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

Gabriele C. Pfeiffer (Vienna)

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

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

* This article reflects the general path of my paper delivered at the Ottoman Empire and European Theatre, From the Beginnings to 1800, W.A. Mozart & Sultan Selim III symposium 2008. The written version is a far more elaborate and partly new one, composed in collaboration and long intense discussions with H.E. Weidinger about the history of the article’s subject. I am grateful for his contributions to the project. Also, I would like to thank Caroline Herfert and Käthe Springer-
commodity”) and from 1955 on were collected and preserved at Kartause Mauerbach, a former Carthusian monastery on the outskirts of Vienna, hence the name Mauerbach collection.\(^2\) Forty years later, in 1995, after an investigative report on the Mauerbach collection had been published in the American periodical *ArtNews*,\(^3\) international pressure increased and ownership of these items was transferred to the Bundesverband der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinden (‘Federation of Austrian Jewish Communities’).

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

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


2 The main part of the Mauerbach collection consisted of the so-called Münchner Restbestand (items stored in Munich that could not be restituted), which were among the artwork found (as in the salt-mine of Altaussee, for example) and collected by the US Army at the Central Collecting Point (CPP) in Munich, Germany. The Mauerbach collection has triggered the establishment of several laws to ensure the restitution of artwork:

- Bereinigung der Eigentumsverhältnisse des im Gewahrsam des Bundesdenkmalamtes befindlichen Kunst- und Kulturgutes (‘Settlement of the ownership structure of art and cultural assets in custody of the Federal Monuments Office’), BGBl. 294/1969
- Bundesgesetz über die Rückgabe von Kunstgegenständen und sonstigem beweglichem Kulturgut aus den österreichischen Bundesmuseen und Sammlungen und aus dem sonstigen Bundesseigentum (‘Federal law on the restitution of artworks and other movable cultural assets from Austrian federal museums and collections and other federal property’), BGBl. I 181/1998 amended by BGBl. 117/2009


Franz Kratter (1758–1830) and Der Friede am Pruth

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

6 Nowadays the appropriateness of the auction is contended, as Sophie Lillie, author of Was einmal war: Handbuch der enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens (Vienna: Czernin, 2003), explains in an interview: “In 1995 it seemed to everyone that this was the right thing to do, but that’s on the assumption that the government had done everything it could to return the property to its owners. Today we know this is not the case, but now the legal possibilities at the disposal of the legal heirs to the works for the Mauerbach collection are few.” Quoted by David Rapp: “Stealing beauty: What became of the thousands of artwork stolen from their Austrian Jewish owners by the Nazis? A persistent young Jewish researcher went on a journey of discovery in her native Vienna – and found a heap of dusty answers”, in: Haaretz.com, February 13, 2004; http://www.haaretz.com/culture/arts-leisure/stealing-beauty-1.113869, accessed July 7, 2010. Cf. also Josephine Leistra and Hector Feliciano: “The Mauerbach Case”, in: Spoils of War 3 (1996), pp. 22–27.

7 The painting Die Tote Stadt III belonged to the well known cabaret artist Fritz Grünbaum (Franz Friedrich Grünbaum, who was born 1880 in Brno and died in 1941 in the concentration camp at Dachau after failing twice to commit suicide). The painting was on loan from the Sammlung Leopold (Vienna) to the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1998 and clinched the restitution of a federal law that required the return of works of art which are stored in federal museums and public collections (BGBl. 1/181/1998). Cf. Lillie: Was einmal war: Handbuch der enteigneten Kunstsammlungen Wiens, pp. 429–433.

KOMPLEX MAUERBACH AT THE DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN

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

INVENTORYING

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

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

THE MAUERBACH ‘TURKISH’ PLAYS

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

10 The booklets were provided with consecutive numbers. However, the origin of this numbering is unclear: it looks as though these numbers were given when the booklets were kept in the Kartause Mauerbach. The Don Juan Archiv adopted the numbers in its own cataloguing.
11 “Benennung im Sinne Freud’s durch den Eigentümer” (‘denomination by the owner in the sense of Freud’), according to an email of the owner to the author on January 25, 2008.
12 Today Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Vienna.
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Fourth’, Vienna 1751, Mauerbach number [henceforth: MB] 1435), the eponymous protagonist of which was Sultan III Selim’s great-grandfather Mehmed IV (1642–1693, r.1648–1687), and it concludes with Die Geschichte des Ali Ibn Bekkâr mit Schams An Nahâr (‘The story of Ali Ibn Bekkâr with Schams An Nahâr’, Vienna/Leipzig 1909, MB 0001). The majority of the texts are plays; however, the collection also includes Singspiel libretti, such as one composed by Mozart’s last student, Franz Xaver Süßmayr (1766–1803), Solimann der Zweite oder Die drei Sultaninen (‘Soliman the Second or The three sultanas’, Vienna 1799, MB 1000).

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

THE ‘RUSSIAN TRILOGY’

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

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

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

14 Kratter’s plays in the Komplex Mauerbach:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Komplex Mauerbach</th>
<th>Play Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1416</td>
<td>Kratter</td>
<td>Adelheid von Werdingen</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>1417</td>
<td>Kratter</td>
<td>Alexander Menzikof</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>1418</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Das Mädchens von Marienburg</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>1419</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Der Friede am Pruth</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Grätz</td>
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<td>1420</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Der Vizekanzler</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>1421</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Die Sklavin in Surinam</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>s.l.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1422/01</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Das Mädchens von Marienburg</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Frankfurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1422/02</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Frankfurt</td>
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<tr>
<td>1422/03</td>
<td>Kratter Franz</td>
<td>Der Friede am Pruth</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Frankfurt</td>
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15 Vulpius’s plays in the Komplex Mauerbach:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Komplex Mauerbach</th>
<th>Play Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tr>
<td>2486</td>
<td>Vulpius</td>
<td>Carl XII. bey Bender</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Grätz</td>
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<tr>
<td>2487</td>
<td>Vulpius</td>
<td>Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>2488</td>
<td>Vulpius C.A.</td>
<td>Glücksproben</td>
<td>1793</td>
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<td>2489</td>
<td>Vulpius C.A.</td>
<td>Liebesproben</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Baireuth</td>
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<tr>
<td>2490</td>
<td>Vulpius C.A.</td>
<td>Sie konnts nicht übers Herz bringen</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Weißenfels/Leipzig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Franz Kratter (1758–1830) and Der Frie de am Pruth

FRANZ KRATTER (1758–1830)

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

Kratter was born in “1758 zu Oberdorf am Lech in Schwaben”, a municipality near Augsburg, which was Leopold Mozart’s (1719–1787) native city, and one of the three cities – Vienna, Salzburg, and Augsburg – which together are called the

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

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

**FREEMASON, MOZART AND KRATTER**

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

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


24 Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart had very early knowledge of and contact with Masonry. Cf. Anonymous: "Mozart. 1. Leopold; 2. Wolfgang Amadeus", in: *Internationales Freimaurermuseum*, pp. 1068–1070. Wolfgang wrote his first composition related to the Masonic world when he was not yet twenty years old: 1774 ‘O heiliges Band der Freundschaft treuer Brüder’ (‘O holy band of trusty brothers’ friendship’; words by Ludwig Friedrich Lenz) for voice, chorus of one voice, piano (KV 125h = 148); traditionally dated 1772, but Wolfgang Plath suggests 1774–1776; we opt for the period round the incidental music to the play *Thamos, König von Ägypten* (‘Thamos, King of Egypt’, KV 345 = 336a) by Tobias Freiherr von Gebler.
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and lent season of 1785; this was also the year when Mozart wrote the highest number of his musical compositions for the Brotherhood.25

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

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

25 Mozart’s Masonic compositions in 1785 (five items):
1785 III 26 “Die ihr einem neuen Grade” (‘You who a new grade’; Lied “Gesellenreise” [‘Journeyman’s travel’]; words by Joseph Franz Ratschky) for voice and piano (KV 468).
1785 IV 20 “Sehen, wie dem starren Forscherauge” (‘To see, how the researcher’s rigid eye’; Kantate “Die Maurerfreude” [‘The mason’s joy’]; words by Franz Petran) for tenor, male chorus; two violins, viola, basso, two oboes, one clarinet, two horns (KV 471).
1785 VII “Trauermusik” (‘Funeral music’) for two violins, viola, violoncello, basso, two oboes, one clarinet, three bassett-horns, two and three (KV 479a = 477).
1785 VIII “Zur Eröffnung der Meisterloge” (‘Opening of the Master Lodge’; “Des Todes Werk” [‘The work of death’]; words by Gottlieb Leon); presumably represented by Mozart and the tenor Valentin Adamberger for the promotion of Karl von König to the grade of Master in Zur Wahren Eintracht, August 12, 1785 (lost, KV deest).
1785 VIII “Zum Schluß der Meisterarbeit” (‘Ending of the Master Lodge’; Lied “Vollbracht ist die Arbeit der Meister” [‘Accomplished the masters’ work’], words by Gottlieb Leon); see above entry (lost, KV deest).

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

26 Mozart’s Masonic compositions 1786 (two items):
1786 I “Zerfließet heut, geliebte Brüder” (‘Today melt into tears, beloved brethren’; words by Augustin Veith Edler von Schittlersberg) for voice, chorus of three voices, organ (KV 483).
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did not attend the inauguration ceremony, excusing himself with collywobbles and headache.\(^{27}\) Mozart was surely disappointed by the developments regarding Freemasonry in the emperor’s states, but he was obviously not interested in causing an affront to the Brotherhood’s new officials. Accordingly, he wrote the music, but protested the inauguration of the new lodge by refraining from taking part in the ceremony.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1786 I ‘Ihr unsre neuen Leiter’ (‘You, our new wardens’; words by Augustin Veith Edler von Schittlersberg) for voice, chorus of three voices, organ (see above entry) (KV 484).
30 Mozart’s Masonic compositions 1791 (three items):
1791 (?) ‘Dir, Seele des Weltalls’ (‘To you, soul of the universe’; cantata [fragments]; words by Lorenz Leopold Haschka), for two tenors and one bass; two violins, viola, numbered basso, one flute, two oboes, one clarinet, two horns (KV 420a (429) = 468a).
1791 VII ‘Die ihr des unermesslichen Weltalls Schöpfer ehrt’ (‘You Who Honour The Maker of
text written by a co-Mason and long-time friend Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812), a subject to which we will return later. Schikaneder was of Bavarian origin, as was Franz Kratter, whose story we now follow further.

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

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


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

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

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

W.A. Mozart and Popular Theatre in Vienna

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

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

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

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

37 Mozart was metaphorically as well as literally thrown out through the door and given a boot in the ass (“zur thüre hinaus schmeist, und einen tritt im Hintern giebt”). Cf. W. A. Mozart, letter to his father, Vienna, June 9, 1781, in: MBA, vol. 3, pp. 125–126, no. 604, lines 9–10.
Mozart’s drafts for comedies such as Der Salzburger Lump in Wien (‘The Salzburg rascal in Vienna’, KV 509b) and Die Liebes Probe (‘The love proof’, KV 509c), both of which feature characters such as “Wurstl” and “kasperl” [sic] who are Zanni derivatives. The drafts of both plays are undated and, according to Mozart experts, date back to 1787 (KV 509a and b); however, Weidinger sets the year of the creation of these drafts as 1781, coinciding with Mozart’s first year in Vienna and the opening of the Leopoldstädter Theater (October 20, 1781).41 He points out that the earliest piece of direct evidence concerning Mozart’s connection with the Leopoldstädter Theater is a composition for the actor Friedrich Bumann (1763–1841): “Ein teutsches krieglied: Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser seyn” (‘A German battle song: I would fain like to be the Emperor’; KV 539).42 Bumann sang this war-themed song on the occasion of an “Akademie” (‘academy’ = concert) on March 7, 1788,43 at the beginning of the last Austro-Ottoman War (1788–1791).

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

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


41 Cf. ibidem, pp. 526–528.
43 Cf. MBA, vol. 6, commentary to no. 1075, p. 367.
45 W. A. Mozart, letter to his wife, Vienna, June 12, 1791, in: MBA, vol. 4, p. 137, no. 1161, line 22.
To this opera and the largely unknown 1795 edition of the text by Schikaneder himself (a copy of which is held in the Komplex Mauerbach) we will return at the end of this study.

**Mozart’s ‘Turkish’ Singspiels and the Komplex Mauerbach**

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

The author of one of these Zaide texts is Karl Friedrich Hensler (1759–1825), whose play is entitled *Zaide oder Das Weib in ihrer wahren Schönheit* (‘Zaide or The woman in her true beauty’, Vienna 1792, MB 0848) and was performed during Mozart’s lifetime in the Vienna Leopoldstädter Theater on August 4, 5, 6 and 8, 1790. Friedrich Hensler, like Kratter, worked as theatre director and dramatist, and was a Freemason, too. He belonged to the Carolina zu den drei Pfauen (‘Carolina to the three peacocks’) lodge and was also nominated for the Zu den drei Adlern (‘Three eagles’) lodge; from 1786, like Mozart, he was a member of Zur neu gekrönten Hoffnung. Hensler also wrote the “Maurerrede auf Mozarts Tod” (‘Masonic oration on Mozart’s death’). This funeral booklet was printed by Ignaz Alberti (1761–1794), a co-Mason, who also happened to be the printer of the first libretto of *Die Zauberflöte*. And let us not forget to mention that Hensler, before becoming a successful playwright, had aspired to a career in the diplomatic service. But when his first play, *Der Soldat von Cherson* (‘The soldier from Cherson’, Vienna, 48 Deutsche Schaubühne, 5/2, 1793. – Cf. Franz Hadamowsky: *Das Theater in der Wiener Leopoldstadt 1781–1860*. Vienna: s.typ., 1934 (= Kataloge der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien 3), p. 289.


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

Another Zaide author is Joseph Alois Gleich (1772–1841). Like Hensler, he was a successful playwright of his time, and his play Die bezauberte Leyer oder Allerich und Zaide (Vienna 1809, MB 0564) was performed at the Leopoldstädter Theater on January 5 to 8, and 11, 1809.\[51\]

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

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

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53 Cf. Alfred Einstein: “Die Text-Vorlage zu Mozarts ‘Zaide’”, in: Acta Musicologica 8/1–2 (1936), pp. 30–37, p. 31: Otto Jahn assumed that Schachtner’s model went back to a French original. Treating a completely different subject, Jahn expressly excluded Mme. La Fayette’s Zaide; he further mentioned Jean de La Chapelle’s (1655–1723) tragedy Zaide (1681), and Zaïde, reine de Grenade (1739), an opera in three acts by Abbé de La Marte (1708–1742) and Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrèse Royer (ca.1705–1755). Einstein claimed instead that Zaide did not go back to a French model.
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‘oriental milieu’ through his play Die Sklavin und der großmütige Seefahrer (‘The slave and the magnanimous seaman’, Wien 1781, MB 2336). Now, after a look at Vienna’s popular theatre scene of Mozart and Kratter’s time, let us shift to the most distant of the Habsburg states, the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and its capital city.

THEATRE CITY LEMBERG

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

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

54 Polish: Lwów; Ukrainian: Lviv; Italian: Leopoli.
The 1780s
In fact, “the 1780s, the decade of Joseph’s sole rule, brought to Galicia a new breed of Josephine travelers, including Franz Kratter […], taking stock of the province according to the values of the Enlightenment.”

In 1786, Kratter’s Briefe über den itzigen Zustand Galiziens were published anonymously and generally were received as “Aufsehen erregend” (‘sensational’). According to Wurzbach’s Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, the letters had

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68 Cf. Hugo Lane: “Friedrich Heinrich Bulla und der Aufstieg des polnischen Theaters in Lemberg”,
The 1790s
Two prints of 1792 indicate that the first representation of Schikaneder’s *Zauberflöte* after the Vienna premiere in the Freihaustheater on September 30, 1791, did not take place in Prague, as is often suggested, but in Lemberg, almost precisely one year after the Vienna premiere:


For the occasion a Polish version was also printed:


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

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

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

71 With gratitude to Rudolph Angermüller for his commendable work and for giving a copy of his unpublished typescript to the Don Juan Archiv Vienna: The German version “44 S. 8°: Vc.” The Polish version: “46 S. 8°(Polsnich) PL: Kj.”

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

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

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

1800–1830

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

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


KRATTER’S RUSSIAN TRILOGY

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

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

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

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

*Das Mädchen von Marienburg* (1795)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Surinam’; four presentations between March 16 and August 6, 1801), Das Mädchen von Marienburg was performed at the court theatre 133 times between October 4, 1793, and January 21, 1848.\textsuperscript{82}

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

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

\textit{Die Verschwörung wider Peter den Großen (1795)}

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

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


I would like to thank Matthias J. Pernerstorfer for this information.

\textsuperscript{83} To the genealogy of the Weber family cf.


\textsuperscript{84} Cf. MBA, vol. 6, commentary to no. 596, pp. 65–66.
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viele traurige herzerschütternde Scenen, doch löst es sich für die Personen, die den Leser am meisten interessiren, zuletzt noch glücklich auf.85

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

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

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

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

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

Der Friede am Pruth (1799)

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

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

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

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

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


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abgeneigt, Rußlands Staatsgeschichte noch weiter hin zu dramatisiren; und da es unstreitig der Zuschauer und Leser in Menge gibt, die von dem wahren Verlauf der Dinge wenig oder gar nichts wissen: so sieht Rec[ensent]. nicht ab, was an diesem Einfalle sonderlich zu tadeln wäre. Höchstwahrscheinlich haben dergleichen Ignoranten von dramatischer Kunst eben so unvollkommernen Begriff, und da Leuten dieses Schlags nur darum zu thun seyn kann, etwas Unerhörtes zu sehn: so kann vorliegenden Schauspiel, das an Abentheuern und seltsamen Geschwätz keinem Romane in der Welt etwas nachgiebt, zuverlässig eben den Beyfall finden, der schon den früheren Erzeugnissen dieser Feder geworden ist. Für den Zeitvertreibslustigen hingegen, der irgendein merkwürdiges Er- eigniß dergestalt in Handlung gebracht sehen will, daß Kopf und Herz nicht leer dabei ausgehe, die Aufmerksamkeit in zunehmender Spannung erhalten, und am Ende der Laufbahn ein praktisches Resultat gewonnen werde, für solch einen Zuschauer ist in vorliegender Staats- und Heldenfarce nicht das mindeste zu suchen. Peter der Große wird hier als Besitzer jeder Tugend dargestellt, und bleibt ein wenig anziehender Charakter; Katharina zeigt eine Geistesbildung und Herzensgüte – wozu Natur seitdem die Form zerbrach; der arme Alexiowitsch aber macht Streiche, als schierlich noch ein Thronerbe sich einfallen ließ; einer der beyden Großveziere sinkt bis zum Pickelhering herab, indeß sein Kollege den Grandison selber beschämt. Alle diese Personen, und noch ein Dutzend anderer, eben so stark gezeichneter oder verzeichneter; denn auch der tollkühne Schweden=Carl muß einen Dialog mit Peter und Katharinen bestehn; bringen so viel Verwirrung und Lerm hervor, daß auch die klügern, oft superklugen Sentenzen, die ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit entwichen, darüber unhörbar werden, und in dem Meere von Abentheuerlichkeit ersaufen. Was dem Wirrwarr einen noch sonderbarren Anstrich giebt, ist der Vortrag. Wie es ganz danach aussieht, hat der Autor in Jamben schreiben wollen; mag aber doch auf unerwartet Schwierigkeiten gestoßen, und mit seinem Ohr darüber nicht aufs Reine gekommen seyn. Wo indeß ein jambischer oder trochaischer Vers ihm in die Feder lief, ließ er ihn stehn; und tief in das Stück hinein rollen deren so viele mit unter, da ihr Abstich gegen die sie umgebende baare Prosa gerade deßhalb nur um desto fühlbarer wird, und den Declamator äußerst peinigen muß. Gegen das Ende zu fällt zwar alles ungleich prosaischer aus; metrische Absätze bleiben ihm jedoch noch immer willkommen; und wie viel er sich von Dichtkunst überhaupt verspricht, belegt schon der Umstand, daß der staatskluge Bruder Katharinens (die Geschichte kennt ihn als grundeinfältigen Tropf) den Lauf
des Krieges in türkische Verse bringt, und durch diesen Meisterstreicht die Mutter des Großsultans wirklich zu Gunsten Russlands umstimmt. Katharina findet diesen Einfall vortrefflich! Schade, daß uns dieses Drama selbst, nicht wenigstens Bruchstücke dieses Sirenengesangs aufbehalten hat! So was könnte den berühmten Bounaparte [sic] aus aller seiner Verlegenheit helfen.91

(The treaty of Prut; a play in five acts by Franz Kratter. Frankfurt am Main, at Esslinger, 190p. 8.10x [= Kreutzer, equivalent to pence]. To be seen as supplement of the first volume of complete plays by this playwright: because The Girl from Marienburg and The Conspiracy Against Peter the Great are to be placed in front, the whole obtained its main title here. It seems that this dramatist [Franz Kratter] is not unwilling to dramatize the history of Russia further; and because it is undoubted that there are spectators and readers who know little or nothing about the true course of action, therefore this Reviewer does not see what should be especially criticized about this idea. Most probably such ignorant people have an imperfect idea of dramatic art and all the people of this kind can just ask to see something outrageous: Thus the play at hand, which is not inferior to any novel in the world concerning adventures and strange verbiage, can reliably find the applause that already was obtained by earlier products by this pen. However, for the friend of pastime, who wants to see some odd event that is set in action in such a way that head and heart do not come away empty-handed, to get attention in increasing suspense, and at the end of the course to achieve a practical result, for such a spectator not the least is to be sought in the state’s and hero’s farce. Peter the Great is represented as possessor of every virtue and remains a little-appealing character; Katharina shows some education of the mind and goodness – for which nature destroyed the form since then; poor Alexiowitsch plays tricks that scarcely a heir to the throne would come up with; one of the two grand viziers degenerates to a pickle-herring, while his colleague humiliates the poet himself. All these characters and another dozen, which are as strongly shaped or wrongly shaped (also daring Swedish Carl has to pass through a dialogue with Peter and Katharina), create so much confusion and noise that the more astute and super astute sentences which occur from time to time become inaudible and drown in the ocean of

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

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


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

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

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

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

A MOZARTIAN EPILOGUE

The historical period treated in Kratter’s Der Friede am Pruth is depicted by another Komplex Mauerbach writer, the aforementioned Christian August Vulpius – since 1806 brother-in-law of Johann Wolfgang Goethe – in his Carl XII. bey Bender (Grätz 1800, MB 2486). A later edition of Vulpius’ play bears the name Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender, and also exists in the Theater-Library Pálffy.95 With this play Vulpius tried to avoid stereotypes by concentrating on historicizing. Even though it had its world premiere on August 29, 1797, in the court theatre of Vienna, it was not a great success, despite the thorough research that Vulpius had been conducting since 1785.96 After a series of performances in Vienna, Munich, Kassel, Dresden, Carlsbad,
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Nurnberg, Salzburg and Breslau, in 1799 Vulpius asked Schiller for his opinion about the play:

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

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

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

Weimar 1794: The Bid

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


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

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


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

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


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

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

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Vienna 1795: The Double

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


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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

**Vienna 1801: The Overhead**

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

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102 Ibidem, p. 11.
103 Ibidem, p. 15.
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at Schikaneder’s Wiedner Theater following his engagement at the Lepoldstädt Theater, – published a commentary:


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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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106 Ibidem, s. p.
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APPENDIX:
REGISTER OF ‘ORIENTAL’ PLAYS IN THE KOMPLEX MAUERBACH

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

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

Historical Plays (1751–1872)

1. Ephraim Benjamin Krüger: Mahomed der Vierte. Wien, 1751 MB 1435
2. Karl Friedrich Hensler: Der Soldat von Cherson. Wien, 1790 MB 0863
4. Franz Kratter: Das Mädchen von Marienburg. Wien, 1795 MB 1418
5. Franz Kratter: Das Mädchen von Marienburg. Frankfurt, 1795 MB 1422/01
6. Franz Kratter: Der Friede am Pruth. Frankfurt, 1799 MB 1422/02
7. Franz Kratter: Der Friede am Pruth. Grätz, 1799 MB 1419
8. Christian August Vulpius: Carl XII. bey Bender. Grätz, 1800 MB 2486
11. Christian August Vulpius: Sitah Mani oder Karl XII. bey Bender. Wien, 1809 MB 2487

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

Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2012-1/pfeiffer/

Sultan Dramas and Comedies (1751–1909)

1. Ephraim Benjamin Krüger: Mahomed der Vierte. Wien, 1751
2. August von Kotzebue: Sultan Wampun oder die Wünsche. Wien, 1801
3. August von Kotzebue: Sultan Wampun oder die Wünsche. Wien, 1810
4. August von Kotzebue: Sultan Bimbambum oder Der Triumph der Wahrheit. Wien, 1811
9. Ludwig Fulda: Der Sohn des Kalifen. Stuttgart, 1897

Harem and Seraglio Plays (1772–1843)

1. Palissot de Montenoy: Der Barbier von Bagdad. Frankfurth/Leipzig, 1772
2. Paul]. Weidmann: Hababah oder die Eifersucht im Serail. Wien, 1772
3. [Charles Simon] Favart: Solimann der zweyte oder die drey Sultaninnen. Münster, 1777
5. Christoph. F. Bretzner: Belmont und Constanze oder die Entführung aus dem Serail. Leipzig, 1781
6. Heinrich Keller: Algar und Ylly oder Der Sieg ächter Liebe. Dessau, 1784
7. Franz Xaver Huber: Soliman der zweyte oder die drey Sultaninen. Wien, 1799
Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2012-1/pfeiffer/

9. August von Kotzebue: Der Harem. Wien, 1811 MB 1387/06
10. Theodor Hell: Zulima. S.l., s.a. MB 0789

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

1. J. F. Jünger: Selim, Prinz von Algier. Wien, 1805 MB 2171/02

Moorish Plays (1805–1897)

3. Friedrich Wilhelm Ziegler: Die Mohrin. Wien, 1834 MB 2680
4. Ignaz Franz Castelli: Alamar der Maure. Wien, s.a. MB 0264
5. Richard Voss: Der Mohr des Zaren. Frankfurt am Main, 1883 MB 2485/03

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

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

109 Kotzebue wrote this play shortly after Selim III’s death (1808). Considering “türkische Gesandte” (“Turkish envoys’), a reader might immediately think of the Ottoman diplomacy and the establishment of permanent ambassadors in Europe under Selim, as there were embassies in St. Petersburg in 1792, London in 1793, Vienna in 1795, and Berlin and Paris in 1796. At St. Petersburg, Kotzebue was sent to participate in negotiations after the Jassy Treaty of 1792. See Suna Suner: “The Earliest Opera Performances in the Ottoman World and the Role of Diplomacy”, in: Ottoman Empire and European Theatre, vol. 1: The Age of W. A. Mozart and Sultan Selim III, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger, in print.
7. Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer: Diplomatische Fäden. Stuttgart, 1873 MB 0670
8. Paul Lindau: In diplomatischer Sendung. Berlin, 1879 MB 1576/02

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