eduard and Florian are transported to the Land of Truth in a balloon which resembles a real balloon in shape and design, but the stage directions point out that it has not the normal stripes, but is dark blue with white borders and two wings: the little boat attached in the normal way to carry passengers is golden. The coloured engraving by Hieronymous Löschenkohl representing Blanchard's arrival in Gross-Enzersdorf¹ shows the striped balloon familiar to the Viennese. It is perhaps no coincidence, that in the scene in which Eduard and Florian arrive in the Land of Truth, Eduard's costume is described as "grüne Ziviluniform, weisses Beinkleid" and Florian's as "rote Livree mit Goldborten" and that Blanchard is depicted by Löschenkohl wearing a green suit with white gaiters being helped out of his boat by a gentleman in red livery. It is little Kolibri, however, who is the pilot of the enchanted balloon and he, like Blanchard, is carrying

1. This engraving by Löschenkohl can be seen in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

a banner. He climbs out with the words "Also hier wären wir. Montgolfier hat seine Schuldigkeit getan. Jetzt vollende du das Weitere."¹

Having completed his duty as a pilot he changes his tone of voice and assumed his former rôle of Viennese coachman, taking off his hat and saying,

"Euer Gnaden, bitt um mein Trinkgeld"².

When he has been paid to his satisfaction³ he bows his thanks and departs with the words "Empfehl mich gar schön". Later in the play he returns in the balloon to rescue Eduard and Florian who have succeeded in their quest but in so doing have offended the Ruler of the Land of Truth by rejecting all the ladies of his realm. The balloon ascends and not content with the spectacle of Eduard, Florian, Amine and Kolibri flying away in its golden boat, Raimund adds a parachute⁴ for good measure. It descends bearing two genii who proceed to distribute golden

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 9, p.145.
- x 2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 9, p.145. cp. J. Perinet: Kaspar der Fagottist, ed.cit., Act I, Scene 4: Kaspar apes the words of a Viennese coachman in the incident involving a balloon. "Kaspar: (der indessen die Luftmaschine betrachtete) Fahren wir Euer Gnaden? (p.212). He then turns to the pilot and says: "Allons Kutscher, fahr zu! Was begehrt bis zum Himmel?" (p.213).
3. The payment of Kolibri's tip involves a pun on the two meanings of the word Fuchsl, viz. a light bay horse and a golden ducat. The mail coach in which Kolibri first appears is drawn by two "russischen Füchsen". The price paid by the traveller in Vienna sometimes varied with the number of horses drawing the coach and when Eduard gives Kolibri one gold-piece, Kolibri replies, "Euer Gnaden verzeihen, ich habe noch was gut von der ersten Station, wissen s' mit die Füchseln? Es waren zwei Goldfüchsel und Sie haben mir nur eines gegeben." S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 9, p.145.
- x 4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 16, p.160.

baskets to the ladies.

Extravagant use of stage-machinery often serves the ends of localisation, at the same time providing opportunity for such scenes of pure spectacle. It is however by no means essential to the localising process: the use of simple domestic articles gives rise equally successfully to the comic effect of incongruity. In der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, for example, Longimanus, the King of the Spirits, is introduced to the audience asleep in his richly ornamented bedstead.¹ His servants are bustling about, putting his clothes in order and preparing his washing facilities. He awakes, stretches, sits up in bed, yawns and looking at the clock on his golden bedside table, demands to know why he has been allowed to sleep late. This everyday course of action is transformed from the morning scene in the bedroom of a noble personage to a typical scene of a local extravaganza by the adaptation of details. The king's bed is made with blankets of clouds,² his servants are genii and his night shirt is adorned with magic emblems. He speaks in broad Viennese dialect and the situation in which he finds himself --

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 4, p.94.

2. The word "Tuchet" which is used in the text is the Viennese dialect word for "Federbett" or "Oberbett". Variants of the same word are "die Tuchert" and "die Tuchent". See F.S. Hügel: op.cit., Duchert, (p.50); Tuchert (p.168).

that of having overslept because he had forgotten to set his alarm clock -- is an unlikely one for a king, whether supernatural or human.

The same incongruous combination of realism and fantasy characterises the procedure at the Spirit King's court

throughout the play. While he still lies sleeping, his subjects await him in the anteroom. The stage directions waiting excitedly in the anteroom of the palace for their

"Vorhalle im Palaste des Geisterkönigs. Zauberer, Feen. Geister. Einige mit Bittschriften. Ein Feuergeist."¹

immediately suggest a parallel with the scene which took place every Friday morning in the ante-room of the Emperor Franz's throne-room in the Imperial Palace. Anyone of the Emperor's subjects who had a problem, however trivial, which he wanted to bring to the notice of the Emperor was at liberty to

make an appointment at the Palace on Monday. There he received a numbered ticket which admitted him on Friday morning to the anteroom in which he waited his turn to see the Emperor: he could if he wished submit a written petition at the audience

but this was not essential. Schönholz describes the informality of these proceedings in his essay on the audiences of Emperor Franz:

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 1, p.87.

"In dieser einfachen Weise erhielt man die Zutrittskarte zur kaiserlichen Audienz. Man hatte es eben nicht nötig, Freitag morgens besondere Toilette zu machen; Der Rock spielte hier durchaus keine Rolle. Es kam hier Kreti und Pleti in Frack und Sack, wie es eben anging: mit den Wohlgerüchen parfümierter Eleganz mischte sich der Bocksgeruch bepelzter Schafhirten und der eigenthümliche Armutsgeruch der Dürftigen"¹

This mixed assembly of Austrian subjects is brought to mind by the oddly assorted group of supernatural beings waiting excitedly in the anteroom of the palace for their turn to bring their grievances before the king. The Chamberlain describes them in his announcement to Longimanus:

"Allerhand Feen und verschiedene Zauberer sind draussen, auch einige Hexen und anderes niederes Geistergeschnattell".

They argue among themselves about the treatment meted out to them by the King. The elegant fairy Amarillis grumbles because French is no longer the language of the court:

"Ja, wenn nur an seinem Zauberhofe noch französisch gesprochen würde, das wäre noch nobel, aber seit er in Wien war, spricht er wienerisch und wir sollen es nachmachen."³

It was considered elegant in Vienna to speak French but German was the language of the Emperor and his court.⁴ The middle classes

1. Anton Friedrich v. Schönholz, op.cit., vol.II, p.320.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 5, p.95. Hügel defines the dialect word "G'schnatt'l" as "Das liederliche Volk" op.cit., p.72.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene I, p.88.
4. cp. Adolf Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833: "Was die Sprache anbelangt, so spricht der Kaiser und alle kaiserlichen Prinzen deutsch, und niemand wähne durch eine fremde Sprache sich besser vorzustellen. Die Noblesse führt die Conversation französisch und der Geld=Adel in seinen Salons dessgleichen-so gut es geht." (p.16).

to allow them to return to their traditional ways of tormenting
sometimes invited ridicule by affecting the French language and
worn in on earth but he refuses to compromise this, saying:
those aspiring to polite society despised the local dialect,
although the Emperor himself was quite conversant with it and
certainly used it in his audiences. One of the magicians pokes fun
at Amarillás's affectation, saying of the Spirit King,

"Aber wissen Sie, er denkt halt so, und so sollen manche
denken: besser schön lokal reden als schlecht hochdeutsch."¹

For all her elegance, Amarillis is forced to rub shoulders with
the lowest of the spirits at this assembly. The witches known
as "Druden" are the first to be admitted to the King's presence.
The less enlightened members of the Viennese community in the
early nineteenth century were very much in awe of black magic.
F.A. Schönholz, describing local superstition of various kinds,
writes:

"In Osterreich sind die Geistererscheinungen und die
Truden die belebteste Partie. In der Nacht des "Aller
Seelen" geweihten Tages erreicht die Gespensterfurcht
periodisch ihren Gipfelpunkt. In unserem Hause lag die
Dienerchaft bis zum ersten Hahnenruf auf den Knien."²

The "Druden" at the court of Longimanus wear the masks of old
women and are attired in dirty grey costumes decorated with the
so-called "Drudenfuss", a five pointed star;³ they beg the King

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 1, p.88.

2. F.A. Schönholz, op.cit., vol.I, p.109.

3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 9, p.97. cp. description of the
'Truden' by Schönholz, op.cit., p.109f: "Am Tage erscheinen sie
in der Karnation alter Weiber, denen die Augenbrauen an der
Nasenwürzel zusammen wachsen.... Gegen ihr Einschleichen schützt
das Pentagon ("Trudenfuss") auf der Tür der Schlafkammer, noch
besser auf der Schwelle."

to allow them to return to their traditional task of tormenting mortals on earth but he refuses to countenance this, saying:

"Anno 1824 eine Drud! Die Leute müssten einem nur auslachen."¹

The witches plead that they have been immortalized in an opera "Das Neusonntagskind"² and they present their testimonials from the Genius of Dreams³ but Longimanus insists that their retirement is final and that they must be content with their pension. After interviewing his old friend the magician Zephis and dealing in fatherly manner with the quarrels of the four seasons, Longimanus retires for a savoury second breakfast, the Viennese "Gabelfrühstück", choosing a little crocodile soup for his refreshment.⁴ The Emperor Franz's audience lasted considerably longer -- from seven o'clock in the morning until

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 9, p.98.
2. The plot of Das Neusonntagskind, the popular musical play by Joachim Perinet (see above, p.66) is based on the superstitions of the old man Herr von Hasenkopf. In particular he is terrified of Druden. A night not unlike the night of All Souls as described by Schönholz (see above, p.101) is mentioned by the House-caretaker: "Wir haben nicht schlafen dürfen, weil unser alter Herr Geister fürchtet, und die kommen öfters bey der Nacht zu ihm und diskurieren mit ihm: und heut war eine Loosnacht und da hätt die Trud kommen sollen, drum haben wir die ganze Nacht wachen müssen. (ed.cit., Act I, Scene 2, p.9). The finale of the play is a mock "Trudenbeschwörung", Act II, Scene 10, p.63.
3. These witches were popularly identified with nightmares: see Hügel, op.cit. "In der Nachd had mi' die Drud gedruckt (d.h. habe ich das Alpdrücken gehabt).(p.50). cp. Schönholz, op.cit. vol.I, "Was die Truden betrifft, so wirkten sie meistentheils in der Eigenschaft eines Alps; zuweilen übernehmen sie auch das Geschäft des englischen "Nachtpferdes", mit heissem Atem wilde Träume einblasend.." (p.109).
4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 14: "ein bisserl ein Eingemachtes von ein jungen Krokodil" (p.105). See Hügel, op.cit., "Eing'macht's: Ragout" (p.52).

past midday but even he retired from time to time for refreshment. Schönholz writes:

r. /
"Wenn nun der Kaiser die Reihe des Aufgestellten hinunter war und den letzten abgefertigt hatte, trat er auf kurze Zeit wieder nach seinen Gemächern ab, um sich gewöhnlich mit etwas Bouillon zu stärken."¹

In depicting the audience of Longimanus in the opening scenes of Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs Raimund obviously draws on the procedure of the audiences at the Imperial Court in Vienna, the only court with whose procedure he could have been familiar. His familiarity is that of the ordinary Viennese citizen who knew the Emperor only through his audiences and his public appearances, and details occurring in the course of the play which are derived from the Imperial Court always concern items which would be common knowledge among the Viennese public. Longimanus like the Emperor Franz possesses a carriage for gala occasions.² He dislikes obsequiousness on the part of his subjects, saying to Eduard who falls at his feet:

"Ich bitt recht sehr, stehen Sie auf, ist alles zu viel".³
in a way which recalls the words of the Emperor Franz to his more humble subjects who knelt before him or even tried to kiss

1. F.A.v.Schönholz: op.cit., vol.II, p.328.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.140.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 4, p.134.

the hem of his coat:

"Aufgestanden! Aufgestanden! Vor Gott knien, ich bin ein Mensch!"¹

On his name day Longimanus delights in the arrival of congratulatory cards and compares the celebration with the one on New Year's Day when he also receives the good wishes of his people. New Year's Day in Vienna was one of reciprocal well-wishing in all classes of society and it was a gala-day at the court. Emperor Joseph II had limited the gala-days at the Viennese court to this one occasion on which the Imperial family received their people's congratulations ceremonially. The visiting cards which Longimanus receives are in French "La Fee Marasquin et sa famille, Monsieur Vanille, Professeur de la Magie".² The habit of sending French greeting-cards was fashionable among the nobility of Vienna and had spread to the middle-classes as early as 1793 when the Eipeldau peasant writes from Vienna to his country cousins:

"Potztausend! bald hätt ich vergessen dem Herrn und der Frau Mahm 's neue Jahr z'wünschen... Von meiner Frau Gmahlinn liegt wieder ein Fisitzettel bey. D'Frau Mahm wird's nicht lesen können, weil's französisch ist. Mein Frau Gmahlinn kann's selbst nicht lesen; aber weil sich halt unsre deutsche Noblessi noch immer französische Fisitzettel zuschickt, so hat meine Frau Gmahlinn halt auch ihren Namen auf französisch stecken lassen".³

1. F.A.v.Schönholz, op.cit., vol.II, p.329.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 2, p.133.

3. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.I, p.122.

The reflection of the affectations of polite society in the court of Longimanus is an aspect of the process of localisation which, though incidental to the dramatist's main purpose, must have caused considerable amusement to the local and contemporary audience. In ridiculing action and character by localizing the setting, the dramatist had an opportunity to ridicule the locality. In the Viennese theatre of the day this opportunity was severely limited by the censorship and scarcely extended beyond poking fun at current fads and fashions. Longimanus's court derives details of procedure and custom from the court of the Emperor Franz but it is by no means a satirical picture of it. The foibles of fashionable society, however, and of those who aspired to it, were eligible for amusing comment and this was not limited to the dialogue: it too could be translated into visual terms.

The first act of Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt for example opens in a large room lit with chandeliers.¹ In the middle of the room a string quartet is being played by two fairies, a triton and an elf. The magicians, fairies and allegorical personages who make up the audience are served throughout the performance by four winged and liveried genii who carry round sweetmeats on a

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene I, p.177.

silver trays. Before a word of the dialogue has been spoken, the scene gives the supernatural figures human attributes by portraying them as audience and performers of a string quartet, and at the same time it has the appearance of a gentle satire on the fashionable habit of drawing-room music-making. The conversation among the amateur musicians which follows the applause confirms this first impression. Zenobius the chief steward and Bustorius, the Hungarian magician open, this travesty of their polite discussion:

Bustorius: Isten Utzék!¹ Ist das schönes Quartett, von wem ist das componiert?

Zenobius: Das Adagio ist von einem Delphin

Bustorius: Und das Furioso?

Zenobius: Von einer Furie

Bustorius: Das ist schön, Furie kann am besten machen Furioso.²

The contemporary audience, knowing of the society-vogue for instrumental music³ would have found this scene particularly amusing. Again it is the mingling of real and unreal, human and

1. Eduard Castle in his edition of Raimund's plays explains this Hungarian expression in a foot-note as "Etwa: meine Seel!" See Sämtliche Werke, Leipzig, (1905), p.124.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene I, p.178.

3. cp. Adolf Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833: "Auch in der Mode ist noch immer die Musik, aber ausschliessend die neueste italienische und Bravour=Übungen aller Art. In dem Masse als gediegene Tonwerke aus der grossen Welt verbannt wurden, beschränkten sich die Verehrer derselben auf Übungen in Quarteten usw., deren jetzt fast kein Haus entbehrt, wie denn überhaupt Instrumental-Musik so vorherrscht, dass guter mehrstimmiger Gesang eine Seltenheit zu nennen ist." (p.25)

supernatural, Viennese and non-Viennese which is the basic source of amusement. The quartet is played on golden instruments and the music-stands are "ideal": the servants are in livery but they also have wings: the characters are fairies and magicians but their conversation reveals the jealousies and follies of human-beings and their language is the every-day language of Vienna.

Stage-sets involving elements drawn from the Viennese scene, stage-properties adapted from items of everyday life, sequences of action derived from familiar procedure, dialogue containing allusions to local events and customs, to familiar places and people -- these were the four theatrical devices by which the local parodist sought to achieve his ends, and it was in the traditional style of the parodist that Raimund wrote his early plays. Karl Meisl's mythological caricatures were some of the most successful local parodies on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre and the closing scene of his play Orpheus und Eurydice oder So geht es in Olympus zu¹ provides an exact example of the method and aim of the magical parody. The assembly of Olympian gods and goddesses are riding in gay carnival mood on a merry-go-round which Jupiter has imported from the Prater for their amusement.

1. See Karl Meisl: Theatralisches Quodlibet, Pesth, 1820, vol.II.
"Orpheus und Euridice, eine mythologische Karrikatur in 2 Acten."

Against the background of this typical stage-set with its spectacular centre-piece taken from the amusement park in the Leopoldstadt and adapted to its new Olympian setting, the final lines of Jupiter,

"Wenn's d'Menschen wüssten auf der Welt,
Wie hier die Götter leben.
Sie würden wahrlich viel Respect
Uns allen nimmer geben,"¹

his plays. As he chooses to make potentially serious characters exemplify the parodist's intention. He renders his characters funny by placing them against a Viennese background, so absurd in local setting so that they lose all vestiges of dignity and become figures of fun: they inspire much laughter, and allegorical characters of Raimund's later plays neither speak the Viennese dialect nor allude to the locality; they do they certainly inspire no respect.

Moriz Enzinger, writing on the subject of Meisl's mythological parodies, states:

"Aus diesen mythologischen Parodien wurden allmählich die gemüthlichen Zauberer und Geister herangebildet, wie sie dann Raimund verwendete, bis Nestroys Satire und die pikantere Offenbachiade sie von der Wiener Bühne verdrängte."²

The validity of this statement is impaired only by its lack of qualification regarding Raimund's depiction of supernatural beings. The genial magicians of the stock local parodies disappeared from Raimund's own plays before Nestroy's satire drove them from

1. Karl Meisl: Theatralisches Quodlibet, ed.cit., Act II, Scene 13, p.80.

2. See Moriz Enzinger: Die Entwicklung des Wiener Theaters vom 16. zum 19. Jahrhundert, Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, vol.29, Berlin, 1919, p.463.

This statement is in itself an adequate description of the the Viennese stage altogether. Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt (1826) is the last of Raimund's plays where the supernatural characters of Silberkern on the stage. The certain place in a closed carriage, its two horses poised on the edge of a precipice, number of local allusions in the course of his subsequent dramatic work is matched by a decrease in the incidence of the other three stock methods of incorporating local colour into his plays. As he ceases to make potentially serious characters funny by placing them against a Viennese background, so occasion for the popular localising devices diminishes. The supernatural and allegorical characters of Raimund's later plays neither speak the Viennese dialect nor allude to the locality; they do not indulge in undignified antics against a local background. Where isolated comic episodes involving supernatural characters occur, they stand out clearly as legacies of the stock parodist technique and have the effect of decorative additions to the play rather than integral parts of its basic design. In Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, Silberkern is detained on his journey from Venice in order that Rappelkopf may assume his personality. His detention is reported to the King of the Alps thus:

1. S.W. "Der Alpengeist Linarius leitet seiner Pferde Zügel und setzt ihn aus in einer wüsten Felsengegend, solange, bis, grosser Alpenkönig, du die Ankunft ihm erlaubst."1

1. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 1, p.159.

This statement is in itself an adequate description of the incident but the following scene¹ proceeds to show the plight of Silberkern on the stage. The curtain rises on a closed carriage, its two horses poised on the edge of a precipice. Linarius in the guise of postillion shouts from his place in the saddle of one of the horses to tell his irate passenger that he is leaving him there and will return later to collect a suitable tip. The coach remains perched perilously on the rock while the horses take flight and disappear with Linarius blowing his posthorn and crying:

"Juhe! Zum Alpenkönig heisst das Posthaus hier.
Ihr Schimmel, hi! Stosst euch an keinen Stein! Lebt wohl,
Herr Passagier und bleibt mir fein gesund!"²

Silberkern, peering angrily from his carriage window, is mocked by a crowd of Alpine spirits who appear from rock and bush and laugh at him in chorus. The setting, dialogue and action of this scene are entirely traditional: it is an amusing interlude which could be omitted from the performance without detriment to the play whose basic source of comedy is no longer that of the local parody -- the double incongruity of fairies behaving like ordinary Viennese citizens and ordinary

1. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 2, p.160.

2. ibid, p.161.

Viennese citizens caught up in the fantastic events of a fairy-tale. Even in Raimund's time, when the audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre was well accustomed to the introduction of scenes solely for their visual and comic effect, one critic, applauding the motivation of most comic situations in the play, indicated that this episode was superfluous and only impeded the development of the plot.¹

The scene, with its coach, winged horses and fairy postillion is an isolated one at this stage of Raimund's dramatic production because it is localized in the traditional manner, not because it is visually exciting. At no point in his career does Raimund cease to make use of the spectacular resources of the Leopoldstadt stage. On the contrary, transformation-scenes, elaborate tableaux and lavish sound-effects abound in every one of his plays. Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone (1829) described by Raimund as "ein tragisch-komisches Original-Zauberspiel" and considered by his contemporaries in Vienna to be disastrously weighted on the side of tragedy, has in all

1. Theaterzeitung, 534, 1828. "All' jene komischen Situationen, deren es in diesem Stücke so viele gibt, sind streng motiviert -- keine mit Haaren herbeigezogen Eine episodische Szene, und zwar die, wo der Schwager Rappelkopfs von dem Geisterpostillion auf eine Felsspitze ausgesetzt wird, sollte wegbleiben. Das hätte eben so gut erzählend abgemacht werden können, indem es so den sonst raschen Gang der Handlung nur hemmt. See S.W., vol.V, pp.438ff.

fourteen different stage-sets. One of these, the throne-room of Heraklius, King of Massana, is transformed three times before the eyes of the audience:¹ at the moment of the King's death, its shadowy background becomes a sun-lit mountain of clouds and when Ewald is crowned, the walls collapse in ruins and the sea rushes between the heaps of rubble: this scene of devastation is transformed by a wave of Ewald's torch into a hill of roses bathed in a pink light. Thunder predominates among the sound effects of the play: it rumbles in the distance as the curtain rises on the first scene and a fearful thunderclap is heard as the earth shakes and the trees bend their branches before the crown of Hades²: the final thunder-clap of the play heralds the bursting of the ebony door to Phalarius' bedchamber for the Furies to enter and plunge a dagger into his heart.³ Transformations of single stage properties to transport characters from the scene occur throughout the play: a staircase, for example, on which Ewald is sitting changes into a cloud carriage in which he floats away⁴ and at one crucial juncture, the goddess Lucind, to speed her flight, transforms her cloud carriage into a horse.⁵ In none of these instances of theatrical spectacle is Raimund aiming at a comic effect. The modern audience may have more

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 19, pp.268ff.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene I, p.221
3. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 18, p.327.
4. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 19, pp.271f.
5. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 3, p.225.

difficulty in taking them seriously than its less sophisticated counterpart in the Leopoldstadt theatre, particularly when Raimund's attempts at an elevated language are less successful and give the impression of an intentionally exaggerated pantomime style of verse. The words of Lucina are a case in point: having floated on to the stage resplendent upon white clouds, she expresses her anxiety for the safety of King Creon, ending with the lines:

"Nur Tod sprengt des Fatums gewaltige Ketten.
Drum muss ich das Leben des Königs erretten.
Schon rennt durch die Strassen der gierige Tross.
Es werde die Wolke zum flüchtigen Ross!";¹

at which the clouds turn into a horse in full gallop and Lucina shoots² off the stage on its back. The employment of the stage-techniques of local comedy in a serious context holds the same possibilities of bathos as the inapposite use of its conventions of speech, but Raimund was never sufficiently aware of the deficiencies in his own poetic language to avoid this pitfall. He was horrified at the "leises Kichern" heard among his own audience at the première of Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone during passages which he considered to be deeply serious, and he blamed the actors for the inadequacy of their performance.³

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 3, pp.224f.

2. ibid, stage-directions: "Das Ross fliegt pfeilschnell ab." (p.225).

3. This is stated by Bauernfeld in his Erinnerungen aus Alt-Wien: he and the actor Landner were invited to dinner by Raimund shortly after the first performance of the play. Raimund in an attempt to prove that the actors failed to achieve the tragic effect which he had intended, declaimed for the benefit of his guests the speech of Phalarius to the lion (S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 3, pp.278f). Bauernfeld comments: "Meine Ansicht im stillen und meine Überzeugung

It is only in connexion with the leading comic character Simplizius Zitternadel that the linguistic and visual effects of this play are intentionally comic and these are alone in having any local significance. A magical access of superhuman strength causes the timorous Zitternadel to demand that a wild beast carry him to the Island of Kallidalos; he chooses a bison and the most hilarious moments of the play occur when a caricatured model of the animal flies on to the stage and Zitternadel rides away on its back crying,

"Jetzt kann das Rindfleisch teurer werden, ich bin versorgt. ^{Hotto} Schimmel! Das versteht er nicht. Bruaho! (Der Stier fliegt ab). Jetzt gehts los."¹

This course of action is completely in the local magical tradition. The winged stage-bison ~~would~~ be received with delight in the Vienna of the day, where the bison had acquired a certain local fame by being the only animal to survive the destruction by fire of the baiting-arena in 1796; the animal had been transferred to the Schönbrunn menagerie and had remained there, an object of much popular curiosity until its death in 1809. Zitternadel's antics on the back of the flying bison do not differ essentially from those of Quecksilber in Raimund's first

continued from p.113, footnote 3: "...war, dass das Lachen bei einer solchen Deklamation erst recht ausgebrochen wäre." (See S.W., vol.V, p.518).

1. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 2, p.278.
2. Hotto or Hot was the term used by Viennese coachmen etc. to drive on their horses. See Hügel, op.cit.p.84.

play when he flies through the palace window on a large cockerel. Zitternadel's quip about the price of meat and his joking rejection of the Viennese term 'Hotto' are in the same colloquial vein as Quecksilber's loud protestations,

"Still! du vertracktes¹ Tier! Auf keinem Hahn wird nimmer ausgritten, lieber auf einem gebackenen Hendl,² das macht doch kein solchen Lärm."³

The similarity between these two episodes, each of which is focussed on the leading comic character, does not obscure the difference between the two plays but rather serves to highlight it. Whereas in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel the Emperor Tutu or his daughter Princess Zoraide could figure in this hilarious scene in the manner of Quecksilber, using the same colloquial language and creating the same atmosphere of merriment, in Die Unheilbringende Zauberkrone, such behaviour lies only in Zitternadel's character. The young poet Ewald the kings, princes, and supernatural characters never use dialect and they engage in magical transformations only in an atmosphere of high seriousness.

Raimund's efforts to introduce a serious and even tragic note into his comedies are partly responsible for the diminution in

1. "vertrakt-verkehrt, unordentlich". See Hügel, op.cit., p.182.
2. 'Backhendl,' chicken fried in batter, were a favourite dish in Vienna at this time and they came to be a popular symbol of the good-living of the Viennese: the period between the 1815 Congress and the 1848 revolution is commonly known as the 'Backhendlzeit'. cp. Otto Rommel: "Das Klischee der 'Backhendlzeit'," Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, p.609.
3. S.W.? vol.I, Act II, Scene 13, p.49.

verbal and visual allusions to the locality, for in the popular theatre these were totally identified with producing comic effect. He abandoned the use of the Viennese background almost entirely as a source of comic incongruity and where he uses it as such in his later plays, he does so in order to provide facile comic relief for an audience who would scarcely accept unrelieved tragedy. His introduction of stock local comedy in this way in the episodes involving Zitternadel in Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone was not enough to save the play from failure in the Leopoldstadt theatre. The disapproval of the critics was based on its trend towards tragedy which made it unsuitable for performance on the popular stage. Raimund's last play Der Verschwender which contains even fewer explicit local allusions and no localising stage-conventions, was greeted with great enthusiasm when it was first performed in 1834 and hailed by many critics as a model local comedy. One critic wrote:

"Leute, die vom Besuche der Lokalstücke seit Jahren ferne blieben, erblickt man bei der Darstellung dieses sittlichen und unterhaltenden Lokalstückes zu wiederholtem Male."¹

Raimund's abandonment of the stock localising techniques did not in itself remove his plays from the recognised local sphere; it did

1. S.W., vol. I, Act I, Scene 14, pp. 363 ff.
1. Feierstunden, 647, 1834. See S.W., vol. V, p. 621.
2. There were in all 30 beer-houses in the city and suburban areas. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1836, p. 245.
3. Adolf Schöndl: Wien als Kunststadt, Vienna, 1833, p. 25.

so only when it was a direct consequence of his attempt to write tragedy. In the course of his development as a dramatist, he ceased to draw on the underlying incongruity of local parody as his basic source of comedy but he did not cease to use the Viennese background in his plays; its adaptation for the stage and its function in the drama changed.

In Die gefesselte Phantasie, for example, a scene is set in a beer-house.¹ The guests are eating and drinking at tables while the landlord and waiter attend to their needs. On one side of the stage is a sideboard with beer-mugs and on the backcloth hangs a notice giving the name of the harpist for the evening. In Vienna the beer-houses were well-patronised: beer was cheap and although the city lay in the wine-growing country as much beer as wine was drunk there.² Modest meals were provided in the evenings and often some form of entertainment: the engagement of a harpist for the evening was quite usual as it attracted custom. Schmidl describes the type of entertainment to be expected of such a popular musician thus:

"Der Gesang zur Harfe fehlt bei keiner Volksbelustigung, und besteht meist in Spott- und Scherzliedern aller Art. Häufig kommen Improvisationen vor, die in kurzen Reimen Wirth, Gäste und alle Welt lächerlich machen."³

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 14, pp.343 ff.
2. There were seven breweries in the suburbs and others in the neighbouring villages. There were in all 500 beer-houses in the city and suburban areas. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.245.
3. Adolf Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833, p.25.

The landlord of Raimund's stage beer-house says of his harpist:

"Ich habe eine Menge Gäst wegen ihm, den Leuten gfallt sein Grobheit, aber er übernimmt sich, ich hab ihms schon gsagt, wie er noch wem beleidigt, muss er ausbleiben."¹

and Nachtigall's behaviour throughout the scene is that of a Viennese harpist. He jokes with the guests and in light-hearted manner addresses insulting remarks to a stranger in their midst. The stage-directions for the stage-set do not indicate any fantastic decoration of scenery or properties which would differentiate the setting from the interior of a real beer-house; the characters who people the stage, landlord, waiter, shoemaker and harpist, are not in the least incongruous in their

setting; the course of action in which the harpist exceeds the licence allowed to his wit and is threatened with ejection is comic but not improbable. The scene even provides a plausible framework for the insertion of topical songs. Nachtigall's drinking song in praise of new wine² was replaced on 23 May 1828 by a song containing a reference to Paganini³ who had been the idol of the Viennese public since his first concert in Vienna on 29 March of that year, and in 1830, the year when the

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 14, p.344.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 15, "Der Heurige ist ja ein Göttergetränk usw." (pp.346f.)
3. See S.W., vol.V, "Nach dem Zensurexemplar", "... Draufspielt er aus ein andern Ton, / Gar à la Paganini, / Jetzt geht erst der Spektakel an, / Die Gäst schrein glei unsinni." (p.392). See also Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Glossy & Sauer, vol.II, p.154.

Tivoli gardens were opened, Nachtigall sang a song on October 28 which told of a carpenter's apprentice and his sweetheart, a cook, who visited Tivoli to hear the music of Strauss.¹ Nevertheless, the scene does not represent a complete departure from the fantasy of local parody. Nachtigall's defiant rejoinder to the irate landlord and guests, "Ich will sehen wer mich aus dem Hause bringt."² is greeted by a thunderclap. The back wall is split by lightning so that the upper section collapses, leaving a triangular gap through which Vipria's carriage can be seen bearing Nachtigall away into the distance.³ Thus the scene ends unexpectedly with

1. Adolf Schmidl describes Tivoli as "... der eleganteste und schönste Tempel geselliger Freude. Ein grosses, zierliches Gebäude mit prächtigen Sälen, Zimmern, Hallen und Gallerien thront auf dem Hügel als Mittelpunkt eines reizenden Gartens. Vor ihm ist die beliebte Rutschbahn und des noch beliebteren Strauss Melodien, abwechselnd mit militärischer Musik begleiten die Rutschenden." See Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833, p.290. cp. the description by the carpenter's apprentice in Nachtigall's song: "Das ist a Garten nach der Mod, / Vor Freuden war ich bessen, / Der Strauss hat geigent wie a Gott / Und d'Leut habn schrecklich gessen. / Wir sehn 'n Wagen, und der war leer, / Ein nagelneue Kutschen / Da sagt sie zu mir: "Lieber cher, / Der Wagen ghort zum rutschen." S.W., vol.I, p.394.
2. ibid, vol.I, Act I, Scene 15, p.349.
3. ibid, p.350.

1. Abendzeitung, 344, 1830, see S.W., vol.I, p.394.

2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.349.

3. See Wien und die Wiener mit Belästigung von Anselm Stifter, S.F. Reiber-Torlar, Franz Neumann'scher Ver. 1844: "Alle in Wien die Holzstöcke nach dem Hügel, nach der Höhe in Schilfweiden. Die heutzutage und die altezeitliche Holzstöcke nach dem Hügel..."

the stock theatrical device of a magical transformation.

A Prague critic, reviewing Die gefesselte Phantasie in 1830 writes,

"[Raimund] stellt wieder zwei unvereinbare Elemente, allegorische Idealgestalten neben die gemeinste nackte Wirklichkeit, und verfehlt selbst mit grossem Aufwande von Geist und Wissen seinen Zweck."¹

For the modern reader as for Raimund's non-Viennese contemporaries the real and supernatural elements of his plays must sometimes appear irreconcilable, and the nearer the approximation to reality the more abrupt and unacceptable seems the intrusion of supernatural forces. It is doubtful, however, whether a modern critic would describe any scene in Raimund's plays as "naked realism". There are scenes in the later plays which, like the beerhouse in Die gefesselte Phantasie, clearly derive their setting from Viennese life and are not idealised in the manner of the stock local setting of the parody. The soot-covered interior of the charcoal-burners hut in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, for example, is almost certainly based on Raimund's own observation.² At the time when he wrote the play he was already spending much of his leisure time in the region of Gutenstein where he later bought his country-house and in this area the main source of income of the peasant community was charcoal-burning, since agriculture was rendered difficult by the proximity of the mountains.³ The

1. Abendzeitung, 544, 1830. See S.W., vol.V, p.409.

2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.127.

3. See Wien und die Wiener mit Beiträgen von Adalbert Stifter, D.F. Reiberstorffer, Franz Stelzhammer usw. Pesth, 1844: "Alle Landleute die Holzkohlen nach Wien führen, nennt man insgemein Kohlbauern.... Die bedeutendsten und die meisten dieser Kohlbauern kommen von

stage family of charcoal burners is presented in circumstances of some squalor; the father is drunk, the children are hungry and crying for bread, the grandmother lies ill in a tattered bed. In the course of the action which ensues, no supernatural intervention of any kind takes place: the children mock their drunken father and their mother's attempts to punish them result in a scene of confusion with the children shouting, the baby crying, the dog yelping and the grandmother sneezing. At this point Rappelkopf enters¹ and the mother, in her agitated state, agrees to his offer of two hundred ducats for the hut: the family gather together their belongings and depart. Described baldly in this way, both setting and action may appear not simply to derive from real life in the environs of the city but to reflect it in a realistic manner. This impression is borne out by the presentation of the scene in the modern production of Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind in the Burgtheater:² the hut occupies only a small part of the stage so that people and animals fall over one another in the cramped space: the costumes are dirty and ragged and the room

continued from p.120, footnote 3: "...Pottenstein, Gutenstein, Waitzen und Buchberg, und Kohlbrennerei ist in dieser Gegend der hauptsächlichste Erwerbszweig der Einwohner...." (p.101f).

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 16, p.131.

2. The most recent production of the play on the repertoire of the Burgtheater had its fiftieth performance on 17 October, 1959. The production is by Leopold Lindtberg and the stage-sets by Teo Otto.

with its untidy beds and bare, ugly walls has a suitably poverty-stricken appearance. Extant pictures of the original stage-set¹, however, show that in Raimund's own production of the play, the scene was scarcely one of realistic squalor: the hut is clean and the costumes of the family neat. There is no fantastic decoration of the set which would render it deliberately unreal, but neither is there any noticeable attempt to make the set or the appearance of the characters reflect extreme poverty. The modern interpretation of the stage-directions shows that there are in this scene possibilities of a realistic presentation of poverty on the stage, but it is scarcely surprising that these were not exploited in the Leopoldstadt of Raimund's day. As it was, the scene offended contemporary taste and provoked adverse comment from the critics. The critic of the Sammler in an otherwise enthusiastic review of the play writes:

"Wäre etwas dabei zu wünschen, so wäre es die Hinweglassung des Bauernjungen, der sich über die Trunkenheit seines Vaters lustig macht; derlei Anklänge aus dem gemeinem Leben sind, wenn auch mit grösstem Geschicke behandelt, doch stets verletzend, und das zarte Verhältnis eines Kindes zu seinen Eltern soll auf der Bühne nie parodiert werden."²

1. Contemporary pictures of stage-sets, costumes etc. published in connection with Bäuerle's Theaterzeitung: illustrations of this scene are to be seen in the Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek and in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien. The engraving by Schöller of this stage-set is reproduced by Otto Rommel: Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, 1952, p.891.
2. Sammler, 528, 1828: see S.W., vol.V, p.436.

Criticism of this nature is clearly concerned with more than the external presentation of the scene. The question of how far this scene in fact presents a true reflection of common life and how far it is conditioned by contemporary standards of suitability to the popular stage cannot be discussed solely in terms of setting and action.

There are other scenes in the later plays which also derive their settings from life in Vienna: the carpenter's workshop in Der Verschwender, for example, complete with bench and carpenter's tools¹ might well have had its origins in Raimund's own childhood when his father was master of a small workshop in Mariahilf. The significance of such scenes, however, cannot be discussed further without closer consideration of the characters involved. Whereas the local settings of the early plays are peopled with fantastic characters, those in the later plays serve as a background for the actions of apparently ordinary Viennese citizens. The skittle-alley in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt has a supernatural attendant² while the workshop in Der Verschwender is the home of a carpenter, his wife and three children. The development of Raimund's dramatic technique lies to a considerable extent in the changing relationship of character to setting. The consequent change in the reflection of society in the course of his work must now be judged in the light of the developing pattern of characterisation.

1. S.W., vol.II, Act 3, Scene 5, p.429.

2. See above, pp.85 f.

CHAPTER III

THE DEBT OF RAIMUND'S CHARACTERS TO THE PEOPLE OF VIENNA.

The term "pattern of characterisation" is no empty formula in a consideration of Viennese popular comedy. The traditional pattern in which comic and serious characters constituted the two strands weaving a complicated plot whose import was lost in the fun of the weaving-process was the basis on which a century of comedians developed their individual talents. When Stranitzky was playing Hanswurst on the stage of the Kärnthnertor theatre in the early decades of the eighteenth century his audiences delighted in the slapstick antics of the crude serving-men and oafish peasants who wove the strand of extemporaneous comedy in and out of the pompous actions and stilted speeches of their masters and lords. Seventy years later when Johann Laroche was playing Kasperl on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre the scope of popular drama had widened; musical pantomimes, dramas of chivalry, folk-sagas and fairy-tale plays alternated with the traditional burlesque comedies of intrigue on the local repertoires.¹

1. Genres often achieved sudden popularity in the local theatre and would enjoy a brief period of constant performance. Typical of this was the vogue for plays based on local folk-lore (1794-8) [e.g. Karl Friedrich Hensler's Das Donauweibchen, 1798] and indeed the spate of magical burlesques (1817-1824).

The unrivalled favourite of local audiences, however, was Kasperl in the stock rôle of the coarse and foolish servant and the basic traditional rule of characterisation remained unchanged in the Kasperl-plays: the comic characters spoke in Viennese dialect and were drawn from the lower orders of society while the serious characters used a more elevated language in keeping with their higher rank. Even the local parody which reached its peak of popularity in the magical extravaganzas of the Post-Congress period did not violate this rule. It changed the balance of the traditional pattern in that almost all its characters were local and comic but in endowing noble characters with lower-class characteristics it simply transferred them to the sphere of the local, comic characters; noble characters who were not localized were not funny nor local characters serious. Similarly, in Raimund's early plays, his characters do not transgress their traditional boundaries. In Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel all the characters are local and comic; the traditional pattern, whereby the actions of the serious characters are paralleled by those of the comic ones, is unmistakable in the main plot of his second play, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Florian the servant providing a comic counterpart to his serious young master Eduard. Instances occur in Raimund's later plays, however, of a blurring of the stock outlines: in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, for example, the members of the charcoal-burner's family are local characters but the effect of the scene in which they appear is not primarily comic, while the

character of Rappelkopf himself is on the borderline between comic and serious, local and non-local. There is no clear chronological line of development in Raimund's characterisation: Simplizius Zitternadel, in Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, written a year later than Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, is as much a stock local, comic character as Bartholomäus Quecksilber in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, written five years previously. The diverse local characters of Raimund's plays must be viewed in the light of the varying functions which they are performing in the service of popular comedy if a true assessment is to be made of the extent to which they reflect the local inhabitants of Vienna.

Supernatural characters who speak the language of the Viennese people and borrow their outward appearance in costume and properties are perhaps least open to misinterpretation on this score. They remain completely unreal characters and the external real characteristics which they reflect have the same function as the local allusions, verbal and visual, which have been described as part of the process of localisation, essential to the technique of the local prodigist.

Allusions to familiar figures of the Viennese street-scene and to the characteristics for which they were locally famed were popular jokes in the Leopoldstadt theatre among whose audience on any evening a cross-section of the local community

could be found. Good-humoured jibes were directed and accepted in the spirit of a family joke. In Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel Quecksilber mocks the proverbial crudeness of the sedan-chair bearer,¹ the sharp tongue of the croissant-seller,² the impudence of the shoemaker's errand boy³ in a joke which is directed equally against himself: asked if he has lost his reason, he replies:

"Kannst du einem Sesselträger seine Zartheit rauben, einem Kipfelweib ihre Verschwiegenheit und einem Schusterbuben seine Bescheidenheit?"⁴

The coarse language locally attributed to the porters at the Central Customs Office is alluded to by Quecksilber when

1. See F.S. Hügel, op.cit: "Sess'lräger, Senftenträger: Schimpfwort für grobe Personen; z.B. Er ist grob wiar a Sess'lräger. (pp.148f.)
2. The 'Kipfelweib' was one of the many female street-vendors of Vienna, known locally as 'Fratschlerweiber', who were found in large numbers in the Naschmarkt and the Schanzl. Adolf Schmidl, (Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833, p.226,) writes: "Dort fallen auch noch immer die berühmten Kämpfe zwischen ihnen und ihren natürlichen Feinden, den Schusterbuben vor. Diese Göttinnen der Grobheit besitzen in der That eine merkwürdige Gabe zu schimpfen und man muss wirklich über die Phantasie erstaunen, mit welchen sie die kühnsten Metaphern und Bilder hervorsuchen, um ihr unglückliches Opfer mit einer recht langen Flut ergiebiger Scheltworte zu überschütten."
3. See Mauriz Schuster: Alt-Wienerisch, Vienna, 1951: "Schusterbua: eine seit etwa vier Jahrzehnten aus dem Wiener Strassenbild entwichenen Gestalt. Der Schusterbua war das Urbild des kecken, schlagfertigen Lehrjungen von etwa dreizehn bis sechzehn Jahren, der mit einer blauen Schürze angetan -- meist ein paar Stiefel tragend -- frohgemut und heftig pfeifend durch die Gassen ging und niemals um eine Antwort verlegen war." (p.148).
4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 7, p.39.

Zoraïde shrieks in anger at her maid "Halten Sie's Maul!" and then apologizes with the words, "Vergeben Sie mir diese Schwärmerei". Quecksilber retorts: "Erlauben S' ! das ist eine kuriöse Schwärmerei. So schwärmen bei uns die Trager auf der Hauptmaut."¹

The playwright could depend upon the immediate comic effect of such jokes in the closely-knit community of Vienna and even in Der Verschwender, Raimund's last play, in which direct local allusions are very rare, Valentin makes a joke at the expense of the sedan-chair bearers. Rosa protests that she is obliged to be coarse in her attitude to the valet who is pursuing her: she says,

"Ich muss grob sein, weil ich eine tugendhafte Person bin" and Valentin comments,

"Ah, das ist ja keine Konsequenz. Da müssten ja die Sesseltrager die tugendhaftesten Menschen auf der Welt sein."²

In all these instances it is the incongruous association of the character with a quality which is not in fact characteristic of him which creates the immediate comic effect upon an audience who know what his local reputation is. The appearance of such

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 13, p.25.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 1, p.375. This is the only line in Der Verschwender which is regularly omitted when the play is now performed in Vienna, because it has no meaning for present-day audiences.

familiar figures on the stage was a common feature of Viennese comedy and when a supernatural character appeared in the guise of one of them, the effect was instantly comic. A coachman who cracks his whip in a beer-house and shouts at a harpist.

"Anfangen einmal und a bissel was Neues singen"¹ embodies the roughness attributed to the city coachmen but this is not in itself comic, whereas the tiny elf Kolibri who cracks his whip and utters imprecations at Florian is immediately comic by virtue of his incongruity in the rôle of a coachman.²

With the exception of Linarius the coachman in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, fairies or magicians instantly and comically recognizable in the rôles of familiar Viennese figures occur only in Raimund's first three plays when he has not yet abandoned the jovial spirits and the romping deities of the magical burlesque.

The street-life of Vienna provided the local dramatist with a vast number of colourful and easily differentiated rôles in which his localised characters could appear. The narrow pavements of the city were crowded from dawn till dusk with a garrulous and excitable throng of people. Indeed, walking in

1. S.W., vol.I, Die gefesselte Phantasie, Act I, Scene 15, "Ursprünglicher Text in Raimunds Konzept; zweite Fassung," p.389; see also Sämtliche Werke, ed. Glossy & Sauer, vol.II, p.152.
2. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 24, p.125.

the streets was described by an English visitor to the Congress as "a service of some danger; for most of them are narrow and the sides which are paved with flat square stones for the convenience of walking and are, on that account, greatly praised throughout the whole empire, are so little elevated above the carriage tract, that the foot passenger has no safety but in the judgement of the charioteer, who frequently risks an encounter with your feet rather than with the wheels of a passing carriage."¹ Despite these hazards, the pavements and street-corners were the chosen sites of street vendors of all kinds. Not content with the Prater, which was full of stalls and booths, and the open spaces on the city's bastions and on the edges of the Glacis where commodities could be displayed and sold, the hawkers and peddlers of the town cried their wares through the streets and even set up their stands on the pavements. A congested street-scene in 1785 is thus described by the peasant from Eipeldau:

"Wenn der Herr Vetter um's Eck hinüber geht, so muss der Herr Vetter acht geben dass der Herr Vetter nicht an d' Obstweiber anstosst, die an den Ecksteinen sitzen... Gleich neben'n Obstweiber sitzt ein Kipfelweib und gegenüber ein Weib, das Fusssockel verkauft. Ein paar Schritt weiter steht ein Standl und da verkauft ein wienerischer Handelsheer Schnalln, Sporn, Taschenveitl²

1. Richard Bright: Travels from Vienna through lower Hungary with some remarks on the state of Vienna in the year 1814, Edinburgh 1818, p.4.
2. Taschenmesser. cp. S.W., vol.II, Der Verschwender, Act II, Scene 17: "Schnappt vom Fuss bis zu dem Scheitel / Zsamm als wie ein Taschenfeidel". (p.412).

und dergleichen Galanteriewaren und dran sitzt ein Kräutlerweib¹... Der Herr Vetter geht nicht zwei Schritt, so stösst der Herr Vetter an ein Hüttl, wo s'Haarpuder verkaufen. Da stehen immer drey und vier Fiacker, die mit den Leuten ihren Spass treiben."²

The variety of wares sold in the streets was considerable and included, in an age when newspapers were less of a popular institution than they are today, songs and tales of local events sold as pamphlets for a Kreuzer a piece;³ the theatres too added their representatives to the throng for they advertised by sending their 'Zettelträger' through the streets to distribute hand-bills of the evening's performances.

Sporadic attempts were made by the authorities to prevent too much obstruction of the pavements but in a matter of days the street-vendors would be back in their places. By 1824 the number of licensed stalls had decreased but even so there were still six hundred selling foodstuffs and five hundred and ninety dealing in second-hand goods alone.⁴ Tuesdays and Fridays⁵

1. cp. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 15 Florian: Wenn ich nur ihn unterzubringen wusst, auf einem Comptoir bei einem Sauerkräutler, oder wo." (p.106).
2. Josef Richter, Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., pp.11f.
3. When Zoraïde in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel says: "Gedichte auf die Grösse meines Verstandes müssen auf allen Strassen ausgestreut werden," (S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 15, p.52) the picture conjured up in the mind of the local spectator would almost certainly be that of the so-called "Liedverkäufer" or "Kreuzerblattverkäufer" distributing their leaflets on the Viennese streets.
4. See Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.565.
5. cp. S.W., vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act I, Scene 8: Wurzel: Da freu ich mich wieder, da ist Fischmarkt, da kommt der Bursche wieder vom Land herein." (p.194).

were the busiest days in the week since they were market days when markets were set up on particular streets and squares in the city: Wildbretmarkt, Vogelmarkt and Fischmarkt gave their names to the streets on which they stood and the meatstalls (Fleischbänke) were grouped around the crossroads at Lügeck leading to the street which is still called Fleischmarkt.¹ On the Freyung, Judenplatz² and Tiefer Graben fruit and vegetables were sold daily and the Naschmarkt outside the Kärnthnerthor and the Schanzl on the right bank of the Danube-canal were permanent fruit markets. The second-hand dealers too had a permanent market known as the Tandelmarkt³ which stood at the time next to the Heumarkt on the right bank of the Wienfluss and many of the suburban areas had their own markets. As the number of permitted central sites decreased -- selling at the city-gates, for example, was prohibited by the time Raimund's plays were being performed -- the street vendors tended to concentrate their efforts on these

1. Very few old market sites are still the scene of buying and selling in present-day Vienna, though several of the streets on which they stood retain their old names, e.g. Fleischmarkt, Getreidemarkt, Hohe Markt, Neue Markt etc. Isolated stalls are still to be seen on the city's pavements, in the Freyung, for example, but even the famous Naschmarkt is soon to be removed from its site near the Wienfluss to make way for a new motor road into the city. - His still there in 1977.
2. cp. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 20: Longimannus: Jetzt fangt er gar zum Handeln mit mir an, als ob wir auf dem Judenplatz wären. (p.166).
3. cp. S.W., vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act I, Scene 8: Wurzel: Unddu gehst zum Tandler in die Vorstadt hinaus und lässt die vielen Bücher hereinführen, die ich gestern bei ihm kauft hab." (p.197).

established sites in the suburbs. They continued, however, for many years to add colour to the Viennese scene. Immediately recognizable by their wares and their cries, there were also differences in their dress. The peasants, even those living in the rural suburbs of the city still wore their distinctive costume. The Eipeldau peasants for example were a familiar sight in their rough boots, brightly coloured neckerchiefs, round hats and short jackets carrying under their arms the geese which they had brought into the town to sell.¹ Still more distinctive were the foreign tradesmen of whom there were always a vast number in Vienna, capital of an Empire and meeting-place of East and West. Carpet sellers from the Tyrol in their wide-brimmed hats jostled with Greek merchants in flowing robes and Bohemian peasants in rough sheepskin coats. The lively salami-sellers from Italy with their cries of "Salamini, Welsche Würste kauft!"² carried their strings of sausages past black-coated Polish Jews³ haggling over their

1. Geese were the speciality of the area and were known locally as 'Eipeldauerinnen'. Eipeldau is now known as Leopoldau and with Floridsdorf etc. now constitutes the 21st suburban district of Vienna.
2. The 'Salamimann' was a distinctive and popular figure on the Viennese streets and on the Viennese stage. In Gleich's parody of Fiesco, he makes the hero a Salami-seller; in the popular imagination Italy and the Italians were immediately associated with Salami, so that it is quite natural for Quecksilber to sing in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel: "In Italien recht mächtig zu werden, / Erkauft ich die herrlichsten Gärten, / Pomeranzen von Gold, das ist wahr, / Einen Wald von Salami sogar." S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, p.18.
3. Many of the second-hand dealers of Vienna were Jews. Florian in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs in order to raise money for his master plans to sell all his belongings to a Polish Jew S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 16, p.110.

jumble stalls and Croat women in fur-trimmed jackets squatting on the pavements selling onions. A visitor to the Congress of 1815 writes:

"Was Wien ... ein besonders lebhaftes Ansehen und helle Tinten leiht ist die Menge von Fremden, die man in den Strassen findet: Juden, Türken, Armenier, Kroaten, Böhmen alle in ihre Nationaltrachten gekleidet. Sieht man jeden derselben den Beschäftigungen oder dem Handel mit Produkten seines Landes nachgehen, so sollte man glauben, man befände sich mitten auf einem grossen europäischen Bazaar."¹

Not only national and regional dress contributed to the variety of costume on the Viennese streets. Many of the local inhabitants too were differentiated by uniforms appropriate to their positions in society. The cabmen, sedan-chair bearers and lantern boys and their upper class counterparts, the liveried lackeys, coachmen and footmen were recognizable on sight as were other members of the community who earned their living by performing a public service.

Typical of the adaptation of one such familiar figure to the purposes of the magical burlesque is Raimund's fairy postman in

Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt whose appearance on the scene is described in the stage-directions thus:

"Unter passender Musik kömmt Illi, ein Genius, als Klepperpostillon angezogen, mit dem Klapperbretlein lärmend durch die Luft auf einem grossen Stieglitz geflogen, welcher ein Paket Briefe im Schnabel hält."²

1. Graf August de la Garde: Gemälde des Wiener Kongresses 1814-15 ed. Gustav Gugitz, Munich, 1914, p.345.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 1, p.211.

Waving his rattle he cries outside the house of Zufriedenheit,

"He, die Klepperpost ist da, aufgemacht!"

The 'Klepperpost' or 'Klapperpost' also known as 'die kleine Post'

was privately instituted in Vienna in 1772 for the purposes

of communication within the city and its suburbs. In 1784 it

was incorporated into the public long-distance postal service.

Letters were collected and delivered locally for a fee which

was paid to the postman. He announced his presence in the

neighbourhood by waving his rattle, a thin piece of hard wood

with an iron-rod handle and a vertical iron rod which clattered

against the wood as the postman waved it back and forth.¹

He wore originally a yellow jacket, later a grey one, with black

revers and waistcoat and over his shoulder he carried a small

box of letters on a yellow cord.² Illi appears in the garb

of such a postman and his arrival is heralded by the familiar

clatter. He hands in the letter at the window and demands the

fee of eight Kreuzer. He is incensed when no tip is added and

the rattle, he flies on to the stage on a large gold-finch and the

1. Franz Gräffer describes the sound: "Das Geklapper dieser Postbothen auf der Strasse tönt wohl noch Manchem in die Ohren. Es war ein eigener Schall; dumpf und durchdringend zugleich..." Kleine Wiener Memoiren, Part 3, Vienna 1845, p.107.
2. Illustrations of the 'Klepperpostillon' as well as many of the other street figures mentioned in this chapter can be seen in Johann Jakob Adam's Abbildungen des gemeinen Volkes zu Wien, Vienna, 1799 and in Christian Brand's Zeichnungen nach dem gemeinen Volke besonders der Kaufruf in Wien, Vienna, 1875. The latter is available in the British Museum and some pictures from the former are reproduced by Otto Rommel in Die Altwiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, pp.602ff.

grumbles:

"So, Keinen Pfennig gibt s' mehr als acht Kreuzer und kein neues Jahr auch nicht. Wann ich nur da keinen Brief herbringen durft, das ist schon mein grösster Zorn... Gar so eine Schmitzerei... Pfui Teufel, da wollen s' Geister sein, ja -- Bettelleut Umkehr!"¹

The postmen of Vienna in common with other public servants taking an immediately recognizable street figure and adapting expected a tip at New Year: the Eipeldau peasant describes the him to the fairy-tale world in order to make his audience laugh. custom,

"Da kommen d'Nachtwachter, und d' Trager von der Hauptmauth und d'Postklepperer und d'Zettelaustrager² und d'Herrn die's Kreuzerblattl herumtragen, und die sagen dem Herrn Vetter ein Glückwünsch auf, der allein ein Neuen Zwanziger werth ist."³

Illi, in suggesting that he should have been given his New Year the Hungariae swischerda. His first words are "Isten Utet" tip there and then in case he would not have the opportunity and his speech is coloured not only in this way by isolated of collecting it at New Year, is making a joke of the automatic Hungarian words and expressions but also by references to places expectation of a tip characteristic of Viennese postmen and their in Hungary. He assures Lektinos of his support in this way fellows: to this extent he is reflecting a real characteristic. His appearance reflects the real postman's appearance to an equally limited extent, for though he is wearing the uniform and waving

the rattle, he flies on to the stage on a large gold-finch and the receptacle for the letters is held in the bird's beak. There can be no question of his being a realistic representation of a

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene I, p.212.

2. See above, p.106.

3. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.I, p.57.

Viennese postman, any more than Kolibri or Linarius, despite their embodiment of certain coachmen's characteristics -- the roughness of language, the insistence on tips -- can be described as real Viennese coachmen. In these instances, Raimund is taking an immediately recognizable street figure and adapting him to the fairy-tale world in order to make his audience laugh.

In the same way he draws upon the cosmopolitan population of Vienna for the characters of two of his magicians in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt. Bustorius, a Hungarian magician, makes his first appearance carrying a 'Csakan', the staff peculiar to the Hungarian swineherds.¹ His first words are "Isten Utzek"² and his speech is coloured not only in this way by isolated Hungarian words and expressions³ but also by references to places in Hungary. He assures Lakrimosa of his support in this way:

"Verlassen Sie sich auf ungarischen Zauberer. Was Ungar verspricht, das halt er. Hat er festes Blut in sich wie Eisenbad in Mehadia."⁴

1. See S.W., vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act I, Scene I, p.178. The word 'Csakan' is explained thus by Otto Rommel: "Besserungsstücke". DLER Barocktradition, vol.V, p.342, note 29, 1.
2. See above, p.82, note 2.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3: "Erdök! ist das schöne Geschichte. (p.183) and Act III, Scene 6: Du Paidás, wirst parieren oder nicht?" (p.259). cp. Bloch: Wörterbuch, Ungarisch Deutsch, Budapest, 1905: Ördög der Teufel: paitás O der Kamarad.
4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3, p.185. The spa of Mehadia, is situated at the end of the Bela valley where the Bela flows into the Cserna, possesses mineral springs known from Roman times.

and he reminds Ajaxerle, the magician from Donau Eschingen, that they have met before -- "auf dem letzten Geisterdiner in Temeswar."¹ He speaks throughout the play in a broken German which would cause much amusement to an audience familiar with the Hungarian accent. Another regional accent, as comic on the Viennese stage as the Irish accent² in a London music-hall, is used throughout by Ajaxerle the Swabian. The actors who played such parts undoubtedly exaggerated the ~~idiosyncrasies~~ idiosyncrasies of the dialects in question for comic effect, using in the case of Ajaxerle for example the Swabian diminutive ending 'le' even more frequently than it is used by the Swabians. In the course of the play Ajaxerle disguises himself as a German snail-dealer and in so far as he appears wearing a long coat with tin buttons and a three-cornered hat, he presents a life-like picture of a snail-dealer, a common enough figure on the streets of Vienna. There is no temptation, however, to regard this character as anything more

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 3, p.180. Temeswar is a town on the main route from Budapest to Bucharest.
2. A comparison is in fact drawn by Charles Sealsfield between the popular conception of the Hungarian character in Vienna and that of the Irish character in England: describing amusing anecdotes told at mixed assemblies of the Viennese and Hungarian nobility, he writes: "The anecdotes are mostly relating to the Hungarians ~~HUNGARIANS~~ themselves; and the noble unsuspecting and undissembling character of this most interesting and least of all known nations makes them sometimes commit blunders which partake very much of the Irish character." (Austria as it is, London, 1828, p.184.)

than Ajaxerle the Magician dressed up as a merchant, and his chosen disguise of "Schneckenhändler" simply provides Wurzel with a useful source of derisory remarks. He suggests for example that Ajaxerle is "so schlampicht wie ein Schneck" and asks whether he made his journey "auf der Schneckenpost".¹ Ajaxerle's actions throughout the play are those of a comic magician, and when as a snail-dealer he takes a wand from his over-coat pocket and draws a magic circle with it, uttering the spell

"Pitschili! Pitschili! Frisili! sauf-Kästerle!
Kästerle! tu dich doch auf!"²

thus transforming a linen chest into an arbour, neither his Swabian accent nor his authentic merchant's costume relates his words and actions to those of a real German snail-dealer. Like Kolibri the coachman and balloon-pilot, Illi the postman, Kolophonius, watchman in the Magic Garden³, and Nigowitz, book-keeper of the enchanted skittle-alley,⁴ Ajaxerle reflects external characteristics of costume and speech to comic effect. Reflection of local characters remains at this superficial level in the magical beings of Raimund's plays. His drawing of supernatural and allegorical characters develops away from the local sphere in his

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, p.202.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 10, p.201.

3. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 26, pp.127f.

4. S.W., vol.I, Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, Act II, Scenes 12, 13, pp.238 ff.

later work. He ceases to parody serious characters by giving them local attributes and consequently his spirits and deities very soon cease to appear incongruously disguised as familiar figures of the Viennese scene. No longer comic, they cease to present any local reflection at all.¹

Raimund's drawing of human characters, on the other hand, critic of Viennese popular plays has not the advantage of only begins to penetrate the local sphere with his presentation of obvious Viennese types. The superficial reflection of external characteristics marks the most elementary stage in the development of his local comic characters and it is in connexion with this development that the local reflection is most liable to be misinterpreted.

Wandering musicians were a familiar sight in the streets and inns of Vienna and it is tempting to describe Nachtigall the harpist from Vienna in Die gefesselte Phantasie as a typical beer-house harpist. In as much as this statement means that definition of the extent to which these two descriptions of his Nachtigall embodies certain characteristics typical of a Viennese harpist, it is a fair judgement of his character. The Hamburg critic who wrote in 1832:

1. The wicked fairies Antimonia and Vipira in Die gefesselte Phantasie are the last of Raimund's supernatural characters in leading rôles to speak dialect and allude to the locality. There are instances of minor characters in the later plays, Lulu and Fanfu in Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, for example, who are comic, but they are isolated examples as is Lünarius the coachman in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind.

"Der Harfenist Nachtigall des genialen Raimund war ein dem Leben abgestohlenes Bild jener gemeinen Bänkelsänger, welche man in den österreichischen Schenken und Kneipen so oft antrifft."¹

the wittier they were at the expense of certain guests, the was basing his judgement on his own observation of Austrian better place was their audience as a whole. Nachtigall is inn-entertainers whose typical character he saw reflected in described by the landlord of the beerhouse where he performed as Raimund's performance of the rôle of Nachtigall. The modern "Der weiße Narrendattel" -- the first "Narrendattel" having been critic of Viennese popular plays has not the advantage of a landlord in Lichtental whose real name was Johann Lochner, personal familiarity with the characters who peopled the streets he had been noted throughout the locality for his crude wit, directed and public places of Raimund's Vienna, nor yet with such at the guests of his inn, and his reputation as lived on after characters as they were portrayed in Raimund's theatre, and he his death in his "Narrendattel". Nachtigall proves a worthy bear must temper his delighted recognition in the plays of characters to his misanthropy when he is entertaining the working-men in the whom he has met in his studies of real life with unfailing beer-house, saying, for example, when a stranger calls the waiter attention to other factors which contribute to the creation of and order: a shop's head? characters for the popular stage. Nachtigall may with some "Nur, wo gehts den Herrn sein Schafstall, so ist die justice be described as a typical Viennese harpist, but he can equally well be described as a typical leading comic rôle: a definition of the extent to which these two descriptions of his line by explaining "Der weiße Narrendattel" as "Narrendattel", character are compatible may show the danger of glib assessment of present a well as he himself says for considering this rôle as local characters and point the way towards a balanced analysis in Bergasse, Lichtental and the other districts. Enough of their local characteristics. of "Johann Lochner, vulgo Narrendattel" an account of a "Narrendattel" under "Narrendattel" are listed in Paul's "Narrendattel" (p. 120). The suggestion that the description of Nachtigall as

In the wine-houses of Grinzing, the inns of Lerchenfeld, the beer-gardens of the Prater and the cellars of city and

1. Originalien, 120, 1832: see S.W., vol.V, p.420.

suburb, popular singers and instrumentalists were noted for being quick-witted, biting and even offensive in their entertainment; the wittier they were at the expense of certain guests, the better pleased was their audience as a whole. Nachtigall is described by the landlord of the beerhouse where he performs as "der zweite Narrendattel" -- the first "Narrendattel" having been a landlord in Lichtental whose real name was Johann Lochner. He had been noted throughout the locality for his crude wit, directed at the guests of his inn, and his reputation lived on after his death in his nickname.¹ Nachtigall proves a worthy heir to his namesake when he is entertaining the working-men in the beer-house, saying, for example, when a stranger calls the waiter and orders a sheep's head:

"Nu, so gebts dem Herrn sein Schafskopf, lassts die Leut nicht so lang ohne Kopf dasitzen."²

1. Eduard Castle, in his edition of Raimund's plays, annotates this line by explaining "der zweite Narrendattel" as "närrische Kerl". (See Sämtliche Werke, Leipzig (1903), p.270) but Blümml and Gugitz present a well authenticated case for considering this to be an allusion to Johann Lochner, nick-named Narrndattel, who kept an inn in Badgasse, Lichtental (now the 9th district). Among other sources they quote a police report (8 March 1813) of the arrest of "Johann Lochner, vulgo Narrendattel" on account of a parodied sermon which he delivered in his inn. (See Emil Karl Blümml and Gustav Gugitz: Altwienerisches, Vienna, 1921, (vol.I) p.65ff.) In Josef Richters Die Eipeldauerbriefe five references to Lochner under "Narrendattl" are listed in Paunel's index (ed.cit.vol.12, p.520). The suggestion that the description of Nachtigall as "der zweite Narrendattel" refers to this celebrated local figure, although Narrendattel was at this time a common description of a foolish person, is indicated by the word 'zweite' which in the case of the latter interpretation is meaningless.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.345.

The raucous laughter of the company assembled in the inn would be as typical of the beer-house audience as the remark is typical of the entertainer. This scene presents a glimpse into the atmosphere of a beer-house with a typical harpist entertaining some guests and offending others while the landlord attempts to keep the peace.¹ Nachtigall does not remain in his own beer-house milieu throughout the play, but he carries his coarse behaviour with him on his enforced excursion into fairy-land/engaging for example, in exchanges of insults with the Fool at Hermione's court² and singing one of his beer-house songs in the Temple of Apollo.³ Whereas in the setting of the beer-house, however, he is funny in the manner of a real Viennese "Bänkelsänger", once out of that setting he is comic primarily by virtue of being local in a non-local setting. References to local customs contained in the dialogue at the inn contribute to the genuine local atmosphere. Nachtigall excuses his late arrival for example with the tale of how he had returned home drunk the previous night and found the outer doors locked. He had knocked, but by the time the house-caretaker had responded he had fallen asleep

1. S.W., vol. I, Act I, Scene 15, p. 345.

1. cp. above, pp. 117ff.

2. eg. Narr: Ich heisse Muh!

Nachtigall: Ein schöner Nam, so leicht, so flüssig, eine jede Kuh kann ihn aussprechen.

Narr: Ich hab ihn auch schon aus eines Esels Mund gehört. etc.

S.W., vol. I, Act II, Scene 7, p. 364.

3. S.W., vol. II, Act II, Scene 12, pp. 379f.

against the door. When it was opened he fell flat on his face knocking down the caretaker as well.¹ This anecdote is amusing in itself and it adds local colour, for the Viennese "Hausmeister" were notorious for their habit of keeping inmates waiting a long time if they returned home after ten o' clock.² Later in the play on the Island of Flora, Nachtigall is told to enter the palace of the wicked fairies. Seeing the two lions guarding the door he says,

"An das Tor soll ich anklopfen, wo die zwei Hausmeister vor der Tür liegen? Das lass ich bleiben. Wenn einer unrecht versteht, so macht er statt der Tür den Rachen auf."³

Here the local metaphor has the comic effect of incongruity. This is the effect of Nachtigall's reference to the islanders' Temple of Apollo as the Apollosaal⁴ and of the allusions to Vienna made throughout the play not only by him but also by the wicked Fairies and even by some of the inhabitants of Flora. The laughter provoked by Nachtigall's behaviour and manner of speech has origins which differ according to setting. In the beer-house he appears to be a typical Viennese harpist but on the Island of Flora he gives the impression of a typical popular comedian.

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 15, p.345.
2. cp. above, p.57 . Anecdotes were often told in contemporary Vienna of the intractable attitudes of the local caretakers. The Eipeldau peasant writes, for example: "Der Hausmeister von L-h- lässt die Parteyen, die nach 10 Uhr ham kommen oft langmächtig läuten. Das thun zwar auch andere Hausmeister..." He proceeds to tell the tale of the unfortunate man who was obliged to wait all night and took refuge in a sedan-chair which had been left nearby. See Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.II, p.239.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 1, p.355.
4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 11, p.375: cp. above, p. 54.

In fact his character remains unchanged throughout.

The stock comic character of the popular theatre was essentially a joker, something of a wag and something of a buffoon. Traditionally, each leading actor had appeared always in a costume peculiar to himself: he had his own stage-name and his own catch-phrases. Stranitzky had played Hanswurst in a Salzburg peasant's costume and had worn a heart on his jerkin to which joking references were made in his plays. At his death Gottfried Prehauser assumed the rôle of the Viennese Hanswurst at the same time as other actors began to invent their own characters. Joseph Kurz created the rôle of Bernardon, a loutish but cunning youth, and Friedrich Weiskern became identified with the traditional old man's part Odoardo; when Johann Laroche made his first appearances as Kasperl he too always appeared in the same costume, baggy trousers, floppy hat, loose necktie and false pointed beard. His cry of "Auwedl" simply heard from the wings was enough to reduce his audience to helpless laughter.¹ In 1790 he began to appear in costumes suited to various characters, but it was as Kasperl that he was known and idolized. A contemporary critic wrote of him,

1. See "Nur muss Kasperle nie etwas anders als Kasperle sein.

Theatergesch. v. v. v. ed. Friedrich Schink, Vienna, 1797. The quotation is taken from a footnote by the editor, p. 328.

1. cp. I.F. Castelli: Memoiren meines Lebens, vol. I, Vienna, Prague, p. 252. 1861

Es ist unmöglich über ihn zu lachen, wann er die Kasperljacke nicht an hat. Ihr allein stehen seine Lazzis und Männerchen. In der Livrei und jedem andern Charakter ist er nicht zu sehen."¹

Laroche who died in 1806 was the last of the Viennese popular comedians to be completely identified with one stage character. Series of plays involving the same character were still written and actors continued to appear repeatedly as outstandingly popular characters, -- Anton Hasenhut as Thaddädl for example, a silly young apprentice with a high-pitched voice --, but such actors now appeared with equal success in other rôles. The place of the stock clowns was taken by leading actors, who appeared in a variety of rôles often with comic sounding names which signified their profession and sometimes their temperament, but these characters retained many of the stock characteristics handed down from predecessors as far removed as Hanswurst -- preoccupation with food, for example, shows of bravado, exhibitions of cowardice and childish behaviour of all kinds. The latter had been exploited particularly by Kasperl and Thaddädl whose outbursts of weeping frequently coloured their dialogue. The frequent beatings and fights which were a feature of the early plays were gradually refined into

1. See Dramatische und andere Skizzen nebst Briefen über das Theaterwesen zu Wien, ed. Friedrich Schink, Vienna, 1793. The quotation is taken from a footnote by the editor. p.128.

verbal arguments, and exchanges of insults no longer contained the obscenities of a cruder age. Many stock verbal witticisms were retained: the nonsense-speech, the catch-phrase, repetition of single words and wilful misunderstanding. With the growth of specifically local genres, the parody, for example, in the early nineteenth century, play on words and accumulated puns came to depend more and more on local names and customs. Playwrights and actors were so steeped in traditional features of character and dialogue that their manner of drawing characters tended to be similar, and the early characters who took the place of the traditional comic character-actors often differed little from one another despite their appearance in different guises and under different names. The comedy of the stock character thus developed only very slowly into comedy of character, and the clown before he became a comic character passed inevitably through the realm of caricature. Raimund in his best work achieves a comedy of character, but some of his leading comic figures have not passed this intermediate stage. Their approximation to real life cannot be judged without reference to this factor.

Nachtigall the harpist, even in his scene in the beer-house where the comic effect which he produces is quite in keeping with his rôle as an inn harpist, is given the appearance of a

stage-comedian by being "karikiert gekleidet".¹ Later, on the island of Flora he is even more blatantly a caricature of a Viennese harpist, retaining the harpist's external character solely for comic effect; he is a figure of fun, comically local in a fantastic setting. His behaviour after his abduction from the inn recalls that of Hanswurst: after a show of arrogance, he catches sight of the lions and falls to his knees grovelling in ludicrous terror.² He weeps as easily as Kasperl when Phantasie refuses to help him to write a prize-poem³ and he hops about in childish glee when he thinks that he has after all won the contest, crying "Ich werd König, ich werd König!"⁴ The crude wit of Nachtigall is as much a characteristic of the stock theatrical joker as of the Viennese street harpist, and a character as obviously endowed as he is with other stock comic features must, regardless of name and profession, have much in common with other leading comic characters created along the same lines. Certainly Nachtigall the harpist differs little in character from Quecksilber the Barometermacher for example. The description

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 15, p.344.

2. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 1, p.352.

3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 11. This incident in which Phantasie joins him in weeping recalls the ludicrous weeping duets of the Kasperl-plays: Nachtigall: Hab doch Barmherzigkeit. (weint)
Phantasie: (weint) Du unempfindlich Tier.
Nachtigall: Jetzt fangt s' zum Weinen an,
Jetzt sind wir alle zwei im Wasser. (p.37

4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 12: stage-direction: "trippelt kindisch."
(p.381).

of Nachtigall as a typical Viennese harpist is not a complete assessment of his character but it is not a false description. Quecksilber on the other hand can in no way be described as a typical barometer-maker. A street-harpist was in real life a popular entertainer and the special case of his reflection in a character of popular comedy serves to illustrate the approach which must be made to the analysis of local comic characters, but not to exemplify the reflection of local types in the comic characters of Raimund's plays.

Like Nachtigall, all Raimund's leading comic characters, as listed in the dramatis personae of the plays, might be thought to reflect some local characteristics. Quecksilber the barometer-maker from Vienna, Florian Waschblau the servant, Fortunatus Wurzel, once peasant now millionaire, Gluthahn the well-to-do peasant, Rappelkopf the rich landowner, Simplizius Zitternadel the poor village tailor and Valentin, servant and later master-carpenter. They all speak Viennese dialect as would people of their status living in and around Vienna; Rappelkopf does so to a lesser degree as befits his higher social position. The walks of life from which they are drawn, as well as being ones with which Raimund was undoubtedly familiar in reality, were also those from which the leading comic characters of early nineteenth century popular comedy were customarily drawn -- the serving and peasant

1. See S.V., vol. V, "Personalien der Theater in der Leopoldstadt 1817-1830", 1953.

2. Otto Novak, *Die Wiener Volkstheater*, Vienna, 1932, p. 779.

classes, the small tradesman class and men of property who might be well-to-do and middle-class but not noble. An actor often distinguished himself in one or another of these groups of rôles and was thereafter frequently cast as a particular type. Theatre personnel was engaged on the basis of this method of type-casting which was not limited to social types; stock psychological types -- irascible, obstinate old men, naive young girls, love-lorn youths, misers, misanthropists and good-for-nothings -- figure in the lists of rôles assigned to particular actors and actresses. Often an actor excelled in such specialized fields that the management would state the psychological nature of the particular social type which he would be required to play. Raimund himself, for example, was under contract to play leading comic rôles in general and "verschmitzte Bediente" in particular.¹ The playwrights employed by the popular theatres of Vienna wrote their plays then with particular actors in mind. Otto Rommel in his warning against regarding local comedies of the Post-Congress period as social documents points to this factor with the following example:

Le+

"Untüchtige Schmarotzernaturen kommen zum Beispiel nicht deshalb so oft in der Wiener Volkskomödie vor, weil sie im Wiener Alltag häufiger gewesen wären als anderswo, sondern weil Ignaz Schuster sie... wundervoll spielte..."²

1. See S.W., vol.V, "Personalstand des Theaters in der Leopoldstadt 1817-1830", p.965.
2. Otto Rommel: Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, p.779.

Ignaz Schuster¹ had been the idol of the Leopoldstadt theatre before Raimund joined the company in 1817 and a rivalry had grown up between the two men, fostered largely by two factions of admirers among their audiences. They were not billed in the same plays² and thus Raimund, who wrote the leading comic rôles of his plays for himself, never wrote a part for Schuster. In his early days as an actor, however, he was often accused of imitating the older comedian, particularly when he was playing parts which Schuster had made famous. This was the case when he played the best known Schuster-rôle of Staberl.³ Adolf Bäuerle created this character, "ein zugrundegegangener Parapluuemacher" for Schuster⁴ in 1813 and with it he started a new theatrical vogue for failed tradesmen of all kinds. As well as writing seven

1. Engaged 1801. Dismissed by Steinkeller, 1 July 1830. Died 1835.
2. It was a great theatrical occasion on 11 June 1830 when the two leading actors of the Leopoldstadt theatre, Schuster and Raimund, appeared together (shortly before Schuster's retirement and Raimund's resignation from the ensemble) in a performance of Perinet's adaptation of Hafner's Evakathel und Schnudi. The experiment was repeated once more, again with great success, on June 18 with Raimund as Florian and Schuster as Longimanus in Raimund's Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs.
3. Raimund played Staberl in 1817 and the critics said that he made no individual contribution to the rôle but "kopierte bald Ignaz Schuster, bald Hern. Carl von München." Theaterzeitung, 396, 17 August, 1817.
4. The original Staberl play is Die Bürger in Wien, first performed in the Leopoldstadt theatre, 23 October 1813. See Adolf Bäuerle: Komisches Theater. Pesth. 1820, vol.II.

other Staberl plays¹ Bäuerle also created a bankrupt stocking-maker Leopold Würfel², a poor confectioner, Zweckerl,³ and a ruined fan-maker, Sandelholz.⁴ The latter rôle was written for Raimund in 1818, as were the rôles of Maulaff,⁵ an unsuccessful inn-keeper, and Zacharias Haselnuss⁶ a man of private means who had gone bankrupt. In view of the multiplicity of such characters at this time, an unsuspecting reader might be forgiven for wondering whether the small tradesmen of Vienna were undergoing a period of depression. In fact the majority of these rôles were created in the comparative prosperity of the Post-Congress period. The small tradesman who had failed in his business but remained happy-go-lucky in the face of his misfortune, was a theatrical type and Bartholomäus Quecksilber, Raimund's penniless barometer maker, is clearly an heir of the

- X
1. Bäuerle was not the only playwright to write Staberl-plays nor Schuster the only actor to play the part. In 1833 the rôle was appropriated by Carl who substantially changed its character. A discussion of the Staberl rôle is to be found in Otto Rommel: Johann Nestroy, Ein Beitrag zu der Wiener Volkskomik, Vienna 1830, pp.31ff. In the same work is a list of 33 Staberl-plays written by various authors. See pp.571ff.
 2. Der Leopoldstag oder Kein Menschenhass und keine Reue, [1814] ed.cit., vol.I.
 3. Der Feind in der Not [1818], ed.cit., vol.I.
 4. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Der verwunschene Prinz, [1818], ed.cit., vol.III.
 5. Teischl: Maranterl, Parodie nach Schillers 'Turandot'. [1820].
 6. Alois Gleich: Adler Fisch und Bär, [1820].

celebrated Chrysostomos Staberl whose lack of success in the umbrella-making business had been responsible for a series of failures and bankruptcies which coloured a whole decade of popular plays.

There was no locally accepted picture of a barometer maker as there was of a street-harpist; in fact out of a total population of 289,598 there were only three licensed barometermakers in Vienna at this time.¹ Quecksilber is a local character in the purely theatrical sense. His trade of barometer-making like Ajaxerle's snail-dealing, is used to enliven the dialogue with puns and images. His opening song,

"Was braucht man Barometer
Auf dieser Welt noch mehr?
Ein jeder macht sich's Wetter,
So wies ihm gefällt, daher."²

indicates the manner in which his trade is to be reflected in his character. In the course of the play he refers to himself on occasion as "der miserabelste aller Baromettermacher"³ and

1. This figure is taken from Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826. He quotes his source as "die Geschäftsbücher des löblichen magistratischen Steueramtes" and states that these figures apply only to the year 1824. See p.543. For population figures, also for the year 1824, see p.17.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, p.5.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, p.8.

"unglückseliger Baromettermacher".¹ He claims to have saved himself from drowning by clinging to his barometer² and at one point contemplates using it to hit someone on the head.³ Such unorthodox uses are fitting for a barometer which is no more than a ludicrous symbol of a comic caricature. The note struck in his opening song is echoed at the end of the play when all ends happily, and he shouts "Vivat! jetzt zeigt mein Barometter auf schön Wetter".⁴ Such references represent the total extent to which Quecksilber, the barometer-maker from Vienna, is a barometer-maker rather than any other tradesman. A jovial buffoon with a concern for his stomach worthy of Hanswurst,⁵ he is no more and no less Viennese than the localized character King Tutu on whose magic island the fantastic events of the plot take place. The rôle of this lazy ruler, like that of the Spirit King, Longimanus, in Raimund's second play, was written for the actor Friedrich Korntheuer, who is described by a contemporary man of the theatre, Ignaz Castelli, thus:

"An Korntheuers Körper war Alles lang. Gesicht, Nase, Füsse, Arme, Hände, und er verstand es,

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 14, p.27.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, p.6.
3. S.W., Act I, Scene 2, p.8.
4. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 27, p.73.
5. cp. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 2, pp.6,7. Act II, Scene 16, p.53.

besonders das erste und die letztern durch Ausdehnung noch länger zu machen, als sie waren. In seinem Vortrage lag etwas Langsames, Schleppendes, Faules, in seinen Bewegungen ein unbeschreibliches Phlegma, und er liess sich immer gehen wie es ihm eben behagte. Man hätte glauben sollen, Korntheuer spiele gar nicht für die Zuseher, sondern für sich selbst."¹

Here is unmistakably the lethargic Tutu, who is prepared to rouse himself out of his torpor only "wanns nicht viel Arbeit macht"² and whose chief delight in life is sleep.³ Here too is the lanky Spirit-King Longimanus who makes his first appearance sitting up in bed and yawning.⁴ Korntheuer's phlegmatic manner was strongly contrasted with Raimund's own comic acting and the contrast between the slothful Tutu and the energetic Quecksilber lay in the actors themselves. Of Raimund the actor Castelli writes:

"Es war eine Heftigkeit in seinen Bewegungen und Geberden, ein Herumwerfen der Hände und des Kopfes als ein Rollen seines grossen und lebhaften Auges, ein schnelles Abstossen der Worte, dass man ihm einen fortwährenden, inneren Grimm hätte zumuthen müssen, wenn dies Alles nicht wieder von der andern Seite durch die tiefste Gemüthlichkeit gemildert worden wäre."⁵

These two short extracts from Castelli's descriptions of the actors Korntheuer and Raimund, taken in conjunction with a

1. See I.F. Castelli: Memoiren meines Lebens, vol.I, pp.256f.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 5, p.13.
3. cp. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 15. Tutu: Ein jeder Mensch hat seine Passion; ich bin halt am lustigsten, wann ich schlafe. (p.52)
4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 4, p.94.
5. I.F. Castelli, op.cit., vol.I, p.260.

typical local burlesque such as Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, are sufficient to show how rôles for popular and established actors almost wrote themselves. Given the scenarios of the old extemporized comedies such actors could have produced much the same dialogue and action as their playwrights wrote for them. Small wonder that dramatists who needed to do little more than sketch the outlines of their characters, safely leaving the rest to the individual talents of the actors, did not devote much attention to the art of characterisation. Grillparzer on the occasion of the first edition of Raimund's plays writes of Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs,

"Voll guter Einfälle, mit einer nicht unglücklich geführten Handlung, würde doch niemand, zum Beispiel, in dem leicht skizzierten Entwurf der Geliebten des Bedienten Florian, jene Naturwahrheit und Grazie erkennen, welche die unnachahmliche Krones in diese Rolle zu legen wusste. Korntheuer spielte sich selbst als er den Geisterkönig gab, und die Figur gewann dabei offenbar."¹

Raimund's later plays were not written with the talents of the Leopoldstadt ensemble as a primary consideration; indeed this very fact contributed to the partial failure of some of them. Korntheuer could not do justice to the part of the lively fool in Die gefesselte Phantasie nor the pert soubrette Therese Krones to the part of Phantasie, and the concessions which Raimund

1. Grillparzer: Sämtliche Werke, ed. A. Sauer, Stuttgart, (1892), vol. XVIII, pp. 135f.

made in this play to his ensemble merely led to inconsistency of character.

In Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, however, no considerations were so important as those of amusing the audience, and the leading comic rôle -- the servant Florian -- entertains in the best traditional manner. The reflection of the Viennese serving classes in the plays of Raimund cannot be judged by the character of Florian, whose words and behaviour follow so clearly the stock pattern as to render him once again a theatrical type. Constantly hungry,¹ prepared to follow his master to the death, but comically frightened when his courage is put to the test, he is a stock foolish, good-hearted servant who echoes the words and actions of his romantic young master to comic effect. In the ordeal on the magic mountain, Eduard's attempts to reach the top are paralleled literally step by step when it is Florian's turn.² Enticed by the music of Rossini and Mozart, Eduard cries: "Lebt wohl, ich besteige den Berg." He resists the allure of four nymphs to whom he cries "Lasst mich Bajaderen",

1. cp. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 15: Florian: Im Kopf hab ich auf Ehr nicht viel / Noch weniger im Sack, / Nur dass ich nichts als essen will / Das ist mein grösste plag." (p.106).
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 27, pp.128ff.

a tree is struck by lightning and burns in his path but undeterred he goes on, and finally resists the pleas of a maiden in distress who is pursued by a Greek brandishing a dagger. Florian in his turn sets out with the cry "Hinauf auf den Lepoldiberg."¹

He is enticed by four kitchen-maids to the tune of an Oberländler and cries "Zurück ihr Kuchelbären."

He escapes the firing of a band of soldiers by falling flat in fright and is then pursued by a waiter who demands '10 Gulden' from him. The final appearance of Marandel proves too great a test for his endurance and he does not succeed in following his master to the final goal.

The relationship between master and servant which is thus exemplified by Eduard and Florian is one which belongs entirely to the theatre and derives little from domestic arrangements in the society of the day. Two other characters in Raimund's plays who stand in a similar relationship to one another are Simplizius Zitternadel and the young poet Ewald in Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone and they are not even ostensibly in the positions of

1. The Leopoldsberg on the outskirts of the villages Nussdorf and Grinzing was known locally as the Lepoldiberg and it commanded a fine view of Vienna. The neighbouring hill the Kahlenberg was also a popular beauty spot; cp above p. 46

master and servant. Ewald is a penniless lodger in the humble dwelling of Zitternadel the bankrupt tailor, and both are rescued from their financial difficulties by the Goddess Lucina who seeks Ewald's help in fulfilling the impossible conditions laid down by Hades for the redemption of her protégé Kreon.

She says to Ewald:

Zitternadel "Doch nicht allein darfst du die Rettungsbahn durchreisen,
Dem kühnen Mut muss bange Furcht zur Seite sein.
Du wirst wohl selbst wo einen feigen Dümmling kennen,
Den eines Sperlings leises Rauschen schon erschreckt?"¹

Ewald does of course know just such a timorous oaf as Lucina requires, and he and his landlord the tailor sail away on a cloud and together encounter a series of adventures in much the same manner as Eduard and Florian or as any other master and servant of popular comedy. Raimund creates the leading comic character of Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone out of a combination of stock characterising devices. Simplizius Zitternadel, whose name indicates in conventional fashion his foolishness and his cowardice as well as his trade, is a bankrupt tailor who cheerfully awaits imprisonment at the hands of his creditors. He escapes in a spectacular scene by supernatural means and does so in the company of a young man who is socially his superior and whose solemn words and actions he echoes on a comic and local level. Ewald is frequently embarrassed by his companion's

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 7, p.240.

coarseness and says at one point,

"Sei nicht so gemein. Tu vornehm, sei klug,
bescheiden, und drücke dich in bessern Worten aus."

This advice is of course disregarded by the cheerful Zitternadel
who replies with wilful stupidity,

"Das müssen sie mir schriftlich geben, denn so
kann ich mir das nicht merken."¹

Zitternadel weaves the traditional strand of comedy through the
tragic plot with its earthquakes, plagues and murder. His
ludicrous terror in the condemned land Massana provides a comic
contrast with Ewald's noble bearing and dignified courage.² He
speaks constantly in terms of Vienna in the manner of any
character of local parody and performs ludicrous antics on the
back of a winged bison in the best traditions of the magical
burlesque.³ In writing Zitternadel's lines Raimund resorts
more frequently than in any of his other plays to the sentence
whose effect depends upon a piece of mime indicated in the stage-
directions.⁴ Even such stock verbal devices as the nonsense

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 13, p.255.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scenes 13-19, pp.255ff.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 2, p.278. Act II, Scene 6, pp.289f.
4. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 9: "er macht die Pantomime des Nähens." p.243. Act I, Scene 13: "macht die Pantomime des Niedersitzens." p.256. Act II, Scene 7: "Macht einen Knopf" ... "macht die Bewegung des Erdolchens." p.294. Act II, Scene 9 "deutet auf sich". p.298.

speech¹ and the comic repetition of a single word² are used by Zitternadel in this play which Raimund wrote as ~~XXXX~~ late as 1829. Raimund's creation of such a caricature as the leading rôle when he had already proved himself capable of drawing such a successful comic character as Rappelkopf in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind (1828) requires some explanation: it lies in his own aspirations to tragedy. In Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone he devotes all his attention to the serious plot of the play, and because his audience would not have accepted unrelieved tragedy he adds a stock comic character, many of whose lines and actions any popular actor might have extemporized.³ The tailor Zitternadel reflects the character of a Viennese tailor little more than Quecksilber reflects that of a barometer-maker. If Quecksilber had little to reflect, barometer-making being scarcely represented in contemporary Vienna, quite the reverse was true of Zitternadel. There were 1,652 tailors⁴ in the city and its suburbs and they

1. e.g. O. Angst, wann ich hier stirb, mein Leben sehn s' mich nimmermehr", S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.260.
2. Repetition of "Spleen", S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 10, p.247.
3. He underestimated the good sense of his audience in this respect: they were not all satisfied with the tragic plot of the play but found much of the comedy too glaring a contrast. Used as they were to the mingling of comic and serious plots, the critics could not accept the comic relief of Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone. One wrote "Wenn die gefallenen Opfer der Pest.... über die Bretter getragen werden, wenn wir das grauenvolle Ende einer ganzen Stadt und seiner Einwohner durch ein Erbeben|voraushören..., sollen wir die Spässe eines Schneiders belachen? Sollen wir lachen oder weinen? Das Verlangen ist gegen alle Psychologie..." Sammler, 474, 1830: see S.W., vol.V, p.527.
4. See above, p. 153 footnote, 1

presented diverse faces to the public. Ladies' tailors were of a different stamp from men's tailors: they were more affected and were said to resemble dancing masters in their excessively affected bowing and kissing the hands of their gentle clients. There was a hierarchy of men's tailors, whose members were classified by a contemporary writer as "Schneider für den hohen und niedern Adel, Schneider für den Bürger, in Volksmarkt- Tandelmarkt- und Flickschneider."¹ The upper reaches of the nobility were clothed by tailors who kept their own carriages and lived in style. Their shops were called 'Boutiques' and they were addressed by their apprentices as *Padrone* and by their servants as "Euer Gnaden". Their clients kept accounts with them and paid only once a year. The tailors whose clients were slightly less fashionable, were themselves more ostentatiously French than their richer colleagues. They were dressed always in the latest Paris fashions, spoke frequently in French, and the signs outside their shops bore the words "Marchand Tailleur". Their clients, however, paid them once a month. The tailor for the middle-classes was said to be a solid citizen whose life was dedicated to commerce, an insular gentleman, "der die Juden den Aussatz des Verkehrs schilt und den Dampf für die Pest des Jahrhunderts

1. See Sylvester Wagner: "Der Schneider", Wien und die Wiener, Pest, 1844, p.286.

hält."¹ He seldom had a shop for display but only a workshop, and although he kept an accounts book he preferred his customers to pay cash. He lived in the city on the fourth or fifth floor and in the suburbs on the ground floor. The tailor who worked for the lower classes lived either in the suburbs or the villages surrounding the city. He kept no stock of material but bought cloth according to the orders placed with him. One of his waistcoats cost a florin, compared with four florins for a middle class one. He was said to be as insular in his way of thinking and mode of life as his middle-class colleague. The market-tailor on the other hand who spent his life on the move was said in his wider knowledge of the world to slander "weder die Juden noch den Dampf und die Eisenbahnen".² The lowest ranks of the tailoring profession were occupied by the "Flickschneider" who made their living mending clothes for the second-hand dealers.

There was then no lack of models for a stage-tailor. Zitternadel a poor village tailor is clearly low in the hierarchy but not among the lowest orders. He might be said to reflect the prejudice of the lower middle-class tailors of

1. *ibid*, p.287.

2. *ibid*, p.288.

Vienna in his whispered warning after Ewald's speech of greeting in Massana when Ewald says:

"Sei gegrüsst, Volk von Massana, ich habe Wichtiges in deinem Reiche zu verhandeln."

Zitternadel is anxious and says:

"Zu verhandeln sagt er. Auf die Letzt halten s' uns für Juden."¹

He reflects the desire of the lesser tailors to be considered of some import in the community and to give their trade a professional status. He hesitates to admit his position in life to a young lady whom he meets on his travels but finally when she says:

"Du bist kein Prinz, gesteh es mir."

and he stands on his dignity and says:

"Ich bin ein Kleidergenier".²

In the same way as the affectation of French titles was fashionable among the upper class tailors, their humbler colleagues sought to ennoble their status by inventing circumlocutory titles: a contemporary wit pokes fun at this in the verse,

"Der Kleideringenieur vor Zeiten Schneider
Stickt hier die Stunden fleissig fort
Der Schuster heutzutage Fussbekleider
Wichst seinen Draht im Winkel dort."³

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 13, p.255. It is interesting to note that when the play is now performed in the Burgtheater, the word 'Hausierer' is substituted for 'Juden'.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 18, p.267.
3. F. Geweyn, K. Meisl: Wien mit seinen Vorstädten humoristisch geschildert, Book II, p.28.

Into the foibles of a lower-class Viennese tailor, foibles common to many other tradesmen of his social standing,¹ Raimund's Zitternadel affords only this small glimpse, and into the real problems of this section of society none at all. Zitternadel is poor but his poverty is that of the stage-bankrupt and provides only ample occasion for laughter. In Raimund's plays there are three other significant instances of the presentation of poverty on the stage, none of which, however, gives rise solely to laughter. In their different ways they reveal the existence of a characteristic feature of Raimund's art which distinguishes the reflection of Viennese life and society in his plays from that in the local parodies and burlesques of the contemporary popular theatre.

The first of these instances occurs in Raimund's early play Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt. Characters in the guise of well-known street figures appear in this play and by their appearance alone cause much laughter; one such character, however, by the time he makes his exit, has aroused emotions

1. cp. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.II: "Dass aus unsern Schneidern Kleidermacher und aus den Paroken-machern Haar-Turn-Verfertiger worden sind und dass einige elegante Tandler keine Tandler mehr sonder Fripie seyn wolln, das ist z' Wien nichts Neus mehr, aber die Täg krieg ich ein Auszügl von ein Schuster in d'Hand und der unterschreibt sich, statt bürgerlicher Schustermacher: bürgerlicher Fussbekleider. Herr Vetter, wenn das Ding so fortgeht, so werden aus unsern Schlossern noch Feurarbeiter in Eisen u. aus unserm Kasstechern Käsnegozianten." (p.247).

in his audience other than laughter although ostensibly he is a comic figure. This is the 'Aschenmann' and although this is the first popular play in which such a personage occurs, he was not an unfamiliar sight on the streets of Vienna. His cry is included in the selection of street-cries with which Braun von Braunthal illustrates his description of the street-scene:

"Sogfala! Bandelzwirn kaufts! Hoderlump! Scherschleif!
Nix zu handeln? Schöne Figuren Figure kaufts! Nix
zu handeln? Da Wossamon! Messing, Blei, Glasscherben!
An Oschen! Kaffe Leinwand! Kaufts Blumenstöck!
Rosenstöck!"¹

"An Oschen" was the cry of the ashmen which echoed through the streets and courtyards of the city and brought the housewives and kitchen-maids running with their pails of ashes. They gave or sold the ash for a paltry sum to the ashman, bent beneath the weight of the ash-bin which he carried on his back.² An old or destitute character, he derived a meagre living from selling wood-ash to the soap-manufacturers. When Raimund appeared on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre as an ashman his appearance was modelled exactly on that of a real ashman.³ The authentic cry "Ein Aschen" is heard in the wings and the ashman appears on the stage leaning on his stick and bowed beneath his load,

1. See Karl Johann Braun von Braunthal: Antithesen oder Herrn Humors Wanderungen durch Wien und Berlin, Vienna, 1834, p.66.
2. cp. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.II. "Wie ich die Täg durch ein Durchhaus geh, kommt ein zfllickter Mann mit einer Butten in Hof, und der schreyt immer: keine Aschen? keine Aschen? Sonst sind d'Weibsbilder gleich immer mitn Kopf beym Fenster heraus, und weißs' für d'Aschen was kriegn, so laufen s' oft mit ein vollen Häfen über d'Stiegn herab." (p.236).
3. Any one of the many reproductions of pictures of Raimund as

grumbling about his miserable lot in life and irritable because the cook does not come immediately in answer to his cry.¹ The scene, which begins in this realistic way does not of course prove to be a realistic representation of the ash-man about his daily task, but it is not on the other hand simply an episode interpolated into the action of the play for comic effect. The ashman is one of the guises in which the leading comic character, the peasant Fortunatus Wurzel, appears in the course of Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt. Roles which involved several changes of character were a popular feature in a theatre where many plays were no more than vehicles for the virtuosity of the actors. Raimund had first achieved fame in just such "Verwandlungsrollen"² and the rôle of Wurzel which he wrote for himself provided him with an excellent show-piece for his powers of mime. The peasant appears first as a gauche but jovial newly-rich millionaire living a life of brash luxury and rowdy dissipation in the city; having failed to fulfil the obligations under which his wealth

continued from p.166, footnote 3: 'Aschenmann' (one of which is reproduced as a frontispiece in his collected works, S.W., vol.V) can be compared with the anonymous engraving of "Ein Kasstecher", ein hölzerne Uhrenverkäufer und ein Aschensammler in Wien" which is reproduced in Blümmel, Gugitz: Altwienerisches, Vienna, Prague, Leipzig 1921, vol.I, facing p.136.

1. S.W., vol.I, Act III, Scene 3, p.248.

2. See above, pp. 17f.

was magically bestowed upon him he is visited by Jugend who takes her leave of him and then by Hohes Alter who swears him eternal friendship. In this one scene¹ Wurzel changes before the eyes of the audience without the aid of make-up or costume from a blustering, robust man into a tottering invalid. He is next deprived of his wealth and this time is completely transformed into a poor peasant.² Bemoaning his sad fate, he cries,

"Die ganze Welt will ich durchkriechen, überall will ich mein Schicksal erzählen (Weint heftig). Drucken lass ich mein Unglück und lauf selber damit herum und schrei: Einen Kreuzer die schöne Beschreibung, die mir erst kriegt haben, von dem armen unglücklichen Mann, (schluchzend) der aus einen jungen Esel ein alter worden ist. (Geht heulend ab).³

Just as the sobs of Kasperl never failed to make his audience laugh, so the exaggerated crescendo of weeping which accompanies this speech is deliberately funny: Wurzel's sad situation is comically pathetic rather than genuinely pitiable. The incorporation of the cry of the "Kreutzerblattverkäufer"⁴ into his speech prepares the way for his possible appearance in the rôle of such a street-vendor who, loudly bewailing his lot, would make himself ridiculous and create easy laughter. When he next

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scenes 5-8, pp.220ff.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 8, p.232.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 9, p.234.
4. See above, p.131

appears, however, it is as an ashman: his fall from high society and worldly riches is complete and he is on the lowest rung of the social ladder, collecting ashes and begging for food. He reflects the appearance and task of a Viennese ashman and is a comic figure who makes local quips about visiting-cards¹ and cooks who read when they should be cooking.² The fact that he is an ashman is used to ornament his dialogue in conventional fashion: he says to the cook: "Haben S' denn gar nichts für meinen aschgrauen Magen,"³ but the symbolism of his job is not limited to this joking, superficial level as is that of Quecksilber's barometer-making. Wurzel, the peasant immediately recognizable in the familiar guise of an ashman stands before his audience as a graphic local symbol for the transience of fortune and the folly of pride. The song which he sings before he leaves the stage is not merely a comic song. In the simple language of the popular proverb he points the moral of the play:

"So mancher steigt herum,
Der Hochmut bringt ihn um,
Trägt einen schönen Rock,
Ist dumm als wie ein Stock,
Von Stolz ganz aufgeblüht,
O Freundchen, das ist öd!
Wie lang stehts denn noch an,
Bist auch ein Aschenmann!
Ein Aschen! Ein Aschen!"⁴

1. S.W., vol.I, Act III, Scene 4, p.248.
2. *ibid*, p.249.
3. *ibid*, p.251.
4. *ibid*, p.252.

The familiar street cry "An Oschen" recurs as a refrain throughout the song and has not the comic effect of the caricatured cry of the "Kreutzerblättlverkäufer". Its warning note is tinged with melancholy and the ashman leaves his audience not convulsed with laughter but moved to a wry smile. The play has its conventional happy end and Wurzel, having duly repented of his folly, is restored to robust peasant state at a word from the fairy Lakrimosa. He retrieves his jovial good humour with a stock local joke

"Mein Schönheit war im Versatzamt, jetzt haben s' mir s' ausgelöst."¹

but the impression left by the ashman and the lesson he taught are not eradicated. His appearance as an ashman is no more a realistic presentation of poverty than is Zitternadel's as a bankrupt tailor. The ashman is as much an allegorical figure as the prettily-clad Jugend in her white costume and garland of roses, or the lame old man in night-cap and dressing-gown whose name is Hohes Alter. If Raimund had pursued the development in his local allegorical figures which his embodiment of destitution in the ashman promised, he might have avoided the lifeless and colourless supernatural beings of his later plays. Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt was a great success when it was first performed

1. S.W., vol.I, Act III, Scene 7, p.263. vol.IV, pp.303f.

in 1826 and in the opinion of contemporary critics it marked a considerable advance in popular drama: the critic of the Theaterzeitung wrote of its reception,

"Die günstige Aufnahme dieses allegorisch-moralischen Märchens setzt nicht nur das Dichtertalent des Herrn Raimund in ein glänzendes Licht, sondern ist auch ein Beleg, dass auf dieser, der Komik gewidmeten Bühne, das Sinnreiche Eingang findet, wenn es in ansprechenden Formen und Farben geboten wird."¹

In attempting to put serious characters in the place of the stock local caricatures of supernatural figures, however, Raimund lost sight of the possibilities of the local allegorical figure who like the ashman would have been capable of appealing to his audience in the Leopoldstadt without pandering simply to their lust for laughter.

In his last play Der Verschwender Raimund portrays another local character in a state of poverty. Valentin the carpenter is poor, but his poverty is not the destitution of the ashman and he himself is not an embodiment of any one such human condition. Neither is he a carefree bankrupt who escapes the real cares of poverty in a series of fantastic adventures.

A carpenter by trade, he does not show the embarrassment of Zitternadel in admitting his place in society. Zitternadel is eventually shamed into betraying his secret to Arete, the young

1. Theaterzeitung, 571, 1826: see S.W.L., vol.V, pp.303f.

lady of Massana, and he makes a belated attempt to defend his position in the last verse of their duet:

"Was soll ich es leugnen, es ist keine Schand,
Denn Achtung verdienet mein nützlicher Stand.
Ich sag es grad
Ich ghör zur Lad,
Und meine Scher
Schwing ich mit Ehr."¹

but such loyal bravado is scarcely convincing after his extreme hesitancy in admitting his profession. Valentin on the other hand is consistently quick to defend the trade of carpentry. He first appears as a servant in the house of the extravagant young nobleman Flottwell. He is a favourite of his master and profits considerably from the generous tips he receives. His sweetheart Rosa, the chambermaid, pokes fun on occasion at his lack of refinement, making play with the trade which he practises. Their gay and inconsequential dialogue contains such conventional exchanges on this subject as,

"Rosa: Da sieht man gleich, dass du unterm Holz
gewachsen bist.
Valentin: Wirf mir nicht immer meinen Tischlerstand vor.
Rosa: Weil du gar so pfoftenmässig bist.
Valentin: Schimpf nicht immer über mein Metier."²

The couple sings a duet consisting solely of puns on words associated with various trades and professions,³ ending with a stock

1. S.W., vol.II, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act I, Scene 18, p.267.
2. S.W., vol.II, Der Verschwender, Act I, Scene 6, p.353.
3. *ibid.* e.g.: "Ein Schlosser ist zu schwarz für mich / Und seine Lieb zu heiss" (schwarz sein = to be penniless: cp. Hügel, *op.cit.* p.146) "Mit einem Schneider in der Tat / Da käm ich prächtig draus, / Doch wenn er keine Kunden hat, / so geht der Zwirn ihm aus. (Ihm ist der Zwirn ausgegangen = he has no more money: cp Hügel, *op.cit.* p.201) etc.

eulogizing verse about craftsmen in general,

"Ein schöner Stand ist doch auf Ehr
Ein wackrer Handwerksmann
Seis Schneider, Schuster, seis Friseur
Ich biet das Glas ihm an."¹

The backbone of the regular audience in the popular suburban theatre was composed of such worthy citizens as tailors, shoemakers and hairdressers, and this toast to them in Der Verschwender might be considered as a conventional tribute to the audience, having no more significance than Zitternadel's belated recognition of the worthiness of the tailoring profession. The carpenter's place in society, however, is not merely discussed in amusing fashion in Der Verschwender. Valentin leaves his position in service and with the money he has saved from his master's tips he marries Rosa and sets himself up as a village master-carpenter. As a servant he is a cheerful character, whose antics amuse Flottwell and his guests: he is loyal to his master but is comically afraid when called upon to follow him as a huntsman; he expresses his wariness in a comic song.² He resorts to alcohol in order to bolster up his courage for an attack on the valet who has accused Rosel of stealing and he makes his exit as a servant in an uproarious drunken burlesque.³ When next he appears, he is

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 6, p.355.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act II Scene 11, pp.364ff.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 17, pp.411ff.

twenty years older and no longer in servant's livery, he is wearing the "bürgerliche Tracht" of a carpenter and carrying his tools in a bag.¹ He meets Flottwell, who is himself now destitute. When his old master asks "Und geht es dir gut?" he replies,

"Nu mein! wies halt einen armen Tischler gehn kann.
Auf dem Land ist ja nicht viel zu machen. Ich bin
zufrieden."²

He offers Flottwell his humble hospitality and the following scenes which are set in his workshop³ bear out this simple summing-up of his situation. He is certainly not rich, but he and five children present a picture of contented if threadbare domesticity; his wife when she appears proves to have developed out of the pert and quick-witted chambermaid into an energetic and sharp-tongued housewife. Valentin is overjoyed at being able to help his old master and before his naive delight is shattered by his wife's cold reasoning he stands alone on the stage pondering the downfall of Flottwell and the inability of man to control his fate. The proverbial saying "Der Mensch denkt, der Himmel lenkt" leads into his song which, like the song of the ashman in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, expresses in the simplest of terms the homely moral of the play:

"Da streiten sich die Leut herum
Oft um den Wert des Glücks,
Der eine heisst, den andern dumm
Am End weiss keiner nix,
Da ist der allerärmste Mann
Dem andern viel zu reich
Das Schicksal setzt den Hobel an
Und hobelt s' beide gleich."³

1. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scene 4, p.426.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scenes 5/9, pp.429ff.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scene 6, p.434f.

The conventional practice of using a character's trade to colour his language with puns and images is used here by the carpenter who sees the inequalities of men planed and smoothed out by a carpentering Fate, but it is clearly not used to comic effect. The closing verse of the song in which Valentin imagines himself laying aside his plane for the last time in answer to the friendly summons of Death, is unashamedly sentimental but the song is never humourless. Valentin, a cheerful and good-natured character, is incapable of bearing a grudge, -- either a personal one against Flottwell for the shadow which had fallen on Rosa's honest reputation in his house, or a general one against Fate for having withheld from him the luxuries of life. His song is in character not only because its terms are the simple ones of carpentry but because it expresses the attitude to life which he represents in the play. Valentin the carpenter is contented with his lot in life, hard-working, kindly to his family, respectful to his superiors and helpful to those in trouble, he is in short a shining example of the "wackrer Handwerksmann" to whom he and Rosa gaily paid tribute in their earlier song.¹ The comic effect of the scene in the carpenter's work-shop is created mainly by the conflict between Valentin's good-hearted

1. See above, p.173.

impetuosity in offering Flottwell a home and his wife's hard-hearted common-sense. She objects strongly to the addition of another person to the household on the grounds that there are already enough mouths to feed. Valentin threatens to leave and the situation becomes hilarious as the children are marched in and out of the room according to the way the argument is going. The goodwill of their father eventually prevails and Flottwell is invited to live with them.

Raimund portrays another poor family on the stage, the charcoal-burners in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind,¹ and they present a very different picture from the scene of honest poverty in Valentin's workshop. With the father of the family in a drunken stupor and the mother trying in vain to pacify her hungry children the scene is far removed from ideal domesticity. The only leading comic character who figures in this scene is Rappelkopf: he appears in the midst of the confusion and buys the hut, thus turning the family out of their home. The episode is incidental to the main plot of the play and the characters do not appear again. The charcoal-burners of the wooded hills surrounding Vienna undoubtedly led a hard life. After felling trees and burning the wood, they had to transport the charcoal into market in Vienna. There was a particular square in the Laimgrube

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scenes 15, 16, pp.127ff.

district where charcoal was sold and the charcoal burners had to arrive there very early in the morning. This meant travelling through the night and those who lived far afield sometimes spent more than one night on the road. It was tiring and dusty work and it was not altogether surprising that they should enliven their homeward journeys by stopping at the wayside inns and spending some of their hard-earned money.¹ The father of the Glühwurm family has clearly carried this convivial habit to excess and his young children are well aware of what has happened. One says:

"Jetzt hat der Vater so viel Kohlen verkauft."

and the other replies,

"Und hat kein Geld z' Haus bracht, nichts als ein Schwindel"²

The boys laugh at their father as he attempts to stand up and staggers drunkenly. Contemporary critics took exception to the lack of filial piety displayed in this episode, on the grounds that such behaviour should not be seen on the stage no matter how much it might occur in real life. A Graz critic asks,

"Dieser betrunkene, von seinen eigenen Kindern verhöhnte und verspottete Vater, ist er auch ein Objekt, welches auf die Bühne gehört?"³

1. Sylvester Wagner describes a picture of a coal-surveyor talking to a charcoal-burner in the market place. "[Der Kohlenmesser ist] im Gespräche mit dem Kohlbauern das wahrscheinlich den Geschäftsgang und seine, vom Kohlenstaub ganz ausgetrocknete Kehle betrifft, die natürlich einer gehörigen Abspülung und einer durchgreifenden Anfeuchtung benötigt." "Die Kohlbauern" Wien und die Wiener, Pest 1844, p.103.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.129.
3. Theaterzeitung, 147, 1829: see S.W., vol.V, p.464.

and a critic of the performance in Pest expresses the opinion that the play would have been improved if the entire scene had been omitted: he describes it as being "wenn auch naturgemäss -- doch höchst unpoetisch."¹ Yet Raimund had invested this scene with his own simple poetry. The eldest daughter at her spinning-wheel can forget the squalor of the scene around her as she sings of her love for Franzel, the young wood-cutter:

invariably "Das Hungern fällt mir gar nicht schwer,
Wenn ich mein Bürschel seh.
Wenn ich an mein Franzel denk
Wird mir halt so gut.
's Herzel, das ich ihm nur schenk
Kriegt gleich frohen Mut."²

and towards the end of his career in 1832 a Hamburg critic wrote: and when the family departs from its home, the harshness of their eviction is softened by a sentimental little chorus of farewell to their hut, which continues to echo throughout the next scene as they trundle their belongings farther and farther away from the solitary Rappelkopf, musing on his hatred of mankind. This chorus:

three instances of poverty-stricken people in whose portrayal
"So leb denn wohl du stilles Haus
Wir ziehn betrübt aus dir hinaus
Und fänden wir das höchste Glück
Wir dächten doch an dich zurück,"³

might seem to come strangely from a family of starving people, whose experiences in their house would scarcely seem to warrant

1. Theaterzeitung, 265, 1829: see S.W., vol.V, p.467.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 15, p.128.
3. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scenes 16, 17, pp.135ff.

such tender nostalgia. In this scene, Raimund comes nearer than in any other of his plays to portraying milieu realistically and this stage family may be said to reflect the life of one of the less fortunate charcoal-burners of the Viennese area, yet even this reflection is coloured by contemporary convention¹ and by Raimund's own melancholy humour.² Discussion of his own character by his contemporaries almost invariably contained some reference to his "ernsthaft-komische Laune."³ As early as 1819 a critic described his ability to impart to a stereotyped comic rôle "den Anstrich von komischer Melancholie"³ and towards the end of his career in 1832 a Hamburg critic wrote:

"Man fühlt sich zum Schaudern und Aufjaubhzen, zum Lachen und Weinen zugleich hingerissen... Gefühle, welche andere nur nacheinander bei den Zuschauern zu erwecken vermögen ruft Raimund in einem und demselben Augenblick hervor. Das gerade ist seine grosse unvergleichbare Eigentümlichkeit. Er setzt das Herz und das Zwerchfell zu gleicher Zeit in Bewegung."⁴

This effect of mingled laughter and tears is produced in all three instances of poverty-stricken people in whose portrayal Raimund's art has developed along individual lines. Yet it cannot be simply explained as a characteristic of Raimund's acting and thus dissociated altogether from the reflection of society in

1. cf. above, pp. 121f.

2. Costenoble, 22 March, 1822: see S.W., vol.V, p.180.

3. Theaterzeitung, 428, 1819: see S.W., vol.V, p.93.

4. Originalien, 111, 1832: see S.W., vol.V, p.484.

his plays. The ashman, the carpenter and the charcoal-burner

CHAPTER IV

can none of them be described as exact replicas of their

Viennese counterparts yet they all reflect real life to some

extent, as do Ajaxerle the Swabian magician and Zitternadel the

tailor. The different ways in which they do so are in themselves

representative not only of Raimund's development as a dramatist

but of the social climate in which these characters were

created. The picture of Viennese life and society in Raimund's

plays will not be complete until the reflection of this social

climate has been considered.

Nevertheless, plays so rooted in their locality that they lose

much of their effect when performed elsewhere cannot be devoid

of significance as mirrors of their environment. If due

recognition is taken of the theatrical and personal as well as

the social influences bearing upon the composition of these

plays, it is possible to be aware of the degree and manner

of distortion in their reflection of contemporary life and

society and thus to begin to see in them the city of Vienna as

the popular playwrights and their audiences saw it in their

local theatres. In 1831, a Bavarian critic, writing of

Raimund's performance in the Munich court-theatre as *Kurzel*

in *Das Mädchen aus der Fenzwelt* draws attention to one aspect in

which the plays of Raimund may legitimately be said to have

documentary value:

"Das ganze Stück ist ein Dokument des Wiener Geschmacks

und der unbefangenen Urteilskraft aus unserer Mitte muss

sich einbilden, er sehe diese Darstellung im Wiener

Theater."¹

1. *Münchener Conversationsblatt*, 35, 22, February, 1831. see S. 3.,
Vol. V, p. 336.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOOD OF THE CITY MIRRORED IN THE PLAYS OF RAIMUND

The folly of interpreting literally the plays of Ferdinand Raimund and of his contemporaries in the Viennese popular theatre as social documents of life in the city of Vienna is indisputable. Nevertheless, plays so rooted in their locality that they lose much of their effect when performed elsewhere cannot be devoid of significance as mirrors of their environment. If due cognizance is taken of the theatrical and personal as well as the social influences bearing upon the composition of these plays, it is possible to be aware of the degree and manner of distortion in their reflection of contemporary life and society and thus to begin to see in them the city of Vienna as the popular playwrights and their audiences saw it in their local theatres. In 1831, a Bavarian critic, writing of

Raimund's performance in the Munich court-theatre as Wurzel in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt draws attention to one sense in which the plays of Raimund may legitimately be said to have documentary value:

"Das ganze Stück ist ein Dokument des Wiener Geschmacks und der unbefangenen Urteilende aus unserer Mitte muss sich einbilden, er sehe diese Darstellung im Wiener Theater."¹

1. Münchener Conversationsblatt, 55, 22. February, 1831. see S.W., vol.V, p.336.

This suggested imaginative effort, which would undoubtedly enhance the effect of any one of Raimund's plays, may have been within the powers of a Bavarian theatre-critic in 1831 but it was scarcely to be expected even then of his colleagues farther afield. In the same year an adaptation of Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind¹ was performed in London at the Adelphi Theatre. A critic of The Athenaeum expressed his own feelings of inadequacy to the task of reviewing it, thus:

"On Monday, a new serio-magical Burletta² was produced at this favourite house called The King of the Alps and the Misanthrope. It is such an extraordinary mixture of tragedy, comedy, farce, opera, fairy-tale, melodrama and pantomime that one scarcely knows how to set about giving an account of it."³

The Viennese "Zauberspiel" was indeed an extraordinary spectacle for London theatre-goers -- even for the patrons of the Adelphi, which specialized at this time in pantomime and operetta. The King of the Alps ran for three months⁴ and this success may be

1. According to R.F. Arnold, the play was translated literally by an English nobleman whose identity is not certain. (See Robert Franz Arnold: "Ferdinand Raimund in England", Reden und Studien, Vienna, Leipzig, 1932, pp.147f.) The adaptation of this literal translation, entitled The King of the Alps was by John Baldwin Buckstone and is published in Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays, vol.6, London (1852). R.F. Arnold states that to the best of his knowledge this is the only edition of the play in existence but it is in fact also published in Dick's Standard Plays, no. 854, London, (1882).
2. cp. description of the original: "Ein romantisch-komisches Original Zauberspiel."
3. The Athenaeum, no.170, 29 Jan. 1831. (1831 series, p.76).
4. See Introduction to The King of the Alps, Lacy's edition (see above) p.2.

partly attributed to the substantial alterations which were made by the adaptor to suit the English ensemble. A sub-plot was introduced "for the chief purpose of bringing into action the entire admirable company then at the Adelphi theatre."¹ The English text often bears little relation to the original and all local allusions are omitted. One attempt by the adaptor to add a touch of local character completely loses sight of the original atmosphere. Throughout Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind Habakuk, a stupid, good-natured servant in the Rappelkopf household, repeats on every pretext the sentence, "Ich war zwei Jahr in Paris."² The catch-phrase was a stock device for comic effect in popular drama: Raimund uses it, for example, in his first play Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel where Hassar, the Emperor's bodyguard, alludes constantly and ludicrously to his own beautiful appearance.³ The vanity of Hassar, a localised inhabitant of an enchanted island, provides a catch-phrase, comic simply because it is constantly repeated: Habakuk, on the other hand, a Viennese servant in a Viennese household, brags repeatedly and happily about his two years in Paris in a way which rings true in the city where all things French were held in high esteem by

1. See Introduction to The King of the Alps, Lacy's edition (see above) p.2.
2. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 8, p.109 et passim.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 17, pp.13f. et passim.

audiences partly on account of the funny 'German' habit, the local populace and where the prestige of a member of the lower classes would undoubtedly be raised among his fellows by such a sojourn in the French capital as Habakuk claims to have enjoyed. It was not in fact uncommon for members of the lower classes to spend two years in Paris gaining experience in service or trade and on their return to surround themselves with a pseudo-French atmosphere.¹ Habakuk's proud boast is not merely a catch phrase, comic by virtue of repetition, but it is completely in character for a Viennese servant of limited intelligence and naive good-humour, and thus adds a touch of genuine local atmosphere to the play. The English adaptor, however, in what appears to be an attempt to give this "wild and singular German opera"² some local colour endows Abel Grimm, the English Habakuk, with the catch-phrase, "I lived two years with my uncle the trumpeter at the Baron of Blokenedwig's."³ The associations of the original sentence are thus completely lost and all that remains is a nonsensical sentence, amusing to English

1. cp. Sylvester Wagner: "Der Schneider", Wien und die Wiener, Pesth., 1844: "Der Schneider für den niedern Adel... hat zwei Jahre in Paris auf seine Profession gearbeitet und spricht daher französisch: sein Hauswesen ist nach dem Pariser Fusse geordnet und seine ganze Umgebung ist ein Gallizismus." (p.286f.)
2. Introduction to The King of the Alps, ed.cit.p.2.
3. The King of the Alps, ed.cit., Act I, Scene 4, p.18 et passim.

audiences partly on account of the funny 'German' name, 'Blokenedwigs'. This misguided effort of substitution illustrates clearly the distinction between local colour, deliberately and artificially added by an outsider and genuine local atmosphere, pervading a work whose author and audience share a common background.

The affectation of French manners and language is one of the weaknesses of Viennese middle-class society which local dramatists never tire of mocking.¹ They do not need even to poke fun explicitly at this folly; the incorporation of French words and phrases into the dialect speeches of unpolished local characters is amusing in itself. In Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, for example, Quecksilber, the inelegant and uncourtly barometer-maker greets the Princess of the Enchanted Island with the inquiry "Comment vous portez-vous, ma chère Princesse?"² and he utters such incongruous combinations of words as "Voulez vous mein sein?"³ and "Sie sind eine magnifique Personage."⁴ French was widely spoken among the Viennese nobility and was understood by all persons of moderate education⁵ -- a fact which is reported

1. cp above, pp.100f., p.104.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 5, p.34.

3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, p.22.

4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 11, p.19.

5. cp above, p.100, note 4.

by Richard Bright, visiting Vienna at the time of the Congress, with an Englishman's relief on discovering that his only linguistic accomplishment -- a correct knowledge of French -- was "all which was actually necessary in Vienna."¹ Some of the city's inhabitants however, deplored the widespread cultivation of the French language in their midst. F.A. v. Schönholz, for example, writes:

"Wenn irgendwo sich die Fremdsucht eingenistet hat, so ist es -- von den ohne hin isolierten Lebensformen der Hautevolee ganz abgesehen -- unser Mittelstand. Da muss was gelten soll, einen fränkischen Namen haben; da sind ihnen kaum zehn Wörter Deutsch entfallen, so brocken sie auch schon wieder eine 'facon de parler' ein; ein Nationalfehler, der vielleicht auch meiner Schreibart anklebt. Waren, Speisen, Geräte -- kurz, jede Partie des Ausdrucks und der Benennung erduldet eine unüberwindliche "französische Invasion".²

This French invasion of the Viennese language is much in evidence in the vocabulary of the local comic characters of Raimund's plays who use such words as "Bouteille"³ and "Ameublement"⁴ quite naturally, as befits inhabitants of a city where a stranger fails to make himself understood in attempting to buy a "Regenschirm" and succeeds only when he has discovered the local term -- a "Parapluie".⁵

1. Richard, Bright, op.cit.p.26.
2. F.A. v. Schönholz: op.cit., vol.I, pp.134f.
3. S.W., vol.II, Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, Act II, Scene I, p.157.
4. S.W., vol.II, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act I, Scene 10, p.246
5. F.A. v. Schönholz: op.cit., vol.I, p.135. cp. When Florian sets off on his travels in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, he includes among his baggage "Zwei Parapluies". (S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 23, p.124).

Plays, whose language is itself often dependent for its effect on circumscribed local conditions present the would-be translator with unsurmountable difficulties. The solution suggested by the contemporary Munich critic, were it practicable, would prove much more satisfactory than an attempt to transfer the atmosphere of the original plays into a foreign sphere. The ideal way for an outsider to appreciate Vienna's popular comedy is that of imagining himself one of the audience in the local theatre, sharing the laughter of the assembled citizens of Vienna. An attempt to grasp the significance of Raimund's plays as "documents of Viennese taste" may at least open the way to this imaginative exercise.

In 1789, only eight years after the establishment of the Leopoldstadt theatre, Pezzl wrote of the art of Johann Laroche (Kasperl):

"Er kennt so den Geschmack des Publikums; weiss mit seinen Geberden, Gesichterschneiden, seinem Stegreifwitz, die Hände der in den Logen anwesenden hohen Adelichen, der auf dem zweiten Parterre versammelten Beamten und Bürger, und des im dritten Stock gepressten Janhagels, so zu elektrisiren, dass des Klatschens kein Ende ist."¹

Raimund acting on the same stage some thirty years later also knew how to appeal to all classes of society who still assembled in their appropriate places to enjoy an evening of

1. Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna & Leipzig, 1789, pp.795f.

laughter at their favourite comedy theatre. The Leopoldstadt theatre was itself a monument to Viennese taste. It played an important part in the life of Post-Congress Vienna: the upper classes included it in their gay round of social activities and the middle and lower classes looked to it for their regular entertainment. For visitors to the city, an evening at this theatre was experience not to be missed when sampling the pleasures of the Austrian capital. J.R. Planché, writer of Victorian pantomimes, on holiday in Austria in 1827, describes a visit to the attractive Liechtenstein palace in the Brühl valley. Evening is approaching and he contemplates his return to Vienna:

"It is time to hurry down from the Temple of Glory and return to the gay city. Go lounge upon the bustling and brilliant Graben -- gaze upon the pyrotechnics of the Prater or laugh in the little theatre of Leopoldstadt -- seek the Glacis, the Volksgarten or the Opera."¹

Viennese and visitors alike went to the little theatre of Leopoldstadt to laugh and the background against which the parodies and burlesques of Raimund's day must be seen is that of the 'gay city' -- the city which visitors saw in the fashionable streets and squares, in the parks and the coffee-houses, and not least in the theatres. The audience in Leopoldstadt never tired

1. J.R. Planché: Descent of the Danube from Ratisbon to Vienna, during the autumn of 1827, London, 1828, p.306.

of the popular songs which enumerated the delights of Vienna and portrayed it as the only city on earth where life was worth living.¹ Linda, chamber-maid to the Princess of the Enchanted Island in Raimund's first play, pictures the island as it would be if she were Princess in her mistress' place: it would of course have much the same outward appearance as Planché's holiday city:

"Ich wollt mir die Insel ganz richten nach Wien,
Ein Graben, an Kohlmarkt, den machet ich hin.
Theater, Redouten, das kostet kein Müh,
Ein Volksgarten, Prater, ein Wasserglaxis,
Das wär ein Leben, juhhe!"²

Her island would not be without its "gay and bustling Graben". The most animated square in the city-centre, the Graben was the site of fashionable shops selling in the main "Galanterie= und Putzwaren".³ In summer its pavements were lined with the so-called "Limonadehütten" -- small booths surrounded by chairs where occupants of the city might sit on warm summer evenings and refresh themselves with lemonade, almond-milk, and ice-cream to the accompaniment of music played by a small band. The Kohlmarkt, another fashionable street of milliners and haberdashers⁴, led

1. cp. above, pp.40f.

2. S.W., vol.I, variant of Linda's aria Act I, Scene 8: "Text der Erstausgabe", p.79. See also, Sämtliche Werke, ed. J.N.Vogl, part III, p.18 and Sämtliche Werke, ed. Glossy & Sauer, vol.I, p.19.

3. Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.54.

4. cp. Sämtliche Werke, ed. Glossy & Sauer, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act I, Scene 12: Zoraïde: Sie haben ja nicht um sechs Pfennige Galanterie im Leib. Ich möchte einen galanten Mann. Quecksilber: Da hätten Sie sich sollen einen Galanteriehändler verschreiben, auf dem Kohlmarkt gibts prächtige." (p.30).

from the Graben to the Michaelerplatz, then site of the Burgtheater. Linda's island would provide its evening entertainment in its theatres and masked balls. The 'Redouten' or masquerades of the city were held in the two 'Redoutensäle' situated in a wing of the imperial palace which opened on to the Josefsplatz. Only here was it permitted to wear a mask in a public place of the city. The masked balls of Carnival-time, from the New Year till Shrove Tuesday, began at nine o' clock in the evening and lasted until six o' clock on the following morning. Here the high society of Vienna danced minuets and allemandes all night by candlelight. On the three great occasions, -- the third 'Fasching' Sunday, the Thursday before Lent and the last night of the Carnival, when the ball ended at midnight -- there might be as many as three to five thousand people there.¹

The leisure occupations of the Viennese, were not, however, limited to such elaborate entertainments and Linda's island cannot but contain some of the public places where she and her imaginary fellow-citizens might indulge their taste for sauntering in crowds and for watching other people occupied equally aimlessly. Visitors to Vienna were frequently surprised

1. See J. Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.606.

by the capacity of the Viennese populace to look as if it were on holiday. Schönholz tells of an Englishman who, observing innumerable people leaning on their window-sills gazing at the crowded streets, asked what was the occasion for a public holiday, and on being told that it was a normal working-day, replied incredulously, "In England oder Holland würde ich das nicht gefunden haben!"¹ The tyrannical Friedrich, King of Württemberg was said to have been equally astonished to see the Burgplatz, where he was living at the time of the Congress, crowded from morning till night "mit einer schliendernden und gaffenden Volksmasse." This irritated him so much that he finally sent his adjutant to the captain of the guard with the instruction "Ermüchte die Maulaffen an die Arbeit jagen". He was politely informed that this was out of the question. -- "Das sei so Brauch zu Wien."² That this custom might be adequately represented on her island, Linda chooses to transplant first the Volksgarten from its place within the city walls. Once a garden of the Imperial Palace, it had been newly laid out and opened to the public in 1823. Its much admired centre-piece was Canova's Temple of Theseus with its statue of Theseus conquering the centaur.³

1. Schönholz, op.cit.vol.II, p.256.

2. ibid, pp.256f.

3. This statue was designed in 1805 and completed in 1819. It is referred to in Die gefesselte Phantasie (1828), when the Fool urges the inhabitants of Flora to be courageous, saying: "Nehmt euch doch ein Beispiel an dem Theseus von Canova, der halt den Minotaurus schon zehn Jahr beim Schopf und lasst ihn noch nicht aus. Das ist ein Held." (S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 7, p.329).

The Viennese had to look further afield than the Volksgarten for open spaces where they might linger to their hearts' content, for the inner city was small and congested. It was possible in an hour to walk in leisurely fashion around it,¹ and indeed a promenade around the city's bastions was a favourite evening occupation of the city-dwellers; since the destruction of the outer walls by the French army, the 'Bastey' was no longer of any military value and was planted with trees and provided with benches. The open-air coffee houses which also stood here were much patronized by the "schöne Welt"² as was the 'Wasser-glacis', an establishment outside the city's bastions near the Carolinenthor. Otherwise known as the "Mineralwasser=Cur=Anstalt", its pavillions, tables and chairs stood in the shade of chestnut trees and provided pleasant surroundings for the aged and the sick who came to take the waters in the mornings and for elegant society who came to sit in the coffee house and its gardens in the evenings "Um zu sehen und gesehen zu werden".³

It was, however, to the large parks of the suburban districts that the greatest number of the city's inhabitants resorted for

1. See above, p. 37.
 2. One of the most popular of these is described by Langer, op. cit., p. 379.
 3. See A. Schmidl: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833: "Die innere Stadt kann man in einer Stunde bequem umgehen, denn Sie enthält zwar in ihren "Vierteln" 1,214 Häuser, neunzehn Plätze; aber nur "der Hof" ist von bedeutender Grösse." (pp.4f.)
2. See J. Pezsl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.249.
 3. See Realis, op.cit., p.402. A lengthy description of this popular establishment entitled "Am Wasserglaciis" by C.F. Langer, is to be found in Wien und die Wiener, Pest, 1844, pp.379ff.

whole days of leisure. Of these Linda chooses inevitably the most popular -- The Prater. Here vast crowds of people congregated on high days and holidays, particularly in and around two of the avenues. One of these, leading to the Feuerwerksplatz, site of Stuver's pyrotechnics,¹ was known, with the wooded land around it as the "Wurstlprater". Here were the inns and beer-gardens, the swings and merry-go-rounds, the games and side-shows of all kinds² which provided pastimes for the ordinary citizens of Vienna. It is described in Pezzl's guidebook as "der Tummelplatz

für die bürgerliche Welt und die unteren Volksklassen, welche an Sonn- und Feiertagen scharenweise das Mittagmahl hier einnehmen und dann den ganzen Nachmittag unter lauten Freudengefühl zubringen."³

The "Wurstlprater" presented a very different scene from that in the "Nobelprater" the other most animated avenue in the park. Described by the same author as "der Sammelplatz der schönen und vornehmen Welt"⁴, its visitors came mainly in carriages or on horseback. Three coffee houses stood at the wayside and on Sundays several hundreds of seats were placed alongside the avenue

1. See above, p.82.

2. One of the most popular of these is alluded to by Zoraïde, in Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel when, incensed by the refusal of Quecksilber to raise the spell which has increased the length of her nose, she says, "Ich will mich in eine Camera obscura verschliessen und Rache brüten." (S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 27, p.73). The 'camera obscura' in the Prater was the top storey of the 'Panorama-Haus', where "optische Vorstellungen, Geistererscheinungen, elektrische Experimente usw. vorgestellt werden" (See J. Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.174).

3. J.Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.172.

4. *ibid.*

so that the revellers of the Wurstlprater might watch the elegant world drive by. The greatest number of carriages was to be seen in spring, before the mass exodus of the nobility and the wealthy to the country for the summer, and again in the autumn when they returned. On such evenings hundreds¹ of carriages would make their way home from the Prater, past the Leopoldstadt theatre and across the Ferdinandsbrücke to the "gay city" in the twilight.

Linda, the chamber-maid, in her dream of life as a princess conjures up the outer brilliance of a life of luxury in this city. It seems to her the height of bliss to drive in a coach and four with servants dancing attendance on her: she sings:

L/r ?
"Mit Vieren, da fahret ich täglich spazieren,
Hei-ducken, die müssten am Schlagparadiern,
Vier Häufer voraus, ja die renneten her,
Grad als wenn im Prater der erste Mai wär,
Das wär ein Leben, juhhe!"²

Instead of gazing admiringly at the splendour of others, she would herself be the centre of attention. Her lavish entourage would contain heyducks -- attendants whose livery was in the style of Hungarian military uniform. Such servants attired in military style -- heyducks, chasseurs, hussars -- belonged to an extravagant age, in which certain attendants were kept purely for parade purposes.

1. J. Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, ed.cit., p.173.

2. S.W., vol.I, p.79.

By the eighteen forties these "eitle prätiöse Paradestücke" all disappeared from the Viennese scene.¹ The time was also coming to an end when everyone who kept a horse and carriage also kept a "Läufer" -- a footman who ran in front. Linda's four footmen running before her carriage as if in the annual race of footmen, were intended, like her heyducks, to impress. Every year on the first of May, there took place in the Prater one of the most popular events of the Viennese calendar, "das Wettrennen der herrschaftlichen Läufer."² At six o' clock in the morning, footmen from the first houses in Vienna would assemble at the main entrance to the Prater and before crowds of spectators would race as far as the Prater Lusthaus and back. Competition was keen among these swift-footed men who at night-time ran bearing torches before the carriages of their noble lords and ladies. The winner of the prize was fêted and carried through the streets in an open carriage at the end of the race.

Linda's imaginary life as a princess is an extravagant day-dream. Equally extravagant and even farther removed from reality is the picture which she and Quecksilber paint of the life they will lead when they have untold riches. Linda will be a

1. cp. Franz Gräffer: Kleine Wiener Memoiren, Vienna, 1845, Part 2, p.283.

2. See J. Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826, p.175.

'Gnädige Frau' at home to callers every day before she goes driving with her husband in their carriage.¹ This was, in fact, part of the pattern of life in a noble household where the lady of the house would pay or receive visits at midday, and then, in the company of her husband or a lady companion, go for a drive in the Prater, the Augarten or on the Glacis before taking dinner at three o' clock.² The day-dream of Linda and Quecksilber however, enters the realm of pure fantasy as Linda imagines herself sitting with her guests dipping croissants made of gold into diamond coffee-cups and Quecksilber plans to have their horses shod with silver.³ It is stock practice in local comedies of the period for the local comic characters to picture the life of the upper-classes in this way. Themselves members of the lower and serving classes, they take the externals of life in high society and exaggerate the luxury involved to the point where it becomes ridiculous. A light-hearted exercise, it was popular with all sections of the local audience, allowing the nobility in their plush-lined boxes to laugh indulgently at the foolish imaginings of their inferiors and the lesser beings higher up in the house to delight in the extravagant fancies of their

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel, Act II, Scene 10, p.46.

2. cp. C. Sealsfield: Austria as it is, London, 1828, p.173.

3. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 10, p.46.

own kind. Clearly no-one can be deluded into misinterpreting the reflection of real life which such frivolous day-dreams represent: they contribute, like every other ingredient of the local burlesque to the atmosphere of gaiety and merriment in the theatre.

Quecksilber is no way to be described as a typical Viennese barometer-maker but he is precisely the type of Viennese barometer-maker which the local audience expected to see on the stage of the Leopoldstadt theatre. In the first scene of Der Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel the two fairies who are to bestow the magic talisman upon Quecksilber discuss him, and within seconds of the opening of the play, his character has been described in its entirety -- "ein spassiger Mensch", "ein lebenslustiger Mensch", "ein Mensch von sehr lustigem Humor."¹ He neither does not says anything in the rest of the play which alters or adds to this first impression and his attitude to life is summed up in a verse of his closing song:

"Man muss stets lustig sein
Und sich des Lebens freun.
Ausser man hat kein Geld,
Nachher ists freilich gfehlt."²

He makes the audience laugh and his own joie de vivre reflects the mood of the people who are in the theatre to enjoy themselves.

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 1, p.4.

2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 27, p.74.

3. See W. Kisch, Die alten Strassen und Plätzer von Wiens Vorstädten, Vienna, 1898, vol.II, p.109.

Linda, the light-hearted chamber-maid is a perfect counterpart to the stock "Lustigmacher", Quecksilber. She may visualize the minuets of society's masked balls in her dreams of luxurious living, but she chooses a less stately dance as an image of the gay life which she advocates:

"In der Welt ists recht schön,
Glaubn Sie mir!
Man tanzt einen Langaus durchs Leben dahin,
Bewahrt man sich immer den lustigen Sinn.
Glaubn Sie mir."¹

In the eighteen twenties, the vogue for dancing the 'Langaus'² swept the suburban dance-halls of Vienna. One of these, "beim Mondschein" in the district of Wieden, even boasted an especially highly polished floor where devotees of this dance might vie with each other in speed and virtuosity. It was a very quick waltz and involved six to eight turns from one corner of the room to the other. Such were the casualties resulting from over-active participation -- nose-bleeds, fainting-fits, even attacks of apoplexy -- that dancing the 'Langaus' was finally banned by the city authorities.³ It was reaching the height of its popularity, however, when Linda uses it as an image of life and in so doing, strikes exactly the

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 19, p.59.

2. cp. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 4: Longimanus: Es wird ihm so leicht sein und so froh als wie einem Menschen, der's erste Mal einen Langaus tanzt. (p.139) and S.W., vol.II, Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, Act I, Scene 17: Rappelkopf: Und wollte die Welt sich auch gänzlich verkehren/... Und tanzten nur Langaus die Kranken und Toten." (p.137).

3. See W. Kisch: Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädten, Vienna, 1888, vol.II, p.169.

right tone for a chamber-maid of local comedy.

The 'Stubenmädel' was a favourite character on the popular stage: she was pert and pretty without a thought in her head beyond having a gay time and finding herself a husband -- if possible a rich husband. Linda, whose first thought in her picture of life as a princess is of decking herself in silk and pearls¹ and whose delight knows no bounds when Quecksilber promises to marry her and bestow his wealth upon her,² is a typical stage-chamber-maid. It must not be forgotten, however, that she also fits in very well with the popular conception of a chamber-maid in the real city of Vienna: this was a gay, pleasure-seeking creature, charming and attractive in the eyes of some beholders, frivolous and even depraved in the eyes of the more puritanical. In 1781, during the short period when Joseph II allowed freedom of the press, when Vienna was flooded with pamphlets of all kinds, a whole series on the subject of the 'Stubenmädel' appeared -- some decrying their moral character and others springing to their defence.³ In 1784 Friedrich Nicolai, the North German, who viewed the excesses of the Viennese with

1. S.W., vol.I: "Ich hängel mir Spitzen und Perlen hinauf, / Als käm ich lebendig zu Markt auf ein Kauf." (p.78).
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 7: Linda: Vivat! Ich krieg einen Mann. O du goldener Mann. (p.40).
3. cp. Bluml & Gugitz: "Die Wiener Stubenmädchen Literatur von 1781", Altwienerisches, Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1921, pp.28ff.

extreme displeasure, wrote sourly of these flighty creatures, who, earning a mere 18-24 florins a year in their capacity as chamber-maids, nevertheless contrived to appear decked from head to foot in silk and lace.¹

Similarity between a character of popular comedy and the popular conception of a real character does not only occur in the particular instance of the chamber-maid; but it has a bearing on stock comic characters in general. The picture of lower-class Viennese citizens as pleasure-loving, thoughtless people is not only an impression which might be gained from popular plays of the period, but it is also a picture drawn by many contemporary observers of the Viennese scene, both visitors to the city and local inhabitants. Johann Pezzl writes of the common man in 1789:

"Der gemeine Mann in Wien liebt Schmauss, Tanz, Spektakel, Zerstreung. Er spaziert an Festtagen fleissig in den Prater und Augarten, besucht Heze und Feuerwerk, fährt auch wohl mit seiner Familie über Land, und bestellt sich allenthalben einen wohlbedeckten Tisch."²

By the eighteen twenties, the spectacle provided for the more blood-thirsty Viennese by the baiting-arena had ceased to exist since the "Hetzamphitheater" was destroyed by fire in 1796, but

1. Friedrich Nicolai: Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, nebst Bemerkungen über Gelehrsamkeit, Industrie, Religion und Sitten, Berlin, Stettin, 1784, vol.III: "... alle vom Kopfe bis auf die Füsse in Seide und goldenen Spitzen geputzt. Ich weiss nicht, ob in fünfzig Schriften, welche 1781 in Wien über die Stubenmädchen geschrieben worden sind, erklärt ist, wie dieses zusammenhängt; aber es lässt sich ohne dies wohl erklären." (p.197).
2. Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826.

Skizze von WIEN, Vienna, 1789, p. 94

horror as it had Nicolai, who wrote in 1784:

"Das Schmausen und Wohlleben in Wien ist weltbekannt und fällt einem Fremden nur allzusehr, auch beym ersten Anblicke auf; obgleich die mehrsten Leuten daselbst, welche des beständigen Schwelgens so gewohnt sind, nicht meynen, dass hierin allzuviel geschehe. Die Einwohner sind in allen Dingen, welche zur Gemüthlichkeit, zum Genusse, zum wollüstigen Genusse des Lebens gehören, sehr viel weiter, als die Einwohner irgend einer andern deutschen Stadt; und sie rühmen sich dessen auch."¹

The Viennese were still smarting under this criticism in the eighteenth twenties: their defence, however, did not take the form of repudiation of these charges, but rather of justification. In their humorous account in verse of Vienna's suburbs, Gewey and Meisl introduce their description of the public-houses of Wieden with the mock apologia:

".... da das Vergnügen gut zu essen
(Trotzdem was Nikolai schreibt
Der selbst in Wien unsterblich sich gefressen)
Doch ein Genuss des Lebens bleibt...."²

Pezzl in the seventeenth eighties, had pointed to the mildness of the climate, the low cost of living and the comparative abundance of food and drink and could see no reason why the Viennese should not avail themselves of the good things of life which surrounded them.³

1. Fr. Nicolai: op.cit., vol.III, pp.189f.
2. F.X. Gewey & K. Meisl: op.cit., p.31. In a footnote the authors go so far as to describe Nicolai's stay in the city as "ein ununterbrochenes Schmausgelag, in welchem er den Wienern zum Meister ward."
3. J. Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna, 1789, p.95 and pp.106ff.

Forty years later, however, Charles Sealsfield in his scathing denunciation of the Austrian Empire¹ points to a less innocent cause of the Viennese preoccupation with pleasure-seeking:

"The Viennese were always reputed a sensual, thoughtless sort of beings, content if they could enjoy a drive in their Zeiselwagen into the Prater with their wine and roast meat.... As the Government has taken every care to debar them from serious or intellectual occupation, the Prater, the Glacis, the coffee houses, the Leopoldstadt theatre are the only objects of their thoughts and desires."²

Once again, the Leopoldstadt theatre is included in an enumeration of the outlets for frivolity in the city and there can be little doubt that, as Sealsfield points out elsewhere,³ it was looked on with favour by the authorities because of this, whereas the Burgtheater was viewed with constant suspicion. Austria was a police state but unlike the capital cities of many less fortunate totalitarian states, Vienna was abundantly filled with food, wine and diversions of every kind so that discontent under the régime was slow to spread to the mass of the people. It was undoubtedly true to claim that "a more fettered being than an Austrian author surely never existed"³ but the fetters which hampered the intellectuals

1. Charles Sealsfield was the pseudonym used by the Austrian-born Karl Postl; his inflammatory work Austria as it is was published anonymously in London in 1828.
2. C. Sealsfield: op.cit., pp.194f.
3. *ibid*, p.212.

of the city had little effect on the masses eating their
"hearty luncheon"¹ on the grass in the Prater or laughing
uproariously in the Leopoldstadt theatre. The censor who frowned
upon the performance of any work with serious content lest it
should cause the unthinking Viennese citizen to think, ~~KE~~ was
able to relax in its surveillance of plays performed in Leopoldstadt
theatre, for here the public exercised its own censorship and
saw to it that its favourite "Lachtheater" kept strictly to its
policy of making its audience laugh. When Raimund, for example,
aspired to a tragic theme in Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone
the reception of the play did not encourage him to repeat the
experiment which was felt to be entirely out of place. The
critic of the Abendzeitung wrote:

"Hier ist weder Zeit, noch Platz, noch Leute für griechische
Helden, die nach Kronen streben und von der Eroberungssucht
ergriffen, Länder verheeren und Seen blutig färben."²

The people who passed their time in the Leopoldstadt theatre, on
both sides of the footlights, shared the general critical opinion
that an evening spent there constituted the time and place for
uninhibited merriment. The characters of burlesque and parody
reflect the common man's delights as Pezzl described it in 1789

1. C. Sealsfield, op.cit., p.178.

2. Abendzeitung, 68, 1830: see S.W., vol.V, p.510.

-- 'Schmauss, Tanz, Spektakel, Zerstreung' -- and Raimund's stock local characters are no exception. Florian, like Quecksilber, is a 'spassiger Kerl'¹ whose view of life is similarly expressed:

"Dann will ich lustig sein
Und mich des Lebens freun!"²

His plans for a celebration with his sweetheart Mariandel

when he returns from his travels are closer to reality

than the plans which Quecksilber and Linda make. Florian

sings:

"Dann gehst du zum Sperl
Mit dein lieben Kerl
O jegerl, o je!
Das wird a Gaudée!
Dort zechen wir beide beim fröhlichen Schmaus
Und wenn ich ein Rausch hab, so führst mich nach Haus!"³

The 'Sperlsaal'⁴ was in fact one of the most popular places of entertainment in the suburban districts. It was opened by Johann Scherzer in the Sperlbauerstrasse in Leopoldstadt on 9th September 1807 and it began to flourish at the time of the Congress. Here Viennese citizens, particularly from the middle

1. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 15, p.156.

2. ibid, Act II, Scene 14, p.155.

3. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act II, Scene 10:
Quecksilber: Die kehren wir beim Sperl in Afrika ein. (p.47).

4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 22, p.120.

5/h classes danced, ate and drank in a spirit of gay revelry and no doubt many of the less temperate gentlemen had to be escorted home in just such a condition as Florian postulates to Mariandel. Florian is an unthinking cheerful servant who is prepared to follow his young master Edward to the death and who declares this willingness to Mariandel without any reservation:

The stock "Schau, Mariandel, ich hab dich gwiss gern, du bist mein drittes Leben, aber wenns mein Herrn gilt, so verkauf ich alle Mariandel, wie s'sein um zwei Groschen."¹

His loyalty, comic fear and perpetual hunger are stock theatrical characteristics and he is certainly not a realistic representation of a Viennese servant. Yet he reflects something of the mental outlook of the Viennese common people, described by an eye-witness, as they sit picnicing in the Prater as

K/ and it is "a motley crew of unthinking people, who will fly to arms with the same thoughtlessness as they now sit about their masticating affairs."²

Florian, as he sets off for his journey in the balloon wearing a livery tail-coat and a spencer on top of it, mittens and a peaked cap clutching several packages in his arms as well as two umbrellas, a bootjack, a pillow and a coffee mill³ and weeping over the cake

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 22, p.120.
2. C. Sealsfield, op.cit., p.178.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 23, pp.123f.

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 22, p.120.
2. C. Sealsfield, op.cit., p.178.
3. See F.S. Wagner, op.cit. Wagner - ein Mann der unter dem Mikroskop steht, dem seine Welt erschaffen ist. (p.149).
4. Otto Zimmern Die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, Vienna, 1952, p.779.

Mariandel has baked for his journey¹ is essentially a comic sight, but so, to the spectator, was the ordinary Viennese citizen who set off for his afternoon in the Prater in a 'Zeiselwagen'

"a strange specimen of locomotion, loaded with no less strange occupants and hams and wine-flaggons and everything necessary to the Viennese."²

The stock local characters of popular burlesque have much in common with the city's inhabitants in their leisure occupations -- the people whose apparent time-wasting, revelry, gluttony, and pleasure-seeking made an immediate impact upon visitors to the city. The local playwrights provided their plays with Viennese atmosphere, but it was, as Otto Rommel points out,

"die Atmosphäre einer Faschingswelt"

and it created an impression of the city which was not altogether a false one, but was only partially true. Otto Rommel writes of this impression:

"Wollte man diesen Parodisten glauben, so gab es in damaligem Wien keine Ehefrau, die Ihrem Mann treu war oder sich wenigstens um ihn bekümmerte und keinen Ehemann, der nicht entweder ein Simandl³ oder ein Schürzenjäger war, keinen Dienstboten, der etwas anderes zu tun hatte als in Samt und Seide auf der Bastei zu promenieren, keinen Handwerker der noch arbeitete, keinen Geschäftsmann der nicht bankrott war, kurz: kein bürgerliches Leben."⁴

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 24, p.125.
2. C. Sealsfield, op.cit., p.177.
3. See F.S. Hügel, op.cit: Simand'l = ein Mann der unter dem Pantoffel steht, den sein Weib beherrscht. (p.149).
4. Otto Rommel: Die Alt Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952, p.779.

A complete lack of normal, respectable middle-class standards characterizes the stock comic character of local parody. Zitternadel describes his condition as a penniless debtor in typical frivolous vein thus:

" 's gibt wenig, die so glücklich sind
Wie ich auf dieser Welt,
Ich hab kein Weib, und hab kein Kind
Und hab kein Kreuzer Geld
Wenn ich auch keine Schulden hätt,
Ich wüsst vor Freud nicht was ich tät."¹

This is a view of life which, from the point of view of solid, respectable society, is as reprehensible as the lavish squandering of wealth, visualized comically by Quecksilber as a desirable goal. In the parodies of the local stage, there is scarcely a hint that any attitude to life other than a frivolous one exists. It is in this that Raimund's dramatic work, where he develops it along individual lines, differs substantially from that of his contemporaries.

Raimund's third play Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt has many of the stock characteristics of the local extravaganza and one of these, an obsession with the good things of life^h early marks the leading comic character Fortunatus Wurzel. His motto in life is described by his servant as "Friss Vogel oder stirb!"² and

1. S.W., vol.II, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act I, Scene 6, p.234.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 6, p.191.

he himself says,

"Ich mag halt reden was ich will, ich komm halt immer
aufs Essen zurück."¹

The imagery which he uses is connected in traditional manner with his primary characteristic and he sings a song in which he pictures the ages of man as courses of a banquet.² His gluttony, however, is not simply the comical attribute of the 'Vielfrass',³ Florian, nor is his picture of "Der Lebens-Schmaus" the final word on his philosophy of life as is Linda's picture of life as a 'Langaus'. His excesses are portrayed in the early part of the play: a servant is seen bearing on a tray his master's breakfast -- a large goose, a plate of bread and a bottle of wine⁴ and on another occasion he is seen carousing with the parasites who praise and flatter him as they eat at his table and drink his wine.⁵ In the next scene, however, he is visited by Jugend and Hohes Alter and his riotous living as a millionaire comes to an abrupt end. He sinks to the place of an ashman in society and having paid the penalty for his excesses in this way and duly repented,

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 8, p.197.

2. *ibid*, p.198.

3. S.W., vol.I, Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Act I, Scene 24, p.125.

4. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 6, p.190.

5. *ibid*, Act II, Scene 4, pp.217ff.

Lakrimosa restores him to his original peasant state with the words:

"Du hast gebüsst. Sei was du stets hättest bleiben sollen."¹

This play is clearly more than a light-hearted, fantastic piece of nonsense though it does not venture upon ground which would be unacceptable to its local audience. It is a play with a simple moral -- pride goes before a fall. The fairy Lakrimosa marries a mortal, but after two years of happiness on earth her husband dies. She returns to fairyland and plans to bring up her daughter amid riches and luxury and then to marry her to the son of the Fairy-King.² Because of this overweening arrogance she is separated from her daughter Lottchen. The child is destined to a life of contented poverty but her foster-father Wurzel is ensnared by the appeal of luxury. He in his turn, suffers as a result of having left his own sphere for the false allure of another but having learnt his lesson and admitted that riches would bring only unhappiness to the humble Lottchen³ he is forgiven. A homely allegory, it does not tax the intellect or the patience of the Leopoldstadt audience yet it represents an attitude to life which is far from being wholly frivolous.

1. S.W., vol. I, Act III, Scene 7, p. 262.

2. ibid, Act I, Scene 3, pp. 182f.

3. ibid, Act III, Scene 4, p. 250.

1. James ... 1789, pp. 94f.

7h
The audience secure in their rightful places in the theatre, would themselves be well-disposed to a philosophy of life which frowned upon the folly of exceeding one's bounds, either financially or socially. Pezzl, who admits freely and defends the worldly pleasures of the common man, points out that he did not in the main overstep the bounds of his economy:

"Da in Wien, bis auf Wohnung und Holz im Verhältnis mit andern Hauptstädten alles wohlfeil ist, so ist klar, dass der Handwerksmann seine Käufer nicht übersetzt; und da der gemeine Mann im Durchschnitt selten ~~Bankrot~~ Bankrot macht, im Gegentheile noch wohlhabend ist, so muss man daraus schliessen, dass er seine Vergnügungen nicht über seine ökonomischen Kräfte treibt."¹

The respectable middle-class citizen considered it no disgrace to eat and drink well and to spend his well-earned leisure in making the most of the diversions of the capital but he did this in a way befitting his rank and his purse so that he exceeded the bounds of neither. The audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre presents a graphic picture of all sections of society all enjoying the same entertainment yet each in its place paying the price which it could afford. In the same way the masses of people in the Prater kept without animosity to their own areas: the rich in the Nobelprater might smile upon the revelries of the middle- and lower classes while these, happy in the Wurstlprater were at liberty to gaze at the spectacle presented by the elegant rich.

1. Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna, 1789, pp.94f.

The various sections of the community were certainly sharply differentiated according to rank. Pezzl's guide-book sketches the broad outlines of society as it was in the eighteen-twenties¹ Next in rank to the Emperor and the royal family were princes, counts and barons of whom there were at that time twenty one princely families in the city and sixty baronial families. These constituted the "Hoher Adel" and ranking immediately after them was the "Zweiter Adel" -- knights, squires and all those with the title of "Edler von" or "Herr von". Such were the niceties of distinction even among these high-ranking gentlemen, that invitations to dinner, for example, in the best houses of the city were sent from eight to two days before the dinner in accordance with the rank of the invited guests;² when a guest arrived at the door of a nobleman's house, the bell would be rung three times if he were a prince, twice if a count or baron and once if a mere nobleman.³ After the nobility, in Pezzl's classification, came "die Bürgerschaft" -- the businessmen, tradesmen and master craftsmen of the city, who were generally quite well-to-do people. They numbered some seven to eight

1. Johann Pezzl: Beschreibung von Wien, Vienna, 1826.

2. See Charles Sealsfield: Austria as it is, London, 1828, p.174.

3. *ibid.*

thousand and, with the four to five thousand 'Beamten', made up the Viennese middle class. In classes of their own were the clergy, the army, the university and the artists.¹ Low in the social scale were the domestic servants, all thirty thousand of them and lowest of all were the factory workers. In the established and comfortable society of early nineteenth century Vienna these classes appear, for all their differences, to have co-existed happily enough with one another. Schönholz describes the masses of the lower classes somewhat condescendingly² as "eine gute Art Pöbel" and maintains that they have no malicious envy of the rich but expect and invariably receive the "beaux restes" of gracious living, both in the literal sense, that the surpluses of the royal kitchens, for example, were distributed daily to the poor and also in a less tangible sense which contributed perhaps even more to the atmosphere of goodwill in society. Schönholz writes of the latter:

"Das glaubt (die Wiener Plebs) verlangen zu können, dass der reiche und Vornehme etwas "aufgehen" -- "sich sehen" -- "sie durchs Schlüsselloch gucken" lasse."³

1. Actors in the court and suburban theatres came under this heading "Künstler".
2. Schönholz himself was not of noble birth and is self-styled "von Schönholz". See introduction to Gugitz' edition of Traditionen zur Charakteristik Oesterreichs, Munich, 1914, vol.I, pp.XVIII.
3. F.A. v. Schönholz: op.cit.vol.II, p.104.

Each class, he claims, is able to justify its own existence in society without damaging the security and comfort of any other.¹

Something of the security felt by each class of the community pervades the plays of Raimund and even finds expression in the frivolities of his stock local characters. Zitternadel's

"Achtung verdient mein nützlicher Stand"² is only a conventional afterthought to his comic unwillingness to betray his profession and as such scarcely rings true as a manifestation of his character. The fact, however, that such a sentiment is a convention testifies to the nature of the society which makes it so. Even in the comic extravaganza Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs this almost proverbial expression is glibly recited by the Spirit King when, in dealing with the most objectionable of ghostly beings, the 'Druden', he says:

"Ich hab nichts gegen euch, ein jeder Stand verdient Achtung, also auch eine Drud."³

1. F.A.v.Schönholz: op.cit., vol.II: "Dem verständigen Beobachter unserer geselligen Zustände könnte die Wahrnehmung nicht entgehen, wie jede Klasse der Einwohnerschaft im öffentlichen Leben ihre breite Berechtigung findet..... Die Stufung gewährt hier den grenzenlosen Spielraum zum heitern Treiben, auf= und abwärts, nach allen Richtungen und lässt den Vornehmen auf den Tummelplätzen der Vorstädte, den geringen Mann im Strudel der schönen Welt seine Rechnung finden. (p.102).
2. S.W., vol.II, Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone, Act I, Scene 18, p.267. See above, p.172.
3. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 9, p.78.

The conventional attitude that each man has his place in society and that his happiness is to be found in that place is not confined to stock platitudes in the dialogue of Raimund's plays. Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt is not a realistic presentation of a Viennese citizen who steps outside the bounds of his social group. Wurzel's wealth is bestowed upon him by magic; his fall from luxury into poverty and his subsequent redemption are brought about by supernatural means. The theme of the play, however, reflects a mode of thinking which was an entirely conventional one in Raimund's Vienna. The central allegorical character of the play is 'Zufriedenheit'. Lottchen, driven from home by the millionaire Wurzel, takes refuge in her idyllic cottage set in a pleasant valley. Zufriedenheit explains to the girl that happiness is to be found in the valley not on the peaks which are to be seen on the horizon: she says:

"Siehst du dort den hohen flimmernden Berg?
Das ist die Alpe des Reichtums, und ihm gegenüber
sein noch glänzenderer Nebenbuhler, der Grossglockner
des Ruhmes! Das sind schöne Berge, doch sende deine
Wünsche nie hinauf, stark und erhebend ist die Luft
auf ihren Höhen, aber auch der Sturmwind des Neides
umfaust ihre Gipfel, und kann er die Flamme deines
Glückes nicht löschen, so löscht er doch den schönen
Funken des Vertrauens in deiner Brust auf immer aus."¹

The avoidance of excess, whether in social climbing or in worldly

1. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 1, p.211.

The Emperor undoubtedly moved freely among his people and
lusts or even in intellectual or political ambition,
was for the Viennese citizen of the early nineteenth century the
sallies into public, somewhat incredulous descriptions of
way -- albeit a negative way -- to contentment. That the mass
of the people seemed well content with the status quo in the
city, circumscribed as life was under the despotic rule of
the Emperor and Chancellor, surprised many visitors to Vienna.
Auguste de la Garde looked with amazement at the Emperor,
his family and his ministers standing completely unguarded
in the shade of the trees in the Prater and compared the relation-
ship of government and people in Vienna with that in France.
Whereas in France, the government seemed in a constant state
of uneasy conflict with the population in Vienna mutual
good-will seemed to be the dominant note of the relationship.
He writes:

"Das Leben der Wiener im Prater ist ein treues
Abbild von seiner Regierung, die ohne Zweifel
despotisch genannt werden kann, aber nur ein Ziel
hat, das Wohlsein und den materiellen Flor des
Landes."¹

1. A. de la Garde: Souvenirs du Congrès de Vienne, ed. G. Gugitz,
Munich 1914, p.153.

1. See E. Bright, *op.cit.*, pp. 30f.

2. *op. A. de la Garde: op.cit.*, p.153; C. Brasfield, *op.cit.*, p.177.

3. Jean Gabriel Eynard: Au Congrès de Vienne, Paris, Geneva, 1914, p.66.

The Emperor undoubtedly moved freely among his people and upon an earnest moral and which comply with the modest intellectual many visitors comment on the lack of ceremony attending his demands of the audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre without sallies into public. Somewhat incredulous descriptions of wandering solely to its taste for the frivolous and light-hearted, the Emperor driving the Empress in a phaeton with a pair of Such a play is *Das Mädchen mit der Frenschell*, first performed in 1826 quiet horses and a single servant standing behind, his path two years later, after achieving a limited success with *Die gefesselte Mantua* and *Wilhelm's Imberfluch*, Raimund wrote crossed by an elegant count in a barouche and six and his progress further impeded by a hackney-cab in which a little another which became a great favourite of Viennese audiences and shop-keeper was taking his wife and child for an airing in even found its way to London. Leigh Hunt, reviewing the English the Prater¹ are not infrequent in contemporary impressions of admiration of *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind*, writes Vienna.² A Swiss representative of the Congress, surprised at the people's obvious affection for a sovereign of such uninspiring and unheroic appearance, describes the Emperor thus:

"Il est impossible d'avoir à l'extérieur moins la tournure d'un souverain; il paraît un bon petit bourgeois d'une ville de province."³

The Emperor Franz was not a heroic figure and the age in which *Rappelkopf*, who by the intervention in his life of the supernatural contentment was writ large upon the face of his capital city was King of the Alps, is given this power, is by no means the bony not a heroic age.

The absence of heroism is conspicuous in the plays of Raimund, not only in the light-hearted burlesques of his earliest days as a dramatist but also in those of his plays which are founded suspicion of his finally, he is shown the error of his ways by the

1. See R. Bright, op.cit.pp.30f.

2. cp. A. de la Garde: op.cit., p.153; C. Sealsfield, op.cit.,p.177.

3. Jean Gabriel Eynard: Au Congrès de Vienne, Paris, Geneva, 1914, p.44.

The Alps, ed.cit., pp.27.

upon an earnest moral and which comply with the modest intellectual demands of the audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre without pandering solely to its taste for the frivolous and light-hearted. Such a play is Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, first performed in 1826; two years later, after achieving a limited success with Die gefesselte Phantasie and Moisasurs Zauberfluch, Raimund wrote another which became a great favourite of Viennese audiences and even found its way to London. Leigh Hunt, reviewing the English adaptation of Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, writes:

"Though in general we do not like to have a moral thrust in our faces, especially if there be vice in it (which is not seldom the case) yet the one inculcated by this new piece is so truly deserving of the name, as well as enforced in so very new and surprising a manner that everybody is interested in giving it precedence. It is a comment, but a very general one, upon the wish expressed by the poet, that heaven would give us the power to see ourselves as others see us."¹

Rappelkopf, who by the intervention in his life of the supernatural King of the Alps, is given this power, is by no means the merry stock comic character who jokes his way from the beginning to the end of a series of inconsequential adventures. In his violence and ill-temper, his excessive hatred of mankind and his exaggerated suspicion of his family, he is shown the error of his ways by the

1. The Tatler, 26. January 1831: see Introduction to The King of the Alps, ed.cit., pp.2f.

King of the Alps who assumes Rappelkopf's own unlovely personality and thus shows him his outrageous behaviour as others see it. Rappelkopf duly learns his lesson and is reconciled with his family, addressing them thus in his closing words:

"Kinder, ich bin ein pensionierte Menschenfeind,
bleibt bei mir und ich werde meine Tage ruhig im Tempel
der Erkenntnis verleben."¹

The moral is plain as it is in Raimund's last play Der Verschwender. Here Flottwell, the rich young nobleman, allows the virtue of generosity to grow into the vice of extravagance. The friends who enjoy his hospitality encourage him to squander his wealth but he offends the sensibilities of a fellow nobleman Präsident von Klugheim, when he attempts to make the gift of a precious vase to the President's daughter:

"Nehmen Sie die Vase hier zurück, so beschenkt ein
Fürst, kein Edelmann,"

cries the outraged father. Flottwell replies proudly,

"Ich beschenke so! ich bin der König meines Eigentums,"

and in a gesture of bravado he bestows the vase upon his valet.²

Such behaviour is contrary to all the laws of society and his

1. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 15, p.200.

2. S.W., vol.II, Act II, Scene 11, p.400.

reckless extravagance brings its own punishment. He loses his fortune and his family and even Valentin, with all his affection for his old master and his deference for his rank, cannot resist pointing out where the responsibility for his misfortune really lies: he says, on hearing his tale of woe,

"Das ist freilich eine traurige Geschichte, aber es ist halt notwendig, dass man s' erfahrt. Aber verzeihen mir, Euer Gnaden, Euer Gnaden sein doch ein bisschen selber schuld. Es schickt sich nicht, dass ich das sag. Aber ein Herr, der so dagestanden ist wie Euer Gnaden -- Es ist zum Totärgern -- Ich kann mir nicht helfen, ich red halt, wie ichs denke."¹

A moral pointed in so good-natured a fashion is in no way offensive but whereas the simple moralizing of local characters is entirely effective in Raimund's plays, the elevated moralizing of his serious characters is considerably less so. The main theme of Moisasurs Zauberfluch lies in the conflict between the virtuous Queen Alzinda and the Demon of Evil, Moisasur. Alzinda finally triumphs, helped by her husband's steadfast love. These are entirely serious characters and the allegorical figures who assist in their salvation are unreal beings with no earthly characteristics. It is doubtful whether Leigh Hunt, who was quite prepared to have the moral of The King of the Alps thrust in his face, would have

1. S.W., vol.II, Act III, Scene 6, p.433.

reacted favourably to Alzinda's solemn complacency when she addresses the sun with the words:

"Ich hab alle Freuden meiner Jugend
Aufgeopfert für den Ruhm der Tugend
Und erwarte meinen Lohn
Einst am deinem Himmelsthron."¹

Raimund did not command a tragic language and he could not create tragic characters. In Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone he attempted to treat the theme of overweening arrogance and lust for power in tragic form but the bombastic posturing of the hero Phalarius left his audience unmoved. As an actor, Raimund could move his audience to tears amid the laughter of a comic scene but he sometimes provoked unintentional laughter in a tragic one. As a playwright he reached the peak of his achievement in those of his comedies whose underlying thought was serious but which had no pretensions to the title of serious drama. The serious thought of Raimund was earnest rather than tragic and was best expressed in simple unpretentious terms. All the sound and fury of Phalarius' rise to power and his fearful end at the hands of the Furies does not portray the transience of fame and fortune as effectively as does the simple tale of Wurzel the peasant. None of the extravagant speeches of Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone has the

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 6, p.23.

simple eloquence of the ashman's cry, "Ein Aschen".

The fact that Raimund failed in his attempts to use his homely philosophy to tragic ends and to use tragic heroes and heroines as the mouthpieces of his good-humoured moralizing serves to emphasise his affinity with the unheroic times in which he lived. The ideals at the root of his later plays are those which provided the foundations of the secure and comfortable society of his day, while the gaiety and frivolity of his early stock burlesques are the outward manifestations of this security and comfort. There is in Raimund's work a certain recognition of the fact that life is not all beer and skittles, but they ^{it} contain ^s no hint of rebellion or of despair. Mirzel and Hans, the poor stone-breakers in Moisasurs Zauberfluch imagining the circumstances under which they would live if they were wealthy, paint a picture even more extravagant and absurd than that of Linda and Quecksilber; their cows would drink coffee all day in the stalls lined with mirrors and their threshers would wear livery as they threshed the corn with golden flails. Their light-hearted mood vanishes as they contemplate the hard work in the stone-quarry which they must now tackle and they look sadly at each other, only to retrieve their good-humour instantly and skip away singing:

"Frohliches Herz kennt keinen Schmerz
Tauschet mit Königen nicht."¹

1. WS.W., vol. II, Act I, Scene 7, p. 32.

In Raimund's advocacy of cheerful acceptance of life as it is, the mood of unambitious contentment in the city of Vienna is reflected. Complacency with conditions in the city is not, however, to be deduced from the absence in his plays of serious criticism of the state, since this would in any case never have passed the censor.¹ The only allusion in any of Raimund's plays which might be said to have a bearing on the police-state and its closely woven web of spies and counter-spies occurs in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs and even this is open to another interpretation. Eduard, viewing with some despair his mission of finding a girl who has never told a lie, asks:

"Wer im ganzen Hause wird mir das sagen können?"

and Florian replies:

"Nur beim Hausmeister erkundigen."²

The house-caretakers were in fact obliged to pass on information about their tenants to state officials³ as were the hotel-keepers of the city.⁴ This remark, however, may equally well be interpreted

1. For a list of topics forbidden in the Viennese theatres, see Carl Glossy: Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft, Jahrg. 7, Vienna, 1897, pp.305ff.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 4, p.138.
3. cp. O⁷ Rommel: Das parodistische Zauberspiel, DLER Barocktradition, vol.III: "Der Hausmeister war im Vormärz tatsächlich eine Art Amtsperson und der Polizeybehörde für das Verhalten der Hausbewohner verantwortlich." (p.360, note 316, 35).
4. cp. August Fournier: Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress. Eine Auswahl aus ihren Papieren, Vienna, Leipzig, 1913: "Dass die Wirte der Gasthöfe jetzt wie ehemals in Pflicht der Polizei standen, versteht sich von selbst. Aber auch die Vermieter von Privatwohnungen ...leisteten ihr teils freiwillige, teils geforderte Kundschafterdienste." (p.20)

as an allusion to the prying habits of the caretakers who knew all the business of the inmates of their houses.¹ There are certainly no overt references to this less pleasant side of life under the benevolent despotism of the Emperor. Allusions to the Imperial Court which occur in Der Diamant des Geisterkönigs in connection with the court of Longimanus concern only those aspects of the Emperor's rule which were not in the least controversial -- his public appearances and his audiences. At the end of the play, when Longimanus has long since terminated the audience at his court, Edward returns from his quest and Longimanus says:

"Wie er gekommen ist, hat er schon ein Geschrei
ghabt, dass ich ihn bis ins dritte Zimmer hinein
ghört hab."²

Austrian subjects at the audiences of the Emperor passed through one small ante-room into another where they waited before entering the third room and presenting their petitions to the Emperor.³ The popular imagination scarcely extended beyond this 'third room' of the palace and it is quite natural for Longimanus, the localised Spirit-King, to talk as if he existed permanently in it.

1. cp. Josef Richter: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, ed.cit., vol.II, p.236.
2. S.W., vol.I, Act II, Scene 20, p.165.
3. See F.A.v.Schönholz: op.cit., vol.II, pp.322f.

1. See above, p.213.

2. Johann Pezrl: Skizze von Eipeldauer, 1883, pp.90f.

The picture of the nobility in Raimund's plays as in those of his contemporaries was derived from that seen by the common man when about his favourite and permitted occupation of looking through the keyhole at the spectacle which splendid society provided.¹ The idealized and elevated characters who purported to be princes and nobles were too far removed from reality to reveal anything about the local nobility and the deliberately localized noble characters were no more than unobtrusive parodies of the upper-classes as they appeared in public. Many of the local parodists did not go beyond making play in similar manner with the externals of the life of the common man. While Raimund's picture of the nobility does not extend beyond that of the local parodist, his picture of the common man is not as limited.

In view of the strict divisions of society in Vienna of the day, the term "the common man" requires some definition. Pezzl, in his description of the leisure activities of "der gemeine Mann" is careful to define his terms: he writes:

"So nenne ich nicht den letzten Pöbel, sondern den Bürger oder um es eigentlicher auszudrücken, den Professionisten und Handwerksmann, den Hof und Herrschaftsbedienten von der untern Klasse, den Kleinhändler, kurz die gewöhnliche Menschengattung zwischen Adel und Domestiken."²

1. See above, p.213.

2. Johann Pezzl: Skizze von Wien, Vienna, 1789, pp.90f.

This class of people between the nobles and the menial servants was the class from which Raimund drew his local characters. The atmosphere of well-being and complacency in this mass of people, who were neither assailed by the doubts and frustrations of the intellectuals nor troubled by the cares of the poor and destitute did not remain unclouded throughout Raimund's lifetime. By the eighteen thirties, the growing numbers of the proletariat were beginning to make their disturbing presence felt in the city. The 'letzter Pöbel' could no longer be virtually discounted in an analysis of society. The scene in the charcoal-burners' hut in Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind is the only one in Raimund's plays which testifies to the presence of real poverty and squalor in the city. Certainly squalor was not absent from the Viennese scene. The village of Neulerchenfeld, for example, just outside the city boundaries was the home of beggars, wandering players, journeymen and fairground stall-keepers and it also provided poor shelter for many of the factory workers of the districts of Neubau and Schottenfeld. In 157 houses there lived 4,680 people and no less than 83 of these houses contained establishments for the selling of wine or beer. Small wonder that the area was known locally as "das grösste Wirtshaus im heiligen römischen Reiche"¹. The contrast between such a ramshackle district

1. See Adolf Schmidl: Wiens Umgebungen, Vienna, 1835, p.123.

and a respectable middle-class district was great. Something of the same contrast can be felt between the convivial atmosphere of the beer-house in Die gefesselte Phantasie and the atmosphere of drunken squalor in the charcoal-burners' hut, but this contrast is not complete. The sordidness of the scene in the hut is modified by the idyllic happiness of the eldest daughter and by the sentimental song of the family as they leave. The scene, basically an unpleasant one, is overlaid with sentimentality and resembles in this respect the popular 'genre -- paintings' of the day -- idylls of country life, domestic and patriotic scenes by such artists as Peter Fendi, the favourite painter of the Emperor Franz, Josef Danhauser and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, Waldmüller, born three years after Raimund's birth in the Alser-district of Vienna stemmed from a similar class and background as the playwright;¹ he painted several pictures with a subject similar to that of the scene in the hut. In Der Notverkauf (1854) for example a family of peasants stands outside the door of a humble dwelling, the children bare-footed but clean, their heads hanging, and the adults with sorrowing expressions on their

1. His grandfather was a coachman and his father a serving-man, later an inn-keeper. See Bruno Grimschitz: Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, Leben und Werk, Vienna, 1943, p.5.

faces. Similarly in Die Pfändung (1847) a family sets out onto the road carrying its meagre belongings, and leading an ox, or a goat and a dog. A child clings to her mother's apron while the mother wrings her hands in sorrow and the grandmother gazes heavenward. The mood of these paintings is of sad acquiescence and the most violent gesture is a shrug. Raimund's charcoal-burners leave their hut in similar mood.

Early in Raimund's work, in Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt there is a fleeting glimpse of an attitude among the lower classes which was not the conventional one of humility and good-humour. Lottchen is turned out of the house of her foster-father Wurzel and she collapses weeping before a crowd which has assembled in the street. She turns to a bystander, a locksmith, and appeals for his help: she is gruffly pushed aside:

"Schlosser (recht derb): Ja da muss man halt gut tun, mein Schatz, wenn man von ander Leut Gnaden lebt. Was soll denn unsereiner sagen, der sich vor Kummer nicht ausweiss? da heisst fleissig sein!"¹

So saying, he hails a carpenter's apprentice who is passing by and on learning that he is off to the beer-house, he begs a loan of '2 Gulden' and accompanies him while the crowd disperses amid laughter leaving Lottchen alone and helpless. This brief

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 13, p.207.

glimpse of a harsher reality than is usually reflected on the popular stage is quickly forgotten as the Spirit of Night descends in spectacular fashion; the street is bathed in magical moonlight and Lottchen is borne away to a happier place.¹

There is no reflection of mounting discontent in the plays of Raimund. The Emperor Franz was assured by his advisers in 1831 that there was no sign of the disorders arising from the Paris July rebellion of 1830 spreading to the Austrian capital. Nevertheless, precautions were increased and stricter measures taken against strangers in the city to prevent any unwelcome infiltration of liberal ideas. The Emperor himself considered these measures to be imperative. He wrote:

"Für die echten Wiener bin ich nicht besorgt, auf diese rechne ich in jedem Ereignis, allein es gibt in Wien allerlei Menschen, und es fehlt nicht an Emissären und Aufhetzern, die, von der Revolution gesendet, die ruhigen Menschen in Unordnung versetzen wollen und sich hierzu des Pöbels bedienen."²

The leading comic character in Raimund's last play Der Verschwender of 1835 is Valentin, the prototype of the "echter Wiener" on whom Emperor and State could rely. In the first act of the play he

1. S.W., vol.I, Act I, Scene 13, p.207.

2. See Carl Glossy: Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft, Jahrg. XXI, Vienna, 1912, p.IV

is the cheerful Viennese character of popular fame who dances on to the stage to sing his light-hearted opening song:

"Heissa lustig ohne Sorgen
Leb ich in den Tag hinein
Niemand braucht mir was zu borgen
Schön ists ein Bedienter z'sein."¹

In the last act, he is no longer completely carefree but his light-heartedness has developed into a quiet contentment and his gay comic songs have given place to the good-humoured and moving "Hobellied".

The early plays of Raimund are full of the traditional Viennese atmosphere which is evoked by gaiety of character and frivolity of plot as well as by local allusions and local stage-sets and properties. In them he caters perfectly for the audience in the Leopoldstadt theatre. Adolf Bäuerle described the means by which a comedy writer could be sure of success in Vienna thus:

"Werden Beruf eines Dichters für das komische Theater in Wien kennt, wird wissen, dass sich da wenig auf Regel, sichere Motivierung und verwickelte Handlung hinarbeiten lässt, sondern dass es allein darum zu tun ist, durch komische Charaktere, frappante Situationen und einen lebendigen, witzigen Dialog zu erheitern und nie müde werden, durch Scherz und Frohsinn zu erheitern."²

Raimund knew very well what the career of a playwright in the Viennese popular theatre entailed and in his early plays he confines

1. S.W., vol.II, Act I, Scene 6, p.349.
2. Adolf Bäuerle: Komisches Theater, Pest, 1820, vol.I, 'Vorwort' pp.1f.

his attention to the three features necessary for success -- comic characters, striking situations and lively, witty dialogue. He went contrary to the admonitions of Bäuerle, however, in that he did in fact tire of appealing to his audience solely through fun and frivolity. His early plays with their innumerable references to Vienna are in accordance with the taste of this people for whom he was writing and reflect them in light-hearted mood. His later plays, whose connection with the city is considerably less explicit, derive much of their inspiration from a side of his audience which was not obvious at first sight as they sat laughing in the Leopoldstadt theatre, but which lay somewhere beneath the surface of the 'gay city'.

If Grillparzer's attribution of equal creative responsibility to playwright and public is to be taken in the narrowest sense as the epitome of the Leopoldstadt theatre, then there are considerable grounds for limiting the application of his theory to the first three plays. Since, however, he declares that Grillparzer's intention that Grillparzer's work is born of the nation and concludes by maintaining

1. *Die Wiener Theatergeschichte*, *Deutscher Literatur*, *Stuttgarter*, (1895), vol. XVIII, p. 157.

2. *Die Wiener Theatergeschichte*, *Deutscher Literatur*, *Stuttgarter*, (1895), vol. XVIII, p. 255.

CONCLUSION

Grillparzer's comment on the genesis of Raimund's talent¹ has been echoed in subsequent criticism, often with the proviso that it is a valid judgement only when applied to Raimund's first three plays. August Sauer, for example, writes of these early plays:

"In diesen drei Stücken schafft Raimund unbewusst, instinktiv, völlig naiv; für sie gilt Grillparzers ausgezeichnete Charakteristik, dass der gesunde Sinn der Nation Raimunds natürlich anmutige Werke hervorgebracht habe, dass das Publikum ebensoviel daran gedichtet habe als er selbst, dass es der Geist der Masse gewesen, in dem seine halb unbewusste Gabe wurzelte."²

If Grillparzer's attribution of equal creative responsibility to playwright and public is held to refer in its narrowest sense to the audience of the Leopoldstadt theatre, then there are considerable grounds for limiting the application of his comment to the first three plays. Since, however, he prefaces this remark with the statement that Raimund's work is born of the healthy disposition of the nation and concludes by maintaining

1. Franz Grillparzer: "Studien zur deutschen Literatur", Sämtliche Werke, ed. August Sauer, Stuttgart, (1893), vol. XVIII, p.137. cp. above, pp.5f.
2. August Sauer: "Ferdinand Raimund. Eine Charakteristik", Reden und Aufsätze, Vienna, Leipzig, 1903, p.255.

that his half-unconscious talent was rooted in the spirit of the masses, a wider interpretation of the word 'public' seems warranted. In this case it would seem unnecessary to make any reservations in accepting Grillparzer's judgement. The mass of the Viennese people was not what would now be termed the working class. A broad social group ranging from rich business men to respectable serving men of modest means, the mass of the city's 'common men' in Raimund's lifetime approximated more closely to the modern middle class. This was the class into which Raimund was born, among whom he lived and whose worthy if limited standards he accepted. As an actor and producer, he was hardworking and painstaking to the point of being considered pernickety by his colleagues.¹ He prided himself on being a man, "der sein Brot von jeher verdient hat,"² He was thrifty and unlike many of his contemporaries in the acting profession, he accumulated in the course of his career a not inconsiderable fortune.³ His youthful folly robbed him of domestic happiness but he endeavoured to live the life of a worthy member of society

1. cp. S.W., vol.V, p.243f.

2. See S.W., vol.IV, 1826, no. 65, p.92.

3. References to his savings are to be found in his letters: S.W. vol.IV, 1822, no.39, pp.51f: 1824, no.82, p.115f. Having bought a country house in Gutenstein in 1834 for 4,550 fl.C.M., he died in 1836 possessed of 13,294 fl.C.M. (See S.W., vol.III, p.412). His father left only 385 fl. at his death in 1804 (See S.W., vol.III, p.339).

and is constantly at pains in his letters to Antonie Wagner to assure her of his uprightness: the word 'rechtschaffen' occurs again and again in his avowals of good faith.¹ He admits the violence of his own temperament and he looks upon this as something which he must subdue. In 1823 he writes to Antonie:

"Ich handle als rechtschaffener Mann gegen dich und alle Leute Besitze ich grosse Fehler, so wäre es allenfalls mein heftiges Temperament, dem ich auf der andern Seite die Geburten meiner Kunst verdanke; es ist mein immerwährendes Studium diesen Fehler abzulegen."²

Himself a 'common man' of Vienna, his own natural language the local dialect, his dramatic heritage that of the popular theatre and his theatrical experience that of the Viennese stage, even such of his work as differs substantially from the plays which were performed night after night in Leopoldstadt owes much to the mass-spirit of Vienna which Grillparzer describes as being at the root of his creative gift. Another Viennese poet has described the spiritual relationship between Raimund and his native city. Hugo von Hofmannsthal writes:

"Raimund ist nicht der Verherrlicher von Wien; auch nicht einmal sein Schilderer, noch weniger -- was später Nestroy werden sollte -- sein Satiriker. Er ist das Wesen in dem dieses Wien irgendwie Geist wurde."³

1. e.g. S.W., vol.IV, 1821, no.13, p.18; 1822, no.41, p.54 et passim
2. S.W., vol.IV, 1823, no.60, p.84.
3. Hugo von Hofmannsthal: "Ferdinand Raimund", Gesammelte Werke, Prosa III, Frankfurt am Main, 1952, p.473.

It would be presumption for an outsider to elaborate further on such evaluations made by poets who are themselves a part of the Viennese theatrical tradition, but it may be that a consideration of Viennese life and society as it is reflected in Raimund's plays will have cast some light at least for other outsiders on the enigma posed by the 'irgendwie' of Hofmannsthal's verdict.

An adaptation of Der Alpenknaig und der Menschenfeind Huchstern, J.B.: The King of the Alps, Lacy's Actio, Edition of Plays, vol. 4. London, (1852).

Note to editions: The nature of the popular theatre was such that scripts of plays were adapted for different performances often by the authors themselves. Thus texts submitted to the censors, scripts for the actors and original manuscripts by the playwright often contained variant passages. The texts of Raimund's plays vary considerably from edition to edition, according to the manuscripts on which they were based. Vogl's edition in 1837 was based on manuscripts left by Raimund and sold by Antonia Wagner to the book-dealers Rohrmann and Schweigerd, who published this first edition. After passing through various hands, these were bought in 1884 by the Nationalbibliothek Vienna and are in the 'Handschriftensammlung.' Sauer and Glossy's edition of 1881 was based on Raimund's original manuscripts of the plays sold, together with sketches, poems etc. by Antonia's sisters to the dealer A. Ginzle. They were bought in 1879 by the Director of the Stadtbibliothek, Karl Weiss. Castle, in his edition of 1903, returned to Vogl's edition of 1837 and gives variants on this but he did not have access to the manuscripts. The critical edition by Brukner and Castle of 1933/34 was compiled with access to all available manuscripts and is based as far as possible on the theatre-scripts used for the first performances rather than on the original manuscripts used by Sauer and Glossy. Quotations in this thesis are taken from the Brukner/Castle edition, except where otherwise stated. Variant forms, songs etc. which occur in other editions are sometimes quoted and are considered as valid examples, since there is no doubt as to their authenticity. For those which Brukner and Castle have appended as variants to their editions of the texts, the relevant page references are quoted, together with references to other editions in which they form part of the texts of the plays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WORKS OF FERDINAND RAIMUND

Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Säkularausgabe, (referred to throughout as S.W.), ed. Fritz Brukner and Eduard Castle, Vienna, 1925/34.

Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Johann Nepomuk Vogl, Vienna, 1837.

Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Carl Glossy & August Sauer, Vienna, 1881.

Sämtliche Werke, ed. Eduard Castle, Leipzig, (1903).

An adaptation of Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind Buckstone, J.B.: The King of the Alps, Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays, vol.6. London, (1852).

Note to editions: The nature of the popular theatre was such that scripts of plays were adapted for different performances often by the authors themselves. Thus texts submitted to the censors, scripts for the actors and original manuscripts by the playwright often contained variant passages. The texts of Raimund's plays vary considerably from edition to edition, according to the manuscripts on which they were based. Vogl's edition in 1837 was based on manuscripts left by Raimund and sold by Antonie Wagner to the book-dealers Rohrmann and Schweigerd, who published this first edition. After passing through various hands, these were bought in 1884 by the Nationalbibliothek Vienna and are in the 'Handschriftensammlung.'^a Sauer and Glossy's edition of 1881 was based on Raimund's original manuscripts of the plays sold, together with sketches, poems etc. by Antonie's sisters to the dealer A. Einsle. They were bought in 1879 by the Director of the Stadtbibliothek, Karl Weiss. Castle, in his edition of 1903, returned to Vogl's edition of 1837 and gives variants on this but he did not have access to the manuscripts. The critical edition by Brukner and Castle of 1925/34 was compiled with access to all available manuscripts and is based as far as possible on the theatre-scripts used for the first performances rather than on the original manuscripts used by Sauer and Glossy. Quotations in this thesis are taken from the Brukner/Castle edition, except where otherwise stated. Variant forms, songs etc. which occur in other editions are sometimes quoted and are considered as valid examples, since there is no doubt as to their authenticity. For those which Brukner and Castle have appended as variants to their editions of the texts, the relevant page references are quoted, together with references to other editions in which they form part of the texts of the plays.

WORKS RELATING TO THE LIFE AND WORK OF FERDINAND RAIMUND

Arnold, Robert Franz: "Ferdinand Raimund in England", Reden und Studien, Vienna & Leipzig, 1932.

Büchner, Anton: "Raimunds geflügelte Wurst", Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift, vol.IX, Heidelberg, 1921.

Brukner, Fritz: Ferdinand Raimund in der Dichtung seiner Zeitgenossen, Vienna, 1905.

Frankl, L.A.: Zur Biographie Ferdinand Raimunds, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1884.

Grillparzer, Franz: "Studien zur deutschen Literatur", Sämtliche Werke, ed. August Sauer, Fünfte Ausgabe, 20 Bde. Stuttgart, (1892), vol.XVIII.

von Hofmannsthal, Hugo: "Ferdinand Raimund" Gesammelte Werke, Prosa III, Frankfurt am Main, 1952.

Kindermann, Heinz: Ferdinand Raimund: Lebenswerk und Wirkungsraum eines deutschen Volksdramatikers, Vienna & Leipzig, 1940.

Kluckhohn, Paul: "Raimunds geflügelte Wurst", Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift, vol.IX, Heidelberg, 1921.

Sauer, August: "Ferdinand Raimund. Eine Charakteristik" Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze, Vienna & Leipzig, 1903.

Smekal, Richard: Grillparzer und Raimund; Funde und Studien, Vienna, Leipzig, 1920.

"Raimunds Grossvater, ein Leopoldikind" Wiener Tageszeitung, 268, 16. Nov. 1948.

"Drei Wiener Familien", Wiener Zeitung, 265, 13. Nov. 1949.

* * * *

WORKS BY OTHER DRAMATISTS OF THE VIENNESE POPULAR THEATRE

(Where no collected works of these authors are available, the titles of single plays are quoted together with the publications in which they may be found. Where the edition is not a contemporary one, the original date of the play is quoted in square brackets after its title.)

- Bäuerle, Adolf: Komisches Theater, Pest, 1820/26.
- Gieseke, Karl Ludwig: Der travestierte Hamlet, Eine Burleske in deutschen Knittelversen, Vienna, 1798.
- Gleich, Josef Alois: Die vier Heymonskinder [1809], Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Barocktradition im österreichisch-bayrischen Volkstheater, (referred to throughout as DLER Barocktradition), vol.II, Leipzig, 1936.
Fiesko der Salamikrämer [1813], Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, vol.X, Berlin, 1907.
Die Musikanten am hohen Markt [1815] Deutsch-Österreichische Klassiker-Bibliothek, vol.XVI, Vienna, Teschen, Leipzig. [No date].
Der Berggeist oder die drei Wünsche [1819]
Ydor der Wanderer aus dem Wasserreiche [1820]
Der Eheteufel auf Reisen [1821], DLER Barocktradition, vol.IV, Leipzig, 1938.
- Hensler, Karl Friedrich: Das Donauweibchen [1798], DLER Barocktradition, vol.II, Leipzig, 1936.
- Huber, Leopold / Hensler, K.F.: Die Teufelsmühle am Wienerberg [1799] DLER Barocktradition, vol.II, Leipzig, 1936.
- Hafner, Philipp: Gesammelte Schriften, mit einer Vorrede und Anmerkungen, vorzüglich über die österreichische Mundart, von Joseph Sonnleithner, Vienna, 1812.
Gesammelte Werke, Schriften des literarischen Vereins in Wien, vols. 19 & 21, Vienna 1914/15.
- von Kurz, Josef Felix: Eine neue Tragödie betitelt: Bernardon, die getreue Prinzessinn Pumphia, und Hannswurst der tyrannische Tartar-Kulican, eine Parodie in lächerlichen Versen, (Vienna), 1767.
Der aufs neue begeisterte und belebte Bernardon [1754]
Der neue krumme Teufel [c. 1758], DLER Barocktradition, vol.I, Leipzig, 1935.
- Marinelli, Karl: Don Juan mit Kaspars Lustbarkeiten [c.1781], DLER Barocktradition, vol.II, Leipzig, 1936.
Aller Anfang ist schwer, ein Gelegenheitsstück in einem Aufzuge. Bey Eröffnung des neuerbauten Schauspielhauses in der Leopoldstadt [1781], see G. Gugitz: Der Weiland Kasperl, Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1920.
- Meisl, Carl: Theatralisches Quodlibet oder sämtliche dramatische Beyträge für die Leopoldstädter Schaubühne, Vienna, 1820/25.

- Nestroy, Johann: Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. Fritz Brukner and Otto Rommel, Vienna 1924/30.
- Perinet, Joachim: Kaspar der Fagottist, oder Die Zauberzither (1791) DLER Barocktradition, vol.I, Leipzig, 1835.
Das Neusonntagskind nach dem Furchtsamen von Wail. Philipp Hafner, als Singspiel neu bearbeitet, Pressburg, 1794.
Hamlet, eine Karrikatur in drey Aufzügen, mit Gesang in Knittelreimen, Vienna, 1807.
Der Weiland Casperl aus der Leopoldstadt im Reiche des Todten, ein auferbauliches Gespräch in Knittelreimen zwischen ihm, Charon, Prehauser, Stranitzki, Bernardon, Brenner und noch einem Schatten. See Gustav Gugitz: Der Weiland Casperl Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1920.
- Schickaneder, Emanuel: Die Zauberflöte [1791], DLER Barocktradition, vol.I, Leipzig, 1935.
- Stranitzky, Josef Anton: Wiener Haupt und Staatsaktionen, Schriften des literarischen Vereins, vols. 10 & 13, Vienna 1908/10.

* * * * *

GENERAL CRITICAL WORKS CONSULTED IN CONNECTION WITH VIENNESE POPULAR COMEDY

- Enzinger, Moriz: Die Entwicklung des Wiener Theaters vom 16. zum 19. Jahrhundert. Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte. vols. 28, 29. Berlin, 1918/ 19.
- Blümml, Emil and Gugitz, Gustav: Alt-Wiener Thespiskarren, Die Frühzeit der Wiener Vorstadtbühnen, Vienna, (1925).
- Gugitz, Gustav: Der Weiland Casperl (Johann la Roche) Ein Beitrag zur Theater- und Sittengeschichte Alt-Wiens, Vienna, Prag, Leipzig, 1920.
- Magill, C.P.: "Austrian Comedy", German Life and Letters, vol.IV, no. 1, October 1950.
- Raab, F.: Johann Joseph Felix von Kurz genannt Bernardon, Frankfurt, 1899.
- Rommel, Otto: Johann Nestroy. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiener Volkskomik (Sämtliche Werke, ed. Brukner & Rommel, vol.15), Vienna, 1930.

Rommel, Otto: Introductions and annotations to vols. I-VI DLER Barocktradition, Leipzig, 1935/39.
Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie, Vienna, 1952.

Schink, Johann Friedrich: Dramatische und andere Skizzen nebst Briefen über das Theaterwesen zu Wien, Vienna, 1783.

* * * * *

WORKS CONSULTED WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LEOPOLDSTADT THEATRE

Bittner, Liselotte: Das Ensemble um Raimund im Leopoldstädter Theater, Dissertation, Vienna, 1948.

Hadamowsky, Franz: Das Theater in der Leopoldstadt, Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, vol.III, Vienna, 1934.

Stranden, Gotthold August von der: Unpartheyische Betrachtungen über das neu-erbaute Schauspielhaus in der Leopoldstadt und die sämtlichen Glieder der Gesellschaft. Vienna, 1781.

* * * * *

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE LEOPOLDSTADT THEATRE, THE ENSEMBLE AND THE CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION OF RAIMUND'S PLAYS

Taschenbücher des Leopoldstädter Theaters, Vienna, 1823-30.

Wiener Tageszeitung 266. "Das Ende des Carl-Theaters". 13. Nov. 1948.

Theaterzeitung, ed. Adolf Bäuerle, under the title of Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Unterhaltungsblatt für Freunde der Kunst, Literatur und des geselligen Lebens, 1818-1828, and Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Originalblatt für Kunst Literatur und geselliges Leben 1829 -1836.

The Athenaeum, Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts. Series 1831, no. 170.

Hadamowsky, Franz: Ferdinand Raimund als Schauspieler: Chronologie seiner Rollen nebst Theaterreden und lebensgeschichtlichen Nachrichten. S.W., vol.V, parts I & II, Vienna, 1925.

* * * * *

DIARIES AND MEMOIRS OF INTEREST IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONTEMPORARY THEATRE

Anschütz, Heinrich: Erinnerungen aus dessen Leben und Wirken. Nach eigenhändigen Aufzeichnungen und mündlichen Mittheilungen. Vienna, 1866.

Costenoble, Carl Ludwig: Tagebücher aus dem Burgtheater 1818-1837, Vienna, 1889.

Müller, Wenzel: Tagebuch, Manuscript, Stadtbibliothek, Vienna.

WORKS CONSULTED IN CONNECTION WITH CONTEMPORARY CENSORSHIP AND MATTERS RELATING TO IT

Bauernfeld, Eduard von: "Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Oesterreich (1845)" Gesammelte Aufsätze, Schriften des literarischen Vereins in Wien, vol. IV, Vienna, 1905.

Fournier, August: Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress, Eine Auswahl aus ihren Papieren, Vienna, 1913.

Glossy, Carl: Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft, Jahrg. 7, Vienna, 1897.
Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft, Jahrg. 21, Vienna 1912.

* * * * *

WORKS CONSULTED IN CONNECTION WITH LIFE AND SOCIETY IN VIENNA DURING RAIMUND'S LIFETIME

a) BIBLIOGRAPHICAL:

Gugitz, Gustav: Bibliographie zur Geschichte und Stadtkunde von Wien, 4 Bde, Vienna, 1946/58.

b) HISTORICAL:

Pezzl, Johann: Chronik von Wien, berichtigt, vermehrt und bis auf die neueste Zeit fortgesetzt, Vienna, 1842.

Reiter, Ludwig: Kulturgeschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Österreichs, Salzburg, 1952.

Tietze, Hans: Wien. Kultur, Kunst, Geschichte, Vienna, Leipzig, 1931.

Weiss, Karl: Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Vienna, 1872.

c) CONTEMPORARY*DESCRIPTIONS OF VIENNA:

(i) Guide books and public journals

de Luca, Ignaz: Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand unter Josephs Regierung, (in the form of a dictionary), Vienna, 1787.

9/ Pezzl, Johann: Skizze von Wien, Vienna, 1789.
Beschreibung von Wien, Siebente Ausgabe, verbessert und vermehrt von Franz Ziske, Vienna, 1826.

Realis: Curiositäten und Memorabilienlexikon von Wien, Vienna, 1846.

Schmidl, Adolf: Wien wie es ist, Vienna, 1833.

Richter, Joseph: Die Eipeldauerbriefe, vol.I, 1785/1797, vol.II, 1799/1813. In Auswahl herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. Eugen von Paunel, Munich, 1917/18.

(ii) Collected illustrations:

Neue Wiener Prospekte oder Ansichten der vornehmsten und merkwürdigsten Plätze, Strassen, Palläste, Klöster, Gärten, Land= Jagd= und Lusthäuser und anderer vorzüglichen Gebäude, Vienna, 1795/96.

Adam, Johann Jakob: Abbildungen des gemeinen Volkes in Wien, (Vienna) 1789.

Brand, J.C.: Zeichnungen nach dem gemeinen Volk besonders der Kaufmänn in Wien, (Vienna, 1775).

d) DESCRIPTIONS OF VIENNA IN TRAVEL-JOURNALS AND DIARIES OF VISITORS TO THE CITY:

Alexis, Willibald: Wiener Bilder, Leipzig, 1833.

Bright, Richard: Travels from Vienna through lower Hungary with some remarks on the state of Vienna during the Congress in the year 1814, Edinburgh, 1818.

Eynard, Jean Gabriel: Au Congrès de Vienne, Journal, Paris, Geneva, 1914
de la Garde, Auguste: Souvenirs du congrès de Vienne 1814-15
ed. Gustav Gugitz, Munich, 1914.

Menzel, Wolfgang: Reise nach Osterreich im Sommer 1831, Stuttgart &
Tübingen, 1832.

Nicolai, C.F.: Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die
Schweiz, Berlin, Stettin, 1783/95.

Planché, J.R.: Descent of the Danube from Ratisbon to Vienna during
the autumn of 1827, London, 1828.

Russel, John: A tour in Germany and some of the southern provinces
of the Austrian Empire in the years 1820, 1821, 1822,
Edinburgh 1824.

von Schaden, Adolf: Meister Fuchs oder humoristische Spatziergang
von Prag über Wien und Linz nach Passau, Dessau, [1823].

(e) CURRENT IMPRESSIONS AND RETROSPECTIVE STUDIES OF VIENNA BY
INHABITANTS OF THE CITY

Braun von Braunthal, Karl Johann: Antithesen oder Herrn Humors
Wanderungen durch Wien u. Berlin, Vienna, 1834.

Castelli, Ignaz Franz: Memoiren meines Lebens, Vienna, Prague, 1861.
(Also of particular interest in connection with the
contemporary Viennese theatre.)

Gräffer, Franz: Kleine Wiener Memoiren, Vienna, 1845.
Wienerische Kurzweil, Vienna, 1846.
Wiener Dosenstücke, Vienna, 1846.

Grün, Anastasius: Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten 1830-32, Leipzig,
1850.

Pichler, Caroline: Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben, Vienna, 1844.

von Schönholz, Friedrich Anton: Traditionen zur Charakteristik
Osterreichs, seines Staats= und Volkslebens unter Franz I
ed. Gustav Gugitz, Munich, 1914.
(first published Leipzig, 1844).

(Sealsfield, Charles): Austria as it is or Sketches of Continental
Courts by an Eye-witness, London, 1828.

Wien und die Wiener, Mit Beiträgen von Adalbert Stifter, C.E.
Langer, C.F. Langer, Nordmann, A. Ritter von Perger,
D.F. Reiberstorffer, Ludwig Scheyrer, Franz Stelzhammer,
Sylvester Wagner u.A., Pest, 1844.

f) LATER DESCRIPTIONS OF VIENNA OF THE PERIOD:

Blümml, E: Von Leuten und Zeiten im alten Wien, Vienna & Leipzig,
1922.

Blümml, E. & Gugitz, Gustav: Altwienerisches: Bilder und Gestalten
Vienna, Prague & Leipzig, 1921.

* * * * *

WORKS CONSULTED WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SUBURBS OF VIENNA

a) CONTEMPORARY:

Gewey, Franz Xavier and Meisl, Karl: Wien mit seinen Vorstädten,
humoristisch geschildert, Vienna, 1820.

Meisl, Karl: Humoristische Gedichte über die Vorstädte Wiens,
Vienna, 1820.

Schmidl, Adolf: Wiens Umgebungen auf zwanzig Stunden im Umkreise
nach eigenen Wanderungen geschildert, Vienna 1835/ 39.

Weschel, Leopold Mathias: Die Leopoldstadt bey Wien, Vienna, 1824.

Ziegler, Anton & Graf Vasquez, Carl: Polizey-Bezirk Leopoldstadt
Mit einem Grundriss, Vienna, 1827.
Polizey Bezirk Mariahilf, mit einem Grundriss, Vienna, 1827.

b) LATER:

Blümel, Jakob: Die Geschichte der Entwicklung der Wiener Vorstädte,
Vienna, 1884/85.

Kisch, Wilhelm: Die alten Strassen und Plätze von Wiens Vorstädten,
Vienna, 1888 /95.

Reischl, Friedrich: Wien zur Biedermeierzeit. Volksleben in Wiens
Vorstädten nach zeitgenössischen Schilderungen, Vienna, 1921.

* * * * *

DIALECT DICTIONARIES

Castelli, Ignaz Franz: Wörterbuch der Mundart in Osterreich unter der Enns, Wien, 1847.

Hügel, Franz Seraph: Der Wiener Dialekt, Lexikon der Wiener Volkssprache, Vienna, 1873.

Jakob, J.: Wörterbuch des Wiener Dialektes, Vienna, 1929.

Loritz, Carl: Neues Idioticon Viennense, Wien u. Leipzig, 1847.

Schuster, Mauriz: Alt-Wienerisch, Vienna, 1951.

Schmeller, J.A.: Bayerisches Wörterbuch, Zweite vermehrte Ausgabe, 2 Bde. Munich, 1872-78.

* * * * *