**PERFORMING MASCULINITY IN JOHANN STRAUSS'S
*DIE FLEDERMAUS***

BY

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Editorial Note

Unless otherwise specified, all translations from German are my own. My thanks to my supervisors for their advice on the finer nuances of translation.

All references to the score and libretto of *Die Fledermaus* refer to the critical edition of the score, edited by Michael Rot, and published by Strauss Edition Wien as part of the *Neue Johann Strauss Gesamtausgabe*.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the performance and articulation of masculinity in Johann Strauss's third operetta, *Die Fledermaus*. Since the operetta's premiere at the Theater an der Wien on 5 April 1875, *Die Fledermaus* has become one of the most enduring works in the operetta repertory. *Die Fledermaus* is regularly performed in all the world's major opera houses but, despite its popularity, there exist relatively few critical studies of this operetta, and fewer still that address the significance of gender in the piece. In this thesis I argue that as a work with an unusual number of male characters originating in later nineteenth-century Vienna — a period and place where masculinities were moulded by complex, rigid social codes and distinctions — significant new insight can be gained by approaching the work through its articulation of masculinities. The male characters in *Die Fledermaus* also exhibit several elements of troubled, atypical, and non-heroic forms of masculinity. The title 'Performing Masculinities in Johann Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*' alludes to the idea that masculinity and femininity are highly mutable and individual forms of performance, conditioned by a variety of personal and societal influences.

For several decades, scholars from a variety of disciplines have examined the significance of gender in opera from many theoretical perspectives. New analyses of opera conducted under the disciplinary umbrella of feminist musicology have provided a challenging discursive illumination of the position of women in opera. More recently, interest in studying operatic masculinities has burgeoned, firstly as a response to a wider scholarly interest in critical masculinities and secondly as a recognition of the need to dissect, problematize, and even pathologize the varied manifestations of masculinity in opera. However, research investigating operatic masculinities has seldom broached the unique and specific qualities of operetta.

The primary goal of this thesis is to develop a new critical understanding of *Die Fledermaus*, using its depictions of masculinities to challenge generic and popular clichés about the work. An interdisciplinary approach to this project combines musical and textual analysis with cultural history and masculinity theory. My study considers a range of primary and archival sources — including historical newspapers and journals, scores and recordings of operetta, personal papers, and iconography — all of which help to illuminate cultural constructions of masculinity in late nineteenth-century Vienna, relevant to the reception of *Die Fledermaus*. Secondary sources from a variety of disciplines, including political and social history, medical and art history, philosophy, and literary studies, help to shape the broad historical context for the thesis, while connecting this context with the ways that *Die Fledermaus* articulates masculinity.

By making use of cultural products contemporary with the creation and early performances of *Die Fledermaus*, to make a contextual analysis of the characters' behaviour

and interactions, the thesis presents *Die Fledermaus* as a reflection of society; inherent in this reflection are concerns about ideal, correct, and problematic forms of masculinity. These themes are manifest in Chapter 1, which traces how the male characters contend with the conventions of manly honour and *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*, two concepts critical to Viennese masculinities in the late nineteenth century. The second chapter discusses the character Orlofski, whose synthesis of Russian and Austro-German traits and types of masculinity emerges through his *Langeweile* and his resemblance to the Russian ‘superfluous man’ (*lishniy chelovék*). Chapter 3 continues the exploration of Orlofski but considers the intersection of masculinity and the *travesti* role, and the reception of early performers of Orlofski at the Theater an der Wien and Hofoper. The fourth chapter steps away from Vienna, turning its attention to the first performance of *Die Fledermaus* in London. The chapter highlights the theory that geography and culture play a crucial role in the construction of masculinities by examining the connections between Charles Hamilton Aidé’s adaptation of the operetta and the intellectual milieu of Aidé, Matthew Arnold, G. H. Lewes, and their peers. In Chapter 5, the thesis moves back to *fin de siècle* Vienna, when *Die Fledermaus* began a new life at the Hofoper, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing presented to the world in *Psycopathia Sexualis* his newly medicalized and pathologized view of masculinity. I suggest that viewing *Die Fledermaus* from the perspective of Krafft-Ebing’s texts would have given some in the Hofoper audience a new insight or justification for the behaviour of Strauss and Genée’s characters.

In sum, the thesis offers a detailed exploration of *Die Fledermaus*, connecting its characters’ performances or articulations of masculinity with a variety of musical, historical, and cultural contexts. The thesis illuminates new perspectives on the operatic masculinities within *Die Fledermaus* and contributes to the larger body of scholarship concerning masculinities in Habsburg Vienna.

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Introduction.

'Er weint und tanzt zugleich! *He weeps and dances at the same time!*
Wie leichtsinnig doch diese Männer sind!' *How capricious these men are!'*

Rosalinde, *Die Fledermaus*, act 1.

0.1 *Die Fledermaus* and masculinity in Habsburg Vienna.

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain how the music and libretto of *Die Fledermaus* articulate aspects of late nineteenth-century masculinities. To achieve this aim, I offer a series of discussions and analyses of different manifestations of masculinity in the operetta concentrating principally on Vienna during the period 1874–1900. The behaviour and utterances of the male characters in *Die Fledermaus* resonate with or reflect a range of contemporaneous concerns about correct, flawed, and ideal forms of masculinity, as well as the threats that could potentially compromise a man’s intellect, morality, and honour. The process of discovering the links between *Die Fledermaus* and sources that address the perils threatening masculine rectitude reveals links between the themes and scenarios in *Die Fledermaus* and works by authors as diverse as Matthew Arnold, Stefan Zweig, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing.

Musicologists and cultural historians study operetta from a variety of angles, taking into account its creators' and characters' nationalities and social status, and the role of operetta in building national identity. Their research also illuminates the elements of parody, satire, and political or social comment that characterise many nineteenth-century operettas.¹ However, some important facets of gender in operetta have been overlooked, and comparatively little, if any, research has addressed the significance of masculinity in operetta, specifically in Johann Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*.²

Furthermore, the profusion of male characters in *Die Fledermaus* and the relative scarcity of female ones, combined with the operetta's cynical avoidance of a conventional romantic storyline and happy conclusion, suggest that Johann Strauss and Richard Genée's operetta of 1874 might provide a rich source for the exploration of problematic, unheroic masculinities in a Habsburg context. In addition to illuminating our understanding of Habsburg

¹ The diverse range of papers at the conference hosted by the GOLNY research centre at Leeds University in January 2019 attests to the variety of current research interests in operetta. See ‘Gaiety, Glitz and Glamour, or Dispirited Historical Dregs? A Re-evaluation of Operetta,’ <http://golny.leeds.ac.uk/international-conference/>.

² See Robert Dassanowsky, 'A Reasonable Fantasy: The Musical Film under Austrofascism (1933-1938),' *Colloquia Germanica* 43, no. 4 (2010): 319-340; Robert Dassanowsky, 'Reasonable Fantasies: Cine-Operetta, Sängerfilm, and Sociocritical Music Film,' in *Screening Transcendence: Film under Austrofascism and the Hollywood Hope, 1933-1938* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018) 198-228.

masculinities, I suggest that the construction and performance of masculinities in *Die Fledermaus* are principal driving forces in a plot that concerns itself with revenge, betrayal, suspicion, and deception.

My aim is to illustrate the ways in which the constructions of masculinity performed on stage in *Die Fledermaus* may have resonated with audiences, alongside other cultural, historical, and social factors that influenced or shaped constructions and understanding of masculinity. The contention that, owing to censorship and decorum, Viennese operettas of the 'Golden Age' had little of the satirical bite that characterised their Parisian counterparts has accelerated the tendency to view these works, including *Die Fledermaus*, with sentimentality, through frequent iterations of Alfred's words, 'Glücklich ist, wer vergißt, was doch nicht zu ändern ist.' ('Happy is he, who forgets what cannot be otherwise.')

³ My intention is not to champion the musical quality of *Die Fledermaus* or to argue for the literary integrity of its libretto; to propose that *Die Fledermaus* presents a searing critique of duelling culture in the manner of Arthur Schnitzler, or exposes the hypocrisy of the sexual double standard in late nineteenth-century Vienna would be contrived. Instead, the purpose of this thesis is to show how *Die Fledermaus* — whether performed at the Theater an der Wien in 1874, London's Alhambra Theatre in 1876, or Vienna's Hofoper in 1894 — held up a mirror to the times, in which the audience might choose to see, or ignore, topical concerns reflected.

The richness and variety of Viennese theatrical life in the nineteenth century, and its centrality to the everyday life of the city is now difficult to imagine but is crucial to understanding the creation of *Die Fledermaus*, its performance history in the nineteenth century, and the significance of masculinity in the operetta. Reflecting on Vienna's avid enthusiasm for, and fascination with its theatre, actors, and singers during his early life, Stefan Zweig wrote that:

In this receptivity for all that was colourful, festive and resounding, in this pleasure in the theatrical, whether it was on the stage or in reality, both as theatre and as a mirror of life, the whole city was at one.⁴

So full and diverse was this scene that, as even the inexhaustible historian of Viennese theatre, W. E. Yates, has noted, any attempt at a 'brief overview of theatrical life in Vienna ... can provide [no] more than a highly selective account.'⁵ Yates's proviso applies to an overview of just one theatre, the Theatre an der Wien, a venue that played a crucial role in the development

³ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 15. All references to the libretto come from the critical edition of *Die Fledermaus*, edited by Michael Rot (Vienna: Strauss Edition Wien. Unless specified, all translations are my own.

⁴ Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, trans. Anthea Bell (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013) 18.

⁵ W. E. Yates 'Continuity and Discontinuity in Viennese Theatrical Life from the 1860s to the Turn of the Century,' *Austrian Studies* 16 (2008) 51.

of Viennese operetta as a genre, not least through its management's decision to commission three operettas from Johann Strauss in the 1870s.

0.2 The Theater an der Wien in the nineteenth century.

By the time of the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* in 1874, operetta had been the mainstay of the theatre's repertoire for more than fifteen years, but the Theater an der Wien had long provided a venue for concerts, dramatic and comic plays, opera, burlesque, and other miscellaneous genres of theatrical entertainment. This diversification proved crucial to capturing an audience. Although the development of Viennese operetta at the Theater an der Wien evolved in response to Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*, a variety of other musical and theatrical styles contributed to the genre, shaping the style and humour of operettas by Strauss and his colleagues. This variety was evident from the very first days of the Theater an der Wien in 1801.

The first seventy-five years of the Theater an der Wien's life were characterised by diversity of repertoire and volatile financial circumstances. In a few decades, the theatre passed through a variety of owners' and directors' hands. Originally a venture of Emanuel Schikaneder, the Theater an der Wien opened its doors on 13 June 1801.⁶ The first performance included Schikaneder's play *Thespis Traum*, and *Alexander*, an opera by Franz Teyber for which Schikaneder had written the libretto. Designed by architect Franz Jäger, the new theatre seated around two thousand people, and possessed the latest technology in stage machinery, which provided innovative stage effects and grand spectacle.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw the Theater an der Wien stage a diverse array of productions including plays by Grillparzer and Schiller, and Rossini's operas; Franz Schubert provided the music for *Die Zauberharfe* (1820) and *Rosamunde* (1823). The Theater an der Wien also produced concerts: during Beethoven's tenure as the theatre's music director and composer, his second and third symphonies, and Piano Concerto in C minor received their premieres, in addition to the 1805 and 1806 versions of *Fidelio*.

In 1825 Karl Carl took over the debt-ridden Theater an der Wien, and Johann Nepomuk Nestroy joined the company in 1830. Nestroy's acting and plays were critical to the establishment of a strong, unique tradition of dialect comedy.⁷ He would later adapt, and perform in the first German-language adaptations of Offenbach's *opéras bouffes* in Vienna.⁸

⁶Peter Branscombe. 'Schikaneder [Schikaneder], Emanuel.' Accessed 28 January. 2019.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000904664>

⁷W. E. Yates, 'Internationalization of European Theatre: French Influence in Vienna between 1830 and 1860,' *Austrian Studies* 13 (2005) 37-54.

⁸ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017) 89.

After twenty years another takeover occurred, this time by Franz Pokorny who intended to resurrect the Theater an der Wien as an opera theatre but whose mission was interrupted by the revolutionary turmoil of 1848. His son, Alois, became manager after Franz's death.

In 1856 the first of Offenbach's *bouffes* to be performed in Vienna — by a Parisian company — was heard at the Carltheater, followed in 1858 by its director Carl Treumann's adaptation of Offenbach's *Le Mariage aux lanterns* as *Hochzeit bei Lanternschein*.⁹ An Offenbach frenzy soon spread through Vienna, which several scholars, including Camille Crittenden, Laurence Senelick, Richard Traubner, and Andrew Lamb have documented.¹⁰ Although just one of several theatres that responded with alacrity to the public appetite for operetta, the Theater an der Wien's long history as a venue for characteristically Viennese genres of *Lustspiel*, *Lokalposse*, *Zauberposse*, *Charakterbild*, and *Singspiel* made it ideally suited for operetta. By continuing to present plays and burlesques alongside its operettas, the Theater an der Wien nourished the 'generic hybridity' of operetta, allowing the form to accumulate its 'rich vocabulary of conventions and codes with remarkable speed.'¹¹

By 1860, Franz von Suppé, *Kapellmeister* of the Theater an der Wien since 1845, had prepared music for a variety of the theatrical genres performed at the theatre alongside conducting operas and other works.¹² Suppé was more than ready to compose an operetta that would rival Offenbach's while preserving various elements of Viennese comic genres to make it genuinely local: the premiere of Suppé's operetta *Das Pensionat* took place on 24 November. Intended partly as an antidote to the popularity of Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*, *Das Pensionat* precipitated the 'Golden Age' of Viennese Operetta.¹³

0.3 Johann Strauss as an operetta composer.

In 1862, the same year that Suppé moved to the Kaitheater, Friedrich Strampfer took charge of the Theatre an der Wien. Richard Genée, who would work with Strauss on *Die Fledermaus* was appointed as the theatre's conductor in 1868.¹⁴ In 1869, Strampfer's theatre secretary,

⁹Yates, 'Internationalization,' 54.

¹⁰See discussion of Offenbach and Strauss's interaction in Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1983) 61, 98-99, 107; Andrew Lamb, 'Offenbach, Jacques.' Accessed 28 January, 2019.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020271>

¹¹Michaela Baranello, 'Die Lustige Witwe and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta,' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 26, no. 2 (July 2014) 178.

¹²Peter Branscombe and Dorothea Link. 2001 'Suppé [Suppé], Franz.' Accessed 6 February. 2019. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027130>

¹³Baranello, 'Die Lustige Witwe,' 178-179.

¹⁴Alfred Loewenberg and Andrew Lamb. 2001 'Genée, (Franz Friedrich) Richard.' Accessed 28 January, 2019.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000010858>

Maximilian Steiner, became the director, and then co-director with Marie Geistinger. From this point, operetta dominated the Theater an der Wien's repertoire. Steiner's encouragement of Johann Strauss into the world of operetta proved to be a pivotal moment, and a deft directorial move for the survival of the theatre.

Strauss's debut as an operetta composer occurred as a result of commercial and aesthetic expediency.¹⁵ The Theater an der Wien required a new source of original, Viennese operetta, and as a native of the city Strauss seemed the obvious choice of composer to invest the genre with an irrepressibly local flavour. His first project, *Die lustige Weibe von Wien* (The Merry Wives of Vienna), was soon under way but stalled, due to the unavailability of Josefine Gallmayer for one of the principal roles. In 1870 Geistinger and Steiner signed a contract with Strauss granting them sole rights to his stage works written over the next two years, *Indigo und die Vierzig Räuber*, and *Der Karneval im Rom*.¹⁶ Although Strauss still doubted his own abilities to handle libretti, the synthesis of Strauss's dance music with stage comedy made *Indigo* an instant popular success.

Nevertheless, Johann Strauss's entry into the theatrical world provoked controversy about his capacity for creating stage works. At the time of the premiere of *Indigo* some journalists lampooned Steiner and Geistinger's promotion of Strauss, suggesting that his next post would be as minister of culture. In the aftermath of *Indigo*'s premiere, several reviews agreed that while the music met Strauss's usual standard of invention and quality, his aptitude for text-setting was weak. On 26 February 1871 *Die Bombe* published a caricature on their front page, showing Strauss in the throes of creation, with Geistinger and Steiner as lamps on his music stand (**Figure 0.1**). The accompanying text read:

Unser Zeichner hat den compositeur des 'Indigo' in dem Augenblicke aufgefaßt, wo er sich Einiges aus dieser Operette vorgeigt, — aber um sich einen erhörten Genuß zu verschaffen — ohne Text. Recht und links sieht man Steiner und Geistinger, wie sie bemüht sind, sein Genie in das rechte Lichte zu setzen.¹⁷

Our illustrator has depicted the composer of 'Indigo' at the moment when he conceived some of this operetta, but — in order to increase pleasure of listening — without any text. Steiner and Geistinger are seen to right and left, as they are anxious to put his genius in suitable light.

¹⁵ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: operetta and the politics of popular culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 118-120.

¹⁶The contract for 1870-1871 is reproduced in Franz Mailer, ed., *Johann Strauss (Sohn): Leben und Werk in Briefen und Dokumenten* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider 1986), 4: 151-153. The original document is held by the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, H.I.N. 2798.

¹⁷ *Die Bomb*, 26 February 1871, 2.

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Johann Strauss.

Figure 0.1 Cover of *Die Bombe*, 26 February 1871.

With the premiere of Strauss's second operetta, *Der Karneval im Rom* on 1 March 1873, the critical response suggested that while Strauss's ability to set text had improved, he still struggled to choose good texts, and handle them entirely convincingly. On 8 March, *Figaro* announced that Strauss was 'Nicht mehr Walzerkönig allein, Walzerkönig und Operettenkaiser wird er jetzt bald heißen.' ('No more is he only the Waltz King, soon he will be called Waltz King and Emperor of Operetta.')¹⁸ Discussing the differences between Strauss's still imperfect, but improving aptitude for operetta, *Figaro* compared him with Offenbach, writing that:

Die Offenbach'sche Musik ist natürlicher als die Straußische, ungezwungener und saft immer humoristisch, während die Straußische nur zeitweilig humoristische Anwandlungen hat, dafür aber auch nie banal humoristische wird. Strauß ist in musikalisch, Offenbach ein weltmännisch gebildeterer Komponist.¹⁹

Offenbach's music is more natural than Strauss's, more informal, and always humorous, whereas Strauss's music has only an occasional tendency to be humorous, but its humour is never trivial. Strauss is a musically educated composer, Offenbach a worldly composer.

Despite the musical quality, the critic also commented that: 'Wie man aus der Wahl seiner Libretto's ersieht, fehlt herrn Strauss literarische Bildung und Geschmactk.'²⁰ ('As one sees from his choice of libretto, Herr Strauss lacks literary education and taste.')

Das Vaterland's critic felt that the music was so well worked out by Strauss that it unsettled generic expectations, saying *Der Karneval im Rom* 'looks like something that wants to be an opera, and should be an operetta.' ('das einer Oper sein möchte und eine Operette sein sollte.')²¹ The *Neues Fremden-Blatt* also felt a tension between opera and operetta in *Karneval*:

Und Strauß nähert sich nun im 'Karneval' der grossen Oper mehr, als es uns im Interesse des liebenswürdigen Walzerkönigs lieb ist. Fur die grosse Oper, an welcher selbst der überlegene Bühnenverstand eines Offenbach ('Rheinnixen') scheiterte, ist J. Strauß vorderhand noch nicht reis[.]²²

In *Karneval* Strauss is approaching grand opera more than we would like to see, in the interests of the Waltz King. For the time being, Strauss is not yet ready for the grand opera, in which even the superior stage sense of an Offenbach (*Rheinnixen*) has failed.

These comments indicate how firmly critics believed that operetta possessed unique stylistic conventions to which composers should adhere, if they did not want to blur the boundaries between operetta and opera: such blurring diluted the best qualities of both genres. These reviews also reinforce the view that operetta was not a genre inferior to opera, but a different one, related closely to Viennese traditions of dialect comedy, but with more extensive musical

¹⁸ *Figaro*, 8 March 1873, 5.

¹⁹ *Figaro*, 8 March 1873, 5.

²⁰ *Figaro*, 8 March 1873, 5.

²¹ *Das Vaterland*, 2 March 1873, 4.

²² *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, 4 March 1873, 10.

content and interest: a fusion of multiple theatrical forms, rather than an operatic halfway-house.

0.4 *Le Réveillon* to *Die Fledermaus*.

In 1873, when Steiner needed to find a new libretto for Johann Strauss's third operetta, he was initially at a loss. The libretto of *Indigo und die vierzig Räuber* was largely the work of Steiner; after the premiere, critics had found fault with the debutante Strauss's technique of simply appliqueing characters onto his characteristic dance music.²³ For the second operetta, *Der Karneval im Rom*, which premiered on 1 March 1873, Steiner again took charge of the texts, collaborating with Josef Braun, and the Theater's *Kapellmeister*, Richard Genée. For the next operetta that Strauss had been contracted to write, Steiner looked to Paris, and *Le Réveillon*, a *vaudeville* by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy. Its premiere had taken place on 10 September 1872 at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal. The Parisian librettists had provided Jacques Offenbach with several libretti for his *opéras bouffes*, including *La belle Hélène* and *La grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, both of which had been popular in German translation in Vienna. Although the Theater an der Wien had initially asked Strauss to write operettas as a Viennese alternative to the onslaught of Parisian *bouffes* — 'französischen Schwank' as Genée later called them — Steiner understood that these droll, satirical, and often suggestive Parisian pieces made for popular operettas.²⁴ In fact, the source for *Le Réveillon* had been a German one; the comedy *Das Gefängnis* by Roderich Benedix premiered in Berlin in 1851 and later became popular in Vienna, with fifty-nine performances at the Hofburgtheater between 1851 and 1896.²⁵

Initially Carl Haffner translated *Le Réveillon* as a comic play, but, dissatisfied with the results, Steiner also gave the text to Franz Jauner of the Carltheater.²⁶ Eventually, Steiner gave the text to the Theater an der Wien's music director, Genée.²⁷ As a composer, librettist, and

²³ While remaining a champion of Strauss's dance music, and an advocate for its elevation to a concert genre, Eduard Hanslick remained dubious about Strauss's ability to achieve the synthesis of text, music, and characterisation necessary for the creation of a successful operetta; he stated his preference for *Indigo*, as Dana Gooley has described: 'Hanslick prefers *Indigo* because it includes the longest stretches of uninterrupted dance music, where Strauss (he argues) is most at home.' Dana Gooley, 'Hanslick on Johann Strauss Jr.,' *Rethinking Hanslick*, 98.

²⁴ See Michael Rot's foreword to the critical edition. Johann Strauss, *Die Fledermaus* (Operette in three acts), libretto by Richard Genée, ed. Michael Rot, *Neue Johann Strauss Ausgabe*, series 1, work group 2, volume 3 (Vienna: Strauss Edition Wien 2003) vi.

²⁵ Strauss, *Fledermaus*, vi.

²⁶ A different chronology of this process appears in Richard Traubner's *Operetta*:

'The French play went through several Viennese hands. Franz Jauner ... had his house-writer Karl Haffner translate and adapt *Le Réveillon* for Viennese tastes. But it wasn't right, and the play wound up at the Theater an der Wien on Steiner's desk. At this point the publisher-agent Gustav Lewy suggested that the play would make a good libretto for Strauss Genée was called in to prepare a new version from the French original at a hundred *Gulden* per act.'

Traubner, *Operetta*, 116.

²⁷ Strauss, *Die Fledermaus*, vi.

conductor, Genée saw the potential in *Le Réveillon*, producing a singable adaptation which moved the action from a French town to a ‘spa town near a large city’ (Vienna). Strauss and Genée collaborated closely on the creation of *Die Fledermaus*, which bore the working title *Doktor Fledermaus*.²⁸

Whether choosing the name ‘Eisenstein’ for one of the protagonists of *Die Fledermaus* was the idea of Haffner or Genée is unclear but the choice of name suggests a connection with an earlier Viennese comedy that first played at the Burgtheater in 1858. While searching the ANNO database of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for the name ‘Eisenstein’ in connection with reviews of *Die Fledermaus*, I found an entry in *Der Zwischen-Akt* that highlighted a play called *Cato von Eisen*. Further investigation revealed *Cato von Eisen* to be a three-act *Luftspiel* by Heinrich Laube, then director of the Burgtheater, who adapted the play from Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza’s *Indulgencia para todos*, first published in Madrid in 1816. The ‘problem’ of Gorostiza’s play interested Laube, as he wrote in the preface to volume 13 of his *Dramatische Werke*:

the problem was thought-provoking: a young man who permitted his virtues to make him a pedant, becomes involved in an awkward situation and cannot live up to his pedantic dogmatism; he must finally exclaim, ‘Forbearance with others’ — ‘Indulgencia para todos.’²⁹

Jefferson Rea Spell’s thorough discussion of the translation and adaptation of Gorostiza’s play for the Burgtheater enlarges upon the problem of the play, which brings an otherwise ‘model young man’:

to a realization that forbearance with the failings of others is also a virtue. This is accomplished during his first visit to the home of his prospective bride, through a plot framed and enacted by her family. In less than a day this image of perfection falls in love with the supposed betrothed of his future brother-in-law, fights a duel, gambles away money not his, permits his friend to be arrested without protesting, and even attempts to conceal these lapses from grace in order to sustain his hitherto unblemished reputation. With the realization that it is blasted, he is forced to admit, ruefully, the virtue of forbearance with human weakness.³⁰

A similar idea of forbearance with (if not forgiveness of) human weakness also characterises *Die Fledermaus*. However, while Lauber’s Cato ruefully learns his lesson, the characters of the operetta parodically agree to make peace, while assuaging their lingering anxieties by asserting that all the confusions in the plot were simply the result of too much

²⁸In the Foreword to the critical score by Strauss Edition Wien, Michael Rot has documented the composition process, and the extent of Genée’s musical involvement. For another summary of the composition process, see Mailer, *Johann Strauss (Sohn)* 247-250.

²⁹ Jefferson Rea Spell, ‘*Indulgencia para todos* in Austria and Germany,’ *Hispanic Review* 18, no. 3 (April 1950) 158.

³⁰ Spell, ‘*Indulgencia para todos*,’ 158.

champagne, and no lesson is learned at all.³¹ *Cato von Eisen* also includes an element of parody with a tantalising operatic connection. The family whom ‘Cato’ visits go by the name of ‘Eisenstein’. The Eisenstein paterfamilias is ‘Siegfried von Eisenstein’, and his son and daughter are ‘Sieglinde’ and ‘Siegmund’, thus reversing the relationships in Wagner’s Ring Cycle.

An assertion that a direct connection exists between *Cato von Eisen* and Genée’s use of the name Eisenstein for two of the principal characters in *Die Fledermaus* would be tenuous; the similarities could be entirely coincidental. Nevertheless, as *Cato von Eisenstein* continued to play at the Burgtheater into the 1870s, it is not inconceivable that the librettist of *Die Fledermaus* was aware of its themes and characters, an example of the intertextuality characteristic of Viennese operetta.³²

Genée’s adaption of *Le Réveillon* also involved ensuring that the plot and characters were recognisable to a Viennese audience. He changed the names of most characters and moved the scene of the comedy from the French town of *Le Réveillon* to an Austrian one, a spa ‘near a large city’ (See **Appendix 1** for a comparison of the characters of *Die Fledermaus* and *Le Réveillon*). The differences between Meilhac and Halévy’s script and Genée’s libretto also reflect the different moral priorities and conventions of Paris and Vienna. Genée excised the elements of Meilhac and Halévy’s script that would have been too morally questionable for the Austrian censor.³³ One significant exclusion was the character Métella, a courtesan who is revealed to have been involved with several other characters in their past. Another important difference between the two pieces is that in *Le Réveillon*, Gaillardin’s wife never appears at Prince Yermontoff’s party; instead, it is Métella who tricks Gaillardin into handing over his repeater watch. She reveals that such a watch was promised to her by her first seducer, but never given, and Gaillardin realises that he was the seducer in question.³⁴ In Vienna, Rosalinde and Alfred are depicted dining together, unchaperoned, in act 1, but in *Le Réveillon*, Fanny Gaillardin and Alfred are only shown together in the presence of Pernette, and then Tourillon.

³¹ Linda and Michael Hutcheon discuss the significance of the ‘lusty Dionysian celebrations of the glories of drink’ in *Die Fledermaus* in *Bodily Charm: Living Opera* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2000) 188-189.

³² The intertextual relationship between many Viennese theatre pieces is supported by Michaela Baranello’s discussion of operetta sources and style. Operetta librettists:

borrowed unabashedly also from Viennese theatre pieces such as the *Lustspiel*, *Schwank* and *Posse*, the traditional Germanic *Volksstück*, Italian opera, and the French boulevard theatre that bequeathed the Viennese so many librettos. Through this generic hybridity and its many conspicuous borrowings, operetta built a rich vocabulary of conventions and codes with remarkable speed. Operetta benefitted from the diversity of Vienna’s cultural offerings, and sought to offer something for everyone.

Baranello, ‘*Die lustige Witwe*,’ 178.

³³ Yates provides a summary of Viennese theatre censorship after 1848 in *Theatre in Vienna: A Critical History 1776-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 42-48.

³⁴ Ben Brewster provides a detailed comparison of the respective plots in ‘The Circle: Lubitsch and the theatrical farce tradition,’ *Film History* 13 (2001) 273-275.

Fanny Gaillardin never appears in act 2, so presumably has no knowledge of her husband's presence at Yermontoff's party. Similarly, she does not enter the prison in act 3. Meanwhile, we learn that Gaillardin is a more disreputable person than Eisenstein: his forgotten seduction of Métella is just one instance in which he has failed to pay a courtesan what he owed.³⁵

In *Die Fledermaus*, Rosalinde's wifely virtue is less certain than Fanny Gaillardin's, but she revels in the opportunity to play a trick on her husband. As Brewster put it:

Haffner and Genée resort to the time-honoured expedient ... of having the wife seduce her own husband, so his motivation is adulterous, but the action itself is not. The scandal of Métella is covered up without simply suppressing or reducing to insignificance the sexual motivations for the hero's actions.³⁶

Genée's libretto also never permits the presence of a 'demonstrably fallen woman' on stage, although the changing status of the Eisensteins' maid, Adele, is unambiguously hinted at, as she seeks the protection of one (fake) nobleman, in the form of Chevalier Chagrin (Frank) in order to undertake acting training, before being taken under the wing of Orlofski. Meanwhile, in *Le Réveillon*, Pernette does not attend Yermontoff's party: the letter she receives in act 1 is from her own paramour, rather than the letter that Adele receives, apparently from her sister Ida.

The censors made only a few objections to Genée's text, namely asking that Orlofski's words 'In meiner Villa hat jede Dame das Recht, sich zu verhüllen oder zu enthüllen, soweit es ihre beliebt.' ('In my house every woman has the right to conceal or reveal herself to the extent she desires.') be changed.³⁷ The text was processed by the censor's office by 20 March 1874, still bearing the original title, *Dr. Fledermaus*.³⁸

0.5 Synopsis.

At the heart of the plot of *Die Fledermaus* is the desire of Doktor Falke, a notary, to avenge a humiliating practical joke that his friend Gabriel von Eisenstein played on him a few years earlier. Falke uses Eisenstein's failed appeal against a prison sentence for attacking a civil servant as an opportunity to enact his spectacular revenge. The first act is set in the living room in the home of the *rentier* Gabriel von Eisenstein and his wife Rosalinde. Adele, the Eisensteins' housemaid, has received a letter from her sister Ida inviting her to attend a party at the villa of a Russian prince, Orlofski. Ida tells Adele to borrow a dress from Rosalinde von Eisenstein's wardrobe. Adele asks Rosalinde if she might have the evening off, to visit a 'sick aunt.' Rosalinde refuses, saying she cannot be alone now that her husband is going to prison: she is

³⁵ Métella was a recurring character in Meilhac and Halévy's works, also appearing in their two-act prose play, *Le clé de Métella*, which played at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in 1862, and *La vie Parisienne*, Offenbach's 1865 *opéra bouffe*.

³⁶ Brewster, 'The Circle,' 277.

³⁷ Strauss, *Fledermaus*, vii.

³⁸ This copy is held by the Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv at St Pölten, Nr.17053/III.

sure, knowing his personality, that his court appeal will fail. Meanwhile, Alfred, a tenor and former admirer of Rosalinde, serenades his old paramour from the street.

Eisenstein and his solicitor, Dr Blind arrive, and report that Eisenstein's appeal failed because he lost his temper and shouted at the judge. Blind leaves, and Eisenstein asks Adele to prepare his oldest, grubbiest clothes for his prison term. Eisenstein's friend Falke appears, and after Rosalinde leaves the room, invites Eisenstein to Orlofski's party — as he does not need to appear at the prison until 6am: 'Denn ich komme, dich zu fürstlichen Souper mit den reizendsten Koryphäen der einzuladen!' (I have come to invite you to a princely supper, with some of the most charming coryphées of the day!).³⁹ Eisenstein is delighted by the prospect of meeting the ballet dancers, whom Falke describes as 'Die Elite der ersten Quadrille, und dann einige von dem jugendlichen Nachwuchs — die sogenannten Ratten.' ('The elite of the first Quadrille, and then some of the younger offspring, the so-called rats.')

Falke mentions in passing their attendance at the 'Schellendorf masked ball' three years earlier, and Eisenstein recalls that the judge, Dr Häring — who enjoyed Eisenstein's joke back then — has just sentenced him to eight days in prison ('O dieser schlechter, gute Freund!' — 'Oh, that terrible good friend!').⁴¹ Rosalinde returns, curious why her husband now wants his best evening clothes for prison. When Rosalinde realises that Eisenstein is leaving immediately, she permits Adele to visit the 'sick aunt' so that she can dine with Alfred. Falke and Eisenstein depart. Alfred and Rosalinde's dinner is interrupted by the arrival of Frank, the new prison director. Alfred — who is wearing Eisenstein's dressing gown — has to be taken away to prison so that Rosalinde is not compromised. She points to Alfred's weary appearance to prove that he must be her husband, singing that a man

So ennuyiert und so blasé
Kann nur ein Eh'mann sein!⁴²

So bored and so blasé
Can only be a husband!

As he is led away, Alfred seizes the opportunity to kiss Rosalinde, as his 'wife'.

The salon at Prince Orlofski's villa provides the setting for act 2. Arriving at Orlofski's party, Falke promises the Prince that he will restore his ability to laugh and introduces Eisenstein and Frank to Orlofski and each other as 'Marquis Renard' and 'Chevalier Chagrin.' Falke introduces Adele as 'Olga', an aspiring actress. Orlofski rebukes Eisenstein for being so unchivalrous to suggest that Olga is his servant. The 'Marquis' and 'Chevalier' soon become friends, determined to pursue the *Ratten* of the *corps de ballet*. Rosalinde arrives, masked, in the guise of a Hungarian *Gräfin*, and sets about the seduction of her oblivious husband. Finally, she seizes his prized repeater watch, the *Rattenfänger* he uses to tempt girls into his embrace.

³⁹ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 9.

⁴⁰ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 9.

⁴¹ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 9.

⁴² *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 15.

Later, telling the guests the story of how he humiliated Falke by leaving him asleep under a tree, dressed as a bat, Eisenstein jokes that Falke has never sought retribution or reparation. The guests are more shocked to learn that, despite his lascivious behaviour, the ‘Marquis Renard’ is a married man when he claims his wife is old and ugly.

In act 3, Frank arrives at the prison straight from the party to begin his day’s work, still intoxicated. Meanwhile, Falke’s revenge continues its course. Adele and her sister Ida arrive, to ensure that ‘Chevalier Chagrin’ honours his promise to support ‘Olga’s’ theatrical training. Frank discovers that ‘Olga’ really is a servant, but grudgingly agrees to help her; the girls are disappointed he is merely a prison governor, but Adele decides that the patronage of a prison governor is better than remaining a servant. Eisenstein arrives at the prison only to discover that ‘Eisenstein’ is already locked up. Rosalinde arrives to secure Alfred’s release before her husband finds them out. Eisenstein disguises himself as a solicitor to discover the truth about Alfred and Rosalinde. He is outraged: Rosalinde has disgraced him with her behaviour, but she still holds the most important card, his gold watch, and exposes his hypocrisy. Orlofski and Falke arrive and explain the extent of practical joke. The crowd laughs at Eisenstein, praising *die Rache der Fledermaus*: the bat’s revenge.

0.6 Premiere and early reception.

At 7pm on Sunday 5 April 1874 the premiere performance of *Die Fledermaus* took place at the Theater an der Wien. Its large cast included seven principal male characters, Eisenstein, Falke, Frank, Alfred, Blind, and Frosch, as well as one male character, Orlofski, performed *en travesti* by a soprano or mezzo-soprano. The principal female roles were Rosalinde von Eisenstein, Adele, and Ida; the chorus also included several named female roles, all of whom were grouped as *Korphäen der Oper*.

Many of the performers in the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* had worked at the Theater an der Wien for some years, appearing in Viennese dialect comedy and adaptations of French *opéra bouffe*, as well as creating roles in Strauss’s first two operettas. In addition to her position as a director of the Theater an der Wien, Marie Geistinger (Rosalinde) was pre-eminent as an operetta performer.⁴³ Jani Szika, a Hungarian actor and singer, was cast as Eisenstein, performing opposite Marie Geistinger. He had performed the role of Ali Baba in Strauss’s *Indigo und die vierzig Räuber* and Benvenuto Rafaeli in *Der Karneval im Rom*, and would be remembered well into the early twentieth century as ‘der erste Eisenstein.’⁴⁴ Blind was Carl

⁴³ Elizabeth Forbes, ‘Schneider, Hortense.’ Accessed April 28, 2016.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24989>

⁴⁴ Tribute to Szika in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on his 75th birthday, 7 February 1914, 4; Szika’s obituary in the *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*, 21 October 1916, 9.

Matthias Rott, who had worked at the Theatre an der Wien since the late 1840s when he was recruited by Franz Pokorny following a destructive fire at the German theatre in Pest in 1847. The roles of Alfred and Frank were created by Hans Rüdiger and Carl Adolf Friese, and the speaking role of Frosch by Alfred Schreiber. Irma Nittinger created the role of Orlofski.

Within a few months *Die Fledermaus* also helped to establish the reputation of the most famous late nineteenth-century Viennese dialect actor, Alexander Girardi. Girardi replaced Ferdinand Lebrecht as Falke in September 1874, after Lebrecht died on stage in a performance of *Die Carlisten in Spanien* (not, as some secondary sources suggest, during a performance of *Die Fledermaus*).⁴⁵ Girardi, who would dominate comic acting in operetta and dialect theatre until his death in 1918, was twenty-four years old when he took on the role of Falke; within a year he was the second-highest-paid contracted member of the Theater an der Wien company, with a guaranteed income of 11,200 fl. per annum.⁴⁶

With the exception of Girardi, few of the singers and actors who performed during the premiere season of *Die Fledermaus* achieved long-lasting fame. Their involvement in the more ephemeral world of Viennese dialect theatre and operetta — rather than the operatic mainstream of Vienna's Hofoper — perhaps contributed to their current obscurity. It is ironic that with the exceptions of Alexander Girardi, and to a lesser extent Jani Szika and Marie Geistinger, the artists who created *Die Fledermaus* — the work that quickly became the most popular and celebrated of Strauss's operettas — have not achieved the same long-lasting fame as the opera singers who would perform the same roles in the 1890s at the Hofoper.

Just as early interpreters of *Die Fledermaus* have either become the subject of legends, or faded into obscurity, conceptions of the operetta's initial reception veer between cherished fable and complete obscurity. While critical opinion of *Die Fledermaus* varied, critics by no means dismissed the operetta. Writing in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 'F.M.' expressed pleasure that Strauss had emphasised his individuality in the score and eschewed excessively 'operatic' elements ('grossoperistische Elemente'). Overall, the performance of this 'fresh, new' work at the Theater an der Wien was exceptionally fine except for some minor details ('Kleinigkeiten').⁴⁷ The *Neues Fremden-Blatt* declared that for the third time Johann Strauss had presented the Viennese audience with a stage work, and for the third time he had received brilliant acclaim. This time, however, 'the success was all the greater because it was completely deserved,' because the work indicated 'decided progress.' Strauss no longer simply superimposed a vocal part onto his characteristic dance music: 'Johann Strauss ist dem Ideal

⁴⁵ Yates, *Theatre in Vienna*, 153. The dramatic illness and death of Ferdinand Lebrecht was widely reported, with articles and obituaries in many Viennese newspapers including *Die Presse*, *Das Vaterland*, *Neue Fremden-Blatt*, *Deutsche-Zeitung*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, and the *Morgen-Post* on 17 August 1874. On 21 August a longer obituary appeared in the *Wiener Theater-Chronik*.

⁴⁶ Yates, *Theatre in Vienna*, 153.

⁴⁷ *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 8 April 1874, 4.

der Operettenkomposition um ein Bedeutendes näher gerückt.’ (‘Johann Strauss has come a great deal closer to the ideal of operetta composition.’) He achieved that ideal by allowing that the music grow from the situation (‘die Musik mehre aus der Situation herauswachsen’).⁴⁸

The idea that *Die Fledermaus* was not initially a critical success lies partially with the lengthy review in the *Neue Freie Presse* that praised Strauss’s music, but lamented that such music could be tied to the trivial situations of an unworthy libretto. The ambivalent attitude that the review’s author, Eduard Hanslick, demonstrated towards *Die Fledermaus* was typical of his equivocal view of operetta as a genre. In short, Hanslick accepted, and advocated, that operetta music should aspire to brightness and cheerfulness, employ pleasing melodies, and not attempt pathos or the musical exploration of deep emotion. But, Hanslick’s regard for the formal quality and beauty of Strauss’s dance music — so long as it was not danced to — meant that the marriage of Strauss’s music with mediocre, trivial libretti was anathematic to him.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, *Die Fledermaus* became immediately popular, for its setting in contemporary costume, and its representation of recognisable ‘everyday’ figures (the advocate, the notary, the prison governor, the rentier) reflected and reacted to the world in which its audience lived. This thesis shows how these male characters in *Die Fledermaus* articulate ways in which ‘masculinity is always played out or constructed and never merely “revealed”’.⁵⁰ The methodology that I have developed in my research attempts to present and analyse the influences that shaped these constructions of masculinity through a fusion of critical and historical musicology, underpinned by extensive historical research.

0.7 Methodology.

In Richard Genée’s adaptation of the libretto, the restrictions imposed by Austrian censorship laws meant that *Die Fledermaus* — like other Viennese operettas — had to shy away from the overt political satire and ribald humour that characterised Offenbach’s Parisian *opéras bouffes*. Therefore, the creators of Viennese operettas had to find alternative opportunities for social critique. In the case of *Die Fledermaus*, I suggest, one of the chief satirical targets is the male characters’ behaviour. To better understand how these characters’ behaviour conforms with, or departs from societal expectation and convention, the methodology I developed places especial weight on the historical and cultural influences that shaped society and the production of such cultural products as operetta. Such a historically

⁴⁸ *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, 8 April 1874, 1.

⁴⁹ Hanslick’s complex and changing thoughts about operetta are explored comprehensively in Dana Gooley’s chapter ‘Hanslick on Johann Strauss Jr.: Genre, Social Class, and Liberalism in Vienna’, *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, Nicole Grimes, Siobhán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx, eds., *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013) 91-107.

⁵⁰ Graeme Smart and Amelia Yates, ‘Introduction: Victorian Masculinities,’ *Critical Survey* 20, no. 3 (2008) 4.

weighted method has been advocated as especially appropriate for the academic discussion of works that arguably sit outside the principal canon, or which span the binary divide between the ‘classic’ and the ‘popular.’⁵¹

As Stan Hawkins discusses in his introductory essay ‘Great, Scott!’ critical musicology has a particular relevance to works that have not traditionally been included in the ‘super-canon’ of “art” music.⁵² Operetta, which occupies an unusual position in relation to the idea of the ‘super-canon,’ or even to the operatic mainstream, thanks to its ambiguous status in the ‘high/low aesthetic binarism’ lends itself particularly to a critical approach.⁵³ Although now more than a quarter-century old, the critical musicology charter drafted at Sheffield University in 1993 that Hawkins quotes is by no means out-of-date. My thesis addresses some of these ‘social, political and cultural processes’ that concern specific musical practices and musical works within a historical context, and reflects on ‘issues of class, gender and race’ in *Die Fledermaus* by examining factors in the operetta’s production, reception, and positioning.⁵⁴

Emphasising the historical and cultural interpretation of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus* also draws upon Jane M. Fulcher’s assertion that musicologists must ‘remain cognizant of the relevant secondary discourses that interacted in historically specific manners with those of the musical field.’⁵⁵ She cites Roger Chartier’s imperative to ‘consider a source’s “textuality” and perceive those larger patterns of meaning that are intertwined with the encompassing “social world of significance”.’⁵⁶ My thesis pays particular attention to connections between the musical text of *Die Fledermaus* and what Fulcher calls the ‘cultural representations’ of the

⁵¹ See discussions of the aesthetic status of operetta as a popular form in Andrew Lamb, ‘Operetta.’ Accessed 6 February 2019. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020386>. The ways in which operetta bridged the divide between popular and high art (and whether, in the case of operetta in Vienna, this divide existed) preoccupied critics and composers in the twentieth century including Arnold Schoenberg, Karl Kraus, and Theodor Adorno. See also Derek B. Scott, ‘The Rift between Art and Entertainment,’ *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 85ff.

⁵² This is not to say that a more specifically analytical or music-theory-based methodology would be inappropriate for *Die Fledermaus*.

⁵³ It is important to acknowledge here that Andreas Huyssen also suggests the insistence on binary categorical distinctions between ‘high art and mass culture’ (which have affected operetta reception) is more a phenomenon of twentieth-century modernism. These distinctions are discussed in Robert Scholes’s article ‘Exploring the Great Divide: High and Low, Left and Right,’ *Narrative* 11, no. 3 (October 2003) 245-246.

⁵⁴ Stan Hawkins, ‘Great, Scott!’ *Critical Musicological Reflections: Essays in Honour of Derek B. Scott*, Stan Hawkins ed., (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 5.

⁵⁵ Jane Fulcher, ‘Introduction: Defining the New Cultural History of Music, Its Origins, Methodologies, and Lines of Inquiry,’ *The Oxford Handbook of The New Cultural History of Music*, Jane Fulcher ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 6.

⁵⁶ This idea comes from Roger Chartier, ‘Texts, Symbols, and Frenchness,’ *Journal of Modern History* 57, no. 4 (December 1985) 683-84.

‘symbolic realm,’ alongside ‘social dynamics, and to music’s distinctive “register” of communication as ... performing art.’⁵⁷

A further reason for taking a deeply historical approach to *Die Fledermaus* is that, as Lawrence Kramer has highlighted, opera itself is historical:

Its plots and styles are often blatantly historical — Opera is the bodice-ripper genre of high art — but its historical, mythographic, costume-drama features are presented as the agencies of transcendental tropes: opera produces history as metaphysics, metaphysics as the conjunction of voice and body with historical fictions.⁵⁸

While plots of many ‘serious’ operas concern themselves with real historical events, mythologies and allegories that contribute to a sense of history or identity building, operetta has frequently approached history from a different, but no less astute perspective, mocking or parodying political machination, and drawing attention to its heroes’ feet of clay. Through its setting in the ‘present day’ of the early 1870s, *Die Fledermaus* functions as a text that interprets for us a particular historical and social milieu, and at the time of its premiere, the operetta provided its audience with a reflection of their present.

Exploring *Die Fledermaus* as a cultural and historical document also realises some of the goals that Jane Fulcher outlined, namely that musicologists should strive towards ‘capturing the texture and the complexity of experience, understanding, and communication in the past ... [using] an approach that combines a semiotic, cultural analysis with a deeper understanding of surrounding social forces and their dynamics’.⁵⁹ Throughout this thesis I assimilate primary sources that permit a new understanding of some of these social forces. The social satire in *Die Fledermaus* offers a laconic example of the ways that ‘power may employ the theatre and particularly opera to represent either the authority and social order that sustains it, or that it eventually aspires to ensconce’.⁶⁰ *Die Fledermaus* both represents and undermines the authority and social order that sustain it through its parody of masculinities in Viennese society, and its depictions of problematic masculinity.

Although work of Fulcher, Hawkins, and Kramer provides models for undertaking socio-historical studies of a musical genre or work, analysing *Die Fledermaus* from the perspective of its depiction and performances of masculinity required an innovative approach to methodology and a deep immersion in the social conditions surrounding the operetta’s production and reception.

Connecting the musical and contextual analysis with gender theory provided an additional challenge. Few gender theorists have offered insights into Habsburg constructions

⁵⁷ Fulcher, ‘Introduction,’ 5.

⁵⁸ Lawrence Kramer, *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) 26.

⁵⁹ Fulcher, ‘Introduction,’ 9.

⁶⁰ Fulcher, ‘Introduction,’ 4.

of masculinity and sexuality in the mid-nineteenth century as the scientific and medical study of gender did not begin in earnest until the 1880s and 1890s, when Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Albert Moll ‘initiated a new perspective’ on sexuality and gender.⁶¹ The great burgeoning of Vienna as a crucible of modernism — and the majority of secondary studies concerning this burgeoning — focus not on the 1870s, but on the *fin de siècle*. As a result, there existed few methodological models that offered a synthesis of the musical, historical, cultural, and social elements of my study. I turned, therefore, to primary sources, to gain a deeper and broader understanding of the social conditions that shaped the creation and reception of *Die Fledermaus*, embracing literature, memoir, philosophy, and other sources in which masculinity was directly or obliquely approached. Wary that this material might not reflect the information available to the ‘man in the street,’ I supplemented these specialists’ texts with a wide variety of Viennese newspapers and periodicals from the decade of *Die Fledermaus*’s creation, identifying parallels between depictions or discussions of masculinity in the papers and those in more literary or scholarly sources.

The newspapers and periodicals that were circulated daily and weekly in Vienna constitute the principal primary sources utilised in this thesis. These *Zeitungen* and *Zeitschriften* illustrate a gamut of political and social perspectives from the liberal to the chauvinistically conservative and nationalist. Within their pages *Die Fledermaus* often occupied a position of importance. By means of discussions at length at the time of its premiere, still more when Strauss’s jubilee was celebrated in 1894, the newspapers have revealed a close connection between Strauss, operetta, and elements of the city’s identity.

Other cultural products offered insights into the events and opinions that formed a vital part of the wider social discourse. Schopenhauer’s views on *Langeweile*, distilled through a newspaper article by Wertheimer, helps to show the dissemination of philosophical thought through more widely accessible media; likewise the wide coverage of Krafft-Ebing’s lectures and demonstrations — discussed and parodied in newspapers, alongside reviews of the most recent performances and controversies at the Hofoper and Theater an der Wien — provides a rich social context for considerations of gender and masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*. Searching for depictions of masculinity in the work of authors, photographers, and artists also serves to expand the ‘cultural repository,’ since novels, memoirs, plays, and art provide ‘a response to reality, whether by reflection or reaction.’⁶² Operetta, which functioned as an entertainment offering both reflection and reaction, played an equally important role in Vienna’s social and cultural tapestry.

⁶¹ Harry Oosterhuis, ‘Sexual Modernity in the Works of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Albert Moll,’ *Med Hist* 56, no. 2 (April 2012) 133.

⁶² Allan H. Pasco, ‘Literature as Historical Archive,’ *New Literary History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2004) 373.

0.8 Literature.

A prevailing popular attitude towards *Die Fledermaus* is that it is essentially a frivolous entertainment, conceived as an antidote to financial disaster of the *Krach* of 1873, and offering its Viennese audience a self-indulgent snigger at their propensity for pleasure-seeking and snobbery. To an extent Strauss scholarship has reflected this tendency until relatively recently. Although some authors have now revisited Strauss's music and operettas in their nineteenth- and twentieth-century political and social contexts, research on matters of gender (in general) or masculinities (in particular) in Strauss's work remains almost non-existent. However, the paucity of secondary literature on masculinities in operetta has proved less a hindrance to my project than an incitement to explore more diverse sources.

This literature review focusses on several strands of literature, which shaped my approach to the topic of performing masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*. The texts discussed here provided points of departure for my research, as well as offering disciplinary substantiation for the project. The four necessarily flexible categories of literature are (a) Strauss historiography (b) opera studies and approaches to opera, (c) historical and social contexts, and (d) masculinities.

(a) Strauss historiography

Strauss biography and historiography form a comparatively small part of this thesis, which does not take a life-and-works approach to the composer, but some texts provided a worthwhile overview of how Strauss has been written about in the past, and how he is written about now. Several mid-to-late-twentieth-century texts demonstrate the tendency to study and write about Johann Strauss from a nostalgic perspective.⁶³ The crises of Austria's twentieth-century history contributed to a mode of writing in which Johann Strauss, the violinist and composer, embodied the spirit of an idealised era.⁶⁴ Such texts demonstrate the need for new studies of the composer and his music that move away from nostalgic visions of Strauss and his society. Meanwhile, the wealth of scholarship concerning *fin de siècle* Vienna only infrequently mentions Johann Strauss, despite his active participation in Viennese musical circles in the 1890s.

Egon Gartenberg's *Johann Strauss: the end of an era*, and Heinrich Eduard Jacob's *Johann Strauss: a century of light music* reflect the tendency to position Johann Strauss as a symbol of the spirit of an age, while implying a separation between his music and what one

⁶³ Hans Fantel, *Johann Strauss: Father, Son and their Era* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971); Peter Kemp, *The Strauss Family: Portrait of a Musical Dynasty* (Tunbridge Wells: Baton, 1985).

⁶⁴ These crises include the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, the crises and fragmentation of the First Republic, the national traumas of the Second World War, and consequent difficulties in confronting Austria's role in the War, and the task of establishing a national consciousness in the Second Republic. Egon Schwarz, 'Austria: Quite a Normal Nation,' *New German Critique* 93 (Autumn 2004) 184.

might call the artistic mainstream of Austro-German art music.⁶⁵ My reading of reviews and discussions of Johann Strauss's music and operettas suggests that critics writing between 1874 and 1900 took as thorough an approach to Strauss's music as they did to the music of his contemporaries. The recent work of Dana Gooley and Chantal Frankenbach demonstrates that nineteenth-century critics — principally Eduard Hanslick, but also Theodor Helm and Robert Hirschfeld — discussed Strauss's music with the same seriousness accorded to other composers, and they followed Strauss's development as an operetta composer with grave attention.

The contradictions in Strauss historiography have informed subsequent writing about him, as two more recent books have demonstrated. Camille Crittenden's *Johann Strauss: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* and Zoë Alexis Lang's *The Legacy of Johann Strauss: Political Influence and Twentieth-Century Identity* both demonstrate a revisionist view of Strauss.⁶⁶ Lang presents Strauss as a composer and businessman, acutely aware of his fame and status. Lang initially works to separate the myths associated with Strauss from the realities. Lang penetrates the 'unmediated and vapid nostalgia' that permeated hagiographical writing about Strauss, and which is one of the causes of his ubiquity in Vienna today.⁶⁷ Lang, and one of her reviewers, Celia Applegate, questions why, of all the waltz and operetta composers of this 'Golden Age', only Johann Strauss and his father are remembered, concluding, in Applegate's words, that musicologists:

saw little payoff in analysing or celebrating an enormous amount of music that is basically all the same. As long as the dominant method of musicology was analysis of musical form, those composers who churned out works that no one was really meant to scrutinize for their harmonic originality or subtle nuances of phrasing were allowed to pass into obscurity. Once musicologists of Western music began to accommodate the very different programmes of ethnomusicologists and cultural historians, figures like the Strausses, so long profoundly attuned to the devices and desires of their times, became more interesting.⁶⁸

Applegate's summary does not take into account the qualities that made Strauss stand out from his contemporaries, and why Strauss's music achieved a popularity during his lifetime that ensured his canonisation. Strauss's friendship with Brahms, and Brahms's admiration for Strauss's music (particularly his skill as an orchestrator), were just two of the factors that

⁶⁵ Egon Gartenberg, *Johann Strauss: the end of an era* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975); Heinrich Eduard Jacob, *Johann Strauss: A Century of Light Music* (New York: Hutchinson, 1949).

⁶⁶ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss*.

⁶⁷ Zoë Alexis Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) 10.

⁶⁸ Celia Applegate, 'Review: *The Legacy of Johann Strauss*,' *German Studies Review* 38, no. 3 (October 2015) 669.

elevated Strauss from what might be called the proletariat of dance music composers and orchestra leaders.⁶⁹

Lang's book shows that during Strauss's life, and long into the twentieth century, his music constituted a musical product that frequently served a national purpose. In terms of Strauss's operettas, Lang's reading demonstrates how the ongoing associations of Strauss's operettas with Austria's musical and imperial golden age have continued to affect performances of the operettas. The case study in the second half of Lang's book looks at Strauss's *Emperor Waltz* (Op. 437, 1889) and its various appropriations to show how the piece has been used in 'divergent' contexts to help commentators 'make a statement about their society.'⁷⁰

Lang's approach to her project shows the potential for considering other works by Strauss in a similar manner. *Die Fledermaus*, as the most frequently and internationally performed of any Viennese operetta, shares similar status to that of Strauss's *Emperor Waltz*, and opera directors use the piece to make artistic commentary on some aspect of Viennese or Austrian history. Within their productions, gender and masculinities always have significance, whether the production makes this explicit, or leaves the performers and audience to read the semiotics for themselves. Furthermore, in productions of *Die Fledermaus* that attempt to abandon the 'champagne-drenched romp' stereotype, critical reactions sometimes imply that the director has no regard for the traditions or conventions of the form, similar to some of the criticism garnered by Billy Wilder's 1948 film *The Emperor Waltz*.⁷¹ Although Lang does not bring gender into the argument of her study, her approach to a work with the 'iconic' status of the *Emperor Waltz* stimulates consideration of Strauss's other works from similar perspectives.

Camille Crittenden also treats Strauss's music (specifically his operettas) as 'cultural documents.' Her book presents Strauss as a skilled negotiator, and an astute mediator of musical trends and social development. Crittenden reads Strauss as not only an exceptional musician, but as a figure whose career placed him at an 'intersection' of 'Viennese musical life and imperial politics.'⁷² Like Lang, Crittenden does not give much prominence to matters of gender

⁶⁹Andrew Lamb, 'Brahms and Johann Strauss,' *Musical Times* 116, no. 1592 (October 1975) 869-71. Arnold Schoenberg also championed Strauss, not only making his own arrangements of Strauss's music, and praising him as a composer of music of great quality and wide appeal: 'Most deplorable of all is the acting of some artists who arrogantly wish to make believe that they descend from their heights in order to give some of their riches to the masses. This is hypocrisy. But there are a few composers, like Offenbach, Johann Strauss and Gershwin, whose feelings actually coincide with those of the "average man in the street". To them it is no masquerade to express popular feelings in popular terms. They are natural when they talk thus and about that.' Arnold Schoenberg, 'Modern Music,' *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, trans. Leo Black, Leonard Stein ed., (New York: St Martins Press, 1975) 124.

⁷⁰These appropriations include a number of films: *Kaiserwalzer: Audienz in Ischl*, directed by Friedrich Zelnik (1933); *The Emperor Waltz*, directed by Billy Wilder (1948); *Kaiserwalzer*, directed by Franz Antel (1953). Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss*, 131, 149.

⁷¹At least one review has criticised 'realist' Wilder for not immersing himself 'in the unrealistic world of operetta' in his *Emperor Waltz*. Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss*, 149.

⁷²Crittenden, *Johann Strauss*, 3.

in her book, but her portrayal of Strauss's business and political acumen gives him the gravitas and establishment role that earlier authors denied him. As far as the masculinities of Strauss's characters go, Crittenden's preoccupations are the ethnic stereotypes of Hungarians, Jews, Russians, Gypsies, or Italians in the operettas. In the case of Prince Orlofski, Crittenden's broad analyses sometimes do not take into account the subtlest aspects of musical characterisation; she reads the operettas as cultural documents almost exclusively from the Austrian perspective, a reasonable approach given Strauss's nationality. The work done by Crittenden thus offers opportunities to broaden the geographical field in which to consider the male characters in *Die Fledermaus*, taking into account non-Viennese cultural contexts.

(b) Opera studies and opera analysis

The texts concerning opera studies, and methods of analysing opera can, for my project, be divided into two groups. The first includes texts which discuss approaches to analysing musical material, considering structure, harmony, and orchestration, the interaction of voices and instruments, the pace at which singers deliver the text, and the different functions of arias and choruses. Within this category, the role of musical exoticism has a place, as Strauss's use of 'exotic' idioms — i.e. in Orlofski's music — is a significant element in any performance of exotic masculinities.⁷³ In the second group of texts I have included material about gender in opera, and *travesti* roles.

Joseph Kerman's *Opera as Drama* — a text which, despite its age, has a classic status as a study of operatic dramaturgy — does not discuss operetta specifically, but many of Kerman's observations apply equally to operetta, especially those concerning how music gives life to operatic characters. In Kerman's eyes and ears, music often reveals an inner life at variance with the character's exterior.⁷⁴ For 'light opera,' he also expresses the view that without negative — as well as positive and neutral — characterisations, we are left with characters who possess 'liveliness', rather than 'life.'⁷⁵ My analysis in Chapter 2 of Orlofski's *couplets*, and his habit of musical disruption, draws on Kerman's ideas.

A further source of stimulation for this analysis of Orlofski's music, identity, and characterisation has come from Ralph P. Locke's work on musical exoticism, especially his paradigm for 'All the Music in Full Context.'⁷⁶ In Locke's model, elements of exoticism in music do not require:

⁷³Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷⁴Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 217.

⁷⁵ Kerman's examples include Sullivan's music for Mabel in *The Pirates of Penzance* and Yum Yum in *The Mikado* Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, 217.

⁷⁶ The extent to which Orlofski's music marks him as an exotic figure is ambiguous; the music of his *couplets* suggests something akin to the examples in Ralph P. Locke, 'A Broader View of Musical Exoticism,' *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2007) 483.

as the defining (necessary-and sufficient) component the borrowing or imitating of local style; indeed, [the paradigm] accepts that an exoticist work need not display stylistic oddity at all.⁷⁷

Instead, such exoticism ‘is the process of evoking a place (people, social milieu) that is *perceived* as difference from home by the people making and receiving the exoticist cultural product.’ This model is appropriate to Orlofski’s music, in which it is hard to find any genuinely Russian elements, but which provides a moment of ‘difference’ from much of operetta’s musical language.⁷⁸

In the body of literature concerning the significance of the *travesti* role, Heather Hadlock has confronted the ambiguities of these roles, and the disconnection between visual illusion and vocal realities. In her study of the *travesti* tradition in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ‘The Career of Cherubino,’ she proposes that opera requires ‘little visual verisimilitude.’ Instead:

we expect to look through or disregard a singer’s body and instead “see” the voice. Yet trouser roles require a more elaborate scaffolding from which to suspend our disbelief, for in order to accept the character *en travesti* as *male*, we must rationalize away the evidence of both our eyes and ears.⁷⁹

However, in *Die Fledermaus* Orlofski is not typical of other *travesti* roles in opera or operetta, not being one of the types that Hadlock uses to define the *travesti* tradition after 1860:

To continue tracing Cherubino’s descendants after the mid-[nineteenth-]century, we must travel some unfamiliar back roads through the subgenre of operetta, where women in trousers were an indispensable element of Second Empire naughtiness. Here operetta actresses impersonated two variations on the pageboy type: the sincere young lover of olden days and his more cynical modern cousin, the dandy.⁸⁰

Orlofski is youthful — stating he is eighteen years old — and he is also cynical; neither is he a sincere young lover. Indeed, Orlofski’s atypical *travesti* characteristics invite examination of Orlofski from other perspectives.

Hadlock’s classification of operetta as a ‘subgenre’ is also interesting, provoking the question of whether it is legitimate to think about the contradictions of Orlofski’s *travesti* character in the context of *all* other trouser roles, whereas Hadlock possibly views manifestations of trouser role characters in operetta as separate from those in ‘operas.’ However, unlike some of the *travesti* roles that Hadlock discusses, Orlofski possesses great

⁷⁷ Locke, ‘A Broader View of Musical Exoticism,’ 483.

⁷⁸ Ralph P. Locke, ‘Exoticism and orientalism in music: problems for the worldly critic,’ *Edward Said and the work of the critic: speaking truth to power*, Paul A. Bové ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) 266.

⁷⁹ Heather Hadlock, ‘The career of Cherubino, or the trouser role grows up,’ *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, Mary Ann Smart ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 69.

⁸⁰ Hadlock, ‘The career of Cherubino,’ 74.

agency: it is only with his consent that Falke can carry out his complex plan for revenge on Eisenstein.⁸¹

The presentation of a believable masculine self in *travesti* roles is a topic that Naomi André examines in *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*. Tracing the history of the *travesti* role from the eighteenth century, through the time when women began singing roles that previously had been the province of castrati and then performing specifically written *travesti* roles (e.g. Smeton in *Anna Bolena* and Arturo in *Rosamonda*), André asks how audiences mediated the conflicting evidence of their eyes and ears, and how the singers in *travesti* roles projected a sense of masculinity. André bases her conceptual framework on the changing listening practices of audiences, and although predominantly with the reception and understanding of *travesti* roles in *bel canto* repertoire, André's models — based on audiences drawing on their previous experience of different voice and role types — are applicable to *Die Fledermaus*.

The opera studies literature I have explored shows that while questions of musical style, musical characterisation, and *travesti* roles are discussed in depth in the context of opera, these matters are not the subject of similar discussion when operetta is the focus.⁸² Literature that focusses on operetta as a genre in its own right, rather than a subgenre of opera, represents a relatively new field of research, but continues to grow. Michaela Baranello's article 'Die lustige Witwe and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta' deals with a later era than the one in which *Die Fledermaus* was created, but her exploration of stylistic considerations, sentimentality, and the reception of a genre that occupied an 'unstable location between high and low art' have relevance to *Die Fledermaus*.⁸³

Satire and parody permeate both music and libretto in operetta, including *Die Fledermaus*, so the detailed discussion of parody techniques in Offenbach's Parisian stage works in Melissa Cummins's doctoral dissertation synthesizes approaches to parody in ways that are applicable to Genée's libretto for *Die Fledermaus*.⁸⁴ Similarly, Mark Everist's 'Jacques

⁸¹Writing of the resurgence of the *travesti* role in the mid nineteenth-century, Margaret Reynolds notes that: 'The resurrection starts with the other Strauss, Johann, who created the role of Prince Orlovsky [sic] in *Die Fledermaus* (1874). We do not need *Kobbè*'s coy note about the "moral permissiveness" of 1870s Vienna in order to be able to see that a party, given in a theatre, for the denizens of the beau monde, by a cross-dressed female who sings "chacun a son gout" is flaunting propriety and tugging at the edges of suggestion.' Margaret Reynolds, 'Ruggerio's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions,' *En travesti: women, gender subversion, opera*, Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith, eds., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 143.

⁸²An exception is Heather Hadlock's *Mad Loves: Women and Music in Offenbach's Les contes d'Hoffmann* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Hadlock primarily explores the experience of the women in Offenbach's piece, but their interaction with male characters provide a perspective on masculinity.

⁸³ Baranello, 'Die lustige Witwe,' 201. See also Carolyn Abbate and Flora Willson, 'A Note from the Guest Editors,' *The Opera Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2017) 1.

⁸⁴ Melissa Cummins, 'Use of Parody Techniques in Jacques Offenbach's Opérettes and Germaine Tailleferre's *Du Style Galant au Style Méchant*,' (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2017).

Offenbach: The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present' illuminates the cultural milieu in which Offenbach created and developed his stage works, providing a point of comparison for the development of operetta in Vienna.⁸⁵

(c) Historical and social contexts for *Die Fledermaus*

There exists an extensive body of literature concerning late nineteenth-century Austria, and even more research that focuses on the social and cultural history of Vienna. Much of this latter work is preoccupied specifically with the *fin de siècle* and positioning Vienna as a 'crucible of modernism' for literature, the visual arts, and music.⁸⁶ The decade in which *Die Fledermaus* was created has received less attention in terms of its overall cultural significance, but 1873 had its own climacteric in the form of a financial crisis. Very often, critics interpret the hedonism of *Die Fledermaus*, and Alfred's words in act 1, 'Glücklich ist, wer vergisst, was doch nicht zu ändern ist' ('Happy is he, who forgets what cannot be changed') as a comment not just on Rosalinde and Eisenstein's marriage, but also on the Viennese stock market's *Krach* of 1873. His flippant comment has been made to encapsulate the collapse of the entire 'liberal project.' Pieter Judson's *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914* — a detailed study of the formation of a liberal, democratic Austrian state after the 1848 revolutions — proves essential to understanding some of the intellectual and political imperatives behind the liberal ideal.

Judson contests the over-simplistic assumption that the *Krach* spelled the end of the liberal ideal by demonstrating the political complexity of the years between 1867 and 1873. In particular, Judson shows the conflict between democrats (who 'voiced a theoretical belief in social equality far more aggressively than the liberals') and the old liberals, whose confidence that free-market capitalism would bring prosperity and happiness to all was derailed in 1873.⁸⁷ Judson's analysis of the situation following the financial collapse shows disillusionment affecting the environment in which *Die Fledermaus* had its premiere, rather than outright despair.⁸⁸

Judson's discussion of the growing dominance of radical nationalism, and the resultant fragmentation of Austrian society in the first years of the twentieth century, provides a social and political context for performances of *Die Fledermaus* between 1874 and 1900. This background enables consideration of how societal change and political climate affected the

⁸⁵ Mark Everist, 'Jacques Offenbach: The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present,' *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer, 1830-1914*, Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist eds., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009) 72-89.

⁸⁶ Scott Spector 'Vienna 1900: beyond literature,' *The Cambridge Companion to European Modernism*, Pericles Lewis ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 59.

⁸⁷ Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: liberal politics, social experience, and national identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) 152.

⁸⁸ Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 167.

ongoing reception of *Die Fledermaus*, particularly in the 1890s, as *Die Fledermaus* began a new life in the repertory of the Hofoper.

By the end of the century *Die Fledermaus* was no longer a product of the suburban theatres of Vienna: the first evening performance of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper in 1897 transformed the status of *Die Fledermaus*, arguably spelling its entry to the operatic canon. Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* is an intellectual and cultural study of that era, emphasising how specific cultural phenomena (literature, architecture, visual arts, politics, and psychoanalysis) contributed to the building of a modern Vienna. However, the seeds of the developments that Schorske dissects were sown in earlier decades. Schorske's overall narrative leans towards the idea of seeing Austria in the nineteenth century moving along an irrevocable trajectory towards its involvement in the Second World War. This *Sonderweg* ('special path') narrative sees the end of liberal politics as an unavoidable casualty, and Schorske posited that culture filled the vacuum left by a Viennese abrogation of political responsibility.⁸⁹ In Schorske's view, operetta was also symbolic of this process, the 'hedonistic works of Johann Strauss and Karl Millöcker replacing the more astringent social-morality plays of Johann Nestroy and Ludwig Anzengruber.'⁹⁰ My thesis responds to Schorske's interpretation by suggesting an appraisal of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus* through the lens of Richard von Krafft-Ebing: this approach makes an analogy between 'hedonistic' operetta and an era that Schorske saw as encapsulating the 'demise of nineteenth-century "rational man" and the emergence of his twentieth-century counterpart, "psychological man".'⁹¹

The essays of *Rethinking Vienna 1900* offer a counterbalance to Schorske, principally by arguing against Schorske's hypothesis that culture provided an alternative to politics at the *fin de siècle*. Even the brief summary, offered in Chapter 5, of the politicised criticism provoked by the transition in 1894 of *Die Fledermaus* from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper, demonstrates that politics and culture could not be separated. The political partisanship of the discourse concerning the suitability of *Die Fledermaus* for the opera house and its opera singers, justifications for its inclusion in the repertory based on the operetta's musical quality, and the conservative assertion that the 'rechte Fledermaus' could be found only in the theatre of its birth, are topics which merit further discussion, but fall outside the scope of this thesis.

(d) Masculinities

⁸⁹ James Shedel has suggested that the 'Schorskean concept of an Austrian *fin de siècle* represents the capstone of an Austrian *Sonderweg* interpretation.' in '*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*,' *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Steven Beller ed., (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001) 89.

⁹⁰ Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981) 123.

⁹¹ Matti Bunzl, 'Sexual Modernity as Subject and Object,' *Modernism/modernity* 9, no. 1 (January 2002) 165.

Studies of masculinities, whether theoretical, or applied to music and opera, emerge from a variety of disciplines, including literature, history, sociology, and musicology. This ever-growing body of work acknowledges the challenges of masculinity as a field of critical enquiry, particularly as it relates to the problematized division of biological sex and gender identity/expression. In this field of scholarship, R. W. Connell's *Masculinities* is a study that remains foundational today.⁹² *Masculinities* offers a summary of concepts and theories still relevant for the initial considerations of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*.⁹³

Connell has pointed out that when studying masculinities in any field it is important not to allow male figures or characters to become 'unmarked and normative' by ignoring non-male or non-masculine perspectives. Connell argues for several categories of masculinities, itemizing 'hegemonic masculinities' alongside 'complicit', 'subordinate' or 'marginalized' masculinities.⁹⁴ Connell's categories provided part of an elementary theoretical basis for my analysis of *Die Fledermaus*, allowing me to assess the extent to which its characters conform with, or undermine, such taxonomies.

In fact, all four of Connell's categories appear evident in *Die Fledermaus*. Eisenstein's defiance of his prison sentence and his marital vows appears to make him a walking embodiment of a particularly arrogant, 'aristocratic' masculinity, which distrusts the apparatus of the state legal system, its army of clerks, and its incompetent solicitors who take a fee but fail to secure their clients' wishes. Connell's category of 'complicit masculinity' finds an example in Frank, who becomes a victim of his assumed/imposed social status as Chevalier Chagrin: having happily pocketed the 'patriarchal dividend' (that is, by enjoying the privileges that gendered power differentials give certain men'). Frank discovers the responsibilities of his elevated social position when Adele asks for his assistance in becoming an actress.

Nevertheless, no sooner does Frank become accustomed to the obligations of nobility than Prince Orlofski demonstrates his *droit de seigneur*, by claiming Adele as his own. Connell's category of 'marginalised masculinity' finds personification in Prince Orlofski, whose foreignness (a form of difference heightened by the *en travesti* performance) suggests a

⁹² Connell has since revised and refined some of the theory in *Masculinities*, publishing in collaboration with James Messerschmidt 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,' *Gender in Society* 19, issue 6 (2006) 829-859. Carrie Praechter has also challenged Connell's theory that there is no feminine equivalent to the models of hegemonic masculinity she has proposed. Carrie Praechter, 'Rethinking the possibilities for hegemonic femininity: Exploring a Gramscian framework,' *Women's Studies International Forum* 68 (2018) 121-128. To go beyond predominantly binary theorizations of gender, in relation to opera, see Aiden Feltkamp's reflection on experiencing opera as a nonbinary singer, 'Does Opera Need Gendered Voice Types?' *New Music Box USA*. <https://nmbx.newmusicusa.org/does-opera-need-gendered-voice-types/>

⁹³ Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

⁹⁴ The 'hegemonic' category involves 'a specific strategy for the subordination of women ... hegemonic masculinity concerns the dread of, and the flight from, women. A culturally idealized form, it is both a personal and collective project.' An extended summary of these categories appears in Connell, *Masculinities*, 78-81.

marginal form of masculinity, which is contradicted later by his degree of agency. The male characters in *Die Fledermaus* emphasise also the mutability of the social categories between which men may move.

Turning to an exploration of masculinities in music history, and changing perceptions of masculinity in Hapsburg Vienna, Ian Biddle's *Music, Masculinity, and the Claims of History: The Austro-German Tradition from Hegel to Freud* demonstrates how 'ideal' forms of masculinity changed as the nineteenth century ended. Biddle has noted how the end of the century coincided with a new emphasis on the cultivation of an ideal manly body as an accompaniment to ideal qualities of character.⁹⁵ Some of the characteristics that Biddle lists — *Festigkeit* (constancy, fortitude), *Geradheit* (moral rectitude or uprightness), *Rechtschaffenheit* (probity, integrity) — are intellectual, but have physical counterparts in *Tapferkeit* (valour, prowess in conflict, conspicuous gallantry), *Verilität* (virility), and *Zeugungskraft* (fertility, potency).⁹⁶ These qualities — which the male characters in *Die Fledermaus* embody to varying degrees — prove intriguing in the context of manly honour, and *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*, which I discuss in Chapter 1.

A danger inherent in focussing on masculinities in an operetta is that it risks normalising the masculine at the expense of female singers and characters. Kate Whittaker has explored the difficulty of 'placing men and their institutions at the centre of an analysis without replicating the patriarchal biases of previous studies of men.'⁹⁷ Whittaker emphasises the importance of remembering that gender and masculinity are performative constructs, and that to leave the male (singer, composer, librettist) critically ungendered 'risks reifying the practices by which it and other dominant tropes of identity, retain the power of cultural invisibility and concomitant "untouchability".'⁹⁸ It is frustrating that Whittaker has not used specific operatic examples, particularly given the unique combination of freedoms and restrictions that the conventions of opera impose on its creators and performers. In the context of operetta, the debate that Whittaker introduces becomes more complex, because of the comedic or satirical potential of the genre that inverts some operatic conventions.

Finally, chapters by Susan McClary and Marcia Citron in *Masculinity and Opera* have informed my approach to listening to the male characters in *Die Fledermaus*. McClary's essay on the high-voiced male, and how vocal tessitura influences perceptions of their masculinity

⁹⁵ Ian Biddle's *Music, Masculinity, and the Claims of History: The Austro-German Tradition from Hegel to Freud* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)

⁹⁶ Biddle, *Music, Masculinity, and the Claims of History*, 113-114. Biddle does not give definitions of these terms, and I have used a variety of sources to find suitable definitions.

⁹⁷ Kate Whittaker, 'Performing Masculinity/Masculinity in Performance,' *Masculinity in Opera: Gender, History, and New Musicology*, Philip Purvis ed., (New York: Routledge, 2013) 10-11.

⁹⁸ Kate Whittaker, 'Performing Masculinity/Masculinity in Performance,' 10-11.

has implications for Orlofski's masculinity.⁹⁹ Citron's exploration of the relationship between Otello, Iago, and Cassio in her chapter 'The Erotics of Masculinity in Zeffirelli's *Otello*,' highlights the theme of male friendship in opera; the curious friendship between Falke and Eisenstein in *Die Fledermaus*, and Falke's desire for revenge on his friend, and the friendship that Eisenstein and Frank forge in act 2, both present opportunities for reconsideration of the erotic triangle: 'two men in romantic competition for one woman.'¹⁰⁰ Falke plays no obvious part in such a triangle, which the libretto further subverts by not putting Frank and Eisenstein in competition for the Hungarian *Gräfin*.¹⁰¹ Despite the usefulness of McClary and Citron's essays, the book *Masculinity and Opera* contains no references to the role of masculinity in operetta, further demonstrating the need for a study that considers the unique position of masculinity in this genre.¹⁰²

0.9 Guide to the chapters.

Chapter 1 considers the masculinities of *Die Fledermaus* in the context of the complex codes of chivalric honour that began to permeate the upper echelons of the Viennese bourgeoisie in the second half of the nineteenth century. This chapter draws on secondary sources concerning the ideals and practice of the *Ehrenkodex* and honourable behaviour for the *Satisfaktionsfähig* man. While Eisenstein is almost certainly a man of *Satisfaktionsfähig* status, his behaviour does not indicate a clear understanding of the obligations and expectations of this position. Meanwhile, Falke decides to take an alternative path to redress the humiliation of Eisenstein's prank; whether this was because Falke was not *Satisfaktionsfähig*, and therefore could not challenge Eisenstein to a duel, or because he wanted to exact a revenge immune from the possibility of bloodshed, is unclear. Nevertheless, Falke's spectacular plot highlights the hypocrisies of holding *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* to be the most exalted and venerated form of masculinity in Habsburg society. If Richard Genée's libretto can be read as a critique of the honour system, then the chapter presents a new model for examining and discussing masculinity in the operetta of this era. Furthermore, Orlofski's role as the facilitator of Falke's plot, and his demonstration of chivalry, demonstrates that he possesses greater agency in the plot than previous studies have allowed.

Chapter 2 builds upon the initial discussion of Orlofski begun in Chapter 1. The chapter analyses Orlofski's masculinity as a Viennese construction of a Russian aristocrat, noting points

⁹⁹Susan McClary, 'Soprano Masculinities,' *Masculinity in Opera: Gender, History, and the New Musicology*, 33-50.

¹⁰⁰ Marcia Citron, 'The Erotics of Masculinity in Zeffirelli's Film *Otello*,' *Masculinity in Opera*, 88.

¹⁰¹ Marcia Citron, 'The Erotics of Masculinity,' 84-104.

¹⁰² For discussions of gender in operetta, some studies of Austrian cinema yield interesting results, for instance, 'The Historical Costume Film,' in Maria Fritzsche's *Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian Cinema: Nationhood, Genre, and Masculinity* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

of divergence in Genée's libretto from Meilhac and Halévy's Prince Yermontoff in *Le Réveillon*. An analysis of Orlofski's act 2 *couplets* challenges existing discussions of Strauss's musical characterisation of Orlofski by proposing that he frequently disrupts the musical flow of act 2 with remote tonalities. Orlofski's frequent declarations of his *Langeweile* prompted my enquiry into the wider philosophical implications of this condition, which is now often translated as 'boredom', but had a deeper philosophical significance in a nineteenth-century Austro-German setting. Frequently discussed by Schopenhauer and other philosophers of the period, as well as in broadsheet newspapers, *Langeweile* was imbued with special significance as a facet of masculinity for educated men, who — in the view of Schopenhauer and others — should look upon *Langeweile* as an opportunity for thought. Orlofski's *Langeweile* — which he makes no real attempt to cure — provides a satire on those discussions, while providing a comment on a specifically Germanic peril for masculinity.¹⁰³

Chapter 3 again concentrates on Orlofski, but this time considers the significance of masculinity in relation to the performance practice of casting Orlofski as a *travesti* role. The significance of Strauss and Genée maintaining Meilhac and Halévy's Prince Yermontoff as a *travesti* role is one which several recent studies have tended to gloss over, or even ignore, instead focussing on Orlofski's 'defective' masculinity (as a youth, or a stereotypical foreigner in a Viennese milieu), or the empowerment which performing a *travesti* role offers performers. Scholarship from art history and film studies informs my view of the *travesti* role performer primarily as an object for the male gaze, and situates Orlofski in the context of broader *travesti* traditions, in comedy or drama, ballet, opera, or even real life. My contention is that the 'masculinity' of Orlofski was of less importance in the nineteenth century than Orlofski's capacity to beguile a male audience.

Reviews of early performances of *Die Fledermaus* in Vienna often indicated that critics wanted to see an attractive performer and hear a good voice: many performers, including Irma Nittinger, the first Orlofski, fell short of these requirements. The chapter emphasises that only the masculine appraisals — in this case, of music critics — have survived to inform our conception of performers like Nittinger, illustrating the difficulty James Q. Davies has discussed, of trying to find accurate representations of women artists in archives and primary sources.¹⁰⁴

Chapter 4 offers a case study of the first production of *Die Fledermaus* in London in 1876. The chapter scrutinises some of the changes that the translator and adapter, Charles

¹⁰³ David S. Luft discusses the reception of Schopenhauer in Austria, 1848-1900 in 'Schopenhauer, Austria, and the Generation of 1905,' *Central European History* 16, no. 1 (March 1983) 53-75; see also William M. Johnston, 'Neo-Idealists from Austria 1870-1938,' *Modern Austrian Literature* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1971) 7-17.

¹⁰⁴ James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

Hamilton Aidé, made to the libretto, and suggests that many of Aidé's alterations to Genée's text resulted from the goal of making the operetta more topical and relevant to a London audience. Aidé changed the names and occupations of several of the male characters, rendering their masculinity into a form that either matched stereotypical conceptions, or aligned with some of the conventions of comedy at the time. Characteristics of the masculinity of Aidé and his literary contemporaries — and a consideration of how these characteristics emerged from his adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* — help to identify elements of masculinity that were specific to a particular social group in a certain location, and thereby provoke questions about the motivation and approach taken by translators of Continental operetta.

Chapter 5 returns to Vienna, and a new era in the performance history of *Die Fledermaus* as the operetta moved from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper. I have emphasised the importance of this transition, and the controversy it provoked, to illustrate that when *Die Fledermaus* began its new life at the Hofoper, it warranted a new framework for anatomising the manifestations of masculinity in the piece. In a decade when medicine, and particularly psychiatry, sought to improve the empirical scientific study of gender and sexuality, the behaviour of the male characters in *Die Fledermaus* invites scrutiny through the medium of medical thought. While none of the male characters in the operetta exhibits symptoms of the 'perversions' that Richard von Krafft-Ebing documented in his pivotal text *Psychopathia Sexualis*, their behaviour recollects some of the other, less obvious themes in Krafft-Ebing's study. The idea of deception is not one that Krafft-Ebing diagnosed as a symptom, but his case studies frequently refer to — whether overtly or obliquely — the deceptions that they carried out in their everyday lives. Viennese newspapers, especially the satirical papers, show that both operetta and the lectures and thoughts of 'Professor Krafft-Ebing' occupied positions of prominence and generated both wide interest and amusement, making the research of Krafft-Ebing a fascinating and provocative lens through which to examine *Die Fledermaus*.

As this Introduction has indicated, *Die Fledermaus* is now sometimes associated with notions of frivolity and self-indulgence — it is viewed as a harmlessly nostalgic work that reflects a vision of Vienna as a city embodying 'easy living, eternal gaiety, and shallow pleasures.'¹⁰⁵ The pursuit of shallow pleasures certainly forms an element of *Die Fledermaus*, but just as Falke's 'Bat's revenge' leaves his friend Eisenstein — the erstwhile butterfly of Weinberg — wriggling on a metaphorical pin, studying the operetta's texts closely displays more pointed forms of satire and critique than the piece initially suggests. Searching for the ways that masculinity is performed and satirised in *Die Fledermaus* demonstrates the operetta's

¹⁰⁵ H. Schnitzler, "'Gay Vienna" – Myth and Reality,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15, no. 1 (January 1954) 94.

close connection with other cultural products circulating in Vienna in the later nineteenth century, while providing an original perspective on operatic masculinities and their unique manifestations in an enduring and popular operetta.

Chapter 1: Masculinity and the performance of honour in *Die Fledermaus*.

‘Herr, das ist nicht sehr galant!
Wie kann man so sich irren?’

‘Sir, that is not very gallant!
How can anyone be in such error?’

Wie ungallant!’

How unchivalrous!’

Orlofski, *Die Fledermaus*, act 2.

1.1 Introduction.

Honour, gallantry, and their erosion exist as important narrative threads throughout *Die Fledermaus*. Incidents in which the characters in *Die Fledermaus* exhibit correct or incorrect understanding of honour and its obligations provide a useful lens through which to examine aspects of the male characters’ constructions and performance of masculinity. This chapter considers several situations in which these male characters of *Die Fledermaus* successfully or inadequately embody and perform mid-nineteenth-century forms of masculinity appropriate to their nationality, social rank, and profession. Central to the discussion stand the concept and practice of honour — crucial attributes of masculinity for the aristocracy, officer corps, and increasingly adopted by civilians of the correct status. Understanding the synthesis of ethical, moral, and physical protocols that constituted honour for the Viennese man in the 1870s created a foundation for public and private conduct, while awareness of the privileges and obligations of honour permitted these men to fulfil their roles in the complex hierarchies of Austrian society and governed their interactions with men and women. In particular it must be noted that ‘honour,’ as it was understood in the chivalric sense, was an exclusively masculine quality: women, even those of the highest social status, could not possess these forms of honour, but instead their conduct and protection was the responsibility of the honourable man.

Readings of *Die Fledermaus* that take account of the social conditions prevailing in Vienna in 1874 are nothing new but reading *Die Fledermaus* for its portrayals of flawed or idealised masculinities, from the perspective of honour codes, provides an alternative critical model to existing societally-based interpretations of the operetta. Deborah Holmes has described how *Die Fledermaus* has become:

a staple in analyses of Austrian, and in particular Viennese, culture of the late nineteenth century ... [representing] a whole era, the *Rausch* of economic speculation in the late 1860s and early 1870s, the hangover following the Stock Market Crash of 1873, and the need for escapist entertainment.¹⁰⁶

Alfred’s words to Rosalinde in act 1 ‘Glücklich ist, wer vergißt, was doch nicht zu ändern ist’ (‘Happy is he who forgets what can no longer be changed’) have ‘been worked hard as a symptomatic summary of the mood of the time,’ alluding to the compromise with Hungary, the financial crisis and subsequent ‘disillusionment and hedonism’ of the bourgeoisie, or their

¹⁰⁶Deborah Holmes, ‘From *Ausgleich* to *Jahrhundertwende*: Literature and Culture 1867-1890. Introduction,’ *Austrian Studies* 18 (2008) 2.

‘longing for social equality and liberal freedoms.’¹⁰⁷ Analyses like Holmes’s set the scene, but without scrutinizing the specific attributes of its characters’ masculinities. Exploring in detail the ideas of masculinity, honour and gallantry in *Die Fledermaus* requires a brief overview of Viennese society at the time of the premiere in 1874.

In the broadest terms, this society was patriarchal and strictly hierarchical. A Viennese man’s social status was determined by the life and work of his paternal antecedents, the circumstances of his birth, his religion, his education, his eventual position in the hierarchies of his work or profession, his choice of wife, and the neighbourhood where he lived. The principal means by which a man of the most prosperous rentier class could challenge the feudal aristocracy was through money and the conspicuous consumption which allowed these capitalists to experience the comfort and entertainment of daily life enjoyed by members of the ‘first society,’ but without the expectation of becoming their intimates.

The complex social typologies of mid-nineteenth-century Vienna were minutely attuned to social class and rank, reflecting a structure in which forms of masculinity were deeply embedded, and governed the milieu in which different social classes could mix. Discussing the formation of these social typologies, Brigid McKittrick has explained that:

Not even as a joke could one don an assumed title Social status and the means by which it was expressed assumed fundamental importance in a society in transition, as rapid industrialisation and the resultant emergence of capitalist classes threatened the previously unquestioned privileges enjoyed by the feudal aristocracy.¹⁰⁸

The hierarchies of social status were complex. The emperor’s family and their close relatives formed the highest echelon of society: those of direct patrilineal descent from the emperor bore the title of *Erzherzog* and *Erzherzogin*. Members of the *hoher Adel* or higher nobility bore the titles of *Fürst* (prince) and *Fürstin* (princess), *Graf* (count) and *Gräfin* (countess). Those whose families had been granted titles by the Holy Roman Emperors (pre-1806) had a higher rank, and were differentiated by the titles *Reichsfürst*, *Reichsfürstin*, *Reichsgraf*, and *Reichsgräfin*. The *niederer Adel* (lower nobility) consisted of *Freiherr* and *Freifrau* (baron and baroness). A *Ritter* (knight) ranked just above *Edler*, the rank often awarded to esteemed public servants. Those members of the upper bourgeoisie, or *Bildungsbürgertum* and conspicuously wealthy who were ennobled in large numbers by Franz Josef in the mid-nineteenth century became part of the so-called *Geldaristokratie*. While this class were highly influential in social and cultural terms, they could not hope to penetrate the exclusive higher nobility or *Hofgesellschaft*.

Eisenstein’s name contains the noble preposition ‘von’ but Genée’s libretto gives no indication of Eisenstein’s actual social status, or whether he, or a recent forebear, had been ennobled. It is possible that Eisenstein, or his father, was one of the successful businessmen to

¹⁰⁷ Holmes, ‘From *Ausgleich* to *Jahrhundertwende*,’ 2-3.

¹⁰⁸ Brigid McKittrick, ‘Women – The Borderline Case. Karl Kraus and the Role of Women in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,’ (PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 1987) 19.

whom Emperor Franz Josef awarded titles in increasing numbers: between 1860 and 1866, as William McCagg records, Franz Josef gave titles to 57 businessmen, while in 1870 alone he awarded 398 Austrian ennoblements.¹⁰⁹ In any case, the upper reaches of the aristocracy remained closed to newcomers, unless a man married ‘down’ and introduced a new woman into the family; this group demonstrated their enclosed and intimate familiarity with fellow members of the *Hochadel* by always addressing each other by the familiar ‘Du.’¹¹⁰ If a woman of the *Hochadel* married outside of the circle, she would instantly be demoted in rank, regardless of birth. The uppermost one hundred aristocratic families took their lead from the emperor’s immediate family, who lived by the strictest code of public behaviour. McKitterick gives the example of Princess Marie von Trauttmansdorf who held an annual reception on New Year’s Eve — on behalf of the emperor — for notable society women, including the wives of diplomats. The emperor’s rules of protocol forbade her from shaking the hands of any of these women, lest ‘the dignity of the house of Habsburg be compromised for ever.’¹¹¹ A rentier of Eisenstein’s level would not hope to find his way into this sort of society, but the promise of a louche party held by a Russian aristocrat suited his social ambitions perfectly.

A rupture in the Viennese social fabric occurred eleven months before the premiere of *Die Fledermaus*. Amid a general mood of optimism, the World’s Fair (*Wiener Weltausstellung*) opened in Vienna’s Prater on 1 May 1873. This extravagant spectacle, larger than any of its four predecessors, displayed and celebrated the technological and scientific advances of imperial Austria by promoting the liberal monarchy’s promotion of its kingdoms’ ‘remarkable productivity and cultural diversity.’¹¹² Pieter Judson has described the Fair as representing the apogee of Austria’s *Gründerzeit*, the ‘frenzied years’ of 1867–1873 during which ‘Liberal newspapers urged the economic and social transformation of Austrian society’ through ‘freer trade, an expanded economy, and a better educated society.’¹¹³ Characterised by ‘perceived economic boom and widespread speculation’ the frenzy came to an abrupt end a week after the opening of the Fair when the Vienna stock market collapsed on 9 May. This *Krach*, partly a result of over-exuberant and irresponsible speculation by a proliferation of small private companies, caused an economic depression that marred the rest of the decade and provoked disillusionment with the ‘efficacy of liberal principles.’¹¹⁴ As businesses and individuals — many of which were permanently ruined — tried to resurrect themselves, a cholera epidemic

¹⁰⁹ These ennoblements represented Franz Josef’s ‘shift to constitutionalism’, as he began to cross religious divides by granting titles to the most prominent members of Vienna’s Jewish community, creating the first of the ‘Ringstrasse barons’. William O. McCagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 143.

¹¹⁰ McKitterick, ‘The Borderline Case,’ 41.

¹¹¹ McKitterick, ‘The Borderline Case,’ 42.

¹¹² Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 166.

¹¹³ Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 166.

¹¹⁴ Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 167.

broke out, compounding economic depression with widespread fear of fatal illness, and deterring many potential visitors to the Fair.¹¹⁵ The after-effects of the *Krach* continued to affect the economic and political climate for the remainder of the decade.¹¹⁶

If they had not engaged in ill-considered investment, many men of the rentier class — from which Genée's Eisenstein originates — avoided undue hardship after the *Krach*. The rentier class occupied a distinct and prominent section of Viennese society in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Analyses of this society frequently dwell on the significance of the rentier class and its mentalities. Some authors approve of the rentier class as a bedrock of bourgeois society — educated, cultured, and imbued with social ambition; others dismiss rentiers as philistines and parvenus.¹¹⁷

In this context, Eisenstein's assumed title of 'Marquis Renard' — a foreign title — in act 2 is likely to have had more significance than mere comic effect. Similarly, his attempt to seduce a 'Hungarian countess' could have had great resonance for an audience acutely attuned to contemporary attitudes towards nationality and social status. Furthermore, Eisenstein's lack of moral rectitude — demonstrated by his transgressions during Orlofski's party, and his anti-social offence of assaulting a public official, which led to his court appearance and prison sentence — epitomised the ultimate social degeneration of the rentier class which, despite its centrality to the Austrian economic system, was ultimately doomed. Nicolai Bukharin's critique of nineteenth-century Austrian economic theory made a direct connection between the failure of Austria's economic system and the consumerist psychology of the rentier class, which valued individualism, dilettantish aestheticism, and indulgence. Its economic system (constructed by adherents to the rentier system) suffered from 'its subjectivism, its unhistorical point of view, [and] its beginning with consumption.'¹¹⁸

Few libretti and characters exemplify the characteristics Bukharin deplored more conclusively than Genée's text for *Die Fledermaus*, and the rentier Eisenstein. Eisenstein's entire existence, as we perceive it through the microcosm of *Die Fledermaus*, is based around consumption and refined social nihilism: he lacks a perceptible sense of social responsibility,

¹¹⁵The *British Medical Journal* documented the progress of the cholera epidemic, noting also that a smallpox outbreak characterised the early months of 1873. 'The Vienna Exhibition,' *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 632 (8 February 1873) 149. The *British Medical Journal* continued to document the progress of the epidemic throughout the year.

¹¹⁶Judson, 'Whither Liberalism? Party and Movement 1873-79,' *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 165-192.

¹¹⁷This is the milieu which Adalbert Sifter portrays in *Der Nachsommer* (*The Indian Summer*), a novel in which prosperity permits material acquisition. However, in *Der Nachsommer*, the newly prosperous Herr Drendorf's excursions into consumerism are designed to provide opportunities for cultural and spiritual expansion. Drendorf builds a library and develops a collection of paintings so he can read and study. At the same time, Drendorf never sacrificed practicality to heady intellectualism: 'He said he bought only old [paintings] which had a certain value, which one could always realise if one were ever compelled to sell.' Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 86.

¹¹⁸Nicolai Bukharin, *Economic Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972) 57.

or a strong code of personal morality. He joyously grasps at the opportunity to socialise with foreign aristocrats — who are certain to provide lavish hospitality — and to satisfy his appetite for fine living whilst enjoying the company of dancers from the opera, one of the most accessible groups of the *demi-monde*. Eisenstein's friendships also inform the audience about his social level. While Eisenstein regards Falke (a notary) as his equal, the rentier clearly regards his solicitor, Blind, as his inferior. These fine gradations and nuances of Viennese society provided a rich source for satire, and operetta supplied a suitable medium to exploit specific attributes that governed the male behaviour of a particular class, namely honour and *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*.

1.2 Honour and *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*.

Die Fledermaus lends itself to considerations of honour because of the central premise of its plot: Falke's desire to avenge a practical joke Eisenstein had played on him three years earlier. Falke's plot and execution of his revenge immediately suggests a subversion of a social requirement for death before dishonour by means of duelling. Although at the time of its premiere, *Die Fledermaus* predated by more than a decade critiques of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and the *Duellzwang* by several Austrian authors, including Ferdinand von Saar, Arthur Schnitzler and Berta von Suttner, the operetta anticipates their arguments, offering a subtle commentary on the contradictions and hypocrisies inherent in these systems.¹¹⁹

Throughout *Die Fledermaus*, Genée and Strauss present on stage a variety of situations in which their male characters fail to meet the requirements of idealised mid-nineteenth-century forms of Viennese masculinities. Central to the embodiment and practice of these masculinities — fundamental to the aristocracy and members of the officer corps, and increasingly adopted by civilians of the lower nobility and professional middleclass — stood the concept of manly honour. Understanding the synthesis of the ethical, moral, and physical protocols that constituted honour provided the Viennese man with a foundation for conducting himself in public and private, fulfilling his role in the complex hierarchies of Austrian society of the mid-nineteenth century, and governing his interactions with men and women. *Die Fledermaus* vividly illustrates some of these hierarchies.

While it seems that anybody who behaved ethically and honestly — according to a personal integrity shaped by philosophy, social mores and ethical codes, or religious doctrine — might be said to be honourable, honour has meant different things to different groups and

¹¹⁹ Bertha von Suttner's *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889) Arthur Schnitzler's *Freiwild* (1896/1898) and *Leutnant Gustl* deal explicitly with the effects on a society when military conceptions of honour and its protection permeate civilian life. A. Clive Roberts, 'The Code of Honour in "fin-de-siècle" Austria: Arthur Schnitzler's Rejection of the "Duellzwang"', *Modern Austrian Literature* 25, no. 3/4, Special Arthur Schnitzler Issue (1992) 25-40.

societies. Henderson Stewart has categorised honour in several ways, including: ‘outer or external’ honour (to do with how an individual feels other people view him), and ‘inner or internal’ honour (to do with how one wishes to protect one’s good name). Henderson Stewart points out that different academic disciplines also conceptualize honour in different ways: for an anthropologist, honour ‘might best be translated as esteem, respect, prestige, or some combination of these attributes, depending on local usage,’ while a sociologist could see honour as the ‘culturally instilled conception of self as a sacred social object.’¹²⁰

Two enduring descriptions of honour and its constituents come from anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers, who considered the role of honour in a variety of contexts, calling it:

the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his *claim* to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognised by society, his *right* to pride.¹²¹

Pitt-Rivers, as Henderson points out, would later suggest a tri-faceted explanation of honour as ‘a sentiment, a manifestation of this sentiment in conduct, and the evaluation of this conduct by others.’¹²²

By the criteria that Henderson Stewart and Pitt-Rivers have offered, honour is a quality or set of qualities that anybody might possess. However, in late nineteenth-century Austria, honour was a more specific quality. Any man might behave honourably, in ways similar to those that Henderson and Pitt-Rivers outline, but only an elite sector of male society could be said to possess honour and live according to a complex but often unwritten code of honour. How an individual could or should conduct himself in society depended on the station into which he was born (if a member of the nobility, aristocracy or, increasingly, the highest levels of the bourgeoisie) or the status which he attained through military service as an officer and could carry into his civilian life. A man’s capacity to possess honour was also dictated by religious affiliation: in nineteenth-century Austria only a Christian, preferably a Roman Catholic, man could possess honour in the chivalric sense: a male Jewish civilian was not considered *satisfaktionsfähig*.¹²³ Thus, the possession of honour marked a particular, elite form of masculinity.

¹²⁰ Charles P. Flynn, *Insult and society* (Port Washington, N.Y., and London: Kennikat Press, 1977) 49. Quoted by Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 13.

¹²¹ Julian Pitt Rivers ‘Honour and social status’, *Honour and shame: The values of Mediterranean society*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) 22.

¹²² Pitt-Rivers, ‘La maladie de l’honneur’, *L’honneur : image de soi ou don de soi un idéal équivoque*, Marie Gautheron ed., (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1991) 21. Quoted in Stewart, *Honor*, 13.

¹²³ Na’ama Rokem, *Prosaic Conditions: Heinrich Heine and the Spaces of Zionist Literature* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2013) 84. A discussion of Catholic privilege appears in Andrea Komlosy’s chapter ‘Imperial Cohesion, Nation-Building and Regional Integration in the Habsburg Monarchy,’ *Nationalizing Empire*, Stefan Berger, Alexei Miller eds., (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2015) 413.

The only possible means of restoring insulted honour for the Austrian elite was through a duel; challenges could only be issued, and duels fought by men with honour, who were *satisfaktionsfähig*. *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*, in this instance, meant possessing the rank and capacity to challenge another man of equivalent rank to a duel, or to be challenged to one, in the event of one's honour being compromised. One German author, Clemens von Spohn would later explain that 'All those must be regarded as *satisfaktionsfähig* who come from the best circles of society, and who ... share the same conception of honour as the officer.'¹²⁴

The nineteenth-century military and civilian practice of honour codes, *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and the *Duellzwang* had its conceptual roots in the judicial duels codified in the sixth century, duels that were fought to determine guilt or innocence. In a judicial duel, as Kevin McAleer describes: 'God was considered the judge, and, if the accused should die ... he was automatically declared guilty of the crime with which he had been charged.'¹²⁵ By the fourteenth century, duelling became the means of defending or reclaiming honour, according to a society's ethical codes. Honour was a distinctively masculine quality: a man could suffer loss of honour through a personal insult, and only through the correct duelling practices could his honour be restored. Women, according to these codes could not have honour in the chivalric sense; the protection of women was instead part of the masculine honour code. Insulting a woman (a man's wife, sister, mother, etc.) was an attack on the honour of her male relatives.¹²⁶

The establishment of honour codes and courts, continued throughout the medieval and renaissance periods, despite the protestations of churchmen: the Council of Trent decreed that anybody (including aristocracy and royalty) who indulged in 'the abominable practice of duelling, introduced by the contrivance of the devil, that by the cruel death of the body he may bring about also the destruction of the soul' should be excommunicated.¹²⁷ The Council's stipulations promised the 'fetters of excommunication and everlasting malediction' to anybody present at a duel, or anybody who advised participation in a duel.¹²⁸ Furthermore, duelling threatened the rule of law, as it allowed certain members of society — namely the aristocracy — to settle disputes themselves, without recourse to legal systems. As A. Clive Roberts has pointed out, even legal attempts to make duelling a capital offence — such as the effort made

¹²⁴ Clemens von Spohn, *Beurteilung der verschiedensten Ehrenfragen, die zu Ehrenhändeln und Ehrengerichten Anlass geben* (Berlin: 1911) p. 83. Quoted by Kevin McAleer in *Dueling: The Cult of Honour in Fin-de-Siecle Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 106.

¹²⁵ McAleer, *Dueling*, 106.

¹²⁶ This system had its origins in an equivalent from antiquity, exemplified by Lucretia killing herself after being raped by Sextus Tarquinius, because his attack brought dishonour upon her father and husband. See Frederick Juliaan Vervaeke's 'Honour and Shame in the Roman Republic' in *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Hyun Jin Kim, Frederik Juliaan Vervaeke, Selim Ferruh Adali eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017) 89-90.

¹²⁷ H. J. Schroder, ed., 'Chapter XIX. Duelling is punished with the severest penalties,' *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroder (Charlotte, NC: TAN Books 2011) 296.

¹²⁸ Schroder, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 296.

by Cardinal Richelieu in 1616 — failed ‘because the individual regarded honour as his personal property.’¹²⁹

In the modern period, the idea that a man’s personal honour was something that could be irreparably damaged by insult, and which could only be defended by duel, retained a tighter hold over Austrian society than in neighbouring European countries, although penalties for duelling remained severe. In the eighteenth century, both Empress Maria Theresia and Emperor Joseph II opposed duelling, on the grounds that it allowed noble and aristocratic individuals to administer justice that ran counter to the state-sanctioned system; in the military, duelling not only disrupted discipline, but laid waste to the officer corps. In the nineteenth century, similar objections to duelling prevailed, namely that to take another man’s life was unchristian, and the noble, aristocratic, and military duelling practices (and their emulation by civilians or reservists) contributed to an additional stratification of society, between those who used the court system and those whose sense of honour compelled them to duel. Indeed, the incident that occurs offstage before *Die Fledermaus* begins, the altercation between Eisenstein and a civil servant — a scenario I will explore in greater detail later in this chapter — illustrates such a societal division.

Authors who have examined duelling culture in Austrian military and civilian culture link the increasing popularity and importance of duelling, and the tightening hold of the *Duellzwang*, to the militarisation of Austrian society; in Vienna, the military had particular visibility. In 1868, six years before the premiere of *Die Fledermaus*, Franz Josef introduced compulsory military service to his empire. The term of service was three years, or — for university students — the one-year ‘Einjährig-Freiwillige’.¹³⁰ Along with elevating the public profile of the military in civil society, a result of the Emperor’s new policy was a gradual increase in the military awareness of the wider population, as the military values — including sacrosanct individual honour — in which young men had been immersed during their service permeated the consciousness of parts of the civilian population. Duelling became an accepted and inviolable right for serving officers, reservists and civilians; duelling as a means of restoring one’s honour was no longer restricted to the military sphere. As A. Clive Roberts has pointed out, there evolved an ‘unwritten code similar to that affecting military officers [that] obliged civilians of the upper social strata to engage in duels over matters of honour.’¹³¹ It became easy to compromise the honour of an officer, or, increasingly, the honour of a civilian: a personal insult, an accusation of dishonesty, an insult against one’s wife, fiancée, or any female relation,

¹²⁹ Clive Roberts, ‘The Code of Honor in “fin-de-siècle” Austria,’ 26.

¹³⁰ Clive Roberts, ‘The Code of Honor in “fin-de-siècle” Austria,’ 26.

¹³¹ Clive Roberts, ‘The Code of Honor in “fin-de-siècle” Austria,’ 27.

or even a slur cast against one's horsemanship, or control of one's pet dog, could easily be construed as grounds for demanding satisfaction.¹³²

The Austrian state tolerated the duel, at least amongst the officer class, and it received cultural sanction from the cultural ethos of the aristocracy, enabling them to settle particular disputes extra-legally.¹³³ However, records of civilian duels in Vienna in the 1860s and 1870s show that the duellist who won — either by killing or wounding his opponent — faced immediate exile or certain prosecution. Duelling also had spiritual consequences. In his *Constitutio Apostolicae Sedis* of October 1869, Pope Pius IX clearly stipulated excommunication as the penalty for:

all who fight duels, or challenge to a duel or accept such a challenge; as well as against all who are accessory to the [duel] or who in any way abet or encourage the same; and finally against those who are present at a duel as spectators or those who permit the same, even if they were kings or emperors[.]¹³⁴

Despite this unequivocal language, a subsequent papal letter (Leo XIII's *Pastoralis Officii* of 12 September 1891) that directly addressed archbishops and bishops in Austria and Hungary, accentuates duelling's threat to civil order, while suggesting that those guilty of duelling — whether as duellists or its abettors — consistently evaded both legal and ecclesiastical consequences.¹³⁵

In *Die Fledermaus*, the social status of several of its male protagonists, and especially that of Orlofski, Eisenstein and Falke — as members of the aristocracy, lower nobility, and professional middle class — made them part of the social strata obliged to duel over matters of honour and reputation. Although none of these men is in the military, the values of the regimental *Ehrenrath* had by this time spilled over into civilian society. Within the military, each regiment had its own *Ehrenrath* — a council of honour which determined the circumstances in which an individual could issue a demand for satisfaction after a breach of the *Ehrenkodex* — their rules were partially unwritten, and could be interpreted broadly by officers,

¹³² 'One edition of an Austro-Hungarian "Guide for Reserve Officers" offers fourteen case studies; they range from calling somebody a "liar," or an "ordinary person," to "staring at someone (*fixieren*) while playing with a dog whip.' István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (Oxford University Press, 1990) 136.

¹³³ Mika LaVaque-Manty, 'Duelling for Equality: Masculine Honour and the Modern Politics of Dignity,' *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 2006) 719.

¹³⁴ Pope Pius IX, *Constitutio Apostolicae Sedis*, October 1869.

¹³⁵ 'Finally, there is hardly any pestilence more deadly to the discipline of civil society and perverse to the just order of the state than that license be given to citizens to defend their own rights privately and singly and avenge their honour which they believe has been violated. Lastly, the baseness of duelling is so evident, that in our time, despite the approval and patronage of many, legislators have felt bound to repress it by public authority and published penalties. What is so perverse and destructive in this case is that the written laws for the most part are evaded in substance and in deed; and this often happens with the knowledge and silence of those whose duty it is to punish the guilty and see to it that the laws are enforced. Thus, it happens that frequently duels are fought and go unpunished, mocking the law.' Leo XIII, *Pastoralis Officii* (12 September 1891).

and, by extension, reservists and civilians. However, what was most important was the *obligation* to defend one's honour: choosing to ignore an insult was not only unmilitary, it was also a sign of personal weakness, which would erode personal, and eventually, societal masculine values. The *Ehrenkodex* made readiness to die for the honour of the monarchy the supreme virtue, and as one's own honour was enmeshed within the greater honour of the empire and monarchy, readiness to die for one's own honour also became a virtue for the civilian.

The moral and legal complexities of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* provided material for authors and playwrights throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Ferdinand von Saar's *Leutnant Burda* (1887) and Arthur Schnitzler's *Leutnant Gustl* both explore the experiences of junior officers negotiating the obligations and privileges afforded by their *Satisfaktionsfähig* status. Michael Burri's essay 'Leutnant Burda and the Combative Ethos of the "Aristocrat" in fin-de-siècle Vienna' has set out how Burda exemplified the ideals of the Austrian aristocratic and military masculinity, by showing its confluence between two ostensibly disparate types: the military man and the dandy. In Ferdinand von Saar's novel, Burda exemplifies the crucial characteristics of the dandy: fine, worldly manners ('feine, weltmannische Manieren') and exemplary dress. Burda's clothing, although always impeccably constructed, clean, and appropriate to the occasion, never showed the 'unmittelbare Hervogehen' (gleaming sparkle) that suggested he had just left his tailor. Instead, Burda, whether in his lieutenant's uniform or in civilian garb, exuded an easy stylishness. 'With a flourish few civilian dandies would be able to match,' Burda could bring 'unstudied elegance to his daily routine.'¹³⁶ Burda's elegance and manners were supported by the qualities enhanced by the physical prowess enhanced by his training in horsemanship, fencing and boxing, and the qualities of 'leadership, gallantry, risk-taking.' Seemingly instinctively, Burda appeared to understand the obligations of his rank, and what it entailed for his interaction with those who were his equal, inferior, or superior in the civilian and military spheres.

Burda's conviction of his own nobility was so pronounced that he never contemplated the prospect of an alliance with any woman below the rank of baroness, and his aristocratic self-presentation convinced most of those who knew him of his status. Nevertheless, Burda was not what he seemed: his father was a lowly clerk, as Burda's superiors in the army knew. Burda signed himself 'Gf. Burda', suggesting 'Graf Burda', and when questioned by somebody who knew his true origins, he covered his tracks by saying it was an abbreviation of 'Gottfried.' Burda's romantic obsession with a princess in Vienna, coupled with his increasing paranoia about his own status eventually leads to his downfall: a duel with another soldier, Schorff, in which Burda receives fatal wounds. Norbert Bachleitner has suggested that 'The duel is a

¹³⁶ Michael Burri, 'Leutnant Burda and the Combative Ethos of the "Aristocrat" in fin-de-siècle Vienna,' *German Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (February 1995) 16.

confrontation between Burda, a representative of the old order, and a rich upstart, whom Burda treats with the utmost scorn. In Burda's opinion, his opponent Schorff is only an "impudent and arrogant plebeian".¹³⁷ Burda's situation reiterates the complexities of social rank in the late nineteenth century, and its implications for manly honour. Despite the strictest adherence to honour codes, one could not easily move outside of one's position in society, whether one had been born into this status, or, like Burda, had become *satisfaktionsfähig* by virtue of his military rank.

Die Fledermaus does not provide as explicit a critique of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* as Saar's *Leutnant Burda*, but three incidents in the operetta illustrate the conflicts between the *satisfaktionsfähig* man's feeling of entitlement to defend his honour extra-legally, and the forces of civil law and order. Interpreting the behaviour of Eisenstein, Falke, and Orlofski from the perspective of the obligations and privileges of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* could illustrate how these conflicts contributed to the construction of the Viennese man's masculinities.

1.3 Eisenstein and honour.

Gabriel von Eisenstein's prison sentence, and his failed appeal to the judge (resulting in the extension of his sentence from five to seven days, dominates the early stages of act 1, while also providing the perfect conditions for Falke to execute his 'dramatic joke'. When Adele asks Rosalinde why Eisenstein must go to prison for five days, Rosalinde tells her:

Rosalinde:	Weil er einem Amtsdienner ein paar Hiebe mit der Reitpeitsche gegeben und ihn einen Stockfish genannt hat.
Adele:	Wegen so einem bisserl?
Rosalinde:	Er hat schon an alle Instantzen appelliert, aber das wird ihm eher schaden als nützen. ¹³⁸
Rosalinde:	Because he gave a civil servant a couple of cracks with a riding crop, and called him a codfish.
Adele:	Because of such a small thing?
Rosalinde:	He has already appealed to all the official authorities, but it will do him more harm than help.

Genée does not make clear what the civil servant did to provoke Eisenstein's ire, but his violent response — combining physical battery and verbal insult — places his offence in the third and most serious degree of insults against a *satisfaktionsfähig* man: the 'Austro-Hungarian codes differentiated between three degrees of insult leading to a "chivalrous affair" (*ritterliche Angelegenheit*): (1) light insults, such as impolite behaviour; (2) heavy insults, such as verbal abuse; and (3) physical assault, such as a box on the ear (*Ohrfeige*), the vilest form of abuse to

¹³⁷ Norbert Bachleitner, 'Of Grieving Girls and Suicidal Soldiers: Theodor Fontane and Ferdinand von Saar,' *Theodore Fontane ad the European Context: Literature Culture and Society*, Patricia Howe and Helen Chambers eds., University of London, Institute of German Studies (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2001) 38.

¹³⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 2.

a Central European gentleman.¹³⁹ However, the *Amtsdiener*, as a civil servant, occupied a lower social realm, and is *satisfaktionsunfähig*, therefore unable to issue a challenge. Had Eisenstein struck a *satisfaktionsfähig* man, who could then instigate a challenge, the entire dispute could be resolved through duelling, although this could result in the death or maiming of one or both participants.

However, as a representative of the state and its institutions, the *Amtsdiener* makes recourse to the state's legal apparatus, and the court's subsequent rejections of Eisenstein's appeals for leniency indicate that it regards his displays of quasi-aristocratic privilege as a threat as great to civil order as his assault on the *Amtsdiener*. Furthermore, Eisenstein's multiple attempts to delay the sentence fail to find favour with the court, serving as further evidence to the authorities of his refusal to accept responsibility for the assault.¹⁴⁰

Obligated to participate in court procedures, Eisenstein employs a solicitor, Blind (a name chosen perhaps by Richard Genée to reflect blind/impartial justice), to help with his appeal. When the attempt fails, and Eisenstein returns home, outraged, he immediately blames Blind for his imminent imprisonment, rather than entertains the idea that his appeal served only to antagonise the court.¹⁴¹ Eisenstein comments: 'Diese Zulage habe ich Herr Dr. Stotterbock zu danken ... Ist das ein Vertreter! Solch blühender Unsinn hat noch in keinem Gerichtssaal gewuchert.' ('I can thank Dr Stutterer for this bonus ... If this is an advocate! Such blundering nonsense has grown rampant in the courtroom!').¹⁴² Failing to be browbeaten by Eisenstein's ranting, Blind replies, 'Sie wieder einmal mit Amtsdieners einen Konflikt haben sollten, genießen Sie sich nicht ... Das nächste Mal arbeite ich Sie ganz sicher heraus.' ('When you have a conflict with a clerk again, do not be embarrassed ... the next time I will work it out well for you.')143 If Eisenstein's noble rank means that he has little confidence in the efficacy of courtroom procedure, Blind has a similar lack of faith in Eisenstein's self-control.

Depending on the provocation for Eisenstein's assault on the civil servant, the possibility arises that Eisenstein believed he was exercising *Ehrennotwehr*. Although one of the obligations of the *satisfaktionsfähig* man involved recognising others of his own rank, and therefore not inadvertently challenging anybody without honour, there existed a get-out clause for the honourable man to deal with insults from social inferiors, whether they were private soldiers or the 'mangiest guttersnipes'. *Ehrennotwehr* (defence against honour deprivation)

¹³⁹ István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, 134.

¹⁴⁰ Rosalinde reports that the appeal has been delayed three times: 'Dreimal ist sie schon verschoben worden; aber heute muß er sich stellen, sonst wird er gestellt.'

¹⁴¹ Deborah Holmes points out that neither Eisenstein's original five-day or extended seven-day sentence reflect the actual legal penalties of the time. For 'taking liberties' with an official, a real-life Eisenstein could have expected fifteen months' imprisonment. 'From *Ausgleich* to "Jahrhundertwende",' 3.

¹⁴² *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 7.

¹⁴³ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 7.

gave an officer leave, at the very moment of severest provocation, to smite immediately the person who had offended him (sometimes resulting in severe injury), and yet escape judicial censure. The important point was that the officer must draw his weapon and attack immediately, without hesitation; pausing for contemplation could later be interpreted as pre-meditation.

A problem could occur if it was later shown that the officer had attacked a man who was *satisfaktionsfähig*, although there was obviously a conflict between the imperative of acting immediately in the exercise of *Ehrennotwehr*, and the pause required for the officer to assess whether his attacker was a gentleman, and could/should be challenged to a duel.¹⁴⁴ In Austria, officers who exercised *Ehrennotwehr* were protected from a civil prosecution, but should a case be brought against them, they were pardoned by the emperor. Between civilians, *Ehrennotwehr* was officially impossible, making it necessary to go through the proper protocols in the event of an insult, including an assessment of whether one's potential opponent was *satisfaktionsfähig*. However, Eisenstein, with his poor grasp of how *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* works, forgets that as a civilian he cannot legitimately enact *Ehrennotwehr* under any circumstances.

Eisenstein consistently mis-reads his opponents, assuming he can abuse 'inferiors' — such as the civil servant — without fear of repercussion. In act 3 when Eisenstein encounters the singer, Alfred, who was mistakenly imprisoned in Eisenstein's place, he realises that Alfred was taken to prison after being found dining with Rosalinde. Eisenstein suspects that Alfred compromised Rosalinde's reputation and thus his own honour, so immediately demands satisfaction from Alfred. In so doing Eisenstein clearly forgets that as an opera singer and a servant of Orlofski, Alfred is most likely not *satisfaktionsfähig*, so is unfit to duel anyway:¹⁴⁵

Alfred:	Also Sie sind Herr von Eisenstein?
Eisenstein:	Ja, ich bin Eisenstein, — der legitimierte Besitzer dieses samtenen Weibes und dieses meineidigen Schlafrockes!
Alfred:	Ich stelle Ihnen beides mit Dank zurück!
Eisenstein:	Sie warden mir Satisfaktion geben, mein Herr —
Alfred:	Wenn Sie es wünschen, mit Vergnügen.
Eisenstein:	Ja, ich wünsche es, und zwar sogleich!
Alfred:	Sogleich? Das wird nicht gehen. Erst warden Sie die Güte haben, sich in die Zelle No. 12 zu begeben, deren legitimer Besitzer Sie gleichfalls sind! ¹⁴⁶
Alfred:	Ah, you are Herr von Eisenstein?

¹⁴⁴Kevin McAleer, *Dueling*, 114-115.

¹⁴⁵ Mika LaVaque-Manty points out that a 'key feature in duelling is that it exemplifies manly virtue in defence of women's honour.' Women also had honour, but they did not have the capacity to defend it against insults, and their honour was almost entirely synonymous with 'a reputation for sexual integrity.' It was a duty of the chivalrous man, and an inherent part of the *Ehrenkodex* that women possessed 'an honour appropriate to them ... which turns on their natural attributes and which presupposes a superior sex in charge of their protection.' LaVaque-Manty, 'Duelling for Equality,' 731-732.

¹⁴⁶ *Die Fledermaus*, act 3, scene 12.

Eisenstein: Yes, I am Eisenstein, — the legitimate owner of velvet woman and this perjurious dressing gown!
 Alfred: Then I return both to you, with thanks.
 Eisenstein: You will give me satisfaction, sir —
 Alfred: If you want that, then with pleasure.
 Eisenstein: Yes, I do want that, and immediately!
 Alfred: Immediately? Well, that will not work. First, will you be so good to go back to Cell No. 12, of which you are also the legitimate owner!

Alfred's rejection of Eisenstein's challenge is particularly cutting but provides an example of a man who is not *satisfaktionsfähig* understanding the nuances of propriety and honour better than his social superiors. Eisenstein, meanwhile, has forgotten that he can only duel with a man of equivalent rank. That Alfred refuses Eisenstein's challenge would, in normal circumstances, compound the insult, but as a *satisfaktionsunfähig* man, he can escape a challenge, which thus provides him with a form of freedom denied to the *satisfaktionsfähig*. Indeed, Alfred's joking refusal shares a characteristic in common with the behaviour of Falke, another man in *Die Fledermaus* whose rank is ambiguous.

1.4 'Die Rache der Fledermaus': masculinity and revenge.

Falke, as a notary, is aware that Einstein would receive a custodial sentence for his attack on the clerk and uses Eisenstein's imminent incarceration as an opportunity to exact his revenge, although in act 1, the audience still does not know what it is that Falke plans to avenge. At the start of act 2, when Falke arrives at Orlofski's party, he immediately appraises his host of the situation:

Orlofski: Ich habe in meinen achtzen Jahren vierzig durchgelebt, Doktor — alles langweilt mich — ich kann kaum lachen mehr — (*seufzt*) meine Millionen sind mein Unglück.
 Falke: Das Unglück will ich gern mit Ihnen teilen, Durchlaucht!
 Orlofski: Und meinen Sie, daß wir heute lachen werden?
 Falke: Ich hoffe es, Durchlaucht. Sie haben mir *plein pouvoir* gegeben, und ich war bemüht, einen kleinen dramatischen Scherz vorzubereiten!
 Orlofski: Wie heißt das Stück?
 Falke: Rache einer Fledermaus!
 Orlofski: Der Titel is originell genug.¹⁴⁷

Orlofski: In my eighteen years, I have already lived forty, doctor — everything bores me — I cannot laugh any more — (*sighs*) my millions are my misfortune.
 Falke: I would be very happy to share that misfortune, your highness.
 Orlofski: And do you think I will laugh today?
 Falke: I hope so, your highness. You have given me *plein pouvoir*, and I have designed a little dramatic joke.
 Orlofski: What is the piece called?
 Falke: Revenge of the Bat!

¹⁴⁷ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 3.

Orlofski: The title is original enough.

Falke's plan serves to discomfort Eisenstein at every turn: he introduces Eisenstein to Orlofski as a French nobleman, 'Marquis Renard', and then introduces the prison governor (who will shortly superintend Eisenstein's sentence) to both Eisenstein and Orlofski as 'Chevalier Chagrin.' This forces the two men to speak French to each other, which neither of them can do with any fluency. The situation indicates that Falke's 'Rache einer Fledermaus' will be a revenge based on humiliation, the very thing that no *satisfaktionsfähig* man could tolerate.

Orlofski also joins in enthusiastically with Eisenstein's humiliation, beginning with his *couplets* 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein' in which he explains how any guest who does not enjoy himself obviously enough, or drink enough wine, will be cast out the door. Eisenstein's introduction to the social practices and national peculiarities of the Russian aristocracy is another example of behaviour deliberately designed to discomfort him. As the party continues, more incidents occur in which Eisenstein appears, in Orlofski's words, 'ungallant.' He declares that another guest resembles his house maid. In fact, it is his housemaid Adele (invited anonymously to the party by Falke), who has assumed the identity of an aspirant actress called Olga. However, where Eisenstein errs — and what exposes his poor grasp of honourable behaviour further — is that he loudly declares her identity, rather than discreetly pretending otherwise. A truly chivalrous man, as Orlofski points out, would never say such a thing, even if it were true. Despite his 'outsider status' as a Russian, Orlofski's protest at Eisenstein's gaffe indicates that unlike his guest, Orlofski possesses a proper grasp of true chivalrous conduct.

Later, when Rosalinde appears, masked, in the guise of a Hungarian countess, Eisenstein is among those who want her to reveal her identity, but again Orlofski intervenes, and says that any lady in attendance at his house has the right to remain masked. Eisenstein finds the masked countess very alluring, entirely failing to notice she is his wife. Meanwhile, Rosalinde also takes an opportunity to trick her husband, managing to seize his 'rat-catcher', the pocket watch which he uses to lure the little rats of the corps de ballet into his embraces; Eisenstein tells her 'Meine Frau ist steinhalt und hässlich wie ein Nachteule!' ('My wife is as old as the hills and ugly as a night-owl!')¹⁴⁸

Having witnessed Eisenstein's lubricious response to Olga/Adele and the countess/Rosalinde, the other guests feign surprise to learn that Eisenstein is married. They also hear the story of the incident which has inspired Falke's desire for revenge. Eisenstein recounts how, three years earlier, Falke and Eisenstein attended a masked ball at a castle in Weinberg. At that time, Eisenstein was not married, but Falke was already a notary. Eisenstein dressed as a butterfly and Falke as a bat: 'Ganz eingenäht in ein braunes Fell, lange Krallen, breite Flügel, und einen ungeheuren gelben Schnabel' ('Entirely sewn into a brown pelt, with long claws,

¹⁴⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 12.

huge wings, and a monumental yellow beak’).¹⁴⁹ Towards dawn, Eisenstein arranged for a carriage to take the somnolent Falke to a park, place him under a tree and leave him sleeping there. In the morning, the derisive laughter of passing school children woke Falke and, according to Eisenstein, ‘Seitdem wurde er in Weinberg nur noch Dr. Fledermaus genannt.’ (Ever since, he has been known as Dr Bat in Weinberg.)¹⁵⁰

After hearing the story of Falke’s humiliation in Weinberg, Ida asks ‘Und er hat sich nicht gerächt für den grossen Spass?’ (‘And he has not taken revenge for this great prank?’), but Eisenstein replies confidently that his friend Falke has probably let the matter lie: ‘Oh, ich bin auf meiner Hut!’ (Oh, I am on alert!) Falke, on the other hand, mutters ‘Aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben. Vielleicht erleben wir schon morgen, wer von uns den ersten Preis als Spassmacher verdient.’ (‘Postponed is not cancelled. Perhaps tomorrow we will realise who has earned first prize as jester.’)¹⁵¹

Falke’s remark indicates two facts, firstly that Eisenstein’s trick at Weinberg did humiliate him, and secondly, that he intends to have revenge, but in kind, rather than through the more typical path of duelling. Falke’s avoidance of duelling prompts the question of his own status. He is friends with Eisenstein, so presumably of an equivalent social status. As a notary, Falke also has a professional reputation to uphold, a privileged position in which he is privy to the legal secrets of his clients, who must in turn trust his discretion. His form of revenge, carefully and discreetly planned and executed, reflects his work in the legal profession. However, his decision to seek revenge through a joke rather than by issuing a challenge raises questions about his social status. Falke’s problem also exposes one of the contradictions of the nineteenth-century Austrian honour system, a structure in which a man with a professional and public reputation to uphold could be provoked or insulted but had limited means of redress. Given that the capacity to challenge and duel comprised a form of masculinity that was — through its connection with the emperor — divinely appointed, to be *satisfaktionsunfähig* signified an inherently inferior form of masculinity.

Falke’s legal training and profession, as well as his friendship with Eisenstein, could suggest that they occupy a near-equivalent social status, but were Falke *satisfaktionsfähig*, Eisenstein’s trick, besmirching Falke’s reputation could be grounds for a challenge to a duel: in fact, not issuing a challenge would potentially damage his honour further. In this context, the lack of duel suggests that Falke was ineligible to issue a challenge, perhaps as a result of being *satisfaktionsunfähig* by reason of his social class, occupation, an incident of cowardice, or religion. A *satisfaktionsunfähig* man possessed no honour, rendering him unable to challenge another man to a duel, or be challenged.

¹⁴⁹ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 12.

¹⁵⁰ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 12.

¹⁵¹ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 12.

1.5 Falke's revenge and masculinity theory.

Scholars have long determined that masculinities are socially formed and influenced by both external constructs and internal realities. These external constructs operate within a range of social structures (i.e. home life, educational institutions, recreational activities, and employment). Internal realities, including race or ethnicity, social class, age, and sexuality, also influence an individual or societal construction of masculinities. In the past decade, some authors have moved away from using discrete categories to define masculinities, such as race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality or class. Such classifications can cause us to ignore common ground between different gender-signifying behaviour, except its enactment by male bodies. Furthermore, simple categorisation — such as whether a man is *satisfaktionsfähig* — obfuscates 'within-category variation.'¹⁵²

As constituent elements in the construction of exemplary Viennese masculinities, awareness of honour and readiness to duel provide examples of what Douglas Schrock and Michael Schwalbe have called 'manhood acts.'¹⁵³ Schrock and Schwalbe propose that the plurality approach leads to essentialism through its tendency of using 'conventional categories of race, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, or class to define masculinities into existence.'¹⁵⁴ In their view, this tendency obscures important variations in behaviour and expectations within conventional categories or groups. In contrast, the 'manhood act' can be common to more than one of the conventional categories, as it is 'aimed at claiming privilege, eliciting deference, and resisting exploitation.' The 'manhood act' also helps place attention on 'what males do to create, maintain, and claim membership in a dominant gender group.'¹⁵⁵ In an exploration of *Die Fledermaus*, the 'manhood act' relevant to Falke and Eisenstein's situation is restitution of manly honour after it has been compromised.

For the *satisfaktionsfähig* man, the challenge to a duel is one of the most important manhood acts, and the duel also fits the criteria for a 'manhood act', which Schrock defines as claiming privilege, eliciting deference and resisting exploitation. By subjecting Falke to derision, Eisenstein exploited him, and Falke needed restitution, but must seek an alternative to duelling. His alternative — devising a plan to expose Eisenstein to similar derision — presents a different form of manhood act; not aimed at claiming privilege, eliciting deference, or resisting exploitation, Falke's act has the goal of equalling the score, but through a joke.

¹⁵² Schrock, Douglas, and Michael Schwalbe, 'Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts', *Annual Review of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (2009) 278-279.

¹⁵³ Schwalbe and Schrock, 'Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts,' 277ff.

¹⁵⁴ Schwalbe and Schrock, 'Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts,' 281.

¹⁵⁵ Schwalbe and Schrock, 'Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts,' 289.

Although the vengeful practical joke seems a lesser form of manhood act for restitution of honour than the complicated protocols of duelling, Falke's plan has a symmetry which re-establishes equilibrium and shows there is morality in revenge. Ben Knights's alternative view of masculine honour shows that:

one simple mutation of the narrative of masculine assertion is into revenge, a way of establishing a pure moral economy of the universe: justice can be obtained by making sure somebody is made to compensate for the protagonist's sense of being wronged Transgression is symmetrically balanced with an act of retribution, thereby re-establishing an equilibrium.¹⁵⁶

Arguably, duelling also fits this symmetrical model, but the aim of the duel was not revenge, but a symbolic blood-letting that erased the original insult. However, the duel did not result in equilibrium, but disruption to multiple lives: records of civilian duels in Vienna in the 1860s and 1870s show that the duellist who won — either by killing his opponent outright or fatally wounding him — faced immediate exile to avoid prosecution. Two cases in the years preceding the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* — duels between Adolph Jan Derck, Graaf van Rechteren and Don Emilio de Muruaga y Vildósoia in 1863, and Graf Wedel and Bernhard of Solms-Braunfels in 1867 — both ended in death for one party and exile to Paris for the other.¹⁵⁷

Falke's solution for achieving equilibrium succeeds without fatal disruption: he shows that despite being *satisfaktionunsfähig* he is not morally inferior. Instead, Falke possesses the ability to negotiate complex social hierarchies with more dexterity than the *satisfaktionsfähig* Eisenstein. Eisenstein consistently mis-reads his opponents, assuming he can abuse 'inferiors' — such as the civil servant, or Falke — without fear of repercussion. Meanwhile, Falke's behaviour appears to exemplify a type of man, about whom Gerald Stourzh has written, typical of a group that emerged in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The pursuits of intellectual and professional excellence exercised by these men were, Stourzh suggests 'preconditions' for the proliferations of 'originality and creativity' that have come to characterise perceptions of the Viennese *fin de siècle*.¹⁵⁸ In Stourzh's view, the common denominator for this group was an 'antipermissive' outlook for men from a variety of different backgrounds whose professional lives involved:

the application of a discipline that included foregoing immediate benefits for the sake of ulterior rewards ... Such an attitude might apply to the bureaucrats emulating the discipline and diligence of the Emperor or individuals determined to climb the ladder

¹⁵⁶ Ben Knights, *Writing Masculinities: Male Narratives in Twentieth-Century Fiction* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999) 128.

¹⁵⁷ The circumstances and outcome of the Wedel-Solms, duel, which resulted from accusations of dishonourable conduct in war, was widely reported, with particularly detailed accounts in the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* of 23 February 1867, p. 4; 7 March 1867, p. 5. The 1863 duel between the Dutch and Spanish legation officials, allegedly involving remarks about a woman, was similarly reported in several newspapers, including *Fremdenblatt*, 25 February 1863, 4-5; *Fremdenblatt* 26 February 1863, 5; *Das Vaterland*, 26 February 1863, 3; *Die Presse*, 27 February 1863, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Stourzh, *From Vienna to Chicago and Back*, 139.

of social mobility ... whether that ladder led to material reward in business or, characteristically for the Habsburg Empire, to rewards of a non-pecuniary nature ¹⁵⁹

These rewards included preserving and improving reputation, which, as Henderson and Pitt-Rivers have stated, is a form of personal honour.

Falke's reputation, damaged at Weinberg (where Eisenstein ensured that Falke fell into a stupor, as part of his desire for 'Extrajux', rather than because of Falke's own intemperance) needed to be addressed. Falke, denied the opportunity to use the chivalrous affair to regain his tarnished honour (prudently avoiding, also, the danger of being killed or maimed in a duel), forewent this immediate benefit for the sake of a greater reward in the future; his familiarity with Orlofski demonstrates his ascent of the ladder of social mobility, towards rewards of a non-pecuniary nature, as a by-product of professional rectitude.

1.6 Conclusion.

The interactions in *Die Fledermaus* between male characters — who demonstrate different awareness of and attitudes towards honour — show how the operetta effectively highlighted some of the paradoxes of masculinity in later nineteenth-century Vienna. Interpreting Genée's story of revenge between men as a subtle form of ridicule of Viennese social standards and practices, exemplified by the sardonic double-meaning of Alfred's 'Glücklich ist, wer vergißt, was doch nicht zu ändern ist' reveals in the story an element of satire which would otherwise remain opaque in modern performances and for modern audiences. Meanwhile, Rosalinde's attendance at Orlofski's party is often understood as her personal quest to uncover her husband's infidelity, rather than as her role in Falke's plot. While these two interpretations are valid, they tend to reduce the importance of Falke's plan to exact revenge and leave aside the reasons for and significance of his desire to be avenged.

Criticism of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and the obligation to duel is now more closely associated with the last decade of the nineteenth century, when critiques of militarism in society became increasingly pointed: Bertha von Suttner's *Die Waffen nieder* (*Lay down your arms*) published in 1889 charted the destructive power of militarism on a family, while Arthur Schnitzler's novella *Leutnant Gustl* (1901) remains the best-known commentary on the hypocrisy of the *Duellzwang*.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the association between manly honour and the

¹⁵⁹ Stourzh, *From Vienna to Chicago and Back*, 139.

¹⁶⁰ Gustl, a young officer, finds himself in an argument with a baker in a cloakroom queue at the theatre. The baker, who is far older than Gustl, insults him by begging for his patience. As the argument escalates, the baker grasps the hilt of Gustl's sword and threatens to break it into several pieces and send it to his commanding officer. In such circumstances, Gustl should immediately challenge the baker, but the baker is *satisfaktionsunfähig*, so it is impossible. To make matters worse, the baker is magnanimous, saying 'I do not want to ruin your career'. So, doubly insulted, and yet still unable to regain his honour, Gustl realises that the only honourable way out of this situation is suicide. Unwilling to commit suicide, he lives in constant fear that somebody will find out about the incident with the

obligation to duel was still one which some publications mocked. In June 1879, *Kikeriki*, a satirical magazine, published a column titled ‘Neuster Todtenzettel’ (‘Newest Death Notice’) which listed a variety of ways in which residents (with invented names) had recently met their deaths. Several people were listed as having been run over or ridden down by members of the nobility, whereas several had met a different fate, which commented on the nobility’s enthusiasm for duelling:

Johann Pomeisl, vom Grafen Strobelkopf im Duell erschossen. [...]
 Josef Rosinger, vom Baron Warenputsch im Duell erstochen. [...]
 Thomas Zinfelmaier, in Folge eines mit dem Fürsten Schnudi gehabten chinesischen Duells mittelst Siegellack sich selbst entleibt.
 Florian Strupfenberger, in Folge eines mit dem Grafen Gagelbam gehabten indischen Duells sich selbst skalpirt.¹⁶¹

Johann Pomeisl shot by Grafen Strobelkopf in a duel. [...]
 Josef Rosinger stabbed by Baron Warenputsch in a duel. [...]
 Thomas Zinfelmaier killed himself as the result of a Chinese sealing wax duel with Duke Schnudi.
 Florian Strupfenberger scalped himself as consequence of an Indian duel with Count Gagelbam.

This column, and others like it, reinforce the idea of a close association between honour, duelling, and enacting correct forms of masculinity in civil society, as well as a picture of aristocrats preferring to take the law into their own hands when settling a question of honour. Notably, in this example, the common civilians always come off second best to their noble opponents, reinforcing the view that the expansion of preoccupations with honour and duelling to the bourgeoisie was not a success for the latter group. In this context, Falke’s decision to avoid the temptation of duelling (leaving aside the fact that he may not have wanted to risk being wounded or killed, or injuring his friend Eisenstein) appears a more effective means of re-establishing an equilibrium.

The friendship between Eisenstein and Falke throws into relief two distinct forms of Viennese masculinities: Gabriel von Eisenstein is a representative of the *ancien régime*, an ennobled rentier, living off unearned income generated by the industry and prudence of his forebears; his noble status with its automatic granting of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* permits him to embrace the style of what Deak has called the ‘Latter Day Knights’ of nineteenth-century Vienna. Meanwhile, Eisenstein — as he stamps through life humiliating his friends, assaulting civil servants, insulting women, and challenging *satisfaktionsunfähig* men — demonstrates no true grasp of the obligations of chivalrous manhood. *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*, in the case of a man like Eisenstein, seems a commodity rather than a spiritual quality, bestowed upon and owned

baker. Fortunately, the baker dies from natural causes, releasing Gustl from his panic. Arthur Schnitzler, *Lieutenant Gustl*, trans. Richard L. Simon (New York: Simon and Schuster 1926).

¹⁶¹ *Kikeriki*, 6 June 1870, 2.

by a section of society, with very little to do with an individual's morality. Looking more closely at the behaviour and words of the men in *Die Fledermaus* from the perspective of protecting and promoting manly honour reveals a vein of satire in the operetta that its initial audiences — aware of the paradoxical nuances of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* — would have recognised. While this satire is less explicit than those found in other texts later in the century, *Die Fledermaus* nonetheless provides a subtle satire on the conventions and contradictions of honour, which in turn provide new perspectives on the masculinities of *Die Fledermaus*, and Habsburg Vienna.

Chapter 2: Orlofski's Russian and Viennese masculinities.

Hören Sie mich an; ich muß Sie vor allen Dingen mit meinen nationalen Eigentümlichkeiten bekannt machen.

Listen to me; first of all, I must acquaint you with my national peculiarities.

Orlofski, *Die Fledermaus*, act 2.

2.1 Introduction.

The first chapter of this thesis examined interactions between male characters in *Die Fledermaus*, concentrating on their understanding and practice of masculine honour; the chapter established that a man's position in the social hierarchy of Vienna in the 1870s did not equate with a nuanced understanding and performance of honour codes. However, despite his status as an outsider and his youth, Orlofski's conduct throughout acts 2 and 3 of *Die Fledermaus* proves exemplary, a finding at odds with other authors' discussions of this character. The present chapter explores Orlofski's musical characterisation in more detail, primarily through analysis of his act 2 *couplets* 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein.' The analysis illuminates several features relevant to Orlofski's masculinity, including his 'exoticism' as a Russian, and his age.

2.2 Characterisation and masculinity in Orlofski's *couplets* and characterisation.

Orlofski's only significant solo number occurs in act 2, with the *couplets* 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein.' Lasting just over one hundred bars, in a simple strophic form, these *couplets* constitute one of the most widely-recognised moments from the nineteenth-century operetta repertoire. While the *couplets* have been the subject of musicological investigation, there is a lack of detailed close readings of Strauss's musical language in the *couplets*. Some critical writing about the role of Orlofski focusses on the character as a representative of national difference (as a Russian amongst Austrians), as exemplified by Camille Crittenden.¹⁶² Meanwhile, Margaret Reynolds and Terry Castle have reflected upon the fascinating ambiguities of Orlofski as a *travesti* role, but both authors avoid exploring the musical essence of Orlofski.¹⁶³

Valuable as meditative reflections on the character of Orlofski, the writings of Crittenden, Reynolds and Castle offer only partial solutions to the questions we might ask about Orlofski. These questions include consideration of Orlofski's age, his position as a host and the intentions that lie behind his interaction with his guests, and how Strauss may have used

¹⁶² Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss*, 146-148.

¹⁶³ Terry Castle, 'In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender'; Margaret Reynolds 'Ruggiero's deceptions, Cherubino's distractions,' 132-151, in Corinne Blackmer and Patricia J. Smith, eds., *En Travesti: Women, Gender, Subversion, Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 20-49; 132-151.

Orlofski's *couplets* to comment on operatic conventions. My goal in this chapter is to present an analysis akin to the adaptation of Bakhtinian heteroglossia, as Kevin Korsyn has suggested: a 'system having as its goal the illumination of one language by means of another.'¹⁶⁴ Orlofski's music can provide some answers to these questions.

Crittenden has written, quite rightly, that Orlofski's *couplets* are a musical expression of his Russian identity constructed for a Viennese audience. Her commentary suggests that this construction is a musical manifestation of caricatured Russian uncouthness. Crittenden cites a number of unsophisticated musical elements in the *couplets*, including its cut-common metre, its metric emphases on the second half of the bar and simple harmonic rhythm, the suggestions of 'exotic' but crude modality, and an overall lack of significant modulation. These features contribute to Crittenden's hypothesis that a lack of musical sophistication contributed to fashioning Orlofski as a Viennese idea of a stereotypical Russian.¹⁶⁵ She has proposed also that Strauss and Genée heightened Orlofski's Russian primitivism by making the character a trouser role, thus emasculating the Habsburg Empire's neighbouring imperial power for the entertainment of the Theater an der Wien audience:

Austria tried to stabilize relations with both Russia and Prussia by establishing the Three Emperors' League (*Dreikaiser Bund*) in October 1873. When *Die Fledermaus* premiered a few months later, audiences would have accepted a strong, virile Russian prince less easily than one whose potentially threatening verisimilitude was undercut by having 'him' played by a woman.¹⁶⁶

This interpretation dodges the point that Orlofski's antecedent in *Le Réveillon*, Yermontoff, is also a *travesti* role: Strauss and Genée did not invent a Russian Orlofski *en travesti* but adapted him from Meilhac and Halévy's original character.

My analysis posits that 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein' is a musical moment in *Die Fledermaus* for which Strauss wrote distinctly comic music, designed not to lampoon Orlofski, but to make Gabriel von Eisenstein the object of the joke. In so doing, Strauss illuminates different aspects of Orlofski, including his personality and age, in a manner that reveals much about Orlofski's masculinity. This multi-dimensional characterisation that I reveal through a synthesis of musical analysis and historical and social contexts suggests an interpretation that differs from the commentary on Orlofski's *couplets* by Camille Crittenden, who identifies the

¹⁶⁴ In 'Beyond Privileged Contexts: Intertextuality, Influence, and Dialogue,' Kevin Korsyn writes: 'As I have suggested elsewhere, Bakhtin's concept of dialogue might provide a model for rethinking unity. According to Bakhtin, novelistic discourse is stratified, rather than lying on a single plane; the novel may contain "several heterogeneous stylistic unities, often located on different linguistic levels and subject to different stylistic controls." These discursive layers may be "subordinated, yet still relatively autonomous unities." The novel represents a new kind of linguistic consciousness that Bakhtin calls dialogic: instead of the closed models of monologic genres, novelistic discourse creates "artistic images of languages".'¹⁶⁴ *Rethinking Music*, Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999) 61.

¹⁶⁵ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 146.

¹⁶⁶ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 146-147.

ingredients of Orlofski's 'otherness' in musical manifestations of caricatured Russian boorishness.¹⁶⁷ She has contrasted the musical caricature with Rosalinde's more sophisticated act 2 *csárdás*, and the otherwise Viennese *tinta* of the other music in the operetta.

2.3 Orlofski's *couplets* and Strauss's 'Russian' music.

Orlofski's *couplets* share some similarities with other music that Strauss wrote in a 'Russian' style, and in which it was one of the composer's aims to entertain rather than alienate his Russian audience. Following Strauss's agreement with the Tsarskoye-Selo Railway Company of St Petersburg in the mid-1850s to compose and direct music for summer performances at their 'Vauxhall Pavilion' (a concert venue at Pavlovsk), Strauss conducted annually at the Pavilion until 1865. He returned for further visits in 1869 and 1886.¹⁶⁸ In a number of pieces, pre-dating the composition of *Die Fledermaus*, Strauss wrote in a self-consciously 'Russian' manner, influenced by his appreciation of Glinka, and incorporating elements of Russian folk song. Strauss's *Palovsk-Polka quasi Galopp*, Op. 184 (1856), *Abschied von St. Petersburg*, Op. 201 (1858), *Kaiser-Alexander-Huldings-Marsch*, Op. 290 (1864), *Russische Marsch-Fantasie*, Op. 353 (1872), and *Slovanka-Quadrille*, Op. 338, all demonstrate Strauss's assimilation and transformation of various Russian features. Another piece, *Hommage au public russe* (A 'Homage to the Russian People'), a miscellany of Russian melodies drawn mainly from folk songs and Glinka's operas, demonstrated Strauss's esteem for Glinka.

Folk song, and hints of Russian liturgical chant are two dominant features of another 'pot-pourri', *Im russischen Dorfe* (Op. 355). In this *Fantasie für grosses Orchester* some of the characteristic features of Orlofski's *couplets* appear, although in different permutations. Throughout most of the first thirty-seven bars, the bass outlines an anapaestic rhythm, rather like that found in Orlofski's *couplets*. In simple duple time, this rhythm is scored as two quavers and a crotchet. Similar to the introductory bars of Orlofski's *couplets*, this motif consists only of the tonic and dominant. Only the start of the melody in bar 9 firmly establishes the G minor tonality. Within the first section there is no definite modulation, creating a static sensation akin to that of Orlofski's *couplets* (**Example 2.1**).

¹⁶⁷ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 147.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Kemp. 'Strauss, Johann.' Accessed April 21, 2016.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52380pg2>

Example 2.1. *Im russischen Dorfe*, b. 1–22.

The musical score for 'Im russischen Dorfe' (measures 1–22) is presented in three systems. The first system, marked 'Andante moderato.' and 'Piano.', shows the piano introduction with dynamics *p* and *pp*, and a *marcato.* marking. The second system continues the piano introduction with a *marcato.* marking and a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The third system continues the piano introduction with a *marcato.* marking and a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic.

Those in the audience at the Theater an der Wien who were familiar with Strauss's 'Russian' music would perhaps have recognised the idiomatic similarities between his works for Pavlovsk, and the style of 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein'. This premise also prompts the question of whether the trappings of Russianness that Orlofski exhibits in his *couplets* are genuinely part of *his* Russian identity or are just part of a persona he adopts to impress or alarm his guests. The restrictions that the strophic *couplet* structure impose upon Orlofski mean that the *couplet* form is more suitable for an almost 'rehearsed' telling of a story, as the singer must reuse the same music for new text in the second verse.

Despite the restrictions of the strophic *couplet* structure, Strauss employed an assortment of means — harmonic, motivic, instrumental, and gestural — to enhance the musical characterisation of Orlofski. The harmonic rhythm of the first section of 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein' is measured and simple, generally changing every half bar; the first twelve bars

employ root-position chords seesawing between tonic and sub-dominant or dominant. The combination of uncomplicated harmony and melodic and rhythmic repetition could contribute to an impression of unsophistication in the *couplets*, but I suggest that this simplicity aids Orlofski's ability to create a self-conscious 'performance' of his national peculiarities for Eisenstein. The anapaestic rhythm of the first half of each strophe conforms with the rhythm of the text, creating a long-long-short pattern that is almost hypnotic (**Example 2.2**) and Strauss's avoidance of complexity prevents any intrusion upon, or distraction from Orlofski's story.¹⁶⁹

Example 2.2. *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 7, 'Ich lade gern mir gäste ein,' b. 1–13.

The image displays a musical score for a scene from *Die Fledermaus*. It features two systems of music. The first system is for Orlofski (labeled 'Orlofsky') and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a soprano register, and the piano part consists of a right-hand melody and a left-hand accompaniment. The second system is for the orchestra (labeled 'Or.') and piano accompaniment. The vocal line continues with a more complex melodic line, and the piano part provides a steady accompaniment. The score includes lyrics in German and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *pp* (pianissimo).

Orlofsky

1. Ich la - de gern mir Gä - ste ein, man
1. Wenn ich mit An - dern sitz' beim Wein, und

f *pp* *p*

7

Or.

lebt bei mir recht fein; man un - ter hält sich, wie man mag oft bis zum hellen - Tag Zwar langweil' ich... mich
Flasch' um Flasche... leer; muß je - der mit mir durstig sein, sonst wer - de grob ich... sehr! Und schenke Glas um

In the second half of the strophe (beginning in bar 21), Strauss reverses the rhythmic scheme, which becomes a long-short-short dactyl. Where it would be reasonable to expect a modulation, Strauss remains in D-flat major, after a fleeting move to the dominant (A-flat major) for bar 19, and the cadence into bar 20; in the text, Orlofski has not moved to a new idea, but warmed to his theme (**Example 2.3**). Only from bar 46 to the end of the strophe does Strauss branch out harmonically, ending in the dominant with a typical cadential progression to launch the repeat of the strophe from bar 3: $I/V - ii_3^6/V - V \frac{6}{5}/V - I/V$.

¹⁶⁹ At least one recent performance presents Orlofski increasing the complexity of the *couplets* by adding embellishments throughout the second stanza, for example Malena Ernman's interpretation at Glyndebourne in 2003. Johann Strauss, *Die Fledermaus*, dir. Stephen Lawless, cond. Vladimir Jurowski, London Philharmonic Orchestra, OpusArte 2004.

Example 2.3 *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 7, ‘Ich lade gern mir gäste ein,’ b. 20–25.

20 *poco meno*

Or. nicht! Und se - he ich, es en - nu - yiert sich je - mand hier bei mir, so pack' ich ihn ganz
nug.* Wer mir beim Trinken... nicht par - riert, sich zieret wie ein Tropf, dem wer - fe ich ganz

Orlofski's *couplets* represent the first instance of such a flat key occurring in *Die Fledermaus*. Strauss's choice of tonality provides surprise and disruption especially after the dominance of brighter sharp keys in act 1 and early in act 2. In Crittenden's assessment of the D-flat major tonality of Orlofski's *couplets*, she maintains that in this 'unusual key' the strings sound muted.¹⁷⁰ While the key is partially responsible for a darker string tone, the dynamic instructions, and the direction for the strings to play pizzicato or in short punctuating chords also produce a muted effect. Nevertheless, Crittenden's equation of D-flat major with crude modality warrants further exploration.

The extended section of dialogue which separates Orlofski's *couplets* from the chorus that opens act 2, does not vitiate the jarring tonal contrast between the frenetic brightness of the E major chorus, and the flatness of tonality in the chords which open Orlofski's *couplets*. Furthermore, throughout act 1 Strauss had employed sharp keys almost exclusively. The exceptions to this scheme are the Terzett (no. 4), with its first thirty-one bars in the region of C minor/E-flat major, and the 'Marziale' section of the Finale (no. 5), which similarly moves around the area of E-flat major (bar 103-122). The Allegretto (beginning with the text 'Sie finden gewiß dort meinen Gemahl') has no change of key signature from the previous C major, but is in A-flat major between bars 272 and 279. Otherwise, Strauss's act I scheme involves extended tonal blocks of predominantly sharp keys.

Likewise, in act 1 Strauss's scheme comprises mostly 'simple' keys, and although flat keys are more prevalent in act 2 than in act 1, the D-flat major of Orlofski's *couplets* stands out, especially given the unequivocal conclusion of no. 6 (Entr'acte and Ensemble) in E major. In the Entr'acte and Ensemble that open act 2 of *Die Fledermaus*, the fast transition from G major (for the first twenty-three bars) to E major helps set the scene for the new act, the tonal

¹⁷⁰ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 47.

brightness emphasising the excitement of Orlofski's guests. The new key provides an auditory transition from the C major conclusion of act 1 in the Eisenstein's drawing room, to Orlofski's salon. Orlofski makes no solo musical contributions until his *couplets* but then utilises the exotic and previously dormant key of D-flat major to establish his personality musically.

Between the conclusion of the Entr'acte and Ensemble E major, and the beginning of Ensemble and Couplet (no. 8), which seems to pick up E major where no. 6 left off, Orlofski's D-flat major *couplets* highlight his individuality and status by disrupting the tonal landscape of the party and heightening the impression of Orlofski's 'national peculiarities'. Even if the key of the *couplets* was not precisely evident to the ears of all the audience, as an evocation of difference it would have had significance for some.

2.4 Key and *Affekt* in Orlofski's *couplets*.

Some perspectives on key characteristics, as they pertain to Strauss's music in *Die Fledermaus*, can be shed by historical theorists. Although the concept of *Affekt* in relation to key was strongest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some theorists of Strauss's time demonstrate the continuation of the notion that keys carried certain characteristics. Early in the nineteenth century, D-flat major provoked two intellectual responses, some of which show an affinity with the mood of Orlofski's *couplets*. Some theorists — echoing Beethoven, who associated the key with 'Maestoso' qualities — felt that D-flat major invoked 'Heavenly transfiguration'¹⁷¹ or a 'feeling of grief and rapture in wondrous combination,' qualities with little in common with Orlofski's soliloquy.¹⁷² However, other adherents to the maestoso or transfigurative ethos, explained these qualities in greater depth, demonstrating the other-worldly uniqueness of D-flat major. For example, Gustav Schilling wrote:

the key, by and of itself — we would like to maintain — appears here only as a splendid and glistening, as it were a heavenly and beautifully decorated structure or as a transparent garment, showing off the beautiful forms still more beautifully, in which the actual art work as such is elevated, or with which it is wrapped up to its most exalted perfection. For it is in ghostly tones, in an ethereal language, that the key of D-flat major, like no other, speaks.¹⁷³

Ferdinand Hand also emphasised the beauty and subtle radiance of D-flat major but noted too that it was not suited for 'playful things', as it mixed 'grief and joy to a high degree.' Moreover, it could 'express a feeling of self-confidence and boldly advancing gravity.'¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ W. C. Müller, *Versuch einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1830), quoted by Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981) 233.

¹⁷² August Cathy, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon* (1835), quoted by Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 233.

¹⁷³ Gustav Schilling, quoted by Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 233.

¹⁷⁴ Ferdinand Hand, quoted by Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 233-234.

Another description of D-flat major, more applicable to Orlofski's *couplets*, is by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, whose *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (c. 1784/1806) remained an influential source throughout the nineteenth century. Schubart described D-flat major as:

A leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but it can at least grimace its crying. Consequently, only unusual characters and feelings can be brought out in this key.¹⁷⁵

The connection between D-flat major and unusual, exotic characters had earlier occurred in the novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795), in which J. J. Heinse called the key an expression of 'the horror of secret Persian sultans, or demons. It remains on the outer limits of the musical world.'¹⁷⁶

Later in the nineteenth century, the Viennese theorist and pianist Ernst Pauer's *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music* listed D-flat major as 'remarkable for its fullness of tone and its sonorousness [sic] and euphony.'¹⁷⁷ However, he noted that ascribing characteristics to different keys remained highly subjective:

The task of marshalling different keys into a certain order, according to their characteristic qualities, is not only a matter of great difficulty but almost of impossibility, inasmuch as it cannot be denied that one composer detects in a certain key qualities that have remained entirely hidden from another ... And yet it cannot be denied that each key possesses distinctive characteristic qualities.¹⁷⁸

Although the publication of Pauer's *Elements*, in England, post-dates the composition of *Die Fledermaus*, its Viennese-born author reflects historical and contemporary approaches to key character, especially the more recent scientific explanations of key characteristics by Helmholtz, who directly related the expressive qualities of a key to the quality and tone created by stopped strings. As D-flat major permits no open strings on the violin or double bass and only one open string (C) on the cello and viola, the lack of strident brightness from open strings, and their harmonics, colours the key, but does not necessarily mute it.

From these divergent impressions of D-flat major, two themes emerge: the key of D-flat major could be majestic and noble, radiant, self-confident, or exhibit an exalted aesthetic purpose. Alternatively, D-flat major might depict strange characters, exotic, eccentric and smirking, at the very limits of musical expression. Both categories suit, in different ways, Orlofski's presentation of himself during his *couplets*. He combines self-confidence, eccentricity, and nobility, while poking fun at Eisenstein. Orlofski may not be a Persian sultan,

¹⁷⁵ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, p. 232. Henri Weikert's *Kunstwörterbuch* (1827) also echoed Schubart. Weikert described D-flat major as a 'degeneration into grief and rapture, a smirk, dallying tears. Only unusual characters and feelings are proper to this key.'

¹⁷⁶ Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 232.

¹⁷⁷ Ernst Pauer, *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music* (London: Novello, 1876) 25.

¹⁷⁸ Pauer, *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music*, 24.

but the key of his *couplets* places him at the outer tonal limits of *Die Fledermaus*, further colouring the illustration of his foreignness in the Austrian setting of the operetta.

The disruption that Orlofski's *couplets* make between the E major conclusion of no. 6 and beginning of no. 8, presages what I see as his tendency to provoke tonal disruptions that reflect Orlofski's agency as host and his involvement in endorsing Falke's joke. Orlofski's *couplets* open ambiguously: the lower strings hold a pedal note of E, overlaid with an ascending figuration. Although there is a clear cadence into A major at bar 9, the harmonisation of Orlofski's 'Ach, meine Herrn und Damen' includes a persistent reiteration of D that distorts the tonality and suggests Orlofski's desire to move away from the prevailing key. When the principals of the chorus join in ('Was gibt's Erzählt doch, was?') they precipitate a cadence into E major. After another tonal about-turn in bar 19, Orlofski answers them in C major ('Seh'n Sie dies Fräulein zierlich, die halt der Herr Marquis für nein, 's ist zu possierlich!') (**Example 2.4**). Subsequently, the chorus's laughter (bars 32–39) begins confidently in F major, but slides towards D minor, perhaps illustrating their uncertainty as to the identity of Adele/Olga.

Example 2.4 *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 8, 'Ach, meine Herrn und Damen' b. 9–22.

9 Orlofsky Ach, meine Herrn und Damen, hier gibt es ein-nen Spaß! Falke Zur rech-ten Zeit Sie ka-men Was Melanie, Faustine

16 Orlofsky gibt's? Er-zählt doch, was? Seh'n Sie dies Fräulein zier-lich, Felicity, Minni, Sidi Hermine, Natalie Was gibt's? Er-zählt doch, was? Ali-Bey, Ramusin Was gibt's? Was gibt's? Er-zählt doch, was? Murray, Cariconi

p

Orlofski's tendency to disrupt harmony and key reflects his prerogative to shape the action during his party, on both the large scale (as his D-flat major *couplets* show) and in longer stretches of music (including his interpolations in the Ensemble and Couplet of no. 8). In Orlofski's response, and reprimand to Eisenstein ('Mein Herr, das ist nicht sehr galant; wie kann man so sich irren!'), Orlofski establishes his individuality again: while bar 39 finishes with a D minor chord, bar 40 moves to the sub-median, and begins Orlofski's insinuating rebuke, which slides through a succession of chords to D major for Falke's echoing 'Wie ungalant!' Then, with D major comes Eisenstein's certainty that he can excuse himself by remarking on the similarity between 'Olga' (Adele) and his parlour maid. However, Strauss shows that Eisenstein has not yet achieved firm ground: although the melodies of his two phrases for 'Die Ähnlichkeit ist so frappant' and 'Das mußte mich verwirren' are identical, he concludes 'verwirren' on a B minor chord. (**Example 2.5**).

Example 2.5 *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 8, b. 40–56.

40 Orlofsky
p
Mein Her, das ist nicht sehr ga - lant; wie... kann man so sich ir - ren! Wie un - ga -

45
lant!
Falke Eisenstein
Wie un - ga - lant! Die ähn - lich - keit ist so frap - pant!

Wie un - ga - lant Wie unga -
Wie un - ga - lant! Wie un - ga - lant!

f *pp* *grazioso*

51
Das mußte mich ver - wir - ren!
lant!

2.5 Instrumentation in Orlofski's *couplets*.

The choice of key for Orlofski's *couplets* differentiates him musically from the rest of the cast, but the idea that Strauss's unadventurous harmonic scheme in the *couplets* serves to identify Orlofski with clumsy, static music does Strauss, Genée, and indeed Orlofski a disservice: the relationship between the text and the music, orchestration, and the subtle details of the vocal line demonstrate that Orlofski is anything but uncouth.

Strauss invested considerable craft in enlivening the ostensibly simple *couplets* with varied orchestral colour and texture. The instrumentation of 'Ich lade' includes two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets in B-flat, two bassoons, pairs of horns and trumpets in F, three trombones, percussion (bass drum and field drum), and strings. There is no direction for the strings to play *con sord* or *mit dämpfer*, but this perceived muted effect is probably caused by the instruction to play *pp* in bars 3–4, when the violins play *arco*, and then *p* when they play pizzicato from bar 4. In bar 46, when the strings are still pizzicato, there is an instruction to play *forte*, but here the musical texture is thin, so as not to cover Eisenstein's dialogue:

Ein echt russisches, drastisches Mittel! Wenn jeder, der sich ennuyiert, hinausgeworfen wird, werden sich sicher alle Gäste prächtig amüsieren!

A truly drastic, Russian solution! If anybody who looks bored gets thrown out, surely the guests will have a marvellous time!

Strauss's orchestration meticulously supports the vocal tessitura of Orlofski's *couplets*, which is low for a typical mezzo-soprano, its highest note being Ab₅. Most of the vocal part lies between D₄ and E₅, a register at which it is easy for the orchestra to overpower the voice. Throughout the *couplets* there are several examples of Strauss using particular instruments to support the vocal line by allowing it to cut through the orchestral texture. In bar 7, the oboe plays an identical phrase to the vocal line, the clarity of the instrument's timbre (even with an implied dynamic level of *piano*) supporting the projection of the voice (**Example 2.6**). Later, the first clarinet fulfils the same role. It is also typical that one flute doubles the vocal line, an octave higher (**Example 2.7**).

Example 2.6 *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 7, b. 5–14.

5

Fl. 1

Ob.

Cl. Bb

Orl.

la - de gern mir Gä - ste ein, man lebt bei mir recht fein; man un - ter hält sich,
ich mit An - dern sitz' beim Wein, und Flasch' um Flasche_ leer; muß je - der mit mir

10

Fl. 1

Ob.

Cl. Bb

Orl.

wie man mag oft bis zum hellen— Tag Zwar langweil' ich_mich stets_da bei was
durstig sein, sonst wer-de grob ich_ sehr! Und schenke Glas_um Glas ich ein, duld'

Example 2.7 *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 8, b. 24–39.

25

Fl. 1.

Ob.

Cl. Bb

Orl.

pack' ich ihn ganz un - ge - niert, werf' ihn hin - aus zur Tür, so pack' ich ihn ganz
wer - fe ich ganz un - ge - niert, die Fla - sche an den Kopf, dem wer - fe ich ganz

30

Fl. 1.

Ob.

Cl. Bb

Orl.

un - ge - niert werf' ihn hin - aus zur Tür, Und fra - gen Sie, ich
un - ge - niert die Fla - sche an den Kopf

34

Fl. 1.

Ob.

Cl. Bb

Orl.

bit - te wa - rum ich das denn tu', wa - rum ich das denn tu?

poco rit.

poco rit.

The example of doubling the voice with the clarinet in bars 25–26, rather than with oboe, may show Strauss simultaneously writing to divert the ear and to illuminate Orlofski's mercurial nature. Similarly, although the pair of horns play almost constantly between bars 3 and 19, Strauss introduces the trumpets, as a means of punctuation or emphasis, in bars 15–16, and again in the return of the same material in bars 19–20. The trombones, which usually double

the celli and second bassoon, seem to be present purely for reasons of colour and variety from bar 3 of the strophe, but disappear after bar 12. Such delicacy of orchestral detail helps to capture and retain the listener's attention, in addition to those points where Strauss provides other musical effects to create a comic impression, especially the flutes' demi-semi quaver flourish in bar 16, and the two timpani rolls (from A $\flat$ to D $\flat$) in bars 25–26 and 29–30, both of which serve an illustrative, dramatic purpose, at the climactic moment when Orlofski describes how he will have any guests who look bored, or who refuse to drink wine, cast out the door, or he will throw a bottle at their heads.

2.6 Orlofski and diegesis.

Although the orchestral effects that are musically comic, such as the two timpani rolls in bars 25–26 and 29–30, are audible to the audience, it is unclear what Orlofski and Eisenstein hear in the course of the *couplets*, an ambiguity that raises questions about the diegesis during the *couplets*, and in other sections of *Die Fledermaus*. In the most general terms, most music in an opera is non-diegetic, as it cannot be 'heard' by the protagonists, as Robbert van der Leek explains:

Seen from the point of view of the characters, music which occurs within the action of an opera or film may in both cases be referred to as 'diegetic' and the other music may in both cases be referred to as 'non-diegetic'. In opera, the 'other music' — the operatic music proper — gives the impression of being the medium by means of which the characters communicate and, for that reason, of being part of the action. However, the latter is not the case, in the sense that the characters do not communicate by means of music but by means of what they say as they sing, without this being experienced by them within the dramatic reality as music (if they do, the music is diegetic).¹⁷⁹

In more specifically operatic terms, Carolyn Abbate has pointed out that the boundary between what is diegetic and what is not diegetic is not always clear. She prefers the terms noumenal and phenomenal to differentiate the two fundamental forms of music in opera, and gives them subtler differentiation, noumenal music being the 'ambient fluid' that surrounds characters (and cannot be 'heard' by them), and phenomenal music that which the characters are aware of.

Phenomenal music occurs in the moments when 'opera flaunts itself, representing within itself those who watch it, and hear it, who write it and who perform it, even as it blurs the distinction between these three functions.'¹⁸⁰ In *Le nozze di Figaro*, Cherubino's song 'Voi che sapete' is diegetic or phenomenal, as he deliberately sings it to Susanna and the Countess; the accompaniment requires the suspension of disbelief, because while Susanna 'accompanies'

¹⁷⁹ Robbert van der Leek, *Diegetic Music in Opera and Film: A Similarity between Two Genres of Drama Analysed in Works by Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957)* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1991) 31.

¹⁸⁰ Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) 119.

him with a guitar, the song is in fact accompanied by a full orchestra (which Cherubino, Susanna and the Countess cannot hear).¹⁸¹ At the start of *Die Fledermaus* Alfred provides a similar example, when we — and Rosalinde — hear him singing his offstage serenade, ‘Täubchen, das entflattert ist,’ but only we can hear the orchestral accompaniment (which simulates, with pizzicato strings, a typical barcarolle).¹⁸² Rosalinde’s act 2 *csárdas* is an even more ambiguous example, as it is unclear whether the idiomatic accompaniment is audible to her ‘audience’ on stage.

Orlofski’s *couplets* seem noumenal: there is no indication that Eisenstein ‘hears’ him communicate in any way other than through speech. Orlofski talks to Eisenstein verbally, but communicates beyond the stage musically. The porous distinction between what is spoken as song, and what is song performed as song, are as complex in operetta as they are in opera.¹⁸³ Orlofski’s *couplets* would meet Edward T. Cone’s criteria for ‘operatic song’, which in an operatic context replaces that which ‘in a more naturalistic medium would be ordinary speech,’ and the audience must assume that Eisenstein hears it as such.¹⁸⁴

2.7 Orlofski’s hiccups.

The onomatopoeic musical expression of physical sounds and feelings is a well-known phenomenon in art song, sacred vocal music, and especially in opera. Writing about the musical embodiment of sighing and groaning in the operas of Vincenzo Bellini, Mary Ann Smart has discussed the utterances and sighs of Imogene in *Il pirata* (1827) as a means of making tangible:

the absent and the invisible, giving clear and unequivocal expression to emotion and to memory. At the same time, such patterns appear to collapse musical expression into the verbal meaning of the words or into physical gesture, transgressing against the long-held bias against duplication of meaning that we saw in Cicero’s views of oratory and that persisted — often breached in practice but never seriously challenged in theory — throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵

Smart notes that the sigh, and its various forms of wordless, musical execution, is a gesture which we associate with Bellini, a result of Heinrich Heine’s description of the composer as a ‘sigh in dancing pumps’. She suggests that Heine’s view ‘draws attention to Bellini’s wispiness and heightened sensitivity and implicitly casts the composer as a dreamy, elegiac counterpart

¹⁸¹ Abbate describes this effect as one in which a ‘narrative song ... is a (heard) musical performance set against the unheard operatic music that functions (in part) as an accompaniment to action.’ Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, 24.

¹⁸² Rosalinde’s act 2 *csárdas* is an even more ambiguous example, as it is unclear whether the idiomatic accompaniment is audible to her ‘audience’ on stage. In some productions of *Die Fledermaus*, musicians assemble on stage to accompany the singer, or pretend to accompany her.

¹⁸³ Edward T. Cone, ‘The World of Opera and its Inhabitants,’ *Music: A View from Delft. Selected Essays*, Robert P. Morgan ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1989) 126-127.

¹⁸⁴ Cone, ‘The World of Opera and its Inhabitants,’ 126.

¹⁸⁵ Mary Ann Smart, *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) 72.

to the more virile energy of Donizetti or Verdi.’¹⁸⁶ Two decades later, Verdi, with more visceral acuity than Bellini, used similar techniques to embody not just sighs of grief, but also the actual physical symptoms of Violetta’s respiratory illness in *La traviata*: in this opera the musical motifs that suggest sighs in *Il pirata*, become gasps for breath, constant and specific reminders of the character’s mortal illness even at the moments of great exultation.¹⁸⁷

Similar physicality appears in a different guise throughout ‘Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein,’ where Strauss literally inverts the typical descending motif of the sigh or groan, turning it into a musical hiccup that may indicate Orlofski’s inebriated state. There are two principal manifestations of the rising musical inflection in the first half of the strophe, and another in the second half. The first example occurs in bar 5, where there is a figure of two quavers rising a perfect 4th (A $\flat$ - D $\flat$) with the word ‘lade’, and then in bar 9 on the first syllable of ‘unter’. Both examples are suggestive of a voice whose owner is not in full control, the upward swoop being the result of the involuntary spasm of a hiccup. The other figuration occurs in bars 7 and 11, here taking the form of two semiquavers ascending a minor 6th (B $\flat$ - G $\flat$) followed by a quaver rest, on the fourth beat of the bar. In both the quaver and semiquaver figurations, the music disrupts the text, breaking single syllable words (for example, ‘recht’ in bar 7, and ‘ich’ in bar 11 during the second strophe of the *couplets*) (**Example 2.8**).

Example 2.8. *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 7, ‘Ich lade gern mir gäste ein,’ b. 1–19.

Orlofsky

1. Ich la - de gern mir Gä - ste ein, man

7

Or. lebt bei mir recht fein; man un - ter hält sich, wie man mag oft bis zum hellen— Tag Zwar langweil' ich— mich

14

Or. stets da bei was man auch treibt und spricht; in -des, was mir— als Wirt—steht frei duld' ich bei Gä—sten

Having struggled to keep his voice steady during the first twelve bars of the *couplets*, Orlofski tries a different method of delivery from the quaver anacrusis to bar 13, moving up to a higher register, but again, this is not entirely successful for him. On the repetition of the

¹⁸⁶ Smart, *Mimomania*, 71.

¹⁸⁷ Arthur Groos, “‘TB Sheets’: Love and Disease in *La traviata*,’ *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, no. 3 (November 1995) 251.

phrase, in bar 17, there is a quaver rest on the second beat of the bar where there had been a full crotchet earlier, perhaps suggesting another hiccup.

In the second half of the strophe, Orlofski has seized control of his voice again, and there are fewer deliberately comic musical devices. In fact, from the anacrusis before bar 21, Orlofski becomes more eloquent. In the long ascending line of ‘Und sehe ich, es ennuyiert sich jemand hier bei mir’ (‘And should I see anybody looking bored with me’) Strauss introduces the figure of a dotted quaver and semiquaver, with appoggiatura, which first appears in bar 22, and decorates the vocal line to the end of the *couplets* (**Example 2.9**). Having regained control of his voice, Orlofski is able to execute these somewhat arch flourishes, the musical equivalent of a wry laugh, and far subtler than the stylised ‘Ha, ha, ha’ in Adele’s *couplets* ‘Mein Herr Marquis’ a short time later.

Example 2.9. *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, no. 7, ‘Ich lade gern mir gäste ein,’ b. 19–24.

If one explanation of Orlofski’s ascending swoops is that they are drunken hiccups, another explanation — which again subverts typical operatic tropes and has implications for masculinity — is his age. Before the arrival of Eisenstein, when Falke explains to Orlofski his plans for ‘einen kleinen dramatischen Scherz’ (a little dramatic joke), Orlofski has already declared ‘Ich habe in meinen achtzen Jahren vierzig durchlebt.’ (‘In my eighteen years, I have already endured forty’).¹⁸⁸

In Genée’s libretto, Orlofski is therefore a youth eighteen years old, whose voice may not have broken completely: in the mid-nineteenth century, the mean age of male puberty was fifteen or sixteen, meaning that in some instances, an eighteen-year-old male’s voice may have only recently broken.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, upon arriving at Orlofski’s party, Ida points out their host to her sister Adele, saying, ‘Der Junge ist der Prinz’ (‘The boy is the prince’), to which Adele replies, ‘Noch so klein und schon Prinz?’ (‘So small and already a prince?’)¹⁹⁰ suggesting that Genée and Strauss envisaged a very young man, still afflicted by the typical changes in the adolescent male voice.¹⁹¹ This conflict between the expansive precocity of Orlofski’s words, and the frequent difficulty he finds in expressing them, is yet another manifestation of the

¹⁸⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 3.

¹⁸⁹ Pamela A. Sarigiani and Anne C. Petersen, ‘Adolescence: Puberty and biological maturation’, *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, Vol. 1, Alan Kazdin ed., (Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 2000) 39-46.

¹⁹⁰ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 3.

¹⁹¹ Chapter 3 of this thesis explores other elements of masculinity and voice related to trouser role, and examines the significance of Nittinger’s stage presence and its reception.

comedic intention behind Orlofski's *couplets*. Orlofski's small stature and uncertain voice combine to make him a work of masculinity in progress.¹⁹²

By notating vocal inconsistencies in Orlofski's *couplets* as an indicator of his youth, Strauss undermined another operatic expectation, that of a character maintaining vocal perfection despite physical incapacity. This is true too of earlier operas (rather than operettas) that included a *travesti* role — from Cherubino in *Le nozze di Figaro* to Romeo in Bellini's *I Capuleti e I Montecchi* of 1830, Smeaton in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (also 1830), Maffio Orsini in Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia* of 1833, or Gluck's Orpheus, when sung by a mezzo — the character's singing is not affected by the characteristics of their gender or age, and vocal beauty was a priority. Cherubino is an exception to this convention, as Naomi André has noted, not specifically because the character is a comic one, but because of the deliberate adolescent vocal awkwardness that Mozart wrote into the part. André makes a specific reference to Cherubino's first aria, 'Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio', drawing attention to the leap of a major sixth that occurs in the second bar of the aria, between Eb and C, a leap that requires:

[a] register change from the chest voice to the head voice this leap needs to be negotiated carefully so that the smooth blending of the voice through this interval can be sustained.¹⁹³

She goes on to say that even the 'best singers' struggle to avoid a 'gulping effect given the placement of this leap in the very first phrase before having had the chance to fully warm up the voice in this role.'¹⁹⁴

Both Orlofski and Cherubino are young, comic characters, who have had a degree of awkwardness written into 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein' and 'Non so più cosa son, cosa faccio.' The awkwardness that Strauss wrote into Orlofski's *couplets* is somewhat exaggerated, as are the leaps in Cherubino's arias, but whether or not the singer has trouble executing these 'hiccupping' intervals in 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein,' the effect is inherently humorous. Where Orlofski and Cherubino differ is in their personalities, their intentions, and their agency within the plot: Orlofski has a higher social status and more power than Cherubino, who is at the mercy of several other characters, including Count Almaviva. Orlofski also possesses greater social

¹⁹² In her article on coming of age in the nineteenth-century Russian cadet corps, Rebecca Friedman has written that the Russian ideal of youthful masculinity was located in the cadet corps, whose goal was the 'creation of young men, physically fit and morally impeccable, who would represent the autocracy at home and abroad ... a set of gendered norms meant to train the empire's male youth to be controlled in mind and body.' Rebecca Friedman, 'Masculinity, The Body, and Coming of Age in the Nineteenth-Century Russian Cadet Corps,' *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 5, issue 2 (Spring 2012) 219.

¹⁹³ Naomi André, *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) 108.

¹⁹⁴ This analysis seems unrealistic: some of the awkwardness in this section would be increased or mitigated by the tempo, and few singers give the crotchet E-flat its full duration, giving them a little more time to leap up to the C. Furthermore, it would be unusual for a singer not to warm up carefully before coming on stage.

status than any of his fellow characters: this intersection of social status and gender makes Orlofski a more powerful social actor. Thus, one important facet of his masculinity ‘derives from having authority or control over others.’¹⁹⁵

In composing music that does not conform to typical operatic expectations, Strauss shows again that Orlofski is a far from one-dimensional character, many of whose multiple contradictions emerge in the ostensibly simple framework of his *couplets* in the same spirit of ‘chacun à son goût’ that Orlofski himself claims to espouse. Strauss’s subtle comic ingenuity in musical characterisation belies claims that the character embodies the ‘Viennese image’ of an ill-mannered, uncouth Russian interloper. During the act 2 scene in which Orlofski sings ‘Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein,’ he may be the foreign interloper, but Eisenstein is the parvenu guest, who has no idea that Orlofski knows his true identity or his role in Falke’s ‘drammatischen Scherz.’

The success of Orlofski’s *couplets* as a means of communicating characterisation to the audience is largely due to the care with which Strauss composed the *couplets*, with respect to both supporting the singer, and varying orchestral colours and textures for the diversion of the audience. I argue that, in the context of Orlofski’s music and words in his *couplets*, Strauss makes the music a more successful vehicle for comedy than Genée’s words alone, showing that Orlofski is not a boorish character, but one who willingly and wittily participates in the trick that Falke has set up to amuse him. Strauss achieves aspects of this success with his use of ‘embodied’ musical gestures, which are drawn from the musical language of ‘serious’ opera, but which he humorously inverts in ‘Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein’. The humour also gives the listener opportunities to consider what Orlofski’s youth and his unsteady voice might signify about his performance of masculinity.

When Orlofski seizes the opportunity to participate fully in Falke’s joke, to amuse himself and discomfort Eisenstein, he exhibits a warped form of *noblesse oblige* as contrary as the twisting of conventional operatic devices and expectations. The musical hiccup instead of the sigh, and the inexpert vocal control contribute also to the comic elements of his music. Orlofski thus presents a fascinating conundrum of masculinity, exemplified by the contradiction between Orlofski’s youth (signifying immaturity or weakness) and his agency as aristocrat, host and facilitator of Falke’s revenge.

Existing analyses of ‘Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein’ have suggested that Strauss wrote and orchestrated Orlofski’s *couplets* in a way that benefitted a singer of limited technical capacity. This hypothesis becomes tenuous after considering the career of Irma Nittinger, who created the role. Between 1868, when she was first engaged at the Theater an der Wien, and

¹⁹⁵ David Morgan, ‘Class and Masculinity,’ *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, R. W. Connell eds. (Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications 2005) 170.

1874, Nittinger performed regularly in Vienna at the Theater an der Wien and Carltheater, in addition to guest performances in Linz, Breslau, and Budapest. Except for her performance as Ganymed in a revival of *Die Schöne Galathée* at the Carltheater in 1869, Nittinger mainly performed principal female roles, including the title roles in German-language productions of Offenbach's *Die Großherzogin von Gerolstein* (Stadttheater zu Breslau, 1871) and *Die schöne Helena* (Linz, 1873). Nittinger's guest season at Linz also included the roles of Vilma in *Leichte Cavalerie* and Boulotte in *Blaubart* (*Barbe-bleue*). Reviews of Irma Nittinger's performances, whether she was in Vienna or further afield, suggest that she was more than equal to the demands of these roles. The *Tages-Post* (Linz) recorded that 'Frl. Nittinger ihr Gastspiel in Offenbach's „Schöne Helena“ mit glänzendem Erfolge in der Titelrolle fort.' ('Frl. Nittinger continued her guest stint in the title role Offenbach's *schöne Helena* with brilliant success.').¹⁹⁶

Many of the Offenbach roles in which Nittinger appeared were created in Paris by Hortense Schneider, a mezzo-soprano who was not noted for having a particularly large voice. However, Schneider's clear enunciation (of paramount importance for the delivery of the topical texts) and general stage presence more than compensated for any perceived inadequacies in the size of her voice.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, in the theatres in Vienna and Linz, and in the German-language theatres in Breslau and Budapest, a clear and witty delivery of the spoken and sung text was of almost equal importance to vocal ability. Nevertheless, the roles that Nittinger undertook all made significant vocal demands, certainly exceeding those of 'Ich lade gern mir Gäste ein.' Therefore, rather than Strauss writing Orlofski's *couplets* to compensate for the limitations of the performer, it is reasonable to suggest that he wrote to enhance the characterisation of Orlofski, deliberately placing the *couplets* in an awkward tessitura to emphasise the contradictions or aspects of instability inherent in the character (and by extension Orlofski's performance of masculinity) rather than to compensate for the performer's deficiencies.

2.8 Russian models for Orlofski: a parody of the Russian 'superfluous man'?

Arguing that the Orlofski's musical characterisation in his act 2 *couplets* suggests a personality of more depth than previous analyses have allowed, leads to consideration of other points of reference for this Viennese creation of Russian masculinities. This section explores literary prototypes for Orlofski, whose presence in the public imagination helped audiences to recognise the stereotypical Russian in the Theater an der Wien. Unpicking the links between Orlofski's titular Russianness, and his other identifiably Viennese characteristics, suggests the

¹⁹⁶ *Tages-Post* (Linz) 20 May 1873, 3. Further discussion of Nittinger's performances occur in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

¹⁹⁷ Elizabeth Forbes, 'Schneider, Hortense.' Accessed April 28, 2016. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24989>.

extent to which his character offers a parody on Russian and Viennese characteristics. Orlofski is not a 'real' Russian, but a construction of a Russian character by multiple authors, Meilhac and Halévy in Paris, then Genée and Strauss in Vienna.

In the Viennese suburban theatres of the early nineteenth century, the *littarische Parodien* (literary parody) was a theatrical genre with special local significance, blending elements of *Lokalposse* (local comedy) with some of the conventions of the *Singspiel*. In Viennese operatic parodies, the composer or arranger would bring together newly-composed music with arrangements of the original composition (especially its most popular arias or choruses); some of the text might stay in its original language, while other new text would be written in Viennese dialect. The musical conventions, as Michelle Clark has summarised, meant that 'Parodies might borrow *Singspiel* gestures, but they were still considered *Volksmusik*.'¹⁹⁸ The *littarische Parodien* was also most closely associated with the Leopoldstadt theatre and Theater an der Wien, and elements of this tradition would later nourish some of the conventions of the Viennese-Parisian hybrid of operetta.

The targets of the parodists included classical mythology, literature, philosophical works, drama, opera, and ballet.¹⁹⁹ Shakespeare, Grillparzer, Schiller, Rossini, and Wagner were among the writers and composers whose plays and operas were parodied in adaptations by Alois Gleich, Adolf Bäuerle, Karl Meist, and Wenzel and Adolph Müller. Of these men, Adolf Bäuerle was pre-eminent, only to be superseded by Nestroy.

In Bäuerle and Wenzel's parody of Rossini's tragedy *Tancredi* at the Leopoldstadt theatre the writers changed Rossini's characters' names to reflect those of local stock comedy figures and transposed the setting to a familiar local situation. Bäuerle's parody opened on 25 April 1817, a few months after the Viennese premiere of Rossini's opera on 17 December 1816.²⁰⁰ Müller's arrangement of the music involved some newly-composed numbers, but retained some of the most popular arias and choruses (notably 'Di tanti palpiti'); the words were changed to Viennese dialect.²⁰¹ So popular proved Bäuerle and Müller's *Tancredi* that later in the year, a new *Tancredi* parody ('essentially, a parody of a parody', as Clark suggests) was produced at the Leopoldstadt theatre, *Der neue Tancredi, ein musikalisches Quodlibet in 2 Akten*.²⁰² These two pieces took the intertextual nature of the parody to new extremes. Other parodies of Rossini operas followed, but the critical consensus sometimes showed that parodies of tragic works were more successful than those of comic pieces, as it was easier to make comic

¹⁹⁸ Michelle Leigh Clark, 'The performances and reception of Rossini's operas in Vienna, 1822-1825,' (PhD dissertation, UNC at Chapel Hill, 2005) 98.

¹⁹⁹ Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) 38.

²⁰⁰ Clark, 'The performances and reception of Rossini's operas in Vienna,' 89.

²⁰¹ Clark, 'The performances and reception of Rossini's operas in Vienna,' 93.

²⁰² Clark, 'The performances and reception of Rossini's operas in Vienna,' 96.

dialogue based on a serious work. A tragedy left more room for exposing the parodists' own comedy.²⁰³

Camille Crittenden has drawn attention to the manner in which Richard Wagner's works were parodied in Viennese suburban theatres in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, even before the arrival of the complete works at the Court Opera. Nestroy and Karl Binder's 1853 parody on Wagner's *Tannhäuser* proved extremely successful. The elements of parody in Nestroy and Binder's *Tannhäuser* primarily involved the libretto and score, but also introduced a satire on Wagner's 1849 essay *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (*The Artwork of the Future*) when Tannhäuser prepares to sing a 'Zukunfts-Zauberflöte', or 'Magic Flute of the Future' in the song contest. So pervasive was the effect of this parody that when Wagner's music drama received its first Viennese performance four years later, the audience — familiar with Nestroy's parody — frequently laughed at points of recognition.²⁰⁴

Elements of musical parody exist in several of Strauss's operettas: it has been suggested that his *Prinz Methusalem* contained a musical parody of Wagner's *Lohengrin*, which one critic claimed had to be removed at the behest of the Hofoper, then producing *Die Walküre*.²⁰⁵ Fewer overt examples of parody are evident in *Die Fledermaus*, but I contend that one obvious source of parody in the operetta is not musical, but literary, and concerns Orlofski.

Orlofski represents one of the clearer examples of parody in *Die Fledermaus*, according to the categories of parody that Seymour Chatman has adapted from Gérard Genette's *Palimpsests*, namely: 'strict parody, travesty, satiric pastiche, and pure (or non-satiric) pastiche.'²⁰⁶ Of these, Orlofski best fits the second and fourth categories of 'travesty', 'burlesque travesty,' and 'satiric pastiche'. Chatman's translation of Genette shows that 'burlesque travesty modifies the style without modifying the subject: inversely, "parody" modifies the subject without modifying the style.'²⁰⁷ In the latter style, 'the parodying text makes fun of the original text by imitating its style and using it as a vehicle for baser, more vulgar, or otherwise inappropriate content.'²⁰⁸ Genée appears to have modelled Orlofski on an archetypal figure in Russian literature, the superfluous man (*lishniy chelovék*) in a satirical pastiche of this literary and masculine trope. Orlofski's speech and behaviour hint that the *lishniy chelovék* provided Genée with a model for Orlofski less louche than Meilhac and Halévy's Yermontoff. Interpreting Orlofski as a Viennese mediation of the superfluous man-type also presents an opportunity to dissect Viennese perceptions (albeit comic ones) of aristocratic Russian masculinities.

²⁰³ Clark, 'The performances and reception of Rossini's operas in Vienna,' 97.

²⁰⁴ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss*, 220.

²⁰⁵ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss*, 220.

²⁰⁶ Seymour Chatman, 'Parody and Style,' *Poetics Today* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2001) 28.

²⁰⁷ Chatman, 'Parody and Style,' 29.

²⁰⁸ Chatman, 'Parody and Style,' 29.

In Russian literature, the superfluous man exists ‘not just as another literary type, but as a paradigm of a person who has lost a point, a place, and a presence in life; the superfluous man is the homeless man.’²⁰⁹ Orlofski, as a Russian in Vienna, is metaphorically ‘homeless,’ and he readily admits to his disconnection from the world. Orlofski shows few traits in common with the prototypical *líshniy chelovék*, Pushkin’s *Eugene Onegin*, but shares more with the protagonist of Turgenev’s *Diary of a Superfluous Man* (1850) and Goncharov’s *Oblomov* (1859).

Between these novels, the trope of the superfluous man remains a constant, but they have varied characteristics: some are unscrupulous adventurers or failed rebels; others are conservatives whose failure (or lack of desire) to move with the times, leaves them out in the cold. Onegin is an outcast from the city, who sought but failed to find fulfilment in the countryside. Oblomov is a rural character, who — unable to cope with social change and the challenge of running his estates — retreats into complete inactivity. Other superfluous men believe they possess potential to become great artists or thinkers but lack the necessary recognition, application or networks.²¹⁰

The superfluous man was not restricted to a specific social status. Mikhail Lermontov’s Pechorin in *A Hero of Our Time* (1840), Ivan Turgenev’s Chulkaturin in *Diary of a Superfluous Man* (1850), Rudin in his *Rudin* (1856), and Bazarov in *Fathers and Sons* (1856), Goncharov’s *Oblomov* (1859), and Dostoevsky’s Myshkin in *The Idiot* (1868) all occupy different ranks and professions: Oblomov is a landowner; Chulkaturin comes from a landowning family fallen on hard times; Myshkin is a prince, but impoverished. Similarities appear between some of their utterances and Orlofski’s complaints. Lermontov’s Pechorin, unable to settle into socially ordained relationships, that is, marriage with a woman, or comradesly friendship with men, laments:

²⁰⁹ David Patterson, *Exile: The Sense of Alienation in Modern Russian Letters* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015) 2.

²¹⁰ Jehanne M. Gheith, discussing the superfluous man in writing by male Russian authors in the context of nineteenth-century Russian women’s writing, says:

The superfluous man, variously understood and interpreted, has long been one of the most familiar characters in nineteenth-century Russian literature. He is a “type” as much constructed by critics as by authors of *belles lettres*, and represents an important cultural category in Russia, that of the disposed intellectual; he has commonly been seen as the representative of a generation of liberals, “a man of the forties”. Though he has clear affinities to characters and ideas in French and German Russian literature, the superfluous man was made into a cultural icon, a figure for a peculiarly Russian phenomenon: the desire for reform on the societal and personal level, matched by an incapacity for taking effective action. This incapacity or apathy was largely attributed to Russian social and governmental structures that blocked the expression of creative, reforming energies. And so, the superfluous man’s alienation from society could be regarded as a positive attribute, a confirmation of his inner nobility; if society could not accept him, so much the worse for society.’

‘The Superfluous Man and the Necessary Woman: A “Re-vision”,’ *The Russian Review* 55, no. 2 (April 1996) 229-230.

I'm incapable of friendship. Of two friends, one is always the slave of the other, though often neither will admit it. I can never be a slave, and to command in these circumstances is to exacting, for you have to pretend at the same time. Besides, I have money and servants enough.²¹¹

He also feels fatalistic, as if he has no purpose on earth, and no capacity to enjoy anything that occurs:

If I die, I die. I will be no great loss to the world, and I am thoroughly bored with life. I am like a man yawning at a ball; the only reason he does not go home to bed is that his carriage has not arrived yet.²¹²

Orlofski, who really is a man yawning at a ball, does not try to escape. Indeed, the energy necessary for escape eludes him. Neither Orlofski nor Pechorin exhibits many attractive traits, but as Lermontov emphasises, this fact does not reflect badly on them alone because his book is not a portrait of one man:

It is a portrait of all our generation's vices in full bloom. You will again tell me that a human being cannot be so wicked, and I will reply that if you can believe in the existence of all the villains of tragedy and romance, why wouldn't you believe that there was Pechorin? If you could admire far more terrifying and repulsive types, why aren't you more merciful to this character, even if it is fictitious?²¹³

Just as Pechorin is not one man, but a portrait of an entire generation, Orlofski combines the attributes of several different superfluous men, including Turgenev's Chulkaturin. Lying on his bed, awaiting death from some unspecified illness at the age of thirty, Chulkaturin embarks on reflection in his diary. The son of 'fairly well-to-do landowners,' Chulkaturin diagnoses his own superfluity, realising that 'Nature evidently did not count on my appearance and therefore treated me as an unexpected and unbidden guest.'²¹⁴ Thus, Chulkaturin fell prey to 'excessive self-consciousness,' leading to feelings of isolation from everybody around him:

I was highly strung, pitifully shy, extremely irritable ... in addition, perhaps through excessive self-regard or generally through the unsuccessful structure of my personality, there existed between my feelings and my thoughts — and the expression of those feelings and thoughts — some senseless, incomprehensible and impregnable obstacle. And when I tried to overcome this obstacle by force, to smash this barrier ... I not only looked but I actually became unnatural and overwrought.²¹⁵

Chulkaturin's psychical isolation precipitates his physical illness. His readiness to die, which Chulkaturin embraces with a sort of resigned relish, anticipates Orlofski's exhausted utterances. While Chulkaturin is not rich, his comfortable circumstances are burdensome, just as Orlofski's millions weigh him down.

²¹¹ Mikhail Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time*, transl. Paul Foote (London: Penguin Books, 1966) 100.

²¹² Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time*, 156.

²¹³ Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time*, 19-20.

²¹⁴ Ivan Turgenev, 'The Diary of a Superfluous Man,' *First Love and Other Stories*, transl. Richard Freeborn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, rev. ed. 1989) 33.

²¹⁵ Turgenev, 'The Diary of a Superfluous Man,' 33.

Strauss and Genée never indicate that Orlofski is physically ill, but physical illness and superfluity are linked as if the superfluous man's sense of psychic isolation becomes a physical symptom. Dostoevsky's Prince Myshkin provides another example; his pathologies form the topic of Brian R. Johnson's 'Diagnosing Prince Myshkin,' an article examining the different cultural connotations of Myshkin's illness, whether it is defined as epilepsy, 'the falling sickness,' or St Vitus's dance. Johnson writes that in Russian '*epilepsiia*' is a loan word without specific Russian associations, but through its connection with developments in the Western European medical science, *epilepsiia* was thought to have a physiological (rather than psychical) basis as a nervous disorder.²¹⁶

In contrast, the 'falling sickness' (*paduchaia*) had unique Russian cultural connotations and associations with antiquity and the supernatural, 'aligning with the ancient view of epileptics as touched by God, as holy fools, or conversely, as possessed by demons.'²¹⁷ Both latter conditions serve to single out the sufferers from the common herd, contributing to their own sense of separation from people who have not been chosen for divine or demonic interference. Such separation from the mainstream of Russian elite masculinities led the male victims of these conditions to experience a closer connection with spiritual matters.

While Orlofski may not exhibit symptoms of physical illness, his presence at a spa town (as Genée describes the setting for *Die Fledermaus*) suggests a connection between Orlofski and Myshkin. The reader first encounters Myshkin on a train, returning from the Swiss sanatorium where he had been a patient of Dr Schneider, who 'used his own method of treatment by cold water, gymnastics, treated idiotism, insanity, also provided education, and generally attended to spiritual development.'²¹⁸ Dr Schneider's practice suggests the influence of the *traitement moral* ('moral treatment') pioneered by Philippe Pinel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²¹⁹ By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, this form of holistic and humane treatment was more confined to small, private institutions such as Dr Steiner's, rather than large municipal asylums. However, aspects of the treatment — especially hydrotherapy, gentle physical exercise, and attention paid to intellectual stimulation that was distracting but not overwhelming — would become a feature of treatment in European spas.

Orlofski's weary listlessness and disconnection fits a pattern found amongst guests or patients at spas during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The typical patients at spas included chronic invalids, and holidaymakers who wanted to be rejuvenated in mind and body before returning to their daily lives, but not usually patients who needed hospitalisation.

²¹⁶ Brian R. Johnson, 'Diagnosing Prince Myshkin,' *The Slavic and East European Journal* 56, no. 3 (Fall 2012) 381.

²¹⁷ Johnson, 'Diagnosing Prince Myshkin,' 382.

²¹⁸ Johnson, 'Diagnosing Prince Myshkin,' 383.

²¹⁹ Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 65.

Nevertheless, a person of sufficient wealth who felt that he or she could not survive the hectic pace of life, or who felt in some way physical or psychic isolation, might seek a longer spa treatment. Heikki Lempa's study of spa-visiting patterns shows that it was not unusual for a wealthy person to stay at one, or a series of spas for the entire summer. Lempa suggests that 'a spa visit was meant to be long enough to ... settle down and find one's daily routines, the special rhythm of life that made the spa experience so appealing.'²²⁰

At the spa, controlled health-giving leisure — walking, reading, socialising — featured alongside medical or therapeutic treatments involving moderate diet, and bathing in or drinking the spa water. The purpose, to regain equilibrium lost in the increasingly frenetic pace of modern life, restored physical health in visitors, but also repaired their peace of mind or 'emotional economy'. One spa guest/patient, whom Lempa quoted, had symptoms that sound akin to Orlofski's: 'my bad mood had become unbearable to myself and I could feel all the symptoms of hypochondria.'²²¹ The theory went that mood affected physical health, and thus better emotional health would prevent physical collapse. For men, especially those of higher status, who were expected to serve actively in the public sphere, indeterminate poor emotional health posed a significant threat to their performance of elite masculinity. If Orlofski, worn down by his wealth, unable to be interested in anything, and superfluous to his own society, wanted to remedy these problems, the spa town supplied an ideal venue. Under the pretence of seeking a cure, a superfluous man could live happily, excused from any rigorous endeavour, and the obligations of city life.

Orlofski's retreat to the spa town also marks his removal from the general trajectory of the masculinity of the modern elite: for the man of the upper bourgeoisie and certain sections of the nobility the performance of modern masculinity required a man to play a public role. The 'male elite' as 'practitioners of civil society' had obligations to be 'public, political, and rational'.²²² In this way, they shaped the public sphere as the male sphere; to fail to meet these obligations, or to resist them, made a man part of the 'Other' private sphere, associated with

²²⁰ Heikki Lempa, 'The Spa: Emotional Economy and Social Classes in Nineteenth-Century Pyrmont,' *Central European History* 35, no. 1 (2002) 44.

²²¹ August Vetter, a spa doctor, emphasised the importance of remedying the patient's psychological state, writing: 'the main changes that related ... to those influences that, as stimulating or suppressing emotions, affect the mind.' Only after restoring the patient's emotional balance, would their physical health revive. Lempa, 'The Spa,' p. 44.

²²² This process and its demands originated in the later eighteenth century but continued and strengthened in the nineteenth century. According to Martina Kessel, 'connection between bodily and socio-political identity continued to be made – criticism of even supposedly 'private' emotionality, sexuality or personal disposition could suffice to cast doubt at least implicitly on the more general claim to socio-political dominance.' "'The Whole Man": The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany,' *Gender & History* 15, no. 1 (April 2003) 2ff. .

women.²²³ But, at the same time that the resistance of the superfluous man to the expectations and obligations of modern elite masculinity highlighted his non-ideal identity, his inherent heroism lay in his resistance to the demands of modernity, and his measuring of his own worth by a different standard; one defining characteristic of these superfluous men was their simultaneous exclusion or isolation, and triumphant defiance.²²⁴

Genée's Orlofski offers an effective parody of a Russian superfluous man, providing a recognisable source of humour to audiences who recognised this model. The parody also exists on two levels, first literary, and second, for the irony of having a 'superfluous man' performed by a woman, whose very body satirises the enfeebled masculinity of the literary type. Genée's literary parody also vitiated some elements of Orlofski's antecedent, Yermontoff, whose involvement with the *demi-monde* is more explicitly stated than Orlofski's. Furthermore, other traits that Orlofski demonstrates emphasises that he is an Austro-German creation with specifically Austro-German states of mood.

2.9 Orlofski's *Langeweile*.

Throughout act 2 Orlofski makes frequently references to the *Langeweile* that plagues him. His first utterance in Genée's libretto, when he appears on stage in the third scene of act 2 is his complaint to Falke:

Ich habe in meine achtzehn Jaren vierzig durchgelebt, Doktor — alles langweilt mich — ich kann kaum lachen mehr — (*seufzt*) meine Millionen sind mein Unglück.²²⁵

In my eighteen years I have already lived forty, Doctor — everything bores me — I cannot laugh any more — (*sighs*) my millions are my misfortune.

Shortly afterwards, when Falke notes that Cariconi (a Spanish guest) has instigated a card game, Orlofski replies 'Nein, ich könnte zufällig gewinnen, und das langweilt mich!' (No, I might win by accident, and that would bore me!')²²⁶ Later, following Orlofski's *couplets*, he asks Eisenstein whether he enjoys drinking Madeira, and following Eisenstein's affirmation, says:

Mir leider nicht! Früher wirkten noch dergleichen Reizmittel; aber jetzt mundet mir gar nichts mehr. Ich habe nicht einmal Appetit auf Liebe mehr.²²⁷

Alas, I do not! I used to enjoy such stimulants, but I do not care for anything now. I don't even have an appetite for love.

²²³ 'Part of this paradox in the modern era is that male élites have conceptualised masculinity as purely rational within a polarised gender hierarchy, thus constructing femininity as purely emotional.' Kessel, "'The Whole Man",' 2.

²²⁴ The modernisation of Russia in the nineteenth century is another factor here. A. Martin, 'History, Memory, and the Modernization of 19th-Century Urban Russia,' *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 11, no. 4 (Autumn 2010) 837-870.

²²⁵ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 5.

²²⁶ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 5.

²²⁷ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 5.

Eisenstein happily admits, ‘Oh, auf die Liebe habe ich immer meined gesegneten Appetit’ (‘Oh, I always have a healthy appetite for love’), to which Orlofski wails, ‘Ach, ich möchte noch einmal jung werden!’ (‘Ah, I want to be young again!’)²²⁸ Not all of Orlofski’s guests are as easily convinced as Eisenstein. Adele and Ida see through Orlofski’s ostentatious declarations of *Langeweile*: ‘Er amüsiert mich mit seiner Langeweile’ (‘He amuses me, with his *Langeweile*’) says Adele, perhaps recognising Orlofski’s *Langeweile* as an assumed posture rather than a genuine mental state.²²⁹

Although today’s conventional English translation of *Langeweile* is ‘boredom,’ nineteenth-century writers often distinguished between *Langeweile* and what we would now call ‘boredom,’ ascribing these conditions to different causes and symptoms. Whether or not *Langeweile* genuinely grips Orlofski, Genée’s decision to bestow *Langeweile* on one of his characters connects Orlofski with concerns current in the 1870s about *Langeweile* and its pernicious effects on masculinity.

To state simply that Orlofski is ‘bored,’ as ‘boredom’ is understood in a twenty-first-century Anglophone context, fails to reflect adequately how an audience in Vienna in 1874 may have understood the word.²³⁰ Indeed, there is no exact German equivalent for the English word ‘boredom’ although *Langeweile* has come to mean a similar thing. Probing the etymology and history of *Langeweile*, alongside other related conditions, including *ennui*, melancholy, and spleen, illustrates some of the differences between how a Viennese audience of the 1870s may have recognised Orlofski’s complaints of overwhelming *Langeweile* and how audiences perceive his *Langeweile* today. Furthermore, the particular threat *Langeweile* posed to educated or elite men illustrates its role in constructions of Viennese masculinity. The most literal translation of *Langeweile* is ‘long while,’ which may be understood figuratively as an ‘eternal monotony,’ a ‘gaping void,’ or a sense of unrelieved spiritual emptiness and hopelessness.²³¹ These descriptions of *Langeweile* evoke the endless expanses of unfillable time that yawn

²²⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 5.

²²⁹ The possibility that Orlofski’s constant talk of *Langeweile* is mere pretence occurs to Joanne Sydney Lesser in her review of a 2016 production at New York City’s Kaye Playhouse: ‘Hongni Wu made it clear that Prince Orlofski was only affecting his ennui, barely concealing a ravenous curiosity about his guests.’ ‘*Die Fledermaus*: Martina Arroyo Foundation’s Prelude to Performance’, *Opera News* 81, no. 4 (October 2016).

https://www.operanews.com/Opera_News_Magazine/2016/10/Reviews/NEW_YORK_CITY_Die_Fledermaus.html

²³⁰ ‘Boredom’ appeared in English in the late eighteenth century, but its origins are obscure. Patricia Meyer-Spacks, among others, has theorised that boredom was the opposite of interesting, so anything not interesting is boring. Patricia Meyer-Spacks, *Boredom: The Literary History of a State of Mind* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 116.

²³¹ Barbara Dalle Pezze and Carlo Salzani, ‘Introduction. The Delicate Monster: Modernity and Boredom’ in *Essays on Boredom and Modernity*, Carlo Salzani and Barbara Dalle Pezze eds., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009) 10.

before Orlofski, a youth who has experienced all that life has to offer, and who now finds himself unable to be amused.

Late nineteenth-century *Langeweile* was a product of a century's evolution. In the late eighteenth century, *Langeweile* acquired additional layers of significance, as Elizabeth Goodstein has explained. No longer just the 'experience of elongated time,' *Langeweile* also became 'linked to questions of meaning.'²³² Goodstein cites Ludwig Völker's extensive study of *Langeweile*, in which he identified that in the earlier eighteenth century two 'registers' of the condition existed in German usage: one was the 'courtly sense of *Langeweile* as *Überdruß* (a weariness, tedium, surfeit) which like the French *ennui* often assimilated the experience to melancholy and the temporal sense.'²³³ Then Goethe added to this courtly register of *Langeweile* a 'cultivation for modern feeling for life,' alluding to Romanticism's scepticism, secularism, and primacy of subjectivity.²³⁴ In his feeling that he has lived forty years, Orlofski exhibits a symptom of the 'courtly' register, rather than Goethe's more esoteric paradigm.

As the nineteenth century drew on, *Langeweile* acquired special literary and philosophical significance through the confluence of these two registers, and it became the topic of academic and popular discussion. That said, *Langeweile* remained the poor cousin of two more profound psychological states of Romantic sensibility: *Weltschmerz* ('world pain') and *Schwermut* ('heavy mood').²³⁵ That Genée's libretto bestowed *Langeweile*, the most 'superficial' of these three conditions, on Orlofski also emphasises the notion that *Langeweile* was a 'pose adopted by would be aristocrats of the spirit in search of some way of distinguishing themselves from others.'²³⁶

2.10 *Langeweile* and *ennui*.

When current discussions of Orlofski refer to his boredom, they also tend to suggest that he suffers from *ennui*, using the modern, English-speaking definition of *ennui* as a synonym for boredom. In September 1994, a *Texas Monthly* review of *Die Fledermaus* reported that 'Deborah Milson showed off her sultry fine-grained mezzo as Prince Orlofski, the *ennui*-plagued host of the ball at which all the confusion comes to a head.'²³⁷ In 2014, *Oregon Live's* review of *Die Fledermaus* noted 'Jennifer Rivera was deliciously *ennui*-stricken as Prince

²³² Elizabeth Goodstein, *Experience without Qualities: Boredom and Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005) 111.

²³³ Goodstein quotes Ludwig Völke's *Langeweile: Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte eines literarischen Motivs* in *Experience without Qualities*, 111.

²³⁴ Goodstein, 111.

²³⁵ Definitions of *Weltschmerz* and *Schwermut* appear in Barry Sandwell, 'Metaphysical Melancholy,' *Dictionary of Visual Discourse: A Dialectical Lexicon of Terms* (London: Routledge, 2011) 413.

²³⁶ Goodstein, *Experience without Qualities*, 112.

²³⁷ W. L. Taite, 'Opera for Beginners,' *Texas Monthly* (September 1984) 194.

Orlofski[.]’²³⁸ Another review describes how the plot of *Die Fledermaus* ‘centres on Orlofski, a scion of an upper-class family who is suffering from the ennui that an existence of luxury uninterrupted by productivity can bring,’²³⁹ while a further description of the plot explains that ‘Orlofski suffers from the terrible disease of billionaire’s ennui: everything bores him!’²⁴⁰ In Genée’s libretto, however, Orlofski never uses the word *ennui* to describe himself.

In the nineteenth century, succumbing to *ennui* suggested a different aetiology to that of *Langeweile*. *Ennui* had entered the French language through twelfth-century *chansons*, its roots in the Latin *inordiare* (‘to hold in hatred’) or *in odio esse* (to be the object of hatred). *Ennui* ‘signified a “tristesse profonde, chagrin, manque de goût” — a moral pain associated with the death of a loved one.’²⁴¹ By the eighteenth century, *ennui* had become part of the lexicon of moral philosophy, but the *Encyclopédie* of the *philosophes* maintained the word defied definition: to them, *ennui* had no particular association with sorrow or grief, but instead involved ‘privation of all pleasure’ as ‘a “malaise or aversion” (*de gout*) fills the soul”.’²⁴² This sense of abyss, the *philosophes* recorded was ‘the most dangerous enemy of our being and the tomb of our passions.’²⁴³ Only activity provided a cure for *ennui*, according to the poet Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) and Brierre de Boismont, a doctor (1797–1881), who viewed *ennui* as ‘the consequence of purposelessness’ and a ‘*mal de siècle*’ of the nineteenth century. The only remedy for *ennui* was a dedicated course of purposeful action.

Langeweile, although arguably just as much a *mal de siècle* as *ennui*, differed in some respects, namely that those who thought and wrote about *Langeweile* maintained that action alone could not cure the condition. On the contrary, engaging wholeheartedly in the business of one’s day could exacerbate one’s *Langeweile*, if one did not attack the problem at its source — the mind — by thinking deeply. The threats posed by *Langeweile* were a matter of philosophical concern, specifically for their danger to men. *Langeweile* was, therefore, a condition with very specific connotations for masculinity.

2.11 *Langeweile*, philosophy, and masculinity.

The causes and symptoms for *Langeweile*, as well as its antidotes, recur in philosophical writings before, and during, the period when *Die Fledermaus* was created and

²³⁸ James McQuillen, ‘Portland Opera celebrates its 50th anniversary with bubbly Strauss frolic “Die Fledermaus”’, *Oregon Live* (9 November 2014).

http://www.oregonlive.com/performance/index.ssf/2014/11/portland_opera_celebrates_its.html

²³⁹ Margaret Smith, ‘Comical operetta in flight at Concord art centre’, *WickedLocal Marlborough* (26 March, 2010) <http://marlborough.wickedlocal.com/x1176893879/Comical-operetta-in-flight-at-Concord-art-center>

²⁴⁰ Smith, ‘Comical operetta,’ <http://marlborough.wickedlocal.com/x1176893879/Comical-operetta-in-flight-at-Concord-art-center>

²⁴¹ Goodstein, *Experience without Qualities*, 109.

²⁴² Goodstein, *Experience without Qualities*, 109.

²⁴³ Goodstein, *Experience without Qualities*, 109

first produced. While the authors of these texts generally acknowledged that *Langeweile* (in its philosophical permutation) was inherent to the human condition, they traced its aetiology differently, identifying disparate methods of taming or utilising one's *Langeweile*. More significantly, these texts suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that *Langeweile* (as it was understood in the philosophical sense) was a condition which had specific implications for men and was therefore tied to specific forms of masculinity.

Schopenhauer believed that *Langeweile* possessed especial importance for a man's will, because, as Reinhard Clifford-Kuhn has summarised, *Langeweile* is a feeling that:

primum mobile ... (among other effects) causes desire. This desire requires a goal, which is provided either by nature ... or by the imagination ... or by society. Whatever their provenance, these goals all prove illusory; if unattained they lead to the suffering of deprivation, and if attained, to the ennui of satiety. Out of the pain caused by an unattained goal, or the boredom resulting from one achieved, one desire arises anew, and the cycle recommences.²⁴⁴

Disturbing this cycle would result in 'languid longing without a definite object, a murderous *languor*.'²⁴⁵ Having reached satiety, and unable to stimulate a new desire, a person becomes trapped by *Langeweile*, arguably a situation akin to Orlofski's.

The danger of becoming prisoner to one's own *Langeweile* preoccupied Schopenhauer, who confronted this problem in his *Aphorisms*. He drew the conclusion that although men of strong character, wit, and intelligence were at special risk of falling prey to *Langeweile*, they were also better equipped to ward it off with their own thoughts and dreams. Mere action offered no real antidote to *Langeweile*, nor could seeking company or diverting spectacle assist. A young man, monetarily rich, but poor in spirit and imagination, would in Schopenhauer's estimation easily succumb to *Langeweile*, resulting in an 'awful stagnation of whatever power a man has ...'²⁴⁶ Conversely, a man of good, temperate, and gentle character could, with the appropriate education, find cerebral sustenance in 'meagre circumstances' ('dürftigen Umständen') by relying on his intellectual apparatus. Schopenhauer derided particularly the way that *Langeweile*-ridden men regarded card games as a universal panacea for their condition, or resorted to cultivating cigar-smoking as a substitute for thought.²⁴⁷

The peril that *Langeweile* posed to men is made clear by Schopenhauer. In his essay 'Ueber die Weiber' (published in *Parerga und Paralipomena*, alongside the *Aphorisms*),

²⁴⁴ Reinhard Clifford-Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) 288.

²⁴⁵ Clifford-Kuhn translates this passage in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*: '[...] lebenserstarrende Langeweile, mattes Sehnen ohne bestimmtes Objekt, ertödtender languor zeigt.' Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Vol. 1 (München: Georg Müller, 1912) 202. Clifford-Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide*, 288. Arthur Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Representation*, vol. 1, transl. F. F. J. Payne (New York: Dover Publications, 1969) 260.

²⁴⁶ Arthur Schopenhauer, 'Personality, or What a Man is,' *Parerga and Paralipomena: A Collection of Philosophical Essays*, vol. 1, transl. T. Bailey Saunders (New York: Cosimo Classics 2007) 28.

²⁴⁷ Schopenhauer, 'What a Man is,' 29.

Schopenhauer declared that *Langeweile* could only endanger men. In Schopenhauer's view women were devoid of adequate cerebral apparatus to experience *Langeweile*. Nevertheless, Schopenhauer implicated women in *Langeweile*, because their wiles and provocations lured men into frivolity and time-wasting:

Individual and partial exceptions do not alter the matter; women are and remain, taken altogether, the most thorough and incurable Philistines; and because of the extremely absurd arrangement, which allows them to share the position and title of their husbands they are a constant stimulus to his ignoble ambitions. And further, it is because they are philistines that modern society, to which they give the tone and where they have sway, has become corrupted.²⁴⁸

By Schopenhauer's own reckoning, it would be impossible for women to suffer *Langeweile*: their inherent frivolity and 'very meagre and limited faculty of reason' disqualified them from intellectual reflection, but this very insipidity also made women the knowing agents of masculine calamity.²⁴⁹ Schopenhauer advocated, therefore, that men should bravely turn towards their intellects, drawing upon and deepening their education to counteract their *Langeweile*. In Schopenhauer's reckoning *Langeweile* was, therefore, both a trap and an opportunity, a risk to the elite masculine condition, but one that could improve the mind.

Offering a more ironic perspective on the inevitability of *Langeweile*, Søren Kierkegaard proposed that *Langeweile* was a natural consequence of modern life. He suggested that two strata of *Langeweile* existed: those who did not suffer from *Langeweile* instead inflicted it on others, while those who did have *Langeweile* would — wittingly or unwittingly — entertain others with it. The man who filled his days with business and busyness did not recognise his own *Langeweile*, let alone the tedium of his distractions, or the inevitability of his boring other people with them. On the other hand, he who had *Langeweile*, and recognised this, belonged to a higher class of being.

Kierkegaard categorised this latter and enlightened victim of *Langeweile* as an example of what William McDonald calls 'demonic boredom' — when a person embraces *Langeweile* as an aesthetic choice:

Demonic boredom arises when the melancholic aesthete affects boredom in an ironic pose to distance himself from the mundane busyness of modern life. Unfortunately, his feelings of boredom paralyse him emotionally and his aesthetic irony isolates him spiritually, so that he becomes self-enclosed. But rather than despair at his paralysis and isolation, the bored aesthete revels in them defiantly and seeks to become

²⁴⁸ Arthur Schopenhauer, 'On Women,' *Parerga and Paralipomena: Short Philosophical Essays*, Vol. 2, trans. E. F. J. Payne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 641. 'Einzelne und theilweise Ausnahmen ändern die Sache nicht; sondern die Weiber sind und bleiben, im Ganzen genommen, die gründlichsten und unheilbarsten Philister: deshalb sind sie, bei der höchst absurden Einrichtung, daß sie Stand und Titel des Mannes theilen, die beständigen Anspörner seines unedlen Ehrgeizes; und ferner ist, wegen der selben Eigenschaft, ihr Vorherrschen und Tonangeben der Verderb der modernen Gesellschaft.' Schopenhauer, 'Ueber die Weiber, §369,' *Parerga und Paralipomena*, Volume 2 (Berlin: A. W. Hayn 1851). Accessed 12 April 2017. <http://aboq.org/schopenhauer/parerga2/weiber.htm>

²⁴⁹ Schopenhauer, 'On Women,' 615.

psychologically autarchic, by manipulating memory and forgetfulness, and by the prudent rotation of moods.²⁵⁰

One can picture Orlofski as Kierkegaard's melancholic aesthete, whose *Langeweile* is a demonic boredom. Orlofski's frequent declarations of his *Langeweile* demonstrate his consciousness of his condition, and as Adele and Ida's remarks show, his *Langeweile* provides amusement to those around him. Arguably, Orlofski exemplifies the image of the aesthete who revels in his *Langeweile* by manipulating himself and those around him, rather than despairing at his 'paralysis and isolation.' Indeed, Orlofski's willingness to participate in Falke's revenge scheme indicates an awareness of the potential usefulness of his *Langeweile* and its capacity to entertain.

Kierkegaard's discussions of *Langeweile* appear less explicitly gendered than Schopenhauer's, but by positioning *Langeweile* in relation to the mundane daily business of the industrialized age, he implied that it is a condition with a specific impact on men, and especially those of higher status operating in the public sphere.²⁵¹ The demands of an increasingly industrialized and urbanized age also increased masculine vulnerability to *Langeweile*, a notion to which Michael W. Irmischer has alluded in his analysis of the nineteenth century's overt gendering of *Langeweile*:

Woman, as an alleged creature of reproductive nature, was said to rarely fall victim to the inner void. When she did, her suffering was either tabooed, devalued as mere 'housewife boredom,' or castigated, as in the case of 'bluestocking boredom,' as transgressive behaviour. Men, by contrast, turned the *horror vacui* heroically into both the burden of being agent of production and human history and the badge of individuality.²⁵²

We can position Orlofski's suffering at the intersection of Schopenhauer's and Kierkegaard's discussions of *Langeweile*. As a weary, satiated aristocrat, Orlofski epitomises the 'stagnation' that Schopenhauer threatened. While it would be difficult to evince that the eighteen-year-old Orlofski felt the burden and pressure of being an agent of production, the historical demands of his aristocratic standing could affect him. As the traditional feudal responsibilities of Russian aristocrats changed and diminished in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, their status became more precarious. Thus alienated, the conspicuous adoption of *Langeweile* could function as a badge of individuality, and a symbol of nineteenth-century masculinity in crisis.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ William McDonald, 'Kierkegaard's Demonic Boredom,' *Essays on Boredom and Modernity*, Barbara Dalle Pezze and Carlo Salzani eds., (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005) 62.

²⁵¹ Sylvia I. Walsh, 'On "Feminine" and "Masculine" Forms of Despair,' *International Kierkegaard Commentary: The Sickness unto Death*, Robert L. Perkins ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987) 121-134.

²⁵² Michael W. Irmischer refers to the nineteenth century's overt gendering of *Langeweile* in his review of Martina Kessel's *Langeweile: Zum Umgang mit Zeit und Gefühlen in Deutschland vom späten 18. Bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* in *The German Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (Summer 2004) 379.

²⁵³ G. M. Hamburg discusses the changing fortunes and status of the Russian nobility in the years directly following the emancipation of the serfs in 'The Russian Nobility on the Eve of the 1905 Revolution,' *The Russian Review* 38, no. 3 (July 1979) 331.

The fact that Orlofski loudly proclaims his *Langeweile*, rather than one of its related conditions — *Weltschmerz*, *ennui*, or *Schwermut* — permits a discussion of his masculinity within the framework of an overtly gendered state of mind. Furthermore, the threat of *Langeweile* had a popular, as well as a philosophical face, being the object of discussion in popular media.

2.12 *Langeweile* in the news: Wertheimer's 'Ueber die Langeweile'.

The extent to which the audiences of early performances of *Die Fledermaus* were aware of the significance of *Langeweile* in philosophy is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, there is evidence that *Langeweile* and the threat that it posed to masculinity was the subject of a more popular awareness. A particularly astute member of the audience during the initial run of *Die Fledermaus* in 1874, might, on hearing Orlofski's declarations of *Langeweile*, have recalled reading Emanuel Wertheimer's feuilleton in the *Deutsche Zeitung* on 13 August 1873, titled 'Ueber die Langeweile'. In his essay, Wertheimer grappled with the nebulous nature of *Langeweile*, questioning its causes, enumerating its symptoms, and denigrating the superficial activities men used to dispel its malign influence.

Wertheimer viewed *Langeweile* as an unavoidable, but very powerful, result of the human condition: 'An Einfluß kann sie sich kühn neben die weltbeherrschenden Mächte Egoismus, Hunger, Liebe und Ehrgeiz stellen.' ('In her influence, *Langeweile* can stand boldly beside the world-ruling powers: egoism, hunger, love, and ambition.')²⁵⁴ He tried to identify why *Langeweile* evaded definition when it dominated the lives of so many:

Doch was ist die Langeweile? Stimmungslehre? Charakterlosigkeit eins Zustandes? Aber wozu Definitionen und Beschreibungen, wo so viele Beispiele und Situationen vorliegen? Wozu didaktische Behandlung, wo sie im grossen Schauspiele der Welt so dramatisch wirksam jede stillstehende handlung zum Fortgang zwingt?²⁵⁵

Still, what is *Langeweile*? Empty mood? A state of characterlessness? But to what end definitions and descriptions when there exist so many situations and examples? For what purpose a didactic treatment, when in the great drama of the world any restless action that compels progress is so dramatically effective?

Despite the difficulties of definition, the benefit of *Langeweile*, Wertheimer decided, was the intellectual challenge it posed: 'Die Langeweile strengt unsern Geist mehr an als das tiefste Gespräch.' ('*Langeweile* exerts our intellect more than the deepest conversation.')²⁵⁶

Wertheimer acknowledged that *Langeweile* might strike the individual at any time, even when in good company, and suggested that the only antidote to the condition was careful intellectual stimulation. Harnessing one's *Langeweile* provided an opportunity to make one's own self the object of observation. This could open the door to a 'world of maxims and

²⁵⁴ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' *Deutsch Zeitung*, 13 August, 1873, 1.

²⁵⁵ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 1.

²⁵⁶ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 1.

reflections,' but without proper care, these could become so subjective and personal as to be narcissistic.²⁵⁷

Throughout his essay, Wertheimer reiterated the universality of *Langeweile*, while also emphasising that every individual believes his experience of *Langeweile* to be unique. However, if the individual could not make recourse to inner intellectual resources and channel his *Langeweile* into creativity, Wertheimer foresaw a less rosy outlook for him. Unable to tame his *Langeweile*, the victim would fall into the trap of searching for sources of superficial diversion and excitement. Often these trivial diversions involved interaction with women, whose influence — as Schopenhauer had already stated — could provoke ignoble behaviour to the detriment of masculine rectitude.

Langeweile is a feminine noun, and Wertheimer actively personified *die Langeweile* as a feminine entity, a Lorelei or femme fatale perching on the shoulders of unwitting men:

auf allen Wegen, in allen Straßen und Gassen lauert sie auf uns und hohe Herrschaften haben Adjutanten an ihrer Seite, weil sie ein befürchten von — die Langeweile.²⁵⁸

on all the paths, in every street and lane, she lurks, and the highest nobles have adjutants at their sides, because they are all afraid of — the *Langeweile*.

Wertheimer proposed that *Langeweile* was a true threat to masculinity: her siren call weakened individuals incapable of philosophy, who find themselves pulled into frivolity, fashion, and novelty by *Langeweile*'s shrill cries:

'Neues! Neues!' ruft sie, und immer Neues, sie ist gegen das Alte, gegen die Natur, sie, die aristokratisch gesinnte Ceremonienmeisterin, die Sirene der wechselnden Moden, das Gähnen der Cultur.²⁵⁹

'New! New!' she cries, and always the New; she is against the old, against nature, she, the aristocratic mistress of ceremonies, the Siren of changing fashions, the abyss of culture.

Inevitably the victim of *Langeweile* finds himself caught up in a frenzy of specious socialising:

Sie nimmt dir ein Billet ins Theater, erwartet dich wenn du, allein und unverliebt vom Balle kommend, in dein leeres, einsames Gemach triffst, läßt reisen, ladet Gäste, gibt Schmaufereien, ist bei Hof ein täglicher Gast, in Gesellschaft ziemlich tonangebend, läßt Clavier vorspielen, singen, tanzen, schafft den Weisen ab, bringt ihres gleichen zu Ehren [...]²⁶⁰

She sends you a theatre ticket, awaits you when you return alone and unloved from the ball to your empty, lonely room, she encourages you to travel, invite guests, give feasts, make oneself a daily guest at court, in company she lets you play the piano, sing, and dance, she throws out wisdom, and honours only her own.

²⁵⁷Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 1.

²⁵⁸ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 1.

²⁵⁹Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 3.

²⁶⁰ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die Langeweile,' 3.

When these entertainments fail, the sufferer of *Langeweile* will inevitably seek intoxication instead:

öffnet die Champagnerflaschen, leert die Gläser, füllt die Köpfe, toastirt, ruft nur immer mehr und mehr und stärkere Getränke, und hier ist der munde Punkt, wo die *Langeweile* auch den Ärmsten packt.²⁶¹

open the champagne bottles, fill the glasses to the top, make toasts with more and stronger drinks, and here is the weak spot, where *Langeweile* grabs the most unfortunate.

The vicious cycle of empty diversion, mindless activity, and strong liquor only takes the individual back to his lonely chamber at the end of the day, ultimately unfulfilled, and with *Langeweile* still whispering in his ear. Thus, could *Langeweile* unravel a man, compromising his mind, and his health, and his effectiveness in the public sphere, the most significant space of male influence and activity.

Wertheimer's explicit gendering of *Langeweile* as female, and her victims as male contributes to a longer tradition, in which feminine wiles were perceived as a peril to masculine resolve. More significantly, he emphasised that *Langeweile* primarily affected men. By threatening their minds and wasting their time, *Langeweile* implicitly threatened the important masculine qualities of reason, resolve, and restraint. Wertheimer's essay on *Langeweile* follows Schopenhauerian lines, suggesting that properly managed, *Langeweile* could stimulate intellectual endeavour (which, in turn, would cure the *Langeweile*), and that those who lacked adequate cerebral power would seek frivolous distraction that could only serve to exacerbate their condition.

The similarities between Wertheimer's feuilleton and the scene which the audience of the Theater an der Wien witnessed in act 2 of *Die Fledermaus* are self-evident. On the stage the characters engage in vacuous frivolity, dancing, playing cards, and drinking champagne, attempting to forget what cannot be changed. As theatre-goers, the audience themselves were also implicated in *Langeweile*'s on- and offstage conspiracy, as they sought the same diversions that Wertheimer described. Orlofski takes the condition to its limits: realising the futility of playing cards, drinking, and even love, he has moved into what Wertheimer might suggest was a terminal phase of *Langeweile*, and the implications for Orlofski, as a man, are clear.

Whether Orlofski exemplifies more strongly Kierkegaard's or Schopenhauer's models of *Langeweile*, whether the audience at the Theater an der Wien would have recognised aspects of these models in Orlofski, and whether it was Genée's intention to create in Orlofski a character who embodied contemporary discourse on *Langeweile*, are questions impossible to answer. However, viewing Orlofski and his *Langeweile* in the context of its implications for masculine identity offers a new perspective on the character.

²⁶¹ Wertheimer, 'Ueber die *Langeweile*,' 3.

2.13 Orlofski's condition in a Russian context.

Having considered Orlofski's *Langeweile* as a Germanic condition, the connection between Orlofski's suffering and Russian contexts for his problem also warrant consideration, especially as Russian contexts again have gendered implications. Just as Wertheimer had personified *Langeweile* as a feminine spectre, Russians personified their near-equivalent condition 'Melancholy' as female, while also suggesting that most sufferers were male. From the personification of Melancholy and *Langeweile* as feminine, one can extrapolate that submitting to either condition posed a threat to the most highly-valued forms of masculinity.

Discussing the understanding of melancholy in Russia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ilya Vinitsky has contextualized Russian Melancholy:

The main paradox of the Russian history of melancholy is that *there was no melancholy in Russia before the eighteenth century* — that is, there was no cultural tradition of rationalization and representation of man's mental, bodily, or emotional life that stood behind the word, whereas in the West this tradition had been cultivated by physicians, philosophers, preachers, artists, poets, and politicians for two thousand years.²⁶²

Vinitsky argues that the concepts of melancholy as an 'aesthetic object' or 'favourite literary theme and fashionable emotion' were known only from foreign sources (English, French, or German); meanwhile interpretations of melancholy that drew upon the idea of *acedia* (spiritual boredom) resonated better with Orthodoxy's own concept of spiritual boredom.²⁶³

Eighteenth-century Russian authors saw Melancholy as a pernicious condition, imported from the West, which unchecked would result in madness and suicide.²⁶⁴ Melancholy, and its close relation hypochondria, shared a variety of causes, mainly connected with taxing emotional states (including love) and general exhaustion. In time these led to over-active imagination, sensations of dread, crippling superstition, and religious fanaticism. More troubling still, Melancholy left unchecked resulted in a surfeit of black bile flooding the body (in the eighteenth century the condition was known as *chernozhelchie* or 'blackbiledness').²⁶⁵ This physical disease unsettled the mind, causing 'eccentricity,' and eventually 'insanity.'²⁶⁶ Western Europe's aestheticization of Melancholy presented a dangerous threat to Russia's 'mirthful' people.

²⁶² Ilya Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress and Her Gloomy Critics: Catherine the Great and the Eighteenth-Century Melancholy Controversy,' *Madness and the Mad in Russian Culture*, Angela Brintlinger and Ilya Vinitsky eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007) 26.

²⁶³ Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 26.

²⁶⁴ Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 27.

²⁶⁵ The condition evolved into *zadumchivost'* ('thoughtfulness') in the nineteenth century. Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 42.

²⁶⁶ Vinitsky quotes Nikolai Ianovskii's text *Novyi slovotolkovatel', raspolozhennyy po alfavitu* (St Petersburg, 1804). Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 29.

In the late eighteenth century, Catherine the Great felt great concern at the rising tide of melancholia — which she spoke about as a conspiracy threatening her dominion over Russia. She instituted what Vanitsky calls optimistic ideologies to counteract the subversive intellectuals and their cultivation of early Romanticism's 'weariness, sickness and anguish.'²⁶⁷ In the last years of her reign, Catherine spoke of a 'conspiracy of melancholics' threatening her mirthful Russia, believing that 'denunciation, confinement, or exile' were suitable fates for incorrigible melancholics.²⁶⁸

Similar notions prevailed in the nineteenth century, when Russians perceived Melancholy as a threat to lively and productive masculinity.²⁶⁹ In this era, the melancholic man's lack of mirth became a symptom of passivity, part of the continuum between the eighteenth-century melancholic and the nineteenth-century Russian superfluous man.²⁷⁰ Rather as Wertheimer characterised *Langeweile* as a siren trying to undermine masculine resolve and productivity, the Russians personified Melancholy as female, but not as an alluring siren. Instead they pictured Melancholy as: 'an old ugly woman with a crazy gaze and "poisonous breath." She is withered and cold, and always accompanied by swarms of "BOREDOMS, which are very fetid hags of extremely great age".'²⁷¹

As the Romantic predilection for introspection and individualism amplified a man's surrender to melancholic behaviour, and threatened his piety to the Orthodox church, Melancholy's threat to manliness increased. The behaviour of men in Russian Romantic fiction, especially their cowardly hesitancy in interactions with women, bespoke a man weakened by melancholy tendencies.²⁷² In *Die Fledermaus* Orlofski's self-professed inability to laugh ('ich kann kaum lachen mehr') illustrates a parallel with a defining symptom of Russian conceptions of Melancholy: mirthlessness.

²⁶⁷ Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 39.

²⁶⁸ Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 38.

²⁶⁹ Allison Leigh, 'Superfluous Man: Melancholy, Modernity, and Realism in Nineteenth-Century Russia and France,' (PhD dissertation, Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2014) 2.

²⁷⁰ Leigh emphasises the ongoing influence of *Hamlet* on the literature of the superfluous man, and on the aristocratic psyche, as well as a 'spark for intellectual debate in Russia.' 'Russian aristocrats felt a strange kinship with this privileged court figure torn between the mission he was called on to perform and his own private world.' Here Leigh draws on James Billington's research in *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970) 355ff. Leigh, 'Superfluous Man,' 155.

²⁷¹ Vinitsky writes that another allegorical representation of Melancholy embodied 'fears of 'The Age of Reason': "a woman with a hideous face," "in a black robe," "her skin is all in wrinkles, her eyes deeply embedded in her head [...]" ... she urges a poor weak man to leave the social world and to end his days in a river of "Despair [...]"', Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 31.

²⁷² Victoria Frede proposes that the nobility was 'especially disadvantaged' here because 'Their upbringing had prepared them only for flaccid inactivity as adults, and social influences further discouraged independence of thought and activity. They had been raised by caretakers who filled their minds with "superstitions," "nanny's tales," and "childhood lore" and thereby encouraged an overactive imagination in their charges.' Victoria Frede, *Doubt, Atheism, and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Intelligentsia* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011) 138.

Falke's promise to restore Orlofski's laughter renders him akin to the laughing philosopher, known in Russia as 'Doctor Merriman.' Merriman formed a colloquial equivalent to Democritus, 'the laughing philosopher' who always exhibited cheerfulness in the face of human experience (unlike his antithesis, Heraclitus the weeping philosopher).²⁷³ If the Russians were a mirthful and rational people, and melancholic hypochondria took away this mirth, then the obvious cure for Melancholy was a restoration of mirth.²⁷⁴ The ability to laugh was a trait of Russian masculinity which Romanticism had threatened to undermine. In this case, Falke's determination to make Orlofski laugh seems an attempt to restore not only Orlofski's mirth, but also an important attribute of his masculinity as a Russian man.

2.14 Conclusion.

This chapter has reflected on the masculinities of Orlofski, considering the character from musical, historical, and literary angles. The prominence placed on musical analysis of Orlofski's *couplets* in the early part of the chapter emphasised the subtleties of Orlofski's musical characterisation. By examining details of harmony and tonality, orchestration and musical gesture, this analysis attempted to counter the view that Orlofski's music reinforced a characterisation of a one-dimensional, boorish personality. Building upon the musical analysis, which proposed that Orlofski is more complex than hitherto supposed, I explored the constitutive elements of Orlofski's masculinity: his youth, his Russian identity, and his identification with *Langeweile*, a condition more reflective of Genée and Strauss's Austro-German context than an authentically Russian one. In the comic setting of an operetta, Genée appears to have made Orlofski something of a parody, drawing on a well-established Viennese theatrical practice of burlesquing literature or other forms of 'serious' art. The parodic elements demonstrated direct implications for Orlofski's masculinity, connecting him with satires on the superfluous man, and the unique danger posed by *Langeweile* to masculinity. The nuances of the construction and performance of Orlofski's masculinity are, like those of his fellow male characters, the elements of *Die Fledermaus* which have hitherto escaped examination in opera studies literature, but in Orlofski's case the combination of his age, music, nationality, social status, and emotional state reveal, in the combined efforts of Strauss and Genée, a character more refined than previously understood.

²⁷³ 'Democritus and Heraclitus were two philosophers, of whom the first, finding human condition ridiculous and vain, never appeared abroad but with a jeering and laughing countenance; but with a mocking and laughing face; whereas Heraclitus commiserating that same condition of ours, always appeared with a sorrowful look, and tears in his eyes[.]' Michel de Montaigne, 'Of Democritus and Heraclitus,' *The Essays of Michel de Montaigne*, trans. Henry Cotton, William Carew Hazlitt ed., (London: Reeves and Turner, 1877) 403.

²⁷⁴ Vinitsky, 'A Cheerful Empress,' 27.

Chapter 3: Orlofski as a *travesti* role.

‘Noch so klein und schon Prinz?’

‘*So small, and already a prince?*’

Adele, *Die Fledermaus*, act 2.

3.1 Introduction.

This chapter investigates the intersection between the role of Prince Orlofski — a male character created to be performed by a woman — and the intersections of *travesti* or *Hosenrolle* and masculinity. The chapter asks the extent to which the *travesti* role is about masculinity, and if so, what kind of masculinity? Exploring the ways that Orlofski could be considered ‘masculine’ from nineteenth-century creative and performative perspectives can highlight whether the masculinity of the performer or the observer was more important. I touch briefly upon some late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century analyses of the *travesti* role, before discussing scholarship concerning the *travesti* role in the nineteenth century, including its changing status in opera, theatre, and ballet, and the implications for *Die Fledermaus*. The chapter then considers in more depth how Orlofski fits into a larger tradition of *travesti* performance in Paris (where the character originated in *Le Réveillon* as Yermontoff) and Vienna. Within this context, I ask whether the authenticity of Orlofski’s performed masculinity was less significant than Orlofski’s capacity to please male eyes and ears. Drawing on reviews and other evidence of early performances, together with more recent opera studies scholarship on the gendered performing body, this chapter argues that for the *travesti* role, the masculine verisimilitude of the character and performer was a secondary concern.

Before looking beyond Orlofski to explore the different contexts in which women performed on stage *en travesti* it is important to note the opposition to European women who wore men’s clothing in the late nineteenth century. Principally, for a woman of the middle and upper classes to wear trousers amounted to what Diana Crane has called ‘an assault on masculine privilege.’²⁷⁵ The severity of this assault differed according to context. Crane has shown that trousers, when worn by women in everyday life, presented a particularly strong ‘symbolic challenge’ to nineteenth-century conventions partly because the:

basic premise of nineteenth-century ideology concerning women’s roles was the belief in fixed gender identities and enormous differences — physical, psychological, and intellectual — between men and women. The dominant point of view allowed for no ambiguity in terms of sexual identification and no possibility for evolution or change in the prescribed behaviours and attitudes of members of each gender.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Diana Crane, ‘Clothing Behaviour as Non-Verbal Resistance: Marginal Women and Alternative Dress in the Nineteenth Century,’ *Fashion Theory* 3, No. 3 (1999) 245.

²⁷⁶ Crane, ‘Clothing Behaviours,’ 253.

Jill Fields, who has documented the significance of the European woman's association with bifurcated garments in the nineteenth century, pointed out that reactions to, and restrictions on, women wearing trousers had been formed by 'constructions of gender' that dictated distinct forms of acceptable behaviour for men and women.²⁷⁷ If a woman, especially one of the middle class, shed her 'long skirt and layers of fabric,' Crane points out, the woman's

mobility and independence could increase, presenting a challenge to the nineteenth century's increasingly strict boundary between the disparate daily lives of middle-class men and women, as capricious or extravagant fashion became gendered as feminine and keyed to the newly privatized woman's sphere. This was especially appealing to the middle class, which sought legitimacy by distinguishing itself through manners and morals from those above and below.²⁷⁸

During the debates about dress reform, spearheaded by such pioneers as Amelia Bloomer, women who wore or promoted the wearing of bifurcated garments (that is, apparel with two pant-legs) were denounced as 'anti-masculine.' Fields has written that commentators perceived trouser-wearing amongst women to be a 'rejection of femininity, and as an attack of masculinity and on gender difference itself.'²⁷⁹ Those who objected to clothing reform declared its advocates as mentally unsound, and equated the desire to wear trousers to a nervous disorder: 'The regulation of women in trousers,' Fields writes, 'was essential to defusing the political claims of subjugated persons through their pathological categorization as "hysterical," "deviant," or "criminal".'²⁸⁰

Despite opposition and derision, individual women did adopt male clothing as a means of accessing privileges otherwise denied to them. Several nineteenth-century women (generally of higher social status) wore men's clothing to pursue a life or activities not usually available to their conventionally dressed peers. Early in the century, Amantine-Lucile-Aurore Dupin — better known later by her professional name, George Sand — began wearing men's clothing as a young girl, where it gave her more freedom to explore the area around Nohant, her family chateau. As an adult, Sand became notorious in Paris for wearing masculine clothing to access spaces and situations barred to most women of her social type; as a girl, Sand soon realised that it was not merely wearing less restrictive clothing that gave a woman in man's clothing more freedom, but the reactions that such a person provoked. Sand wrote that those who knew her abhorred her dress and preoccupations:

My costume was considered an abomination; the study of skeletons, a profanation; hunting, destructive; study, an aberration; and my relationship with young men — all sons of my father's friends, whom I had continued to treat as childhood chums ...

²⁷⁷ Jill Field, 'Drawers,' *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 18-19

²⁷⁸ Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 27.

²⁷⁹ Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 26.

²⁸⁰ Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 27.

whose hands I shook without blushing or trembling like a lovesick hen — were deemed effrontery, depravity, what have you.²⁸¹

Meanwhile, if she went out among strangers in her masculine riding attire, the reaction could be different:

Since we are very isolated here and ... to hunt and ride I dress as a man, (but in a frock-coat as we sometimes did at the convent), my grandmother lets me ride with a man-servant who follows me on horseback. You mustn't be scandalized by this ... I pass for a *gentleman*, which leads to some very interesting blunders ... I went off to sketch an old gothic castle. This activity intrigued the residents who have no conception of drawing; soon a *lady* drops me a curtsy while calling me monsieur, unaccustomed to seeing *men of fashion* in *these parts*, the wench blushed and looked at me with *narrowed eyes* while, assuming a gallant demeanour, I contorted myself in bows, which made a very favourable impression ... Everyone tipped their hat. Would *monsieur* the inspector care to taste the local wine? Would *monsieur* the engineer care to see the stables, the wool? Soon they were treating me as if I were a prefect; in a little while I would become a governor.²⁸²

As Sand's recent biographer Elizabeth Harlan emphasises, the experiential elements of not presenting oneself as a woman brought rewards: presenting herself as a man gave Sand 'social station; freedom to travel, which represents mobility; wealth, which entails power; and a function or occupation, which confers responsibility.'²⁸³ The simple expedient of wearing different clothes automatically brought with it the assumption of qualities and privileges that were generally denied to women.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Sand's case was unusual: her habits became so well-known in Paris that there existed no pretence of deceiving others with her identity. Sand's assumption of male attire became a form of deliberate performance, rather than an attempt to be perceived as male.

In a Viennese context, a similar blurring between performance and everyday life is exemplified by the case of Josefine Schmer (1842–1904). The daughter of an accounts clerk and a dancer, Schmer began her career as a ballet dancer, working from the late 1850s at the Josefstadt theatre, the Theater an der Wien, and the Thaliatheater amongst others. Later Schmer turned to singing, performing in the Prater as a yodeller and folk singer *en travesti*. She became known as the 'weiblicher Fürst' ('feminine prince'). Schmer performed songs in the personae of several 'Wiener-Typen' such as the Fiaker driver, and the 'Wiener Bitz' (**Figures 3.1** and

²⁸¹ George Sand, *Story of My Life: The Autobiography of George Sand*, Thelma Jurgrau ed., (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991) 783.

²⁸² Elizabeth Harlan, *George Sand* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2004) 86-87.

²⁸³ Harlan, *George Sand*, 87-88.

²⁸⁴ There were several cases in the nineteenth century of women who adopted male personas to succeed in a variety of 'masculine' spheres, especially the military and medical worlds. In many cases, these women did not occasionally adopt masculine clothing, but lived as men, unlike other women, such as George Sand, who adopted this guise from time to time to achieve particular aims. Bonnie Bullough and Vern L. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

3.2).²⁸⁵ Eventually, Schmer wore men's clothing in daily life, rather than only when performing, leading to a public assumption that she had permission to do so.²⁸⁶ By then, Schmer's public persona was so well-known that the extent of her deception was marginal, akin to the example of Sand, who became easily recognisable in Paris when she wore men's clothing to access public spaces where upper-class women were unwelcome.

Figure 3.1 Josefina Schmer in costume, c. 1870?

Theatermuseum Wien
FS_PV248298alt
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Figure 3.2 Josefina Schmer as the 'Wiener Bitz', c. 1870?

Theatermuseum Wien
FS_PV248295alt
© KHM-Museumsverband

When women wore men's clothing on stage, the element of disruption to social norms was reduced, but as Natalie Davis and others have pointed out, *travesti* roles made 'potent statements about authority' and the arbitrary nature of gender hierarchy, as well as providing

²⁸⁵ Barbara Boisits, 'Schmer, Josefina.' *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*. Accessed 14 December, 2018. https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Schmer_Josefine.xml; Fritz, E. T., and Helmut Kretschmer, eds., *Wien, Musikgeschichte: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006) 192.

²⁸⁶ Sumptuary laws in European cities continued to affect wearing clothes belonging to the 'other sex' throughout the nineteenth century. In some cities, including Paris, a woman required police permission to wear trousers in public. I. Bennett Capers, 'Cross Dressing and the Criminal, *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 20, no. 1 (August 2013) 1-30.

new opportunities for admiring the female form.²⁸⁷ In almost all cases though, it is debatable whether the intention was a believable presentation of masculinity. In the historical reception of Orlofski and his early interpreters — Irma Nittinger, Lola Beeth, and Irene Abendroth — it was their visual appeal as women that dominated reviews and other related sources by male critics and writers.

3.2 Orlofski in recent musicology.

In the late twentieth century, feminist theorizations of Orlofski contributed to a growing literature on diva worship. In her essay ‘In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender’, Terry Castle writes of Fassbaender’s performances that their ‘great theme,’ and the emotion that Fassbaender expresses most explicitly, is ‘gynophila: exaltation in the presence of the feminine ... She is unsurpassed at conveying adoration: of female voices, bodies, and dreams. This is true whether she is herself playing a man or a woman, a tragic or comic part.’²⁸⁸ In the case of Orlofski, Castle attributes Fassbaender’s success to the ‘panache with which she enters into “his” somewhat bibulous brand of *galanterie*.’²⁸⁹ Castle identifies Fassbaender/Orlofski’s ‘slyly inflected delivery of his line, “Ich liebe Künstlerinnen” (I love artistes)’ when admiring Adele/Olga, and then the ‘politely vulpine connoisseurship’ with which Fassbaender’s Orlofski admires Adele during ‘Mein Herr Marquis’ as particularly clear examples. Later, when Rosalinde performs her *czardas*, Fassbaender’s Orlofski ‘mimes a sort of half-tipsy sexual ecstasy’ before collapsing under the influence of Rosalinde’s perfume.²⁹⁰ In Castle’s view of Fassbaender’s Orlofski ‘Seldom ... has diva-worship, hetero or homo, been given a more direct — or suggestive — onstage representation.’²⁹¹

Margaret Reynolds also draws on the idea of suggestion, understanding Orlofski as a symbol of decadence, because one needs little prompting to see that a party ‘given in a theatre, for the denizens of the beau monde, by a cross-dressed female who sings “chacun a son gout [sic],” is flaunting propriety and tugging at the edges of suggestion.’²⁹² The editors of *En Travesti*, Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith point to Orlofski as an exemplar of female emancipation from opera’s ‘undoing of women’. ‘We cannot imagine,’ write Blackmer and Smith, ‘a more appropriate emblem for the spirit of courageous independence of women

²⁸⁷ Lenard R. Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches: Cross-Dress Theater and the Culture of Gender Ambiguity in Modern France,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 2 (April 1996) 340.

²⁸⁸ Terry Castle, ‘In praise of Brigitte Fassbaender,’ *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith eds., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 44.

²⁸⁹ Castle, ‘In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender,’ 45.

²⁹⁰ Castle, ‘In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender,’ 45.

²⁹¹ Castle, ‘In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender,’ 45.

²⁹² Margaret Reynolds, ‘Ruggerio’s Deceptions, Cherubino’s Distractions,’ *En Travesti*, 143.

characters who discard the rules than that summed up in Orlofski's famously offhanded line, "Chacun à son goût".²⁹³

These interpretations of Orlofski form part of a late twentieth-century move in opera studies towards personal reactions to operas, characters, and singers, and demonstrating that there are more ways to appreciate music and characters than through strictly formalist or essentializing analysis.²⁹⁴ Such work brings singers and operas into a larger realm of cultural and aesthetic phenomena, but these accounts, which are made compelling by their personal perspectives, nevertheless reflect a late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century sensibility. They consider Orlofski as he is 'now' through a contemporary understanding of Orlofski's ambiguities and a process of what Blackmer and Smith see as 'reconnecting opera with contemporary feminist and queer interpretations of the arts.'²⁹⁵ Seeking to make their collection a countermeasure to Catherine Clément's thesis that opera frequently spells the 'undoing' of women, the editors of *En Travesti* stated that:

The works that Clément discusses in her invaluable study are not the whole story of opera, for the art form that seems the frivolous and misogynistic plaything of conservative elites also permits an unparalleled range of opportunities for women to subvert, and, often, overturn traditional gender roles.²⁹⁶

One hypothesis put forward by Blackmer, Smith, and their authors is that appearing in an operatic *travesti* role historically provided, and sometimes still provides, a medium for women to undermine or subvert the roles and expectations society has for them. In such a scenario, the *travesti* role permits women to inhabit a realm where they can enjoy a different agency. Blackmer and Smith consider especially the extent to which a female audience can claim appreciation of the *travesti* role. Of less significance to them is the world into which such roles were born in the nineteenth or earlier centuries. Blackmer and Smith's discussion predominantly considers performers whom one can see now, in either live or recorded performances, and thus they offer less consideration of historical performers and their reception.

The absence of detailed visual evidence of nineteenth-century performances makes it difficult to recreate or appreciate how these *travesti* roles were executed in the late nineteenth century, but despite this challenge, my intention is to argue that for Orlofski, and other *travesti* roles created in Paris (and their antecedents in Paris), the 'masculinity' of the character was of secondary importance to its capacity to please and fascinate its male audience. Therefore, I ask whether there was a true or tangible emancipatory experience in the nineteenth-century

²⁹³ Corrine E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith, 'Introduction,' *En Travesti*, 16.

²⁹⁴ Till, 'Introduction: opera studies today,' 3; Heather Hadlock, 'Opera and gender studies,' *The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies* 257-258.

²⁹⁵ Blackmer, Smith, *En Travesti*, 4.

²⁹⁶ Blackmer, Smith, *En Travesti*, 4-5.

performance of *travesti* roles in a variety of contexts, including operetta, ballet, vaudeville, and theatre.

3.3 Background to the *travesti* role in opera.

In establishing a theoretical framework for exploring the phenomenon of female operatic cross-dressing in Neapolitan *commedia per musica*, Nina Treadwell asks whether modern critical theory — exemplified by Marjorie Garber's work on cross-dressing, and Judith Butler's exploration of gender performativity and parody — has relevance to early eighteenth-century opera.²⁹⁷ Treadwell concludes that it is 'no coincidence that *commedia per musica*, as it poses as "pure" entertainment, masks the potential for a more ambiguous and therefore subversive discourse' to which both Butler's and Garber's scholarship has relevance.²⁹⁸ Treadwell's question could be asked equally of late nineteenth-century Viennese operetta.

Treadwell's article deals not with male characters performed by a woman but with a scenario in which the principal character Belluccia Mariano must dress as a man to travel to Naples in search of her errant former fiancé Carlo Celmino; several Parisian and Viennese operettas share this theme — which also occurs in 'serious' operas, including Handel's *Alcina* and Beethoven's *Fidelio*, to name just two examples — and permit the librettist and composer to toy with attraction and confusion between characters. However, a performer in a *travesti* role, such as Orlofski, changes the focus, the audience having a different understanding of the character's status, which affects their perception of interaction between the characters.

Nevertheless, elements of ambiguity and subversion still exist in the case of Orlofski, and whether writing of Vienna, Elizabethan London, Second Empire Paris, or the Weimar Republic, scholars of opera and theatre agree that 'donning the clothes of the opposite sex' on stage has long presented various 'challenges to patriarchal authority.'²⁹⁹ Despite this, male impersonation has received less theoretical attention than female impersonation: in the world of drama and comedy, rather than opera, Kate Davy's analysis of *School for Scandal*, performed by an all-female cast, suggests that male impersonation effaces women, because 'there is no institutionalized paradigm for reading male impersonation'. Meanwhile, female impersonation has enjoyed a 'long, rich history', in which 'men are not subsumed', as Davy suggests:

female impersonation, while it certainly says something about women, is primarily about men, addressed to men, and for men. Male impersonation has no such familiar

²⁹⁷ Nina Treadwell, 'Female Operatic Cross-Dressing: Bernardo Saddumene's Libretto for Leonardo Vinci's *Li zite 'n galera* (1722),' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10, no. 2 (July 1998) 135.

²⁹⁸ Treadwell, 'Female Operatic Cross-Dressing', p. 156.

²⁹⁹ Lenard R. Berlanstein, 'Breeches and Breaches: Cross-Dress Theater and the Culture of Gender Ambiguity in Modern France,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 2 (April 1996) 340.

institutionalized history in which women impersonating men say something about women. Both female and male impersonation foreground the male voice [...]³⁰⁰

Davy's suggestion that male impersonation diminishes the female voice contradicts Peter Ackroyd, who had earlier proposed that while the female impersonator evokes unease — 'memories and fears to which laughter is perhaps the best reaction' — a male impersonator poses no such threat:

The male impersonator, the actress in trousers, seems ... to lack depth and resonance ... [and] is never anything more than what she pretends to be; a feminine, noble mind in a boy's body. It is a peculiarly sentimental, and therefore harmless reversal.³⁰¹

Ackroyd's idea has relevance to the situation of *travesti* roles in opera and operetta, illustrated by Beaumarchais's character description for Chérubin in *Le Mariage de Figaro*: a primary characteristic of the role was the female performer's mature sensibility forming the foundation of the male character's youthful ardour. Looking back further to early eighteenth-century *opera seria*, similar qualities unite two of Handel's *travesti* roles: Arsamene, the younger brother of Serse in *Serse* (a role created by Maria Antonia Marchesini in 1738), and Sesto, Cordelia's stepson in *Giulio Cesare* (created by Margherita Durastanti in 1724). Meanwhile, the heroic male leads in both operas, Serse and Cesare, were composed for *castrati*.

In the early nineteenth century, as the era of the *castrati* began to wane, women increasingly took on some of the roles that *castrati* had previously monopolised.³⁰² Meanwhile, some roles conceived originally for *castrati* were revised to be performed by women, and *travesti* characters were written in new operas. Naomi André has written on the phenomenon of lower-voiced women (contralto or mezzo-soprano) singing new and existing roles that would formerly have been the province of *castrati*. Italian audiences, André argued, were so used to hearing a high male voice in particular roles that a 'lower' female voice now came to exemplify similarly heroic roles, including Romeo in Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, Rossini's Tancredi (*Tancredi*), Malcolm (*La donna del lago*), and Arsace (*Semiramide*).³⁰³ However, the women who sang *travesti* roles seldom became typecast: Giudetta Pasta, for example, sang both male and female characters in Rossini's operas.³⁰⁴

In Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (Milan, 1830) and *Rosmonda d'Inghilterra* (Florence, 1834) the *travesti* roles were both 'page boys', Smeaton and Arturo. Unlike the heroic *travesti*

³⁰⁰ Kate Davy, 'Fe/male Impersonation: The Discourse of Camp,' *Critical Theory and Performance*, Janelle G. Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach eds., (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010) 357-358.

³⁰¹ Peter Ackroyd, *Dressing Up, Transvestism and Drag: The History of an Obsession* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) 102.

³⁰² André, *Voicing Gender*, 3-4.

³⁰³ André, *Voicing Gender*, 96 ff.

³⁰⁴ Some singers, such as Rossini's future wife, Isabella Colbran, seldom or never sang *travesti* roles, however, as audiences did not accept their performances, associating them entirely with first-woman roles.

roles of Rossini, Donizetti's *travesti* pages evolved from Mozart's Cherubino (*Le nozze di Figaro*, Vienna, 1786). Like Cherubino's adoration for the Countess, Smeaton and Arturo both love the principal women in their respective plots, Anna, and Rosmonda.³⁰⁵ Naomi André has discussed how, in the middle of the nineteenth century, plot archetypes in Italian opera began a transformation: 'the number of roles for principal female singers move from two (the first woman and the *travesti* or second woman) to one (the Romantic heroine). The main relationship was between the romantic heroine, and the leading tenor.'³⁰⁶

As the plots of *opera seria* and *opera semiseria* changed, revolving often around the love and conflict between a soprano and tenor, *travesti* roles more or less disappeared, and characters returned to some of the categories that Catherine Clément described as 'Individual voices and social roles.' Clément characterises the soprano as Persecuted Victim,' the mezzo-soprano as 'Resistance, Witchcraft, and Treason', and the contralto as an agent with a deep voice that is verging on the 'divine and infused with power.'³⁰⁷ The same deeper female voice, in a *travesti* role becomes weak and 'liminal.'³⁰⁸ Not until 1899 and 1905 would *travesti* roles again assume significance in opera (as opposed to operetta or bouffes), with the premieres of Massenet's *Cendrillon* (1899) and *Chérubin* (1905); these examples were followed by Richard Strauss's two *travesti* roles, the Composer (*Ariadne auf Naxos*) and Octavian (*Der Rosenkavalier*).

Although not strictly speaking 'comedies,' *Cendrillon*, *Chérubin*, *Ariadne auf Naxos*, and *Der Rosenkavalier* are all operas with strong comic elements, and it is notable that from the later nineteenth century until the second decade of the twentieth, *travesti* roles became almost exclusively associated with comedies — especially *opéras bouffes* by Offenbach and his colleagues in Paris, and Strauss and his fellow operetta composers in Vienna — rather than the drama of eighteenth-century *opera seria*, and the *melodrama eroico* and *tragedia lirica* works of Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti. However, *travesti* roles in Viennese operetta preserved some elements of the operatic tradition, while providing the librettist and composer with opportunities to introduce parodic and comic elements.

3.4 Precursors to Orlofski: *travesti* performers on the Parisian stage.

Although Vienna had its own *travesti* traditions in theatre and opera before the advent of Parisian and Viennese operetta, its manifestations in operetta developed from a variety of

³⁰⁵ André, *Voicing Gender*, 117-118. Other examples include Urbain in Mayerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, and Oscar in Auber's *Gustav III, ou Le bal masque*; Gounod's two *travesti* roles are Siébal in *Faust*, and Romeo in *Roméo et Juliette*.

³⁰⁶ André, *Voicing Gender*, 8.

³⁰⁷ Catherine Clément, *Opera, or, The undoing of women*, transl. Betsy Wing (London: Virago, 1989) 22-24.

³⁰⁸ André, *Voicing Gender*, 6.

influences, notably Parisian ones. Alongside the Italian conventions of *travesti* exemplified by characters in operas by Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti (which Naomi André has analysed in detail) ran parallel traditions that prevailed most strongly on the Parisian stage. These practices were common not just in opera, but also in theatre (drama and comedy) and ballet, before they found new opportunities in Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*. In operetta, *travesti* roles found a new space to flourish, in a manner which could exploit the comedic potential of male characters performed by women. Offenbach's Parisian *bouffes* employed a variety of such roles, which sometimes drew upon, or satirised, the typical pageboy stereotypes of opera. Amour (Cupid), the mischievous son of Venus in *Orphée aux Enfers*, Oreste in *La belle Hélène*, the pageboy Amoroso in *Le pont des soupirs*, and Bavolet, a clerk to the chief prosecutor in *La jolie parfumeuse* are just a few of Offenbach's *travesti* characters.

In Paris, the significance of masculinity in *travesti* roles evolved in various theatrical forms through exchanges between characters and audience, the ways in which women *en travesti* created the illusion of masculinity, or the disconnection between the male character and the female voice and body that performed it. A survey of the literature concerning *en travesti* roles in opera, ballet, and theatre reveals several common ideas, namely that across a variety of genres, performers of *travesti* roles tended to depict forms of masculinity to please, rather than challenge or threaten, the audience.

In ballet, the practice of women dancing principal male roles *en travesti* became well-established from the 1830s onwards: several decades before the male dancer would achieve significance as a virtuoso in his own right the image of the male ballet dancer in the early and mid-nineteenth century troubled critics and the public alike. Perceived as physically repellent, in contrast with the ethereal and non-corporeal image of the ballerina, these dancers were an affront to the new bourgeois order. Although the critics Jules Janin and Théodore Gautier expressed grudging respect for some of the principal *danseurs* at the Paris Opéra, they generally found the monstrous physicality and overt exertion of the *danseur* hideous:

Nothing is more distasteful than a man who shows his red neck, his big muscular arms, his legs with the calves of a parish beadle, and all his strong massive frame shaken by leaps and *pirouettes*.³⁰⁹

Janin likewise regarded the bodies of male dances as unsuitable for dance, compared with the lightness and grace of the *danseuse*:

A man has no right to dance, no right to round a leg or an arm, or smile while doing an *entrechat*. The male animal is too ... ugly. His habits are too disgusting, his neck is too thick, skin too tough, hands too red, legs too lanky, and feet too flat to practice the same trade as the likes of Mlle Taglioni.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Lyn Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet,' *Dance Research Journal* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 1985) 37.

³¹⁰ Jules Janin quoted by Marian Smith, 'The disappearing danseur,' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 2007) 33.

Janin and Gautier not only reviled the affronting physicality of the *danseur*, which destroyed the unearthly illusions created by the female dancers, they also found the entire premise of a man participating in classical ballet emasculating, believing that the demands of classical technique and choreography robbed the *danseur* of his rightful masculine autonomy:

a man, a frightful man, as ugly as you and I, a wretched fellow who leaps about without knowing why, a creature made to carry a musket and a sword and to wear a uniform. That this fellow should dance as a woman does — impossible!³¹¹

For a man to dance in classical ballet (although Gautier acknowledged that they could dance national and character dances, such as the mazurka, saltarello, and cachucha) was inherently unmanly. Therefore, the solicitous and self-effacing consort to the ballerina was best represented by a woman. Furthermore, as Lyn Garafola points out, the principal delight for the largely male Parisian ballet audience was the spectacle of the disporting women, rather than their technical prowess:

Mlle Dupon, Mlle Noblet, Mlle Julia, and so many others who have a pretty face, a charming neck, flawless white hands, a very fine leg, a bosom that thrills, an eye that shines, a warm pink mouth, and a white dress that floats in the breeze.³¹²

The aversion to seeing men perform certain roles in ballet meant that women increasingly performed the roles of the lead *danseur*, as well as sailors, hussars, cavaliers, and matadors: Louise Marquet, Blanche Mountaubry, the Elssler sisters, and Eugénie Fiocre specialised in these characters. They confidently partnered the ballerinas with equivalent luminous and graceful strength, providing a reassuringly ‘masculine image deprived of maleness.’³¹³

Garafola has proposed that with the inclusion of more *travesti* dancers on stage, and the exclusion of men, the ballet became a microcosm of male control (by teachers, choreographers, composers, and audience) and female display. Within this microcosm, the *travesti* dancer never provided a critique of gender representation, but instead her ‘femininity remain[ed] in the service of the male.’³¹⁴ Meanwhile, the scenes onstage became the exemplification of ‘bordello politics ideologized as the feminine mystique.’³¹⁵ This world was depicted most tellingly in the art of Edgar Degas, who depicted dancers not as a ‘metaphoric symbol of nobility, grace or poetry,’ but as a primarily ‘sexual being, a worker, and a titillating subject.’³¹⁶ While women who worked for money as singers were regarded with suspicion for

³¹¹ Jules Janin quoted by Smith, ‘The disappearing danseur,’ 37-38.

³¹² Smith, ‘The disappearing danseur,’ 33.

³¹³ Garafola, ‘The Travesty Dancer,’ 37.

³¹⁴ Evan Alderson, ‘Ballet as Ideology: *Giselle*, Act 2,’ *Dance Chronicle* 10, no. 3 (1987) 294.

³¹⁵ The association between ballet dancers and prostitution was well-established by the early nineteenth century and continued throughout the century. Smith, ‘The disappearing danseur,’ p. 39. Allison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 2000) 53.

³¹⁶ The idea of the nobility of the dancer as an artist was dealt a blow by Degas’ sculpture ‘Little Dancer, Aged 14’, which was regarded with revulsion, the dancer called ‘monstrous’ and compared

their lack of modesty, ballet dancers — whose bodies, rather than voices were their primary currency — endured the most negative public perception, the ballet becoming a ‘modern space of cross-class sexual exchange, a world of display and male-possession.’³¹⁷

In short, the woman dancer *en travesti* provided a more aesthetically pleasing alternative to the affronting sight of the *danseur*’s physique and exertion. While ballerinas undoubtedly exerted themselves, disguising their effort was, and remains, intrinsic to the aesthetics of classical ballet of the Romantic era.³¹⁸ Meanwhile, critics could admire and appreciate the artistry and physicality of the *travesti danseuse* without impugning their own masculinity. They were absolved of the ordeal of seeing another man degraded through subjugation to a woman dancer.

In theatre and opera, a similar premise prevailed, but in addition to their pleasing physical appearance, women could portray young male characters with more sensitivity to the nuances of personality and characterisation. It was for this reason that in the 1770s, Pierre Beaumarchais specified that in his *Figaro* plays, Chérubin should be played by a woman:

The role can be played as it should only by a young and very lovely woman. In our theatres we have no very young men sufficiently developed to feel the subtleties in it. Timid to excess in front of the countess, elsewhere charming and naughty, an anxious desire is at the bottom of his character.³¹⁹

Mozart and Lorenzo da Ponte’s honoured Beaumarchais’ wishes in *Le nozze di Figaro* (Burgtheater, Vienna, 1786), creating Cherubino, arguably one of the most-discussed operatic *travesti* roles, whose music expresses the qualities of character Beaumarchais required.³²⁰

Male impersonation became a particular speciality of French comedies and vaudeville, both before the Revolution, and throughout the nineteenth century. Unlike female impersonation, which had by the mid-1820s become known as ‘travesti à l’anglais’ and a form of ‘foreign perversion’, actresses who performed male impersonation on the Parisian stage were celebrated.³²¹ One of the most notable performers, Virginie Déjazet (1798–1875) made a career

with a depraved animal. Ilyana Karthas, ‘The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France,’ *The Journal of Social History* 45, no. 4 (Summer 2012) 961.

³¹⁷Karthas, ‘The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet,’ 61.

³¹⁸ Until the early twentieth century when the artistry and celebrity of Nijinsky reignited the importance danseur as a solo force in ballet, their roles had been largely subordinate to the ballerinas. Although ballerinas undoubtedly exerted themselves, disguising this exertion was, and remains, intrinsic to the aesthetics of classical ballet of the Romantic era. Curtis Carter, ‘Western Dance Aesthetics,’ *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, Elizabeth Aldrich ed., (New York: Oxford University Press 1998) 23.

³¹⁹ Richard Kramer’s translation of an extract from Beaumarchais’s long character descriptions for his *Figaro* plays: ‘Ce rôle ne peut être joué, comme il l’a été, que par une jeune et très jolie femme; nous n’avons point à nos théâtres de jeune homme assez formé pour en bien sentir les finesses. Timide à l’excès devant la Comtesse, ailleurs un charmant polisson, un désir inquiet et vague est le fond de son caractère.’ Richard Kramer, *Cherubino’s Leap: In Search of the Enlightenment Moment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016) 163.

³²⁰ Kramer, *Cherubino’s Leap*, 164-168.

³²¹ Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches,’ 342.

of performing male roles, many of which were written for her. The Palais Royal, Nouveautés, and Variétés theatres paid her well, and she received a funeral of royal proportions.³²² Although the plays she appeared in were often formulaic, her performances provoked devotion from audiences and the ‘free and easy songs’ that characterised Déjazet’s early career evolved into more sophisticated creations.³²³ Some of her typical roles were young or troubled noblemen of the *ancien régime* who were far from heroic. Déjazet depicted these characters in a way that provided pleasure for the onlooker without impugning the masculinity of a male actor. Much like the *travesti* ballet dancers, Déjazet’s performance did not offer a criticism of conventional gender roles but instead conformed to the prevailing bourgeois ideology that pre-Revolutionary aristocrats were ‘imperfect men.’³²⁴ Her performance style meant that the character types she portrayed became known as déjazets.³²⁵ Lenard R. Berlanstein concludes that Déjazet’s

cross-dress performances reinforced the new elite’s insistence on its own masculinity as well as on the femininity of the class it was replacing the stage uses of women in pants defined Others in bourgeois society, namely aristocrats and males without property.³²⁶

The actress who created the role of Yermontoff (the model for Orlofski) in Meilhac and Halévy’s *Le Réveillon* was Georgette Viguiet. Performing under the name Georgette Ollivier or Oliver, she fitted the déjazet model, performing *travesti* roles in plays and vaudevilles. Little is known of Viguiet, except for a few references: Georges D’Heylli’s *Dictionnaire des Pseudonymes* lists her as ‘Ollivier (Georgette). Cette spirituelle comédienne se nomme en réalité Georgette Viguiet.’ (This witty comédienne is called in reality Georgette Viguiet).³²⁷ In *Tout Paris au Café*, a study of a ‘tableau of Paris’ through its cafes, by Adolphe Perreau (writing under his pseudonym of Maxim Rude) Viguiet appears twice in the chapter on the Café Fleurus.³²⁸

Two images of Viguiet, both in *travesti* roles, survive in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, but the catalogue does not record details of the roles (**Figures 3.3** and **3.4**). The image

³²² Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches,’ 341.

³²³ These roles included Louis VI, Duc de Richelieu, and Rousseau. Jules Claretie called her ‘a Dresden statuette animated by Voltaire’s wit’. Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag and Theatre* (London: Routledge, 2000) 279.

³²⁴ Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches,’ 356.

³²⁵ Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches,’ 344.

³²⁶ In France, females performing such serious Shakespearean roles as Hamlet, Iago, or Romeo did not succeed as well as they did in Britain and the United States, a situation perhaps related to other cultural and language differences. Not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when Sarah Bernhardt took on Hamlet in a manner which did not ‘reaffirm the bourgeois order’ as Déjazet had, but ‘sensitive to the gender panic of her day, used it to express anxiety and impotence.’ Berlanstein, ‘Breeches and Breaches,’ 356.

³²⁷ Georges D’Heylli, *Dictionnaire des Pseudonymes* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1869) 325.

³²⁸ Maxim Rude [Adolphe Perreau], *Tout Paris au Café* (Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, 1877).

included here as Figure 3.4 dates from the early 1870s and could depict Viguiier as Yermontoff in *Le Réveillon*.

Figure 3.3 Georgette Viguiier in costume.

Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris.
Inv. PH54720

Figure 3.4 Georgette Viguiier in costume.

Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris.
Inv. PH54711

After Déjazet died in 1875, some theatre critics agreed that her form of artistry was now out of date, but with Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*, a new incarnation of *travesti* roles continued to emerge, retaining a mixture of attributes from their antecedents in ballet, 'serious' opera, and vaudeville. The *travesti* characters Offenbach and his librettists created in their comic works tended not to be mature men. Instead they were often aristocrats, youths, penurious students, or ill-behaved deities. The extent to which these men were 'imperfect' in the model of déjazet characters varied: the acerbic satire ubiquitous to Offenbach's bouffes upended elements of theatrical tradition, some making some *travesti* roles — such as Orestes in *La belle Hélène* — into disturbing and disruptive characters.

The *travesti* performer in Offenbach's *bouffe* also depicted exotic forms of 'otherness', such as 'Vendredi' (Man Friday) in his *Robinson Crusoe* (1867). This character, who appears in Daniel Defoe's novel as a Carib, or indigenous Caribbean man, was first performed in *Crusoe*

by Célestine Galli-Marié, the *travesti* casting of the role feminising the exotic character.³²⁹ A parallel exists between *Crusoe's* Vendredi and Orlofski in *Die Fledermaus*, where the young prince — a Russian among Austrians — provides the exotic element. In this way the inclusion of *travesti* roles in Viennese operetta continued the traditions begun by Offenbach and his Parisian colleagues, but also broke new ground. As the analysis of Orlofski in Chapter 2 of this thesis suggested, Orlofski possesses some unique qualities, and his first interpreter, Irma Nittinger, also merits discussion.

3.5 Creation of the role: Irma Nittinger and the male gaze.

Irma Nittinger, who created the role of Orlofski in *Die Fledermaus*, was a performer now largely forgotten.³³⁰ This section explores elements of Nittinger's early career, and the initial reception of Nittinger as Orlofski. A discussion of costuming for Orlofski in the first twenty-five years of *Die Fledermaus's* performance history then compares Orlofski's costumes with those of other *travesti* roles in Viennese operetta, before examining whether it was the intention between 1874 and 1900 that Orlofski should present a demonstrably masculine exterior. John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*, and Griselda Pollock's analyses of gendered looking in late nineteenth-century visual culture also inform my discussion of several photographs of Nittinger as Orlofski.³³¹

3.6 Critical responses to Irma Nittinger.

As a person and performer, Irma Nittinger remains an elusive presence, an example of some of the problems that James Q. Davies has identified in the introduction to *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*. Davies describes the difficulties of 'dealing with romantic musicians' because of the 'skein of anecdotes and half-truths that available sources present to enquiry.'³³² Irma Nittinger's entire legacy exists in the pages of some Austrian newspapers, a few items held in Vienna's Theatermuseum and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and a scattering of other archival documents. Furthermore, as she worked before the 'age of mechanical reproduction,' meaning that researchers today have no opportunity to hear her

³²⁹ Susan S. Cocalis also mentions the tendency to use *travesti* or *Hosenrolle* characters as emblems of 'otherness' in Viennese operetta, partly an inheritance from Paris. 'Hosenrolle,' *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature*, Friederike Ursula Eiger and Susanne Kord eds., (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997) 245.

³³⁰ Irma Nittinger died in Paris in 1912. She was married to the composer Franz Behr (1837-1898). Documents held by Hungaricana (the Hungarian Cultural Heritage Portal) suggest that she owned property in Budapest. I have not been able to locate the place and date of her birth.

³³¹ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972); Griselda Pollock, 'Modernity and the spaces of femininity,' *Vision and Difference: Femininity, feminism and histories of art* (London: Routledge, 1988) 70-127.

³³² James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) 8.

voice.³³³ unlike the voices of the first Hofoper performers of Orlofski, Lola Beeth, Irene Abendroth, and Hermine Kittel, all of whom have left behind recordings of themselves singing a variety of repertoire.

Davies has also described how the difficulties increase in the case of ‘women virtuosos, who seldom find representation in the archive other than as male fantasies.’³³⁴ It is notable that with the exception of two letters written by Nittinger almost all of the archival material I have found consists of the writings of critics and other journalists, providing only a limited perspective on Nittinger as a performer. In these documents she exists as an object awaiting approval or disapproval and, as Davies has noted of the singers he researches, she has no capacity to reply to criticism.³³⁵

Differentiating Nittinger from the singers and instrumentalists whom Davies discusses in his book is her relative anonymity, and the lack of secondary literature about her. These gaps render Nittinger less subject than her more famous peers to some of the stereotypical tropes of discussing these long-dead artists, including ‘demythologization’ and ‘recovering “lost voices” from the distant past.’³³⁶ As Davies explains, these scholarly processes have involved ‘unmasking the facts behind the glittering veils of performance, and exposing the grim truths of practice, travel, failure, and everyday life.’³³⁷

In the case of an artist like Nittinger, there exists little mythology, and still fewer opportunities of looking behind the glittering veils of performance. Therefore, the priority here is less about the ‘urge to let voices be heard again’ or recovering the ‘suffering body from beneath the ideology’ than it concerns the influences that shaped reception of Nittinger as a performer of Orlofski. As most of the documented reception is written from the perspective of male onlookers, it becomes compelling to ask whether the role — like those of the Parisian *travesti* ballet dancers — was designed primarily for male audiences and critics, rather than for the performer’s emancipation.

Only through reviews of her performances in a variety of Viennese newspapers is it possible to form an impression of Irma Nittinger as an artist. These documents provide a jigsaw of her professional life, showing that Nittinger initially joined the Theater an der Wien ensemble in 1868 or 1869. In May 1869, when Nittinger performed in *Die schöne Galathee* at the Carltheater, the *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* disparaged Nittinger’s Ganymed, who, in this work is Pygmalion’s servant, with whom Galathee falls in love:

³³³ The first Hofoper performers of Orlofski, Lola Beeth, Irene Abendroth, and Hermine Kittel, have all left behind recordings of themselves singing a variety of repertoire. Abendroth and Beeth feature on *Mahler’s Decade in Vienna – Singers of the Court Opera 1897-1907*, Marston Records 53004 (2004). Harold Bruder reviewed the recording in *The Opera Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (Summer 2004) 464-472.

³³⁴ Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 8.

³³⁵ Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 8.

³³⁶ Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 8.

³³⁷ Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 8.

Gleichzeitig debutierte Frl. Nittinger, von ihrer problematischen Wirksamkeit am Wiedener und Harmonietheater bekannt, also Ganymed, ohne dieser Rolle zu ihrer Seltung verhelfen zu können. Sie ist eine temperamentlose Darstellerin und Sängerin, ohne Wärme und Ausdruck.³³⁸

Frl. Nittinger, known for her questionable effectiveness at the Wiedener and Harmonie theatres, debuted as Ganymed, without being able to give legitimacy to this role. She is a spiritless actress and singer, without warmth or feeling.

Despite this censure of her performance, Nittinger continued her career in Vienna, and also appeared as a guest artist in operetta performances outside of the capital. The Linz *Tages-Post* noted her performance as a guest artist alongside a local cast:

Sonntag den 11. Mai setzte Frl. Nittinger ihr Gastspiel in Offenbach's „Schöne Helena“ mit glänzenden Erfolge in der Titelrolle fort.³³⁹

Frl. Nittinger continued her guest performance in the title role of Offenbach's 'Schöne Helena' with brilliant success.

In Linz, Nittinger also took on the double role of Hanni and Hansi in another translated Offenbach piece, *Die Hänni weint, der Hansi lacht* (*Jeanne qui pleure et Jean qui rit*) as well as the orphan Vilma in von Suppé's *Leichte Cavalerie*, and Boulotte in Offenbach's *Blaubart*. Of these characters Hansi is the only *travesti* role.

In the autumn of 1869 Nittinger returned to the Theater an der Wien, where she performed in more comic works; the critic of the *Wiener Salonblatt* mentioned Nittinger in connection with a production of *Abälard und Heloise*, a German version of Henry Litolf's Parisian *opéra-comique*, for which Richard Genée provided a libretto. Although the review excoriated many aspects of *Abälard und Heloise*, the critic noted of Nittinger (Heloise) and Lina Meyer (Abälard) that 'Beide Damen sangen vorzüglich' ('both women sang exquisitely').³⁴⁰

³³⁸ *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, 19 May 1869, 2.

³³⁹ *Tages-Post* (Linz), 20 May 1873, 3

³⁴⁰ *Wiener Salonblatt*, 5 October 1873, 9

Figure 3.5 Irma Nittinger in an unidentified role, 1870s?
 Theatermuseum Wien
 FS_PV237026alt
 © KHM-Museumsverband

On 11 October 1873, *Der Floh*, a satirical weekly newspaper, put Irma Nittinger on its cover. On the following page, the paper printed a brief discussion about her charms, in the form of a conversation between her admirers:

Irma Nittinger

heist der neuste Liebling des Wiener Publicums.

Zugleich aber ist Irma Nittinger ein Streitobject geworden:

‘Wie hübsch sie ist,’ sagt der Eine.

‘Was? die hübsch?’ schreit der Andere.

‘Nein, schön ist sie just nicht, aber ihre Nichtschönheit hat einen gewissen Reiz,’ vesichert der Dritte, während der Vierte, der Fünfte, der Sechste, der Siebente u.s.w. sie mit den Augen verschlingt und dazu mit der Zunge schnalzt wie ein Gourmand, der vor Caviar, Austern, Trüffeln, Pasteten u., sitzt, Dinge, für welche das gewöhnliche Volk auch wenig Geschmack besitzt. Doch der Leser mag sich über ihr Aeüßeres selbst ein Urtheil bilden.

Irma Nittinger gehört zu den pflichttreuesten Mitgliedern des Theaters a. d. Wien. Sie besitzt eine schöne Stimme, voll und kräftig, singt gut und spielt sehr anmuthig, kurz sie ist, wie der alte Lateiner Strampferius uns, wenn er das Theater a. d. Wien noch hätte, sagen würde: ‘Eun lübör Körl!’³⁴¹

³⁴¹ *Der Floh*, 11 October 1873, 2.

Irma Nittinger

is the newest darling of the Viennese public. At the same time, though, Irma Nittinger has become a topic of controversy:

‘How pretty she is,’ says one.

‘What? Her? Pretty?’ cries the other.

‘No, she’s not beautiful, but her non-beauty has a certain charm,’ avows a third, while the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh, etc., devour her with their eyes, and click their tongue like a gourmand sitting in front of caviar, oysters, truffles, pâtés ... things for which the ordinary people have little taste. But the reader may form a judgement only about the external. Irma Nittinger is one of the most dedicated members of the Theater an der Wien. She has a beautiful voice, full and strong, she sings well and acts very gracefully, in short, she is, like that old free-thinker Strampfer would say when he was still at the Theater an der Wien, ‘A sweet chap!’

Der Floh made much of Nittinger as a *jolie-laide* — a beautifully-ugly woman most pleasing to the connoisseur — and a fine singer and actress.³⁴²

By contrast, another paper, the *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, reviewing her performance in *Die Wilderer* (Richard Genée’s translation of Offenbach’s *Les braconniers*) at the Theater an der Wien stated that although Nittinger could sing, she was not an alluring sight:

Frl. Nittinger, die man bloß hören, aber nicht sehen soll, besitzt zwar ausgiebige Stimmenmittel, aber keine Schule und keinen Geschmack im Vortrag.³⁴³

Frl. Nittinger, whom one should hear, but not see, possesses extensive vocal means, but has no education and no taste in her delivery.

The following year, while discussing her performances as Orlofski in *Die Fledermaus*, *Kikeriki* alluded to the polarised opinion that Nittinger provoked:

«Chacun a son gout,» singte die pikante Darstellerin des Prinz Prinzen Orlofski in der ‘Fledermaus’ und «Chacun a son gout» muß man unwillkürlich ausrufen, wenn man die Stimmen des Publicums ueber Frl. Nittinger hört. Der Eine findet, daß ihre Stimme von unendlichem Wohlklang ist und namentlich für den frischen resoluten Ton des Couplets die vollendetste Eignung besitzt. Der Andere findet sie ihrer tadellosen Knieformation wegen nur in Hosenrollen interessant genug [...] ³⁴⁴

‘Chacun a son gout’ [sic] sings the piquant figure of Prince Orlofski in the ‘Bat,’ and ‘Chacun a son gout’ is what one involuntarily exclaims when hearing public opinion about Miss Nittinger. The one finds her voice infinitely euphonious and calls it perfection for the fresh and resolute tone of the *couplets*. The other finds her interesting only for her impeccable knee formation in trousers [...].

After the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* the critic of the *Figaro* was also unimpressed by Nittinger, writing:

³⁴² The ‘*jolie laide*, a woman pretty yet ugly, in possession of an ugliness that, not aspiring to it, [who] nevertheless achieves the condition of beauty.’ Mary Ann O’Farrell, ‘Henry James’s *Jolie Laide*’, *The Henry James Review* 35, no. 3 (Autumn 2014) 227. See also the feuilliton in the *Teplitzer Zeitung*, ‘Die häßliche Schönheit,’ 13 November 1874, 1-2.

³⁴³ *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, 28 November 1873, 2.

³⁴⁴ *Die Bombe*, 19 July 1874, 1.

Frl. Nittinger hat für den Prinzen Orlofski weder Kraft, noch Laune genug, und kann ihn äußerlich durch nichts zu einer interessirenden Figur gestalten. Durch die mangelhafte Darstellung des Prinzen geschieht dem Erfolge der Ballszene des zweiten Aktes ein großer Abbruch.³⁴⁵

Frl. Nittinger has neither sufficient strength nor caprice for Prince Orlofski, and externally, she cannot form him into anything of interest. Due to her poor depiction of the Prince, the ball scene in the second act collapsed.

Nittinger's successors in the role of Orlofski received the same harsh criticism as Nittinger when they presented a disparity between voice and physical appearance. Examples from the *Neues Fremden-Blatt* and *Morgen-Post* illustrate this tendency. In December 1875, the *Neues Fremden-Blatt* reviewed a performance of *Die Fledermaus* in which a Frl. Benson performed Orlofski:

Frl. Benson, das als Orlofski debutirte, sah nicht übel aus und sprach recht leidlich, sang aber ihr Couplet in zweiten acte stümperhaft, und zeigte bei deiser Gelegenheit, daß sie als Sängerin nicht geeignet ist, anderen Anforderungen, als denen der Claque Genüge zu leisten.³⁴⁶

Frl. Benson, who made her debut as Prince Orlofski did not look bad and spoke fairly well, but sang her *couplets* in the second and acted amateurishly. On this occasion she showed that as a singer she was fit only to satisfy the demands of the claque.

In January 1879, the *Morgen-Post* reviewed a performance of *Die Fledermaus* in which Frl. Steinburg performed the role of Orlofski, writing that:

Drollige Leistungent boten die Herren Schweighofer und Girardi und auch Prinz Orlofski des Fräulein Steinburg war annehmbar, obgleich sie in der Männerkleidung nicht sehr vortheilhaft ausfah und im Vortrage Einiges zu wünschen übrige ließ.³⁴⁷

Messrs Schweighofer and Girardi offered droll performances, and Miss Steinburg's performance of Orlofski was acceptable, although she did not look very advantageous in men's clothing, and her singing and delivery left a lot to be desired.

These examples of criticism suggest that critics wanted an Orlofski whose appearance and voice were of a piece, combining a pleasing vocal performance with good stagecraft: an understandable expectation. However, other critics commented explicitly on the appearance of the *travesti* singer, beyond her vocal capabilities. A review of *Die schöne Helene* commented that 'Frl. Pichon' was too stout to make a convincing impression as the youth Orestes.³⁴⁸ Therefore, there emerges from some reviews a subtle or more overt expectation that the *travesti* performer should look pleasing, even alluring, rather than presenting an image of masculine verisimilitude.

³⁴⁵ *Figaro*, 11 April 1874, 5.

³⁴⁶ *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, 3 December 1875, 3.

³⁴⁷ *Morgen-Post*, 19 January 1879, 4.

³⁴⁸ 'Frl. Pichons Orestes störte durch übermäßige Körperfülle die Illusion.' *Wiener Theater-Chronik*, 30 May 1873, 2.

3.7 Orlofski, costume, masculinity and the ‘male gaze’.

It soon becomes apparent from studying photographs of performers from Vienna’s suburban theatres, including the Theater an der Wien, that the presentation of an androgynous exterior in *travesti* performances in operetta in its early manifestations between the late 1850s and mid-1870s was not a priority. The costumes worn by these performers blended aspects of contemporary masculine and feminine attire, but little apparent effort was made to create a genuine visual impression of male clothing or a male persona. The costume in which Irma Nittinger created the role of Orlofski in April 1874 demonstrates this tendency (**Figures 3.6 and 3.7**).

Figure 3.6 Irma Nittinger in costume as Orlofski, 1874.

Theatermuseum Wien

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Figure 3.7 Irma Nittinger in costume as Orlofski, 1874
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Aside from her boots and velvet pantaloons, winged collar, and velvet tie, the upper section of Nittinger's costume bears a close resemblance to standard women's fashions of the time, including its sloping shoulders, close-fitting sleeves, and a long row of buttons on a basque bodice. Nittinger's coiffure and headgear — in some images appearing to be a fur hat, and in other images a cloth (velvet) hat — also reflect aspects of women's fashion, demonstrated by a plate from *La Mode de Paris* (**Figure 3.8**) The wide appeal of this style is reflected by another dress, this time an American garment (**Figure 3.9**) that shares features in common with Nittinger's costume. At the same time, some features of Nittinger's costume suggest a synthesis of the feminine and masculine. While the bodice section of the costume is reminiscent of women's fashion, it also hints at Russian military wear, as do the boots and loose

pants. The fur hat that Nittinger wears (**Figure 3.7**) is also an approximation of the *papakhas*, which was adapted for different military uniforms.

Examples of these styles appear in a drawing from the illustrated supplement to *Le Petit Journal* depicting Nicholas II of Russia wearing different military uniforms of the Russian imperial army (**Figure 3.10**). In particular, the style of hat worn by the Grodno Hussars (second from left), and the boots and pants worn by the Preobrajensky Regiment (second from right) and the Cossack Guard (left) find stylized parallels with Nittinger's costume.

Figure 3.9 Detail of American dress, c. 1874–1875.
Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009; Gift of Theodora Hay, 1952. 2009.300.1454a–e

Figure 3.10 *Le Petit Journal. Supplément du dimanche*. 20 September, 1896, p. 304.
 Bibliothèque nationale de France. gallica.bnf.fr

In some recent scholarly discussions of roles performed *en travesti*, the authors comment on the illusion or contradiction created by the collision of a feminine voice and a

masculine appearance, or at least masculine clothing.³⁴⁹ Arguably, this phenomenon is a more recent one, beginning at the *fin de siècle*, best illustrated by the costumes worn by Lola Beeth and Hermine Kittel as Orlofski later in the nineteenth century. Such a disconnection appears less obvious in the case of Nittinger's Orlofski, where the impression is one of affecting a disguise or fancy dress, rather than projecting a recognisably male persona. In the 1870s and 1880s at least the Theater an der Wien did not prioritize a convincing male appearance for its *travesti* performers. Photographs of Marie Geistinger — the manager and principal singer of the Theater an der Wien who created the role of Rosalinde — in some of her *travesti* roles support this hypothesis.

In 1884, Geistinger took on the role of Symon in Millöcker's operetta *Der Bettelstudent* at the Theater an der Wien. This role had been the purview of Alexander Girardi but Geistinger performed Symon in New York, and brought her interpretation back to Vienna. Geistinger's 'Symon' costume shares some similarities with the clothes that Nittinger wore as Orlofski in 1874. Geistinger's costume blends features of women's fashion of the early 1880s with an approximation of the garments worn by members of the *szlachta* (Polish nobility) in the early eighteenth century. (**Figure 3.11**). The defining feature of Geistinger's costume was the fur *kolpak* hat, decorated with feathers.³⁵⁰

The costumes that Nittinger wore as Orlofski, and Geistinger wore as Symon are similar, insofar as they both exhibited features of distinctively national styles — an adaptation of Russian military garb in Orlofski's case, and a simulation of Polish aristocratic clothing for Symon — blended with suggestions of women's fashion of the 1870s and 1880s. The masculine elements of their clothing signalled that these characters were male. Nevertheless, the costumes were not authentic versions of actual masculine clothing, nor did they disguise the female bodies of the performers, thus minimising the semiotic collision of gender and voice.

³⁴⁹Heather Hadlock writes: '[o]pera is unique, perhaps, in how little visual verisimilitude it demands', and 'trouser roles require a more elaborate scaffolding from which to suspend our disbelief, in order to accept the character *en travesti* as *male*, we must rationalize away the evidence of both our eyes and ears.' Henson, 'The Career of Cherubino,' 69.

³⁵⁰ Lou Taylor, *Establishing Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) 174-175.

Figure 3.11 Marie Geistinger as Symon in *Der Bettelstudent*, 1884.
 Theatermuseum Wien
 FS_PK222716alt
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3.8 Ways of seeing Orlofski.

Irma Nittinger's personification of Orlofski is a phenomenon that today we can only partially reconstruct, through a range of printed material and a small number of studio photographs. Unlike the 'stars' of the later nineteenth-century operetta world — Marie Geistinger, Jani Szika, and Alexander Girardi, for instance — Nittinger's life outside of the theatre remains elusive. What does exist in the collections of the ÖNB Bildarchiv and the Theatermuseum lends itself to interpretation as evidence of the confused status of the *travesti* performer, and a visual analysis of these images indicates connections between the images and the simulation of masculinity offered by Nittinger as Orlofski.

Ways of Seeing, by John Berger, provides one perspective on these images. Published in 1972, *Ways of Seeing* brought to the public a new, critical view of conventional art history.³⁵¹ Berger aimed to democratise the discipline, a departure from the traditional approaches to art history typified by Kenneth Clarke, Anthony Blunt, and Aby Warburg. Berger aimed to show that looking at art was a form of political act, and part of a historically constructed process, rather than a purely aesthetic one. His chapter ‘Ways of Seeing Women’ influenced feminist art theory by arguing that images of women (both historical and contemporary) were ‘invariably constructed to appeal to male (and heterosexual) [viewers] even where that vantage point is taken and internalized by the well-socialized woman.’³⁵²

Berger’s discussion of the differences between the ‘social presence’ of men and women intersects with the ambiguities inherent in *travesti* roles, including that of Orlofski:

A man’s presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. If the promise is large and credible, his presence is striking. If it is small or incredible, he may be found to have little presence. The promised power may be moral, physical, temperamental, economic, social, sexual — but its object is always exterior to the man. A man’s presence suggests what he is capable of doing to you or for you. His presence may be fabricated, in the sense that he pretends to be capable of what he is not. But the pretence is always towards a power which he exercises on others.³⁵³

Orlofski’s social, temperamental, and economic power are all manifest in his act 2 *couplets*: as an aristocrat he personifies power; he can afford to entertain lavishly but his social and temperamental power permits him to eject from his society any guest who annoys him — or so he tells Eisenstein. At the same time, as my analysis of Orlofski’s *couplets* in Chapter 2 suggests, his display, or threat of exerting this power may be a fabrication. A further example of Orlofski’s social strength is his admonishment to Eisenstein to be more gallant, and his defence of the Hungarian *Gräfin*’s right to remain masked: these examples demonstrate Orlofski’s greater command of the niceties of honour and etiquette, concomitant with his social presence.

Berger then proposes that in life and in paintings or other images, a woman’s presence can offer a different proposition:

a woman’s presence expresses her own attitude to herself, and defines what can and cannot be done to her A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself. Whilst she is walking across a room or whilst she is weeping at the death of her father, she can scarcely avoid envisaging herself walking or weeping. From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually. And so she comes to consider the surveyor and the surveyed within her as the two constituent, yet always distinct elements of her identity as a woman.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ Despite the relative antiquity of *Ways of Seeing*, Berger’s book remains a key text in art history.

³⁵² Hilde Hein, ‘Why Not Feminist Aesthetic Theory?’ *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 12, no. 1 (1998) 26.

³⁵³ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972) 46.

³⁵⁴ Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 46.

Reconciling Orlofski's ability as a character to exert his power over others with the inescapably feminine presence of the performer is one of the ambiguities of the *travesti* role. This ambiguity is one usually discussed in the context of a disconnect between the male character and the female body. This is the operatic requirement Heather Hadlock has discussed, of being expected to 'look through or disregard a singer's body and instead "see" the voice.'³⁵⁵ For the *travesti* character, the audience must 'rationalize away the evidence of both our eyes and ears.'³⁵⁶

It is no longer possible to hear Nittinger's performance of Orlofski. We can only see her, and assess visually the negotiation of Berger's description of differences between the respective presence of men and women. Three photographs of Nittinger in costume and character as Orlofski suggest a case for discussing the contrasting presence of Orlofski and the promise of power, and the self-consciousness of Nittinger as a performer.

The three-quarter *Rollenporträt* of Nittinger in costume and character as Orlofski (**Figure 3.12**) depicts the character in a moment of mildly despotic abandon, illustrating Orlofski's words in his *couplets* 'dem werfe ich ganz ungeniert die Flasche an der Kopf.' ('then I'll unabashedly throw the bottle at their head.')357 Nittinger's line of sight is directed outside the frame of the picture, so does not present any challenge to the viewer; she holds a bottle above her head, as if either to lob it across the room at some uncooperative guest — or dash it to the floor. The upper left-hand corner of the photograph is blurred, suggesting that Nittinger's arm and hand were not completely still. There is some conflict between trying to convey an impression of the tension and fluid motion needed to throw a bottle through the air, and the necessity of holding this pose convincingly for the duration of the camera's exposure. Nittinger could not project the controlled potential energy needed to throw something, while remaining stock-still (this failure could be understood as a failure of the photography as a medium, rather than a failure of the model). The pose evokes the aggressive words of Orlofski's *couplets*, but its executant is not a man, requiring that the viewer 'rationalize away,' in Hadlock's words, the evidence of their eyes.

³⁵⁵ Hadlock, 'The Career of Cherubino,' 69.

³⁵⁶ Hadlock, 'The Career of Cherubino,' 69.

³⁵⁷ *Die Fledermaus*, act 2, scene 5, no. 7.

Figure 3.12 Irma Nittinger as Orlofski, 1874.

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Figure 3.13 Irma Nittinger as Orlofski, 1874.

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The three-quarter length *Rollenporträt* of Nittinger is one of two that depict her as Orlofski, the only indication of the character's masculinity symbolised by the evidence of her costume. Other portraits (**Figure 3.13**) present Nittinger in an entirely feminine guise, obscuring the most obviously masculine elements of the costume and offering an image of Nittinger as a commodity rather than a character.³⁵⁸

Figure 3.12 appears to illustrate Nittinger caught in conflict between the way she might throw a bottle or glass as herself (or even as a female character), and the way she must throw it as a male character, capturing for a moment a sense of Berger's words about women in images appearing acutely aware of being 'accompanied' by their own image of themselves. He has

³⁵⁸ For discussion of portraits of actresses in *carte-de-visite* and cabinet card formats, see Stephen Burstow, 'The Carte de Visite and Domestic Digital Photography,' *Photographies* 9, no. 3 (2016) 1-26; Karen Henson, 'Photographic Diva: Massenet's Relationship with the Soprano Sibyl Sanderson,' *Technology and the Diva: Sopranos, Opera, and Media from Romanticism to the Digital Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 57-60; also, Susan Rutherford's study of depictions of Carmen, "'Pretending to Be Wicked" Divas, Technology, and the Consumption of Bizet's Carmen,' *Technology and the Diva*, 75-88.

even described a similar scenario in *Ways of Seeing*, with reference to the throwing of a glass, rather than a bottle:

If a woman throws a glass on the floor, this is an example of how she treats her own emotion of anger and so of how she would wish to be treated by others. If a man does the same, his action is only read as an expression of his anger.³⁵⁹

In contrast with the *Rollenporträt* of Nittinger as Orlofski, a *Szenenbild*, this time depicting Carl Adolf Frieze and Alfred Schreibe in character as Frank and Frosch (**Figure 3.13**) illustrates Berger's point that 'men act, women appear.'³⁶⁰ In this photograph, both men pose in an exaggerated, almost caricatured manner as the prison governor and his attentive, inebriated warden. While Frieze affects a relaxed pose, sprawled in his chair, Schreibe demonstrates his skill at making a static moment of the stylized and exaggerated manner of performance typical of the Viennese suburban theatres. Although both men doubtlessly posed carefully (whether according to their own plan, or that of the photographer), Schreibe's stance is a dynamic one, deliberately off-kilter, as if unsteady on his feet, but determined to stay upright. Both actors appear at ease with their stance, happily inhabiting the 'fesch oder g'müthli' performance which characterised the acting style of the suburban theatres of Vienna at that time. Despite the lack of naturalism in their poses, neither actor appears uncertain or self-conscious.

³⁵⁹ Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 47.

Figure 3.14 Carl Adolph Friese and Alfred Schreibe as Frank and Frosch, 1874.
 Theatermuseum Wien
 FS_PSK72020
 © KHM-Museumsverband

A comparison may be made between the ‘dynamic’ pose assumed by Nittinger as Orlofski throwing a bottle, and the poses assumed by Schreibe and Freise as Frosch and Frank, connecting movement and action with a more masculine aesthetic. It is also intriguing that these dynamic images of performers from *Die Fledermaus* date from the first half of 1870 and appear to be a rarity. Discussing an image of Sibyl Sanderson as Thaïs in Massenet’s opera, Karen Henson has drawn attention to Sanderson’s pose:

against a conventional studio background [that] also reproduces part of a gesture from the opera ... The reference here and in the *Esclarmonde* image to a gesture in the opera is unusual. By the 1880s actors had moved from assuming generalized theatrical poses in their photographs to reproducing specific poses from plays or performances ... called

photographic ‘enactment.’ However, singers and those responsible for their image would not begin to do the same thing in large numbers until the late 1890s and 1900s.³⁶¹

The photographic collection held by Vienna’s Theatermuseum includes many such ‘enactment’ photographs, often images from the 1880s. However, while images from the 1870s — including those of Nittinger, Friese, and Schreibe — are less numerous, they do exist. More importantly, these enactment images provide some of the only visual impressions of costuming and performance practices in *Die Fledermaus* during its early performance history. Images from early performances of *Die Fledermaus* at Vienna’s Hofoper in the 1890s are equally rare but provide evidence of the transformation between the costuming of Orlofski at the Theater an der Wien in 1874, and at the Hofoper in the 1890s.

3.9 Orlofski at the Hofoper, 1894–1899.

The idea that Nittinger’s voice and appearance provided delight to the connoisseur prompted my hypothesis that *travesti* roles such as Orlofski were less about the performer’s masculine verisimilitude than the obligation to provide an attractive, pleasing spectacle to the male consumer. In Vienna, Orlofski evolved from a tradition of *travesti* roles in French theatre — drama, comedy, opera, and ballet — part of a performance practice in which women performed male characters whose masculinity was imperfect, non-heroic, or in some way deficient. The example of the alluring spectacle provided by *travesti* dancers — the sight of whom posed no threat to the masculinity of male onlookers — helped suggest that while these *travesti* characters could be witty, charismatic, and highly skilled, their principal quality for the predominantly male creators and consumers of theatre was their allure. The *travesti* performer’s subversion of the social order — signified by the wearing of trousers — was less a vehicle for empowerment of the women themselves than it was an opportunity for the onlooker to enjoy forms of female behaviour removed from the respectable norm.³⁶²

This hypothesis privileges the bourgeois male spectator and critic as the standard, which reflects the reality of the later nineteenth century. The spectator and critic existed in the public sphere whose activities, as Pollock notes, included ‘productive labour, political decision, government, education, the law and public service.’³⁶³ Institutions, such as galleries and theatres, were part of this sphere, and while women enthusiastically attended galleries and theatres, the conventions of society required that they did this accompanied by an appropriate chaperone.³⁶⁴ In the case of art, as Pollock’s ‘Modernity and the spaces of femininity’ explains,

³⁶¹ Henson, ‘Photographic Diva,’ 60.

³⁶² McKittrick, ‘The Borderline Case,’ 130-131.

³⁶³ The private sphere was considered a domestic and ‘non-social space of sentiment and duty from which money and power were banished.’ Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 68.

³⁶⁴ Lorraine Gorrell, *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs, and the Second Viennese School* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002) 13.

criticism was a gendered practice, and part of the male, public realm; written reactions to art (and music) by women were private.³⁶⁵ In the case of nineteenth-century Viennese operetta, public examples of a woman expressing pleasure in, or taking edification from a woman performer's voice, remain elusive.³⁶⁶

In 1894 when *Die Fledermaus* moved from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper, Lola Beeth's Orlofski at the first performance attracted significant critical attraction. Unlike Nittinger, whose career — as far as can be told — was based entirely in operetta, Beeth had trained as an opera singer, and specialised in Wagner. Beeth, who was born in Kraków in 1862, had studied in Vienna with Marie Luise Düstmann, before spending a year with Pauline Viardot in Paris. She appeared as Elsa in *Lohengrin* in 1882 at Berlin's Königliches Opernhaus and became part of the Hofoper ensemble in Vienna in 1888.³⁶⁷

Between 1894 and 1901 Beeth performed Orlofski at least twenty-six times.³⁶⁸ Photographs of Beeth in the role reveal interesting contrasts with images of Nittinger's Orlofski. In place of the semi-exotic costume Nittinger wore at the Theater an der Wien, which alluded to women's fashion at the time and a simulacrum of Russian military attire, Beeth wore clothing typical of men's evening dress of the 1890s: a black tailcoat, knee-breeches, stockings, patent leather shoes, and silk hat, with a white waistcoat and bow tie (**Figure 3.15**).

³⁶⁵ Pollock, *Vision & Difference*, 50-900

³⁶⁶ Several texts that examine the historical and contemporary experience of women listening to and appreciating women's voices include Heather Hadlock, 'Peering into *The Queen's Throat*, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, no. 3 (November 1993), 266, 272; Terry Castle, 'In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender (a musical emanation),' *The Apparitional Lesbian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) 200-238; Elizabeth Wood, 'Sapphonics,' *Queering the Pitch*, 2nd ed., Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C. Thomas eds., (New York: Routledge, 2006) 27-66. My use of journalistic responses to nineteenth-century performers of Orlofski is a deliberate choice to use sources that had a wide popular readership, but I have not located any responses by women to the performers.

³⁶⁷ Oscar Friedländer, 'Beeth, Lola,' *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2 (London and New York: Funk and Wagnells Company, 1902) 638.

³⁶⁸ 'Lola Beeth in *Die Fledermaus*,' Spielplanarchiv, Wienerstaatsoper, <https://archiv.wiener-staatsoper.at/search/person/7235/work/61/role/898>

Figure 3.15 Lola Beeth as Orlofski, c. 1894/1900

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In contrast with the manner in which critics had disparaged aspects of Nittinger's appearance and voice in the role of Orlofski, reviews of Lola Beeth and her colleagues in the 1890s — or at least those in the liberal Viennese broadsheets — reacted to the performers with more respect, possibly as a result of their status as members of the Hofoper ensemble. However,

the appearance and illusion created by Beeth and her Hofoper colleagues Irene Abendroth and Hermine Kittel in their performances as Orlofski, still seem as important as their singing.³⁶⁹

After Lola Beeth performed the role at the Hofoper for the first time in 1894, the critic of the *Wiener Zeitung* wrote that:

Sehr gut hat Frl. Beeth den Prinzen Orlofski gegeben. Sie hat die Rolle in dem Idiom des deutschsprechenden Russen sehr lustig und stets natuerlich gestaltet, das Trinklied mit munterer Frische gesungen und sehr anmuthig dabei ausgesehen.³⁷⁰

Frl. Beeth gave Prince Orlofski very well. In the idiom of the German-speaking Russian she made the role very funny and always natural, sang the drinking song with lively freshness, and looked very graceful.

Beeth's original interpretation of the role, and her native Polish accent also intrigued the critic of *In Das Vaterland*:

ganz originell aber war der Orlofsky des Fräulein Beeth – ein polnischer Prinz in Frack, der aber seine Nationalität umsomehr durch die Sprache verrieth.³⁷¹

Frl. Beeth was also very original as Orlofsky — a Polish prince in a tailcoat, who betrayed his nationality all the more with his speech.

In a similar vein, the *Neues Wiener Journal*'s review published on 29 October seemed astonished by Beeth's approach to this comic role, in which she acted and sang with particular aplomb:

Allgemein überrascht hat der schneidige Prinz Orlofsky des Fräulein Beeth; die Künstlerin hatte sich für das gelangweilte Bürschlein eine besonders charakterische Sprechweise zurechtgelegt, sang das Couplet und das Trinklied mit Schwung und guter Pointe, und bot in Frack und Beinkleidern von Seide einen hübschen, pikanten Anblick.³⁷²

The dashing Prince Orlofsky of Fräulein Beeth was quite a surprise. The artist had developed a characteristic manner of speech for the bored youth, sang the *couplets* and drinking song with verve and good humour, and in her evening jacket and silk stockings she presented a pretty, piquant sight.

³⁶⁹Abendroth performed the role once in 1895 and twice in 1897. 'Irene Abendroth in *Die Fledermaus*,' Spielplanarchiv, Wiener Staatsoper, accessed 11 November, 2017. <https://archiv.wiener-staatsoper.at/search/person/7243>. The *Wiener Zeitung* commented that in a matinee Abendroth infused the drinking song with a blast of soda. *Wiener Zeitung*, 7 January, 1897, 6. Hermine Kittel performed Orlofski at the Hofoper around 69 times between 1901 and 1920. 'Hermine Kittel in *Die Fledermaus*,' Spielplanarchiv, Wiener Staatsoper, accessed 5 October, 2018. <https://archiv.wiener-staatsoper.at/search/person/5737/work/61/role/898>

³⁷⁰*Wiener Zeitung*, 29 October 1894, 4.

³⁷¹*Das Vaterland*, 30 October 1894, 1. Beeth's accent was also noted in the *Wiener Hausfrauen-Zeitung*: 'Brilliant sah Fräulein Beeth als Prinz Orlofski aus, auch traf sie den fremdländisch Accent famos.' (Fräulein Beeth was brilliant as Prince Orlofski, also producing the famous foreign accent.) *Wiener Hausfrauen-Zeitung* 45, 1894, 391.

³⁷²*Neues Wiener Journal*, 29 October 1894, 3.

Der Floh made the point similar to *Das Vaterland*'s, only more overtly, emphasising the idea of consumption and epicurean appeal that had earlier been associated with Nittinger, commenting that:

Der zweite Act brachte uns die sanft anschwellenden tauben-grauen Tricots Lola Beeth's als „Prinze Orlofski“. Man hätte in der That keinen Katzenjammer zu haben brauchen, um diesen „Russen“ mit ganz vorzüglichem Appetit zu verzehren.³⁷³

The second act brought us the gently swelling dove-grey waistcoat of Lola Beeth as 'Prince Orlofski'. In fact, one would not need a hangover in order to devour this 'Russian' with a very hearty appetite.

De Floh's comments suggest comparison with the Parisian descriptions of ballet dancers' pretty faces, charming necks, white hands, fine legs, 'a bosom that thrills, an eye that shines, a warm pink mouth.'³⁷⁴

In 1897, when Abendroth replaced Beeth in a matinee of *Die Fledermaus*, the *Neue Freie Presse* review commented that the tessitura of the part was too low for her, but drew more attention to her appearance than to the overall performance:

Fräulein Abendroth gab sich als blasirter Prinz mit eleganter Sicherheit und sah hübsch und exotisch interessant aus [...]³⁷⁵

Fräulein Abendroth played the blasé prince with elegant certainty, and looked pretty and interestingly exotic [...]

In another review Abendroth was reportedly 'sehr begagirt, sehr blasirt und sehr polnisch, so daß alle von den Autoren beabsichtigten Wirkungsbedingungen gegeben waren.' ('very downcast, very blasé, and very Polish, and so she fulfilled all the conditions given by the authors.')

³⁷⁶ Notably when Abendroth appeared in the first evening performance of *Die Fledermaus* in October 1897, the *Neues Wiener Journal* found her unsatisfactory, writing:

Fräulein Abendroth ist ein ganz unzulänglicher Orlofski in Erscheinung, Gesang und Spiel, sie störte geradezu.³⁷⁷

Fräulein Abendroth is an entirely unsuitable Orlofsky in appearance, voice, and acting, she downright vexed.

Unlike the critics' assessment of the performers of Rosalinde and Adele, usually discussing their overall performance with a greater emphasis on its vocal elements almost to the exclusion of other facets of their characterisation, discussions of Beeth's and Abendroth's interpretations

³⁷³ *Der Floh*, 4 November 1894, 3. Three years later *Der Humorist* discussed Beeth's deportment on stage, comparing her with a 'living picture' ('lebenden Bildern'), and suggesting: 'Sie hat nur drei Bewegungen, „rechten Arm hoch“ – „linken Arm hoch“ – „Beugung der Taille“. Die Füße arbeiten gar nicht –.' ('She has only three movements, 'right arm up' – 'left arm up', – 'bend at the waist'. The feet do no work at all –.). *Der Humorist*, 20 January 1897, 6.

³⁷⁴ Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer,' 377.

³⁷⁵ *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 January 1897, 3.

³⁷⁶ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 7 January 1897, 4.

³⁷⁷ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 2 November 1897, 4.

of Orlofski attempt to reconcile the feminine elements of the performer's appearance ('hübsch') with the masculine; overall, Orlofski's appearance emerges as the more important element, alongside its appeal, or lack of appeal, to the critic.

The emphasis on the visual in responses to Beeth's and Abendroth's Orlofski leads to a further comparison with Griselda Pollock's chapter in *Vision and Difference* concerning viewing and consumption, and the critical separation of female vocality and body that is the subject of essays in *Embodied Voices*.³⁷⁸ Writing of art created in Paris between the 1860s and c. 1880, Pollock has suggested that the 'key markers' of modernity according to existing art criticism were 'leisure, consumption, the spectacle and money.'³⁷⁹ Manet's *Olympia* and *A bar at the Folies-Bergère* both evoke those key markers, and a conventional interpretation of these paintings has been that they 'imply' a masculine viewer or consumer, giving this position a 'normalcy' that leaves 'it below the level of historical investigation and theoretical analysis.' Only by 'imagining a female spectator and a female producer' can one unpack the 'gender specific conditions of these paintings' existence.³⁸⁰

A comparable scenario occurs in *Die Fledermaus*, a worked created by two men, Strauss and Genée. Following Pollock's criteria and line of reasoning, they would have developed the female characters with male consumption in mind. We lack, as this chapter has stated, female critical responses to the work in the late nineteenth century, but as Pollock suggests, we can subject the work to a 'historical investigation and theoretical analysis' that acknowledges the 'normalcy' of the male producer/consumption model.³⁸¹

Notably, the three main musical examples of vocal display — Adele's 'Mein Herr Marquis' and 'Spiel' ich die Unschuld vom Lande' and Rosalinde's 'Klänge der Heimat' — are constructed for display by a female character for a male character: Adele directs 'Mein Herr Marquis' specifically at Eisenstein, and 'Spiel' ich die Unschuld' at Frank, while Rosalinde performs 'Klänge der Heimat' to impress or dismay her husband. The female bystanders (and audience) are not denied the opportunity of appreciating these displays, but they are a secondary audience. Orlofski's act 2 *couplets* occupy a more ambiguous space, but even onstage these *couplets* are directed to a specifically male audience, Eisenstein: despite Orlofski being a male character, the *couplets* still put a female voice on display.³⁸² The critics, perhaps, could not

³⁷⁸ Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones eds., *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³⁷⁹ Pollock, *Vision & Difference*, 52.

³⁸⁰ Pollock *Vision & Difference*, 53.

³⁸¹ Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 53.

³⁸² Temma Balducci has argued that in images, the confronting expressions of some women, including Manet's *Olympia* makes the male viewer the discomfited object of her gaze, by inverting the expectation of 'compliance, even subservience.' In their set pieces in *Die Fledermaus*, the female characters Rosalinde and especially Adele perform similar sleights of hand: Adele's act 2 and act 3 *couplets* both turn situations in which she is momentarily at a disadvantage into moments of increased agency with Eisenstein and Frank, discomfiting both of them. If one thinks of Orlofski as a role for a

escape what Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones called the ‘anchoring of the female voice in the female body’ signifying ‘otherness’ and ‘power’ through its reminders of female sensuality and sexuality.³⁸³

A similar critical reluctance, or inability, to separate the voice from the body in which it was anchored is emphasised by Barbara Engh. In Engh’s chapter ‘Adorno and the Sirens: tele-phone-graphic bodies’ she considers Adorno’s statement that ‘the female voice requires the physical appearance of the body that carries it,’ which he provided as his justification for women’s voices not reproducing well on the gramophone.³⁸⁴ As Engh has put it, Adorno’s ‘tone is that of common sense: the female voice demands the female body, without which, paradoxically, it is unfettered. There appears to be no male body at all, or if there is, it is identical to the body of the [gramophone] apparatus.’³⁸⁵ While Adorno’s concern involved the gramophone specifically, the aesthetic notion that guided his thoughts appears connected to the discussions of Nittinger, Beeth, and Abendroth as Orlofski, indicating again that from the perspectives of creation, performance, and reception, the response of the male viewer to the female voice and body exceeded in importance the ‘masculinity’ of Orlofski as a character.

3.10 Conclusion.

This chapter has examined critical responses to Irma Nittinger in a variety of operetta performances, including Orlofski in *Die Fledermaus*, and noted the manner in which she was discussed in newspapers in Vienna and further afield. Some discussions of Orlofski in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have emphasised the significance of masculinity and gender ambiguity in this *travesti* role. Sometimes these discussions suggest that Orlofski — like other similar *travesti* roles — offers a form of empowerment, and even liberation to the performer and the female onlooker alike. Such models foreground the gender subversion and ambivalence of Orlofski, particularly in performances by his great late twentieth-century interpreters Anne Sofie von Otter, Brigitte Fassbaender, and Frederica von Stade. While the approaches taken by the contributors to *En Travesti*, for example, are compelling, and entirely appropriate for hearing/seeing these roles performed now, they explain less about how the simulation of masculinity in *travesti* roles may have been received in the nineteenth century.

female performer, rather than a male character, Orlofski’s *couplets*, and the disruptive tonalities that Orlofski uses to change the musical trajectory of act 2 place a great deal of musical agency in this *travesti* performer’s hands. Temma Balducci, *Gender, Space, and the Gaze in Post-Hausmann Visual Culture: Beyond the Flâneur* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017) 65.

³⁸³ Dunn, Jones, *Embodied Voices*, 3.

³⁸⁴ In Barbara Engh’s essay ‘Adorno and the Sirens,’ Engh quotes Adorno’s essay ‘The Curves of the Needle’ (originally ‘Nadelkurven’), translated by Thomas Y. Leven and published in *October* 55 (Winter 1990) 52. The problem for Adorno was not one of a technology less suited to the pitch and timbre of the female voice, but the obdurate voice itself. Barbara Engh, ‘Adorno and the Sirens,’ *Embodied Voices*, 129.

³⁸⁵ Engh, ‘Adorno and the Sirens,’ *Embodied Voices*, 129.

This chapter has considered several constituent elements of Orlofski as a *travesti* role, by considering the semiotics of trouser-wearing women, on- and offstage, in the nineteenth century, and perceptions of the *travesti* role in genres other than operetta. In the case of the *travesti* role in ballet and vaudeville, the notion of the *travesti* performer providing an alluring spectacle for the male onlooker was more important than the putative masculinity of the performer in the role. Bringing Irma Nittinger, the first performer of Orlofski, into the discussion, and surveying some reactions to her performances — as well as the reception of performances of Orlofski at Vienna's Hofoper later in the century — suggests that the performance of masculinity by Nittinger, Beeth, and Abendroth in the role was of less significance than their allure for the male onlooker.

Furthermore, the male characters performed by women, in a variety of theatrical genres, were not characters manly enough to pose a threat to the dominant bourgeois order. Women performing *travesti* roles in the later nineteenth century did not depict characters who exemplified current 'hegemonic' forms of masculinity, even if their costumes (in the case of Nittinger's Orlofski) evoked impressions of military apparel. In fact, the roles protected those forms of masculinity, primarily because the masculinity of male actors was not impugned by publicly performing 'improper' (that is, weak, immature, effete, vitiated, penurious, or cuckolded) men, or being depicted as such. The practice of women performing *travesti* roles also enhanced the onstage spectacle for male eyes while reducing the potentially homoerotic hazard of admiring a man's physicality or voice.

Connecting responses to Nittinger, Beeth, and Abendroth with feminist scholarship in art history, and comparing notions of looking and consuming in art with looking, hearing, and thus consuming in opera and operetta further emphasised the hypothesis that in Orlofski's case, a presentation of masculine verisimilitude was of a lower priority than the pleasing feminine appeal of the woman inside the costume. This approach has the benefit of offering a fresh perspective on the masculinities of Orlofski while also paying more attention to the women who interpreted the role at the Theater an der Wien and Hofoper in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4 *Die Fledermaus* in a different context: London masculinities.

4.1 Introduction.

The first production of *Die Fledermaus* in Britain opened at the Alhambra Theatre in Leicester Square, London, on 18 December 1876, more than two years after the Viennese premiere. This chapter first examines the circumstances in which *Die Fledermaus* arrived in London, and the implications for masculinity of its adaptation for this new context. As in Vienna, Offenbach's *opéras bouffes* dominated the London light opera scene and enjoyed great popular success prior to the first performance of *Die Fledermaus*. The chapter then surveys the critical reception of Continental operetta in the years preceding the production of *Die Fledermaus* in order to set in context the adjustments and interpolations made to Strauss's operetta by Charles Hamilton Aidé and James Hamilton Clarke. The third section of this chapter explores the literary and musical backgrounds of the two adaptors, while the fourth section considers in detail how the adaptation and its alteration of Genée's libretto affected the construction and performance of masculinities in *Die Fledermaus*. Specifically, this section discusses how Aidé adapted the characters of Genée's *Die Fledermaus* in such a way that their words and actions became more intelligible to a London audience. These changes help to emphasise the argument that some aspects of masculinities are localised, rather than universal, phenomena. A comparison between constructions of masculinities in Genée's libretto and Aidé's adaptation helps to isolate attributes of the characters' masculinities designed to appeal to a London audience, thus highlighting aspects that were specifically designed to entertain the Viennese.

4.2. Arrival of continental *opéra bouffe* and operetta in London.

Although *Die Fledermaus* was the first of Strauss's operettas to be performed in London, local audiences were familiar with Continental comic opera, mainly through their exposure to Parisian *opéras bouffes*. This scenario mirrors, to an extent, the situation that prevailed in Vienna before Strauss began composing operettas. While Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*, and then works by his contemporaries, including Isidore-Éduard Legoux and Charles Lecoq, became a constant presence in the theatres of London's West End from the mid-1860s, these works rarely appeared in their original form. French *opéras bouffes*, and Viennese operettas were almost always translated into English, and often substantially altered to suit local conventions and requirements.

The adaptations made by translators to Offenbach's *bouffes* produced in London from the mid-1860s provide some context for the alterations Aidé would later make to *Die Fledermaus*. In Vienna, Offenbach's *bouffes* were translated into German, to make them accessible to audiences, and altered to meet the criteria imposed by strict Austrian censorship

regulations; similarly, English translations of works by Offenbach had to accommodate the criteria imposed by the Lord Chamberlain's office.³⁸⁶

When Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* opened for the first time at the Haymarket Theatre on Boxing Day 1865, James Robinson Planché had adapted the work as *Orpheus in the Haymarket*.³⁸⁷ Reviews of *Orpheus* show that the energy of Offenbach's melodies seized the attention of critics, but the Haymarket Theatre orchestra was unaccustomed to playing such complex and finely detailed music:

The music of Offenbach, nearly the whole of which is performed, achieved great popularity for the piece in Paris, and is so sparkling and so full of melody that it is likely to do the same here. Much of it has already been made familiar through various means to the London public. The Haymarket company is not an operatic one, but additions have been made both on the stage and in the orchestra ... no doubt a few nights' practice will give that lightness of manner which is the true tone of the *bouffes Parisiennes*, and all that is wanting to render the performance completely effective.³⁸⁸

In June 1866, productions (in English translation) of Offenbach's *La belle Hélène* (with the title 'Helen, or Taken from the Greeks') and *Barbe-Bleu* (as 'Blue Beard Repaired') opened at the Adelphi and Olympic Theatres respectively, the latter operetta arriving in London just a few months after its premiere on 5 February at the Théâtre des Variétés in Paris.³⁸⁹ The London premiere of *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* — Offenbach's collaboration with librettists Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy in a satire on the politics of Luxembourg — took place in December 1867, eight months after its first production at the Théâtre des Variétés on 12 April 1867. Unusually, the English language production of *La Grande Duchesse* took place at the Royal Opera House, rather than at one of the theatres associated with light musical entertainment.³⁹⁰ Its translation, by Charles Lamb Kenney, stood out as unusually faithful to the original, earning praise from the critic of *The Musical World*:

Such success as the work is likely to achieve in England will be materially aided by the carefully adapted English translation of Mr Charles Lamb Kenney. That gentleman's task was not an easy one, nor one from which much honour and glory was likely to accrue. He may, however, fairly claim the highest credit for the skill with which the work has been done.³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ Kathryn Johnson, Curator of Theatrical Archives and Manuscripts at the British Library, has summarised the history of the Lord Chamberlain and Examiner of Plays in "The Lord Chamberlain regrets ..." <https://blogs.bl.uk/english-and-drama/2016/10/the-lord-chamberlain-regrets-.html>

³⁸⁷ Donald Roy, 'Planché, James Robinson (1796–1880).' 8 December 2016.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22351>

³⁸⁸ 'Haymarket Theatre,' *The Observer*, 31 December, 1865, 3.

³⁸⁹ Mark Lubbock, *The Complete Book of Light Opera* (New York City: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962) 13–51.

³⁹⁰ Robert D. Hume and Arthur Jacobs. 'London. Institutions. Accessed 10 March, 2014.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O902853pg2>

³⁹¹ 'Covent Garden Theatre,' *The Musical World* 45, no. 47 (November 1867) 796.

This production of *La Grande Duchesse*, an ambitious project by John Russell, the new manager of the English Opera at the Royal Opera House, revived the fortunes of a company about to collapse.³⁹² In the 1868–1870 seasons, London’s appetite for *opéras bouffes* was whetted anew by the prospect of seeing Offenbach’s star, Hortense Schneider, sing title roles in French-language productions.³⁹³

That London audiences experienced Offenbach’s *bouffes* in a bowdlerised form, which scarcely did justice to the works as the composer conceived them, recurs as a theme in reviews and discussions of the *bouffes*. One review of Offenbach’s *The Grand Duchess* [sic] alluded to demands of the censor during a brief history of Offenbach productions in London. The critic wrote that ‘English imitations of the French *chefs d’oeuvre* were produced, but ... [these] were so unprovocative of mirth, or even of cheerfulness,’ that:

faith in M. Offenbach would probably have broken down altogether had there not been travelled friends at hand to declare how much better things were managed in France, and how the tedious burlesques which bore the titles of Offenbach’s books were only base copies of a genuine article.³⁹⁴

The same critic proposed that it was the promise of risqué content that drew audiences to Offenbach’s *bouffes*:

[had] the book of *La Grande Duchesse* been of purely innocuous character, M. Offenbach might have worn out all the lungs and all the fiddle-strings in Christendom before his creations would have excited an iota more of enthusiasm than is produced by ordinary entertainments in which music and extravagant drama are combined.³⁹⁵

The Lord Chamberlain’s office, concerned by the potential for ad-libbed unseemliness in Offenbach’s *bouffes*, compelled some theatres to present *bouffes* in the manner of unstaged oratorio. *The Musical World* writer complained that ‘executants are compelled to stand on the stage like a mixed boarding-school in sombre evening dress’ instead of enacting the drama.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, some writers believed that local performers had not received adequate training to meet the unique demands of Parisian *bouffes*. In Paris, wrote *The Musical World*’s ‘Joxoehbonrd,’ Offenbach’s performers were trained as singers *and* actors, whereas ‘a comic opera company, in the sense in which the word would be understood in Paris, is precisely what we have *not* in London.’³⁹⁷ There were London actors who could meet the simpler demands of burlesque songs, but not a ‘regular organized company of comic acting vocalists with ... band and chorus.’³⁹⁸

³⁹² Kurt Gänzl, ‘Kenney, Charles Lambe (1821–1881).’ Accessed 14 December, 2016. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15404>

³⁹³ Elizabeth Forbes, ‘Hortense Schneider,’ *Opera*, December 1981, 38–57.

³⁹⁴ ‘La Grande Duchesse,’ *The Musical World* 46, no. 29 (July 1868) 503.

³⁹⁵ *The Musical World* 46, no. 29 (July 1868) 503.

³⁹⁶ ‘The London Theatres,’ *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science* 12, no. 308 (May 1866) 591.

³⁹⁷ ‘Joxoehbonrd’ commenting on *La Belle Hélène*, *The Musical World* 44, no. 28 (July 1866) 448.

³⁹⁸ *The Musical World*, 14 July 1866 448.

In theatres, as opposed to music halls, managers had permission to produce *bouffes* with a proper *mise-en-scène*, but they gave the French texts to local burlesque writers. These writers assumed ‘some sort of affinity between the operas of the Bouffes and the ordinary English burlesque,’ producing only the vaguest and most sanitized simulacrum of the original narrative and dialogue.³⁹⁹

The music hall proprietors, anxious to advance their very recently acquired reputation, pounce not only upon his works, but execute them without dramatic adjuncts, as if they were funny oratorios ... The theatrical managers, on the other hand, take them up more tardily, and, intrust them to their burlesque company and get a burlesque writer to furnish them with dialogue.⁴⁰⁰

Theatre and music hall managers wanted to reap the box office benefits of staging popular Parisian *bouffes*, aware of the public’s demand for novelty. But, unfortunately, this combination of censorship, unsuitable artists, and inauthentic staging robbed Offenbach’s comedies of everything that made them entertaining.

Despite the popular appeal of Offenbach’s work, alongside that of other *opéra bouffe*, composers, newspaper and journal critics frequently voiced their frustration with the excessive quantity of Parisian operetta on London stages.⁴⁰¹ In June 1875, *The Observer* noted that ‘The mania for opéra-bouffe has died, or is rapidly dying out. For the average playgoer there has already been too much ... musical “whimsicality”.’⁴⁰² Not only did critics complain that Continental hegemony excluded local composers and librettists from contributing, but from the late 1860s onwards, commentators frequently condemned the moral content of Offenbach’s works, alongside their flimsy plots and vacuous music. *The Musical World* approvingly reprinted an uncompromising denunciation of Offenbach from Philadelphia’s *Evening Bulletin*, which referred to Offenbach as ‘the half-bestial Pan of pruriency,’ guilty of musical ‘knavery,’ and a ‘purveyor of bold, bald indecency.’⁴⁰³ *The Musical World* praised these ‘strongly and bravely said’ utterances.⁴⁰⁴

Every year, from the mid-1860s onwards, newspapers and journals predicted the death of *opéra bouffe* in London. However, its condition proved more vigorous than the *Observer* chose to prophesy. The novelty of *Die Fledermaus*, as an operetta by Johann Strauss, at the Alhambra Theatre in 1876 represents a new chapter in the history of Continental operetta in London.

³⁹⁹ *The Musical World*, 14 July 1866, 448.

⁴⁰⁰ *The Musical World*, 14 July 1866, 448.

⁴⁰¹ Andrew Lamb, ‘How Offenbach Conquered London,’ *Opera* (November 1969) 5-34. The early 1870s also saw seasons of Offenbach’s *Les Brigands* (‘Falsacappa’) at the Globe, *Le Roi Carotte* at the Alhambra from 3 June 1872, and *Vert-Vert* at the St James’s on 2 May 1874.

⁴⁰² *The Observer*, 13 June 1875, 2.

⁴⁰³ ‘The Offenbach Madness,’ *The Musical World* 46, no. 43 (October 1868) 726.

⁴⁰⁴ ‘The Offenbach Madness,’ 727.

4.3. Adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* for London.

a. Charles Hamilton Aidé.

A multilingual polymath, Charles Hamilton Aidé had a cosmopolitan childhood and upbringing which seemed to make him the ideal translator and author of operetta libretti. During Aidé's eventful formative years, his Armenian father, George Aïdá, died in 1830 in a duel, and in 1831 Aidé's younger brother died in an accident in Boulogne.⁴⁰⁵ Aidé's English mother, Georgina, took her surviving son to England for his education. At the age of sixteen he became a student at the University of Bonn. Between 1846 and 1853 Aidé served in the British Army, in the 85th Light Infantry, before settling in London to devote himself to literary life.⁴⁰⁶ Aidé's background, education, military service, and later literary turn make him a fascinating study of Victorian masculinity, negotiating the amateur and professional artistic spheres. The resonance between Aidé's own life and his adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* also serves to highlight some constituent qualities of these Victorian masculinities.

Aidé began his writing career with the publication of a poetry collection, *Eleonore and other Poems* (1856), and two novels, *Rita* (1856) and *Confidences: by the author of 'Rita'* (1859). Both novels were popular on both sides of the Channel, although Aidé's skill at using female narrators for his novels meant that many people suspected their author was a woman.⁴⁰⁷ Several of Aidé's novels were published in Leipzig by Bernhard Tauchnitz, a firm that distributed English books on the Continent.⁴⁰⁸

Aidé's initial stage works were romantic plays inspired by French drama. The first was *Philip*, a four-act play that Henry Irving produced at the Lyceum in February 1874. As an indication of Aidé's dramatic style, the critic of the *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote that *Philip* owed something to Balzac, and to Morris Barnett's *The Married Unmarried*:

In the romantic drama probability or even intelligibility is not much to be considered, provided always there is a sufficient supply of theatrical surprise and effect. In "Philip," ... the interest excited is never strong, while the earlier scenes were found to be oppressive, from a certain sluggishness of action and overabundance of futile conversation ... Philip is throughout monotonously gloomy, Juan is a very worthless person while Marie is so obscurely portrayed that there is even some doubt at least whether she has really awarded her preference to her husband or to his brother. The writing is ... unpretentious[.]⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁵Of the various spellings of his name, I use the one in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Aidé', unless replicating the spelling used in primary sources.

⁴⁰⁶Katherine Mullin, 'Aidé, (Charles) Hamilton (1826-1906).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Accessed 18 January, 2018.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30350>

⁴⁰⁷ Mullin, 'Aidé.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁰⁸ These included *Carr of Carrylon* (1862), *In that State of Life* (1871), *Penruddocke* (1873), the novelette and play *A Nine Days' Wonder* (1875) and *Introduced to Society* (1884).

⁴⁰⁹ "Philip", *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 February 1874, 11.

During his early years as a novelist, and the time of his adaptation of *Die Fledermaus*, Aidé's social circle included Henry James, Frederick Leighton, members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and cartoonist and novelist George du Maurier. Aidé, therefore, was immersed in the world of the Aesthetic Movement during its initial peak in the late 1870s. Henry James mentioned Aidé's adherence to the ideals of the Movement in a letter from 1877; he also alluded to a possible engagement to a wealthy American in 1883:

Then a pleasant dinner at Hamilton Aidé's, whom Alice will remember as the author of novels she used to read in the days of the "Fanny Perry Intimacy." He is an aesthetic bachelor of a certain age and a certain fortune, moving apparently in the best society and living in sumptuous apartments.⁴¹⁰

Although Aidé himself socialised with, and commissioned work from, professional artists, he retained the status of a gentleman amateur who simply happened to generate income from his writing and art.⁴¹¹ A *Morning Post* review of Aidé's paintings mentions Aidé's erudition, his desire for self-improvement, and his innate gift as an aesthetic practitioner that compensated for a lack of professional technique:

Mr Hamilton Aidé's brilliant versatility naturally prompts him to seek distinction in various spheres of intellectual enterprise. His many-sided ambition has not been without its reward, for he has already won laurels as a novelist, a dramatist, and a poet ... he is also entitled to honourable remembrance as a painter[.] His drawings and sketches in watercolours, now for the first time submitted to the judgement of the public, afford satisfactory evidence. True, these pictures are only the work of an amateur, and as such they are modestly presented; but though they may not pretend to that perfection of *technique* which demands for its acquisition the devotion of a lifetime, they bear ample testimony ... to that true sense of form and colour which is an inborn gift[.]⁴¹²

The *Morning Post* review depicted Aidé as a skilled dilettante, on the fringes of professional groups who pursued their work with zeal, ambition, and ultimately more lasting success. Aidé socialised with leading writers and artists, but never achieved the same status as Henry James, Frederick Leighton, or George du Maurier. His education in England and Germany, and his formative experiences in the army, placed him in a group of amateur

⁴¹⁰ Henry James, *Henry James: Selected Letters*, Leon Edel ed., (London: Belknap Press, 1987) 154. See also 'The Rensellina [Mrs Philip Livingstone Van Rensselaer] is much improved – writes no more notes, cultivates reserve and discretion ... I heard the other day that she is engaged to Hamilton Aidé, but the tale is not confirmed –,' 195.

⁴¹¹ In the early 1860s, Aidé had arranged for Leighton to create a fresco in the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Lyndhurst, Hampshire, showing the wise and foolish virgins. William E. Fredman ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Chelsea Years, 1863-1872, prelude to crisis: 1868-1870* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003) 16.

⁴¹² 'Mr Hamilton Aidé's Drawings,' *The Morning Post*, 2 May 1894, 3.

gentleman polymaths who were, to some extent, granted greater admiration in English society than their professional counterparts.⁴¹³

As a creative artist, Aidé's own masculinities present a gendered dichotomy of their own. Steve Edwards has written that in the nineteenth century 'cultural and aesthetic refinement migrated from the public sphere [of the eighteenth century] to the domestic environment.'⁴¹⁴ Professional artists then had to emphasise the difference between:

true art — the art of the Academy — and commerce. This argument both defined the public sphere against commercial interests and sought to reassert masculinity. Genius and history painting were male activities; sketching ... the domain of women.⁴¹⁵

Aidé offers an interesting combination of obvious and non-obvious masculinities: his background as a soldier, and his exploits as a painter who explored exotic climes — 'Greece, Italy, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, Algeria and Tunis, the United States, and countries nearer home' — combined art with the more masculine pursuits of exploration and scientific enquiry, asserting a plurality of masculinities.⁴¹⁶ He also skilfully mediated the aesthetic and commercial spheres, while inhabiting a section of society that regarded making a trade of, or commercial gain from, one's aesthetic activities with suspicion.

Aidé's activities on the borders of creating art for commercial return represent a fundamental difference between him and his Viennese counterpart, Richard Genée, who was a professional musician all his life and, at the time of his work on the libretto of *Die Fledermaus*, the full-time musical director of the Theater an der Wien. If Genée had an equivalent colleague in London, it was the composer and conductor James Hamilton Clarke, who arranged the music of *Die Fledermaus* for the Alhambra, adding additional material of his own.

b. James Hamilton Clarke.

Born in Birmingham in 1840, James Siree Hamilton Clarke began his career as a church musician. Appointed organist of Queen's College, Oxford in 1866, he was awarded the Mus.Bac. degree the following year. Clarke moved to London, working as organist of Kensington Parish Church and then St Peter's Church in Cranley Gardens from 1872, succeeding Arthur Sullivan. Clarke built a career as a conductor and composer in London theatres, beginning at the Lyceum after Henry Irving took over the lease of the theatre in

⁴¹³ Marjorie Garber, 'The Amateur Professional and the Professional Amateur,' *Academic Instincts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011) p. 3-52. Garber explores the professional/amateur dichotomy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a variety of spheres, including art and sport, including the related categories of the virtuoso and the dilettante.

⁴¹⁴ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006) 20.

⁴¹⁵ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*, p. 20.

⁴¹⁶ 'Mr Hamilton Aide's Drawings,' 3.

1878.⁴¹⁷ Unlike the polymathic Aidé, Clarke's career was exclusively musical, involving work as a composer, conductor, orchestrator, and author; he wrote orchestration manuals for students, amateurs, and professionals, as well as setting other people's texts in songs.⁴¹⁸ Clarke also wrote three operettas for children.⁴¹⁹ Clarke eventually published recollections of his life in the theatre, *Two Chorus Girls, and Other Stories* (1888), but aside from this venture, and a few song texts, Clarke confined himself to musical activities.⁴²⁰

In later life, Clarke suffered from impaired sight and mental instability; he spent his final years in Banstead Asylum, Sutton. Clarke's obituaries show that he had been a prominent figure in the world of theatre music and light opera in London from the 1870s until the turn of the century (except for the years he spent in Australia as director of the Victoria National Orchestra in Melbourne from 1889 until 1892). His theatre and church music attracted praise for its 'pleasant naturalness':

[Hamilton Clarke's] experiences in a theatre orchestra — that excellent school for a musician who wants to learn how to make the most of limited resources — brought out his exceptional talent in scoring. His manuscript was a model of beautiful penmanship, and his scoring sounded as clear as it looked. Some of his organ-piece and his music for the Church had — and no doubt will still have — considerable vogue.⁴²¹

Clarke worked frequently with Arthur Sullivan, doing similar work on the orchestration and arrangement of Sullivan's scores that Genée performed on Strauss's operetta scores. In 'Victorian Memories', a memoir of a career in theatre orchestras, the violinist and violist Edgar Shelton wrote that:

The post of theatre conductor was not enviable, especially when his duties included the writing of the incidental music ... Hamilton Clarke was fully aware of his own merits as a composer, and resented criticism from non-musicians. Sullivan apart, he had no equal, at the time of which I speak, as a writer of incidental music.⁴²²

Sullivan himself acknowledged the assistance of Hamilton Clarke when an interviewer asked him 'do you always leave your overtures to the last moment?':

Oh yes, always. Hamilton Clarke, who is now in Australia, used to help me with them very often when I was pressed for time. Do you remember the *Mikado* overture? He did that for me, I just arranged the order of the pieces ... He wrote the whole thing in a

⁴¹⁷ Jeffrey Richards, *Sir Henry Irving: A Victorian Actor and His World* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005) 242-243.

⁴¹⁸ *Among the Lilies* (1871) sets words by G. M. Steeple, *A Shadow* (1871) uses a text by A. A. Proctor, and the much earlier duet *It is Not Always May* uses verses by Longfellow.

⁴¹⁹ *The Daisy Chain* (1894), *The Missing Duke* (1894), *Drums and Voices: An Operetta for Girls* (1895), and *Hornpipe Harry: Comic Opera for Boys* (1895). All were published in London and New York by Novello, Ewer and Company.

⁴²⁰ Published by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. in 1888.

⁴²¹ 'Obituaries,' *The Musical Times* 53, no. 834, 1 August 1912, 521.

⁴²² Edgar Shelton, 'Victorian Memories', *Music and Letters* 29, no. 1 (January 1948) 7.

very few hours: in fact, he made it almost too elaborate, for I had to cut it down a little.⁴²³

Despite his affable relationship with Sullivan, Clarke enjoyed less-cordial collaborations with other colleagues, including Henry Irving at the Lyceum:

Though Hamilton Clarke remained with Irving for several years there was no friendship between them. Having rehearsed the music he had written for 'King Lear', Hamilton Clarke asked Irving to hear it played. The orchestra assembled at the hour fixed, but was kept waiting. When at last Irving arrived ... Clarke played through the overture, but still [Irving and the theatre manager] talked. "I will now hear the overture," said Irving. "That was the overture we have just played", replied ... Clarke.⁴²⁴

Clarke's 'Cordelia motive' for solo viola sounded to Irving 'like the bellowing of an old cow.' Shelton recalled the response: "'The next time I write incidental music it will be for something more edifying than this — a circus!'" snarled Hamilton Clarke.⁴²⁵ His official appointment as director of music and conductor at the Lyceum lasted from 1878 until 1881, but he continued to write incidental music for Lyceum plays after that, even when he was attached to the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company.

4.4. The adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* for the Alhambra.

The score and performing materials of Clarke's music for *Die Fledermaus* do not appear to have survived, so aside from a few comments in reviews of the production, it is difficult to ascertain the extent and character of his contribution.⁴²⁶ This section will therefore concentrate primarily on Aidé's treatment of the libretto, and the extent of its topical relevance to a London audience.

Newspaper critics had long expressed weariness with continental light opera: in 1875 the *Entr'acte* and *Limelight* published an article that reflected further on the moribund condition of *opéra bouffe* in London, suggesting that 'the public' was bored by the offerings of Lecoq and Offenbach. They frequently reiterated that theatre managers should look at local talent, rather than to Paris, for their next entertainment:

Managers appear to be losing sight of the fact that "there are as good fish in the sea as ever came out," and they are perpetually harping on those that are out, without fishing for those that still remain in. These will, probably, be caught some day, and then when one manager has captured a fine specimen, every other theatrical angler will want to share it with him. There are many young composers at the present moment who are

⁴²³ Richard D'Oyly Carte had valued Hamilton Clarke's work much more highly at the Opera Comique than Irving did at the Lyceum. Michael Beckerman, 'The Sword on the Wall: Japanese Elements and Their Significance in "The Mikado",' *Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (March 1989) 313.

⁴²⁴ Shelton, 'Victorian Memories,' 8.

⁴²⁵ Shelton, 'Victorian Memories,' 8. This report contradicts the evidence presented by Jeffrey Richards in *Sir Henry Irving*, 243-244.

⁴²⁶ It is possible that some of these materials still exist, but of March 2019 I have not been able to locate them.

completely ignored because of the attention engrossed by such fashionable writers as Offenbach and Lecocq.⁴²⁷

A year earlier, in a production of Lecocq's *Giroflé-Girofla* at the Opera Comique Theatre, Clarke's conducting attracted attention. The critic of *The Observer* declared that Lecocq's music was superior to Offenbach's, and singled out Hamilton Clarke for 'special praise for the way in which he directed the excellent orchestra.' The critic continued that Clarke, without 'the smallest exaggeration or self-display, he directed the performance both on the stage and in the orchestra, with an ability which could hardly be surpassed.'⁴²⁸ This, and similar reviews, emphasised Clarke's status as a local musician, one who had the capacity to develop an English form of *opéra bouffe*, and they reiterated their preference when *Die Fledermaus* opened in 1876.

The first London performance of *Die Fledermaus* took place on 18 December 1876, its cast including some of the Alhambra's regular ensemble, versatile performers whose work included operetta, farce, and burlesque (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Cast list for *Die Fledermaus*, 18 December 1876, Alhambra Theatre.⁴²⁹

Rosalind	Mlle. C. Cabella
Adele	Miss E. Chamber
Ida	Miss A. Newton
Melanie	Miss L. Robson
Melusine	Miss E. Beaumont
Madame Blogg	Miss E. Brunelli
Natalie	Miss J. Lowe
Hilda	Miss K. Munroe
Alfred	Mr G. Loredan
Count von Falke	Mr E. Rosenthal
Frank	Mr J. H. Jarvis
Herr Blogg	Mr W. Ross
Dr. Blind	Mr J. Shaw
Flosch [sic]	Mr R. Marchant
Baron Essersmith	Mr Harry Paulton

Reviews of earlier work by Aidé and Hamilton Clarke in *The Observer* suggest that its theatre critics were well-disposed towards both men, possibly as part of an editorial preference

⁴²⁷ *The London Entr'Act and Limelight* 11 (December 1875)6.

⁴²⁸ 'Music: The Opera Comique', *The Observer*, 23 August 1874, 3. The premiere of *Giroflé-Girofla* took place in Brussels at the Théâtre des Fantaisies Parisiennes on 24 March 1874.

⁴²⁹ This cast list is a transcription from the programme held by the Theater and Performance Archive of the Victoria and Albert Museum. THM/LON/1876/Fledermaus. A Date of License 5 December 1876. 'It is to be understood that this License covers the Proof copy only.' *Register of Lord Chamberlain's Plays*, Vol. IV 1873-1876. British Museum, Add. MS 53,705, 42.

for 'home made' operetta over Continental pieces. Nevertheless, the review of *Die Fledermus* remained equivocal about some aspects of the production:

The principal share of the acting falls to Mr. H. Paulton, who labours hard with somewhat monotonous results, to Mr Jarvis, and Mr Rosenthal. In company with the last-named actor Miss K. Munroe and Miss A. Newton may be mentioned as making the most of the music allotted to them; but the *debutante*, Mdlle Cabella, scarcely seems well fitted for the task she here undertakes. The incidental ballets and the brilliant dresses fully sustain the reputation of theatre for this form of display.⁴³⁰

The musical material did not impress the critic, who identified the additions to the score as highlights:

The music of *Die Fledermaus* presents little occasion for serious criticism. Dance rhythms are prevalent throughout the work, and the composer has done little or nothing to prove himself capable of producing those choral effects and dramatic *ensembles* which are necessities in operatic music of any pretensions. The concerted music is feeble and the orchestration, though the most meritorious part of the composition, is thin and common-place. The new ballet music, composed by Mr. Hamilton Clarke for the Hungarian Ballet, in the second act, is in remarkable contrast to that which it is associated, being full of bright characteristic melody, well harmonised, and enriched by masterly orchestration.⁴³¹

A year earlier, *The Observer* had suggested that Hamilton Clarke's music formed an antidote to the view, expressed in June 1875, that 'For the average playgoer there has already been too much ... musical "whimsicality"' in *opéra bouffe*.⁴³² This review in *The Observer* cited Aidé's play *A Nine Days' Wonder* as a palliative to appetites poisoned by surfeits of French farce, and a solution to the deficiencies of new English comedy — now nothing but a 'series of epigrams or witty rudenesses which it has of late become the fashion to call brilliant dialogue.'⁴³³ Aidé received praise for succeeding in supplying *A Nine Days' Wonder* with 'dramatic interest without which good comedy can exist as little as powerful tragedy,' as well as filling with great success the 'painfully noticeable gap' in the production of good quality comedy. The reviews of *Die Fledermaus* in *The Observer* do not comment in as much detail on the quality of its libretto.

Other periodicals took a different view, assessing the adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* for its capacity to entertain, rather than for its musical and textual integrity. The magazine *Fun* suggested that people did not attend productions at the Alhambra for intellectual stimulation, but for spectacle:

A new piece at the Alhambra means, of course, change more in the way of dresses and decorations than in the way of lines or music. People go to Leicester-square hardly caring much for the letter of a new production, but giving themselves up entirely to the spirit ... *Die Fledermaus* [is] an operatic spectacle which will tax the heads of none while it is sure to delight the hearts of many ... but if there is little plot, there is much

⁴³⁰ 'At the Play,' *The Observer* (December 24, 1876) 5.

⁴³¹ 'At the Play,' *The Observer*, 24 December, 1876, 5.

⁴³² 'Court Theatre,' *The Observer*, 13 June 1875, 2.

⁴³³ 'Court Theatre,' *The Observer*, 13 June 1875, 2.

passion; if there is little to say there is much to sing; and whatever there is to do is done extremely well. The ballets of the house have always been good; they have never been better than they are now.⁴³⁴

The idea that the priorities of an Alhambra production included an impressive spectacle was reinforced in the short review in the *Illustrated London News*, where the critic had little to say about the libretto or the music, but mentioned the pleasing stage tableaux:

A grand *bal masqué* takes place in the second act. Every justice was done to the characters by the artists, male and female, six of one and half a dozen of the other. The piece is likely to become as popular in this country as in Germany. The story is familiar, many of its points having been tried and tested by other dramatists ... the story of the wife's lover being locked up instead of her husband, who has been let out of prison on bail, and sups with his friends. The scene in the present day is placed on German soil, and the famous supper is held in a garden, where the party make a Watteau kind of picture. The music, so far as it goes, is very pleasing; but the dialogue is capable of considerable improvement. Of the songs, a laughing chorus is the most distinguished ... The mounting of the opera throughout is first rate. Its success is certain.⁴³⁵

By choosing to stage *Die Fledermaus*, an operetta by Strauss, and by pairing the revitalising talents of Aidé and Clarke, the management of the Alhambra simultaneously struck against journalistic disdain for Continental light opera, introducing novelty in the form of a Viennese piece, and using two London artists whose work had received enthusiastic critical recognition. In the case of Clarke, their strategy worked well, garnering praise for his music.

Aidé's work on the libretto did not achieve the same endorsement that was given to Clarke's music as *The Observer*, echoing the *Illustrated London News*, reported:

A capital plot, and pretty, if not very striking music, a weak libretto — these are the component parts of *Die Fledermaus* ... The story is that of *Le Réveillon*, with which we have of late become through many channels familiar; and though the situations — especially the humorous prison scene — do not come out so well in the opera as in the comedy, they cannot lose all their drollery.⁴³⁶

The 'capital plot' differed in several significant aspects from that of Genée's concept, and even further from Meilhac and Halévy's *Le Réveillon*. London's critics and audiences received *Die Fledermaus* at third-hand, mediated through Aidé's re-writing.

Aidé's translation of *Die Fledermaus* emerged from two imperatives: firstly, that of making the comedy intelligible, accessible, and relevant to the Alhambra audiences, and secondly, meeting the strictures imposed by the Lord Chamberlain's office. Both imperatives highlight aspects of local masculinities in their idealised and actual forms; differences between

⁴³⁴ 'Here, There, and Everywhere,' *Fun*, 27 December 1876, 259.

⁴³⁵ 'Theatres,' *The Illustrated London News*, December 23 1876, 19.

⁴³⁶ 'At the Play,' *The Observer*, 24 December 1876, 5. The 'many channels' through which *Le Réveillon* became familiar was a production of the play at the Opera Comique, off The Strand, in 1875. 'French Plays — Opera Comique,' *The Examiner*, 8 May 1875, 531. W.S. Gilbert's play *On Bail*, based on *Le Réveillon* did not open until 1877, at the Criterion Theatre.

the Viennese and London versions of *Die Fledermaus* also reinforced the notion of masculinities as localised phenomena.

4.5. Alterations to the libretto.

A comparison of Aidé and Genée's libretti for *Die Fledermaus* reveals many differences: the version of *Die Fledermaus* that played at the Alhambra partly exemplified the tendency that 'Joxoenhbonrd' had noted of making a burlesque of Continental *opéra bouffe*. Aidé's representation of Anglicised characters, national identity, and social class helped make his libretto topical and intelligible to his audience. The first, and most obvious of Aidé's changes concerned the names of the characters: Rosalinde is anglicised as Rosalind; Frank and Alfred's names are retained, although Alfred is a violinist (as in *Le Réveillon*) rather than a singer; Falke becomes Count von Folke and Gabriel von Eisenstein becomes Baron Essersmith. The most startling change involves Aidé's excision of Orlofski, whom he replaced with 'Hilda,' a female opera singer. Aidé also created some new characters, including 'Herr and Madame Blogg'.

The programme for the performance on 18 December 1876 contains several misprints and variant spellings, listing Frosch the gaoler as 'Flosch' and Dr Blind as 'Dr Bland'. The programme also renders the German 'Adele' as 'Adelle'. Aidé also retained some of the 'coryphées' of the ballet (Melanie, Melusine, Felicia, and Natalie) since the ballet was intrinsic to any Alhambra production — but their names are not the same as the 'Gäste des Prinzen Orlofski' in the Viennese production of 1874. Ida is retained, but like Adele she is a servant, rather than a dancer.

Aidé's libretto opens *Die Fledermaus* not with a scene in the Eisensteins' sitting room and Alfred's offstage serenade, but with a large chorus — the work of Hamilton Clarke — in a scene described as a 'Pavilion in the chateau of the Baron Essersmith.' The chorus celebrates Essersmith's birthday with these fulsome words:

On this, the Baron's natal day
Joyously we meet,
To wish that he all happy may
Long live, our loves to greet.
May he have many years in store,
Brighter than the past,
No trouble, no sorrow,
His happiness o'ercast.

Come, come let us sing,
Come our tributes bring,
Friendship's welcome offerings
We here so freely lay.
Shout then, let the voice
Show how hearts rejoice,
Make the very valleys ring

Upon this happy day.⁴³⁷

Rather than Adele reading aloud/singing a letter supposedly from her sister, but in fact from Falke, ‘Adelle’ is engaged in a *tête-à-tête* with Dr Bland/Blind, revealing that Essersmith has been on trial for some misdemeanour.

The nature of Essersmith’s crime differs from Eisenstein’s battery of a civil servant. Instead, Essersmith has had a run-in with another self-made man, and his situation becomes common knowledge to all the ‘guests’:

Dr Blind: Well as you must know somewhere about a month ago, the Baron, in hastily turning the corner of the street, ran against little Count Swineberg, whose father, they say, made his money in pig dealing.

Guests: Yes, I know. Of course, ha! ha! ha!

Dr. Blind: Well the Count made use of some very bad language to the Baron, the Baron retaliated, words led to blows, the Baron struck at the Count with his cane, he avoided the blow, when the Baron remarked “You’ve just saved your bacon.”

Guests: Thereupon the Count was so enraged, that he got an information against our host, the Baron, who was sentenced to five days detention in the fortress.⁴³⁸

Subsequently we learn that although Essersmith and von Folke have just been in court together, they had not seen each other for some time, whereas Genée’s libretto makes it clear that they are frequent companions:

[Enter Count von Folke]

Baron: Well, I am glad to see you, and what are you doing here?

Falk. I’m the new governor —

Baron: Are you, by jingo! Here sit down, sit down. Hi! here! somebody! everybody! [enter Servant.] Pipes, cigars, wine, brandy, soda — everything! Look alive! well, I am glad to see you and how did you find me out, eh?

Falk: Oh! I read all about your buying the Barony, besides as Governor I have pretty good information about everybody of consequence in the province, their antecedents and so forth.

Baron: You did’n’t want much information about mine, did you, old fellow?

Falk: No; our old college days, eh! Do you remember? But I thought you would have got tired of Germany, and have gone back to England.

Baron: No; I did’n’t like the bone boiling business, so when my poor Dad died, I sold all the property, came back to Germany, bought this Barony, changed my name from Samuel R. Smith to Baron Essersmith, and here I am. Hollo! Here are the stimulants. Doesn’t this put you in mind of the old days, eh?⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ *Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts. Music by Johann Strauss. Adapted for the English Stage with additional choruses and ballet music by Hamilton Clarke* (London: J. Miles and Co. 1876) [n.p.] British Library, Northcott 248.

⁴³⁸ *Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts*, [n.p.].

⁴³⁹ These lines of the Baron seem to show Aidé drawing on his own experience as a student in Germany. *Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts*. [n.p.].

Aidé makes it explicit that Essersmith has purchased his barony, unlike Genée's Eisenstein, and Essersmith's reference to the bone-boiling business was topical: in 1876, Disraeli requested that a Royal Commission on Noxious Vapours be set up, in response to a petition to the House of Lords by the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for Controlling the Escape of Noxious Vapours and Fluids. The target of the Commission, which took over two years to complete, was chemical gases, particularly those from alkali works, but the waste products of tanneries and rendering works were also considered.⁴⁴⁰ Soaking bones in alkali was part of the process of extracting fats from the bones. The gases from bone-boiling works on the outskirts of London posed a significant polluting nuisance, and provoked ire from the residents of semi-rural outer suburbs of London, such as Blackheath. That Essersmith should wish to free himself from an industrial interest detested by so many people, becomes more understandable, as a Commission was investigating industrial practices.

Essersmith's purchase of a barony in Germany would also have had some resonance for a local audience. Although Disraeli did not elevate a brewer to a life peerage until 1880, when Sir Arthur Guinness became Lord Ardilaun, Gladstone had already 'revived the practice of giving peerages to businessmen still in business' during his first premiership (1868–1874).⁴⁴¹ The idea of Essersmith, a bone-boiling magnate, being elevated to the peerage, had local satirical value. By sending Essersmith back to Germany (rather than Strauss's and Genée's Austria) where he could 'buy' a barony, Aidé also played on some stereotypical preconceptions about honours and ennoblements in the newly unified Germany. The unification did not reduce the number of available honours, or confine them to one source, but rather led to a 'proliferation', as twenty-five states within the German empire awarded their own honours.⁴⁴² In Wilhelmine Germany purchasing honours and titles — via 'title brokers' with contacts to civil servants or other people of influence — was a contentious matter, but the practice was well-known before then. If Essersmith's industrial fortune made him unsuitable for elevation to the peerage in Britain, Aidé's libretto implies that no such obstacle would exist in Germany.

⁴⁴⁰ Peter Reed, *Entrepreneurial Ventures in Chemistry: The Muspratts of Liverpool, 1793-1934* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015) 127.

⁴⁴¹ H. J. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England,' *Victorian Studies* 3, no. 3 (March 1960) 278; Francis Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1963) 292-293.

⁴⁴² Prussian honours still held the most prestige. Alastair Thompson, 'Honours Uneven: Decorations, the State and Bourgeois Society in Imperial Germany,' *Past & Present*, no. 144 (August 1994) 171. Only the Hanseatic city-states of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck did not operate an honours system: Richard J. Evans notes that amongst the Hamburg elite, 'Titles of nobility, orders, and decorations, were looked upon ... as signifying deference to foreign, monarchical institutions, and alien to the proudly republican traditions of the city-state.' When Bismarck 'started handing out honours to Hanseatic notabilities, the Burgomaster of Hamburg led a special delegation to Berlin to request them to desist.' Richard J. Evans, 'Family and Class in the Hamburg grand bourgeoisie 1815-1914,' *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German middle class from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century*, David Blackburn and Richard J. Evans eds., (Oxford: Routledge, 2014) 121.

Two factors indicate significant changes in the relationship between Essersmith and Folke, compared with Eisenstein and Falke. Firstly, Essersmith is not a native German, but an Englishman transplanted to Germany, and more of a parvenu than Eisenstein. Secondly, the respective statuses of the two men are reversed: in Genée's libretto, Eisenstein is the ennobled rentier, with a higher status than the notary, Falke. In Aidé's version, Folke's position as a 'Governor' is an elected office.⁴⁴³

The friendship between Essersmith and Folke, read through its treatment of gender, offers an insight into British masculinities and contemporary perceptions of nationality. Differences in the balance of power and honour of the two men affect Folke's desire for revenge upon Essersmith, and his manner of exercising revenge. Likewise, in Essersmith's altercation with 'Count Swineburg' — the titled son of another self-made man — Essersmith has a lower status. However, the outcome is the same as in Genée's libretto, even though Essersmith only threatened Swineburg with battery, rather than striking a blow: Baron Swineburg takes Essersmith to court, looking for external justice to remedy Essersmith's defamation and physical assault. As this is a dispute between two ennobled men, who are at least nominally *satisfaktionsfähig*, Baron Swineburg's decision to take court action suggests that the codes of the *Ehrenkodex* and *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* underpinning aspects of Genée's libretto were not part of the English social contract in Aidé's adaptation of *Die Fledermaus*. Undermining an alternative view — that because neither Essersmith nor Swineburg were 'proper' aristocrats, they were ignorant of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and thus recourse to an industrialist's means (a court case) was the only response he understood — is the fact that duelling culture in Britain had died out by the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁴ Instead, recourse to the court system, through which a man could extract damages, and even condemn his opponent to financial ruin or the debtors' prison, restored manly honour.

The court case between Essersmith and Swineburg indicates a translation of cultural norms, superimposing the British practices of a particular social type (the recently ennobled industrialist) onto a German setting. The situation represents a fundamental difference between the performance of honourable masculinities in Britain and in Austro-Germany, especially as they concern the emulation of, or aspiration to, aristocratic and military standards. Robert B. Shoemaker argued that amongst English men, the move away from seeking retribution by violence after some insult had been a process of the eighteenth century. In 1709, Henry Hooton said 'it was more "manful" to attack a man with a sword than "basely" to defame him in

⁴⁴⁴ Annette Federico's summarises nineteenth-century English duelling practices in her review of Stephen Banks's *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: The Duel and the English Gentleman 1750-1850*, in *Victorian Studies* 54, no 1 (Autumn 2011) 149-151. Federico notes that the last known fatal duel on British soil took place in 1852.

public.’⁴⁴⁵ Within a few decades, however, commentators on manly conduct suggested that ‘men should simply forgive or ignore those who insulted them, rather than respond with violence or litigation, since a man’s honour was not as harmed by malicious tongues as a woman’s.’⁴⁴⁶

The cultivation of domestic rectitude among the nineteenth-century English bourgeoisie discouraged men from exchanging public insults and encouraged any insulted man to draw on his inner reserves of virtue to rise above the slur. A wife’s adultery (or ‘criminal conversation’ until 1857), or the suggestion of her infidelity counted as a dramatic slur against a husband’s honour, but in such instances, taking the offending man to court provided a more satisfactory outcome: while it could destroy the reputation of the wife and offending man forever, the husband would emerge as a wronged party, honour intact. The principal claim of ‘criminal conversation’ was commercial injury through damage of a man’s personal property (that is, his wife).⁴⁴⁷

However, when Strauss and Genée created *Die Fledermaus* in Austria, an 1855 concordat to the General Civil Code had deprived all Austrians — not just Roman Catholics — of the right to divorce: only from 1870 could a non-Catholic couple be granted a legal divorce.⁴⁴⁸ For a member of the Austrian upper-middle class or nobility, a duel could be an honourable, chivalrous alternative to court proceedings; court proceedings also ran the risk of permitting damaging information to become public, and thus increase the scandal in cases of defamation or the equivalent to criminal conversation. If an insulted or cuckolded man died in the duel, he died in honourable circumstances (and left his widow free to remarry if she wished); if his opponent died, at least he was removed from the scene altogether, theoretically closing the matter. Although the Austrian practice of regaining honour through the duel posed risks for both parties, the possibility of bloodshed was secondary to the importance of honour. Even death was better than being a pathetic worm.

⁴⁴⁵Robert Shoemaker, ‘Reforming Male Manners: Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740,’ *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, Tim Hitchcock and Michelle Cohen eds., (London: Routledge, 1999) 147.

⁴⁴⁶ Robert Shoemaker, ‘Reforming Male Manners,’ 147.

⁴⁴⁷ Laura Hanf Korobkin, ‘Silent Woman, Speaking Fiction: Charles Reade’s *Griffith Gaunt* (1866) at the Adultery Trial of Henry Ward Beecher,’ *The New Nineteenth Century: Feminist Readings of Underread Victorian Fiction*, Barbara Leah Harman and Susan Meyer eds., (London, New York: Garland Publishing 1996) 46.

⁴⁴⁸ Roderick Philips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 135. For a more detailed summary of marriage and divorce laws, and their implications for religiously mixed marriages in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see also Evan Burr Bukey’s *Jews and Intermarriage in Nazi Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 85-86, and Judith von Schmädel’s ‘The History of Marriage Law in Austria and Germany: From Sacrament to Civil Contract,’ *Hiotsubashi Journal of Law and Politics* 37 (February 2009) 41-47.

4.6. Genée's Orlofski and Aidé's Hilda.

Aidé's superimposition of local practices — such as Swineberg's pursuit of a court case after Essersmith's threat — on a foreign setting presents one instance of increasing the 'relatability' of the *Die Fledermaus* plot and characters for the Alhambra audience. Such a straightforward approach contrasts with his other decisions, especially those concerning the characters and their motivations in act 2. Folke, rather than Orlofski, hosts the act 2 party, for the simple reason that in Aidé's plot, Orlofski no longer exists, having been replaced by a singer called Hilda:

Adele: (she indicates annoyance but continues to read) How nice, Sister Ida writes to say that her Mistress, Madlle. Hilda, the great singer, must be at the Opera to-night and, in consequence, can't go to the Ball given by the new Governor, and, if I can only manage to borrow one of my lady's dresses without letting her know anything about it, I could go with her for she could introduce me with her Mistress's ticket. How delightful, but how to get away?⁴⁴⁹

In Genée's libretto, Orlofski possesses considerable agency, as the host of the party and facilitator of Falke's revenge, and ultimately, as the aristocratic arbiter of honourable masculine behaviour. In Aidé's libretto, Orlofski's transformation into a female singer of unspecified nationality indicates another shift in the dynamics of masculine agency, in addition to Essersmith and Folke's changes of status. Also significant is Hilda's status as an abandoned wife, a tragic figure in the theatrical imagination of the time. At the conclusion of Aidé's *Die Fledermaus*, Hilde's reconciliation with Alfred completes her — as conventional domestic sensibility stipulated — and restored an impression of marital bliss.

Despite transforming Orlofski into a female character, Aidé bestows some of Orlofski's characteristics on Hilda, including Orlofski's predisposition to boredom and melancholy. However, rather than being a guest at Orlofski's party, where Falke can exact his revenge on Eisenstein as a form of entertainment, Aidé stages Folke's revenge at his own party, at which Hilda is a guest:

Hilda: I'm not jesting, one can't be always merry; I have told you of my early troubles, my youthful marriage, and in the midst of gay scenes such as this, recollections of early associations always spring up: I think of my scapegrace husband, and wonder if he lives.
Folke: Come, come, banish these dreary thoughts; you must be merry; I have great sport in store, I promise you. (to those near him) A surprise, friends.⁴⁵⁰

We cannot know for sure the reason that Aidé decided to replace Orlofski with a female character. But, two important factors — namely the theatrical tradition of women playing male

⁴⁴⁹*Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts*. [n.p.].

⁴⁵⁰*Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts* [n.p.].

roles, and the availability of newly translated Russian literature — make his decision baffling: in these circumstances, Orlofski could have provided Aidé with a character ripe for satire.

London had a long tradition of women playing comic and tragic male roles on stage.⁴⁵¹ Anne Russell has pointed out that in nineteenth-century London, women performed a diverse range of ‘trouser roles,’ ranging from Hamlet and Romeo to pantomime principal boys and music hall male impersonation acts; in opera, women appeared *en travesti* as Cherubino in *Le nozze di Figaro*, and as male characters in operas by Bellini and Rossini. As Russell explains, male characters in drama who were ‘dominated by passion, emotion, and indecision,’ were often labelled by critics as ‘feminine,’ ‘feminized,’ or ‘effeminate’ because ‘expressions of passion, particularly by men, were increasingly seen as problematic in social contexts.’⁴⁵² Meanwhile, in comedies, women frequently played young, excessively ardent, or caricatured male characters. The atypical masculinity of the young, foreign, and world-weary Orlofski exemplified the very antithesis of the idealised forms of vigorous and virile British manliness, and formed an ideal candidate for depiction by a woman *en travesti*. However, reviews of W. S. Gilbert’s *On Bail*, an adaptation of *Le Réveillon*, suggest that some regarded the practice with distaste.

In 1877, when the Criterion Theatre produced *On Bail*, Gilbert had preserved the Parisian convention of casting the Prince (here called the Duke of Darlington) as a trouser role.⁴⁵³ Overall, most critics condemned *On Bail*, one writing that:

It is at best a feeble compliment to Mr. Gilbert to thank him for having in one well-known scene replaced the unpleasant flavour of impropriety by the equally unpleasant flavour of vulgarity.⁴⁵⁴

Other reviews commented favourably on the performance *en travesti* of Fanny Josephs as the ‘Duke of Darlington’, referring to the ‘typical aristocratic calm’ exhibited in her ‘thoroughly artistic sketch of the young nobleman.’⁴⁵⁵

The critic of *The Saturday Review* wrote of the transformation of ‘Prince Yermontoff’ into the ‘Duke of Darlington’ that the ‘grace and skill with which Miss Fanny Josephs plays the part are in striking contrast to the rest of the performance.’⁴⁵⁶ *The Times* also felt that Josephs made the best of the material given to her, but also revealed a distaste for the *en travesti* role in general: ‘Miss Josephs, as the young Duke of Darlington, by her good taste and quiet, graceful bearing, makes the sight of a woman in man’s clothes for once endurable.’⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ Anne Russell, ‘Women as Tragic Heroes on the Nineteenth-Century Stage,’ *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1996) 135-157.

⁴⁵² Russell, ‘Women as Tragic Heroes,’ 140.

⁴⁵³ See Appendix 2 for a comparison between *On Bail* and other adaptations of *Le Réveillon*.

⁴⁵⁴ ‘Criterion Theatre,’ *The Theatre: a weekly critical review*, 6 February 1877, 15.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘Criterion Theatre,’ *The Theatre: a weekly critical review*, 6 February 1877, 15.

⁴⁵⁶ ‘The Theatres,’ *The Saturday Review*, 17 February 1878, 200.

⁴⁵⁷ ‘The Criterion Theatre,’ *The Times*, 5 February 1877, 9.

If Aidé shared this *Times* critic's view of *travesti* roles, it is possible that he transformed Genée's Orlofski into 'Hilda' to avoid creating a sight that some would find unendurable.⁴⁵⁸ At the same time, not retaining Orlofski meant that Aidé lost an opportunity to make a satire on local enthusiasm for Russian literary characters. Anthony Cross shows that in the wake of the Crimean War, and especially in the 1860s and 1870s, the British reading public satisfied their curiosity about Russia and Russians through two main channels. First, diaries and memoirs of British people living and working in Russia provided an insider's view of Russian political and social life, as well as accounts of travelling and landscapes.⁴⁵⁹ Second, translations of Russian novels and poetry introduced Russian literature and characters (including the 'superfluous man'-type) to a British audience: for example, editions of Lermontov's 1840 novel, *A Hero of Our Time* that appeared in the 1850s, brought to public attention the archetypal superfluous man, Grigory Alexandrovich Pechorin.⁴⁶⁰

An enthusiastic review of C. E. Turner's translation of *A Hero of Our Time* emphasises the contradictions of Pechorin's character, 'the strangest mixture of grandeur and baseness, of fiendish mockery and noble sentiment, of grovelling vice and heroic daring,' summed up in 'his soliloquy the night before engaging in a mortal duel, with every chance against him':

And what then? To die is but to die; the world loses little and I myself am sufficiently weary of it. I am like a man yawning in a ballroom, who does not go home to rest simply because his carriage is not at hand ... To no living creature has my love ever brought happiness, for I sacrificed nothing for those who were beloved by me; I loved for myself, for my own individual gratification [...]⁴⁶¹

The parallels between Pechorin's sentiments and those expressed (in comic form) by Orlofski in Genée's libretto offered Aidé the chance to enjoy literary parody, and as a man who moved in London's literary circles, it seems likely Aidé would have been aware of recently translated or published Russian works. Still, if Aidé missed an opportunity by not including a Russian character in his adaptation, his inclusion of Hilda offered greater theatrical symmetry in the denouement of *Die Fledermaus*, as it permitted Hilda's reconciliation with her errant husband, Alfred.

Despite removing Orlofski from his adaptation, Aidé retained Orlofski's act 2 *couplets*, which Hilda sings, but altered their context. In Aidé's libretto, rather than Orlofski offering to introduce Eisenstein to his 'national peculiarities,' Folke (as host) invites Hilda to sing. Orlofski makes himself the protagonist of his *couplets* by describing how he provides his guests with

⁴⁵⁸ Alternately, perhaps there was not a woman available at the Alhambra who could perform Orlofski adequately as a *travesti* role.

⁴⁵⁹ Anthony Cross, 'By Way of Introduction: British Perception, Reception and Recognition of Russian Culture,' *A People Passing Rude: British Responses to Russian Culture* (Open Book Publishers, 2012) 28-29.

⁴⁶⁰ Cross, 'By Way of Introduction,' 29.

⁴⁶¹ 'A Hero of Our Time', *The Athenaeum*, 26 June 1869, 860.

good things, drinks with them, but then throws them out if they do not cooperate with his wishes; Hilda removes herself from the action in her *couplets*, describing the actions of her compatriots, but not personally participating.

Folke: And now, fair Hilda, enchant us with your sweet voice. Come, “your national peculiarities.”
Hilda: You forget I’m too hoarse —
Falke: To sing in public. Come now.
Melanie: Do, do.

[Song and Chorus – ‘The Customs of my Country’]

1st couplet

When I’m at home, I’ll tell you, friend,
We have a custom there,
To do as others do — offend
The boldest does not dare.
For if you’re not as merry as they
This is one of their laws,
Or look downcast when they are gay
They’ll kick you out of doors.

Refrain

And he who would not us disgrace,
Must do the same, I ween,
These are the customs of our race,
And ever thus have been.

Chorus

So if you come amongst us,
You must do as others do,
And forget the ancient maxim,
Chacun à son goût.

2nd couplet

The men there drink a kilderkin
And often call for me,
They think it a most grievous sin
If they don’t kiss the floor.

And if you do not swallow like them,
You’ll likely have instead
The bottle that you should have drained,
Flung straightaway at your head.

Refrain (And he who would not ...) ⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² *Die Fledermaus: Grand Comic Opera in Three Acts* [n.p.].

Folke's invitation for Hilda to sing of her "national peculiarities", implies that Aidé did not conceive of her as a 'German' character, as the others supposedly are. Although Hilda's nationality remains unspecified, Aidé changed the nationalities, or assumed nationalities of several other characters. Adele attends the party in the guise of 'Princess Kerfipsy', a Hungarian, while Ida is 'Mademoiselle Clorinda Belladonna, a great Parisian actress'. A further significant change by Aidé is that while Rosalind does come to the party in disguise, she assumes the identity of a Polish aristocrat, rather than a Hungarian one. Aidé retains Rosalind's act 2 aria ('Klänge der Heimat'), but it is transformed into a paean to the beauties of Poland. The disguised Rosalind sings 'Oh, how I love you, my dear native Poland' to the stylised *lassú* and *friss* of Strauss's *csárdás*. (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Comparison of Rosalinde's act 2 song (Aidé) and *csárdás* (Genée).

London	Vienna
'Oh! how I love thee my dear native Poland'	'Klänge der Heimat'
<p>Oh! how I love thee my dear native Poland, Bright stars above thee, crown thy fair head. Tears now are falling, Tho' years have pass'd me, Plainly recalling, Where last they were shed. Thy songs alone can charm my soul, At thy will is past control. I think with tears of sadness, of all my childhood's gladness, My land Oh! my heart yearns to thee!</p>	<p>Sounds of my homeland, You awaken my longing, Call forth tears To my eyes! When I hear you, You songs of home, You draw me back, My Hungary, to you! O homeland, so wonderful, How clearly shines the sun there! How green your forests, How laughing the fields! Oh land where I was so happy!</p>
<p>Fires our hearts inflame, When hear we Poland's name, Ev'ry thought must roam To our happy home. Love with softest thrills, Sweetly our bosom fills, Thinking of eyes so kind, We have left behind ...</p>	<p>Yes, your beloved image Entirely fills my soul. Your beloved image! And though I am far from you, ah, Yours remains for all eternity My soul, ever there, Dedicated to you alone! Oh homeland, so wonderful <i>etc</i></p>
<p>Oh! how! I love thee my dear native land. Spurs that clink in the dancing;</p>	<p>Fire, zest for living, Swell the true Hungarian breast! Hey! On to the dance, The <i>csárdás</i> sounds so brightly! Brown-skinned maiden, You must be my dancer; Give me your arm quickly, Dark-eyed child! Thirsty tipplers, Grasp the cup Pass it in a circle</p>

<p>Noble Cavaliers the merry scene enhancing. Maidens' eyes softly glancing, Stir each heart with hope and fear. Dear Poland, how I love thee!</p>	<p>Quickly from hand to hand! Slurp the fire In the Tokay, Give a toast from the fatherland! Ha!</p> <p>Fire, zest for life Swell the true Hungarian breast, Hey! To the spirited dance The <i>csárdás</i> sounds loud and clear, La, la, la, la!</p>
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Aidé's recasting of Rosalind's song may, like his reference to Essersmith's escape from the bone-boiling business, have been a reference to a chronic issue of concern for a British audience. From a British perspective, the idea of the Polish people being oppressed by the League of the Three Emperors had captured the public imagination and became a *cause célèbre*. The presence of Poles became increasingly visible in London, especially after the three Polish uprisings of November 1830, 1846, and finally 1863, each of which brought Polish émigrés to the cities of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Hull. Groups and individuals arrived not only in the immediate aftermath of the risings, but throughout the decades, as the *Leader and Saturday Analyst* reported in 1851, in an article on 'How to Recognise the Refugees' (and how to avoid being tricked by impersonators):

To afford facilities of existence to the political refugees, who from ... Poland have sought our shores, is the common duty of an hospitable people. This has not been done in the name of our Government — it has not been a national act, in an official sense. It has been the act of the generous and sympathising, of the liberal in politics and the working men.⁴⁶³

Several organisations were established to further the Polish cause, and offer support to Polish exiles or refugees, notably the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. This group, which had political and charitable functions, continued to meet, albeit irregularly, into the 1860s, when the charity began to fracture as its members debated whether their aims were political or charitable.⁴⁶⁴

The agitation which had taken place throughout Poland had induced some of the warmest friends of the association to urge the abandonment of it as a political society, but others were of the opinion that it should abandon the relief of destitute Polish refugees. While it had taken no part in the active attempts ... to restore Poland to its nationality, it had taken no step, which some misguided people in their zeal had attributed to it, of throwing impediments in the way of that desirable event In England, while on the one hand Roman Catholics had regarded with indifference the wants and necessities of their Polish brethren, the large mass of English Protestants had [also] abstained through a belief that the struggle in Poland was a movement in support of the Roman Catholic religion.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ 'How to Recognise Refugees,' *Leader and Saturday Analyst* 2, no. 75 (30 August 1851) 829.

⁴⁶⁴ The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland had been established on 25 February 1832. Norman Davies, 'The Thaw and the January Rising,' *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 259-268.

⁴⁶⁵ 'The Friends of Poland', *Examiner*, 25 June 1864, 410.

Aidé's substitution of a Polish alter ego for Rosalind for Genée's Hungarian one provides another reference to a topical London concern. Although British sympathy for Hungary — another country whose autonomy was partially curtailed by Austria — existed, and some British groups admired Hungarian nationalism, the Polish question had more immediate relevance, and the Polish émigré was a more recognisable figure in London.

The exiles and refugees from the Polish uprisings, comprising intellectuals and artists, noble men and women, military men, middle-class professionals, artisans, and peasants, formed a disparate group, but developed particular characteristics, as Michał Garapich has summarised:

A history of the Polish diaspora or emigration has been marked by the struggle to both accept that the ultimate source of its existence is the spiritual relationship with the territory and maintain some degree of independence from state decision makers, but also remain loyal to their new homelands.⁴⁶⁶

In Genée's libretto, Rosalinde's assumption of a Hungarian identity retained significance for Viennese audiences in 1874, as the spectacle of an Austrian man being seduced by a 'Hungarian' woman who then 'compromised' her unwitting husband by tricking him into giving her his watch, provided an amusing satire.⁴⁶⁷ Three years later, in London, the same satire would have had little of the same bite, but the Polish situation and the combined Russian, Prussian, and Austrian hegemony over Poland was a contemporary concern. The arrival of a masked woman at a party who then performs the identity of a Polish émigré would have had more relevance to current events. The justification for transforming Adele's alter ego from Genée's 'Olga' to Aidé's 'Princess Kerfipsy' is more obscure, as is his addition to the cast of 'Herr Blogg' and 'Madame Blogg,' but these changes demonstrate a strategy of making elements of its satire more pertinent to his audience, to render a foreign genre local.

4.7. Matthew Arnold's 'Bottles': a parallel for the English masculinities in Aidé's *Die Fledermaus*.

Another means of localising masculinities in *Die Fledermaus* suggests itself in a comparison between Aidé's Essersmith and characters in essays by Matthew Arnold. Aidé's depiction of Essersmith as a recently ennobled industrialist has parallels in other representations of a similar type of Englishman contemporaneous with Aidé's *Die Fledermaus* adaptation. These representations incorporate characters and ideas from essays and other literary works, including

⁴⁶⁶ Michał Garapich, *London's Polish Borders: Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity among Polish Migrants in London* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2016) 279.

⁴⁶⁷ The figure of the 'fake' Polish countess recurs in a melodrama by E. Manuel in 1879, *The Rabbi's Son, or, The Last Link in the Chain*, in which a young man spurns the love of his landlady's daughter in favour of the affections of a 'Polish Countess' called Theodora. Heidi J. Holder, 'Nation and Neighbourhood, Jews and Englishmen: Location and Theatrical Ideology in Victorian London,' *The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre's History*, T. Davis and P. Holland eds., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 115.

those by Matthew Arnold and George Henry Lewes, and situate Aidé's transformation of Genée's Eisenstein into his own Essersmith within a broader pattern of specifically English masculinities. My discussion here focusses primarily on Essersmith's social status, and how the audience of Aidé's *Die Fledermaus* adaptation may have perceived him in the context of other authors' writing about gender, class, occupation, education, and culture. Aidé's relocation of the action of *Die Fledermaus* from Austria to Germany also has significance in the context of Aidé's and his contemporaries' interest in Germany.

Victorian Germanism originated at least partly in theology, where, as Hugh Walker has described it, something new was 'needed to supplement and to enrich the positive teaching of the Noetics, and it was supplied by the importation of the ideas of German philosophy,' creating a 'vital distinction in English theology' between those who read, understood, and accepted 'the principles of Kant and Hegel and Fichte and Schleiermacher' and those who did not.⁴⁶⁸ Thomas Carlyle and Charles Kingsley were two initial adherents, with Carlyle instrumental in its introduction to literary circles. Later, several of Aidé's contemporaries, Arnold, Lewes, and George Eliot, became committed to studying German literature, art, natural sciences, and philosophy.

For the Victorian Germanists, the intellectual and cultural life of Germany almost always emerged as superior to its English equivalent, an area of literary and historical studies that has received extensive critical attention.⁴⁶⁹ In the context of Germanism, gender, and more specifically, masculinity plays an important, if sometimes subtle role, especially when the intellectual and academic attributes of German men were used to illustrate the deficiencies and Philistinism of their English counterparts.

When Aidé prepared his version of *Die Fledermaus*, he adjusted the plot and characters to render the operetta more relevant or accessible to his audience at the Alhambra. Aidé's transformation of Eisenstein from a Viennese *rentier* to a German-educated English industrialist may initially appear to be the result of a desire for locally-relevant comedy, but I want to offer an alternative reading, in which the transformation of Eisenstein into Essersmith offers a specific comment on some aspects of English masculinities, as well as a satire on a social and literary circle with which Aidé regularly interacted. Similarities between characters in Matthew Arnold's

⁴⁶⁸ Hugh Walker, *The Literature of the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1910) 98.

⁴⁶⁹ Hanne Boenisch, "'Jene zwei Gestalten, die sich Don Quixote und Sancho Pansa nennen, sich beständig parodieren und doch so wunderbar ergänzen [...]'. Images of England and Germany in the Works of Matthew Arnold and Heinrich Heine,' *Anglo-German Linguistic Relations*, Falco Pfalzgraf and F. J. Rash eds., (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2008) 139-160; Avrom Fleishman, 'The Germanist: balancing the counterweight of German thinkers,' *George Eliot's Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 72-92; R. Scully, 'Learned, Indefatigable, Deep-thinking Germany,' *Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 85-92.

Friendship's Garland and *Culture and Anarchy* and Essersmith help to develop a picture of Essersmith as a particular English masculine type.

To form a picture of Aidé's role in English artistic and literary life between the late 1860s and early 1880s, a variety of primary sources — namely the diaries and correspondence of authors — supplements his comparatively meagre biography. The indices of collected editions of the diaries and correspondence of George Eliot and G. H. Lewes, Matthew Arnold, William Allingham, and Henry James, among other sources, provide a perspective on Aidé's social circle.

G. H. Lewes often recorded in detail who attended a variety of social occasions, and several of these records mention Aidé: on 27 February 1875, for example, Lewes wrote to Eugène Bodichon that 'On the 20th a "drum" at Hamilton Aidés — at which Fanny Kemble and Lady Salisbury were the two to whom we mostly talked ... and some good recitation by Miss Geneviève Ward, who also talks very well.'⁴⁷⁰ A few months later, in July 1875, Lewes wrote in his diary about a garden party, at which he had been presented to Queen Sophie of Holland, and where the other guests included 'The George Howards, Browning, Oscar Browning ... Hamilton Aidé ... Lynulph Stanley, Lady and Maude Stanley, Mrs Lane Fox, Lord Stanhope etc.'⁴⁷¹ On 16 April 1878, Lewes mentions a 'music party at Leighton's: Joachim, Piatti, Hallé, and Janotha, Mad. Joachim sang. Talked to the Chief Justice, the Percy Wyndhams, Mignon, Aidé, Mrs Ponsonby etc.'⁴⁷² In another letter to Bodichon, dated 5 June 1878, Lewes reported on the week's activities: 'Tonight we go to Lord Carnarvon's, on Saturday to Jowett at Oxford — on Monday to a music party at Sir H. Thompson's, on Tuesday to music party at Hamilton Aidé's'.⁴⁷³

After Lewes's death in November 1878, Aidé continued to visit George Eliot, who commented on one such visit in a letter to Charles Lee Lewes on 23 October 1879:

I am sorry about Mr Webb [William J. Webb], for the other day when Mr. Hamilton Aidé was here I mentioned Mr. Webb to him, thinking that he would probably remember the successful oriental time. He did remember it. I merely said that Mr. Webb had somehow slipped from the Academy walls and was in need of lessons or other assured work, and Mr. Aidé said he knew someone who was precisely in want of such lessons as Mr. W. could give — namely in water-colour landscape.⁴⁷⁴

Neither Lewes nor Eliot tend to discuss Aidé at any length, but although Aidé did not reach the same exalted literary heights as some of those with whom he socialised, it appears that he was well-regarded within those groups. More importantly, he shared their interest in German culture.

⁴⁷⁰ George Eliot and G. H. Lewes, *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol. 9 Gordon S. Haight ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-1978) 219.

⁴⁷¹ George and Rosalind Howard, Robert Browning, Oscar Browning, Henrietta Stanley and her daughter Maude Stanley. Eliot and Lewes, *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol. 6, 155.

⁴⁷² Joseph Joachim, Carlo Alfredo Piatti, Charles Hallé, Juliusz Janotha, Amalie Joachim, Alexander Cockburn (Lord Chief Justice), Georgiana Burne-Jones (Mignon), Percy and Madeline Wyndham; Mary Elizabeth Ponsonby. Eliot and Lewes, *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol. 7, 21.

⁴⁷³ Henry Herbert, Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, Benjamin Jowett, Sir Henry Thompson. Eliot and Lewes, *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol 9, 230.

⁴⁷⁴ Eliot and Lewes, *The George Eliot Letters*, Vol. 7, 216.

Aidé also knew Matthew Arnold, in whose correspondence remains a letter inviting Aidé to visit his house in Cobham, Surrey, for dinner, and a description of how Aidé asked him to assist in the establishment of a ‘dramatic school,’ along the lines of a Conservatoire, which Aidé hoped to set up with endowments from the wealthy. Arnold felt that the establishment of such institutions should be the province of the government rather than that of ‘private companies.’ But, Arnold wrote, ‘I like Hamilton Aidé (besides admiring his handsome face and person), and I daresay if he makes a great point of it I shall join.’⁴⁷⁵

In 1871 Arnold had published a collection of epistolary essays, *Friendship’s Garland*, a compilation of essays that had appeared sporadically in the *Pall Mall Gazette* from 1867. The series comprises letters to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* from two protagonists, a fictional Englishman called ‘Matthew Arnold’ (a self-professed ‘grub street journalist’ and ‘mere dabbler in ... great matters’)⁴⁷⁶ and the German ‘Arminius’ (Baron von Thunder-Ten-Tronckh). Arminius (baptised Hermann) is committed to ‘the communication of the great doctrine of “Geist”’.⁴⁷⁷ Arminius has the ‘harsh, arrogant, Prussian way of turning up his nose at things and laying down the law about them,’ and Arnold admires him for his intellect.⁴⁷⁸

Arnold and Arminius enjoy a fractious friendship: Arminius finds Arnold’s blind belief in the superiority of English institutions frustrating, and Arnold — while in awe of Arminius’s grasp of phenomenology — objects to being lectured on ‘rubbishy transcendentalism’ amid choking clouds of his guest’s cigar smoke.⁴⁷⁹ Arnold’s happy tolerance of the established church, public schools, and the magistrates’ court meant he ‘apparently unintentionally, voices a Victorian version of solid middle England and its “Philistinism,” as a foil for the alterity’ of Arminius.⁴⁸⁰

In one essay, the characters Arnold and Arminius travel together to Reigate, meeting a man called ‘Bottles’ in their train compartment. Arnold’s Bottles exhibits some parallels with Essersmith and is the author Arnold’s parody of a form of masculinity whose philistinism exerted a pernicious influence on the country through its relentless pursuit of money and social advancement at the expense of culture:

in the carriage was one of our representative industrial men (something in the bottle way), a famous specimen of that great middle class whose energy and self-reliance make England what it is, and who give the tone to our Parliament and to our policy.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁵ Matthew Arnold to Lucy Charlotte Arnold, 17 December 1882. *MS. Yale University*, Hamilton Aide Papers, Letter V5P239D2.

⁴⁷⁶ Boenisch, ‘Images of England and Germany,’ 140.

⁴⁷⁷ Matthew Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, Vol. 5, R. H. Super ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965) 37.

⁴⁷⁸ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 37-38.

⁴⁷⁹ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 48.

⁴⁸⁰ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ‘Barbarians, Philistines, Populace,’ *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, Vol. 5, R. H. Super ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965) 144-145.

⁴⁸¹ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 38.

During their journey, Bottles enraged Arminius when he criticises the Austro-Prussian War for its disruption of industry. Arminius then denounced Bottles for his insular ‘ignorance of the situation, his ignorance of Germany, his ignorance of what makes nations great, his ignorance of what makes life worth living, his ignorance of everything except bottles, — those infernal bottles!’⁴⁸²

Later Arnold and Arminius encounter Bottles again, first at his son’s public school where, for ‘£250 sterling a year your boys learn gentlemanly deportment and cricket.’⁴⁸³ Here the industrialist’s son receives his education alongside the son of a Plantagenet, illustrating in Arnold’s view the democracy of society, but indicating to Arminius only the infinite potential of money, and the fearful prospect of a nation soon to be subsumed by industry to the detriment of all other things, especially culture and ‘Geist’. In a subsequent letter, Arnold and Arminius encounter Bottles for a further time, when Arnold takes Arminius to the magistrates’ court: ‘an opportunity to show off our local self-government to a bureaucracy-ridden Prussian like Arminius.’⁴⁸⁴

Friendship’s Garland was not the only work by Matthew Arnold that communicated his fears that industrialism and money would eventually eclipse culture entirely. ‘Sweetness and Light’, the first chapter of *Culture and Anarchy*, rails against wealth, calling it the ‘end to which our prodigious works for material advantage are directed.’⁴⁸⁵ Here he does not mention bottle factories, but instead focusses on coal:

Our coal, thousands of people were saying, is the real basis of our national greatness; if our coal runs short, there is an end of the greatness of England ... Never did people believe anything more firmly than nine Englishmen out of ten at the present day believe that our greatness and welfare are powered by our being so very rich ... The people who believe most that our greatness and welfare are proved by our being very rich, and who most give their lives and thoughts to becoming rich, are just the very people whom we call Philistines.⁴⁸⁶

Matthew Arnold also criticised the attempts of the industrial class to enter the higher realms of society through assimilating with the pastimes and deportment of the aristocracy, using Arminius’ comments when he saw Bottles’s son at school. Arnold (the character) enthused that

It is only in England, Arminius, that this beautiful salutary admixture of classes takes place. Look at the bottle-merchant’s son and the Plantagenet being brought up side by side ... Very likely young Bottles will end up by being a lord himself.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 38-39.

⁴⁸³ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 52.

⁴⁸⁴ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 66.

⁴⁸⁵ Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ‘Sweetness and Light,’ 97.

⁴⁸⁶ Arnold, ‘Sweetness and Light,’ 97.

⁴⁸⁷ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 52-53.

Arminius believed that ‘what a middle class wants is ideas, and ideas an aristocracy has nothing to do with.’ Thus, by sending his son to learn only cricket and a gentlemanly deportment, like the aristocracy, Bottles has done quite the wrong thing with him.⁴⁸⁸

Furthermore, the upper-class ‘earnest Liberal’ in Arminius’ view ‘thinks culture is all moonshine.’ Instead, the Liberal was avid for ‘the spiritual development of your democracy by rioting in the parks, abolishing church rates, and marrying a deceased wife’s sister; and for leaving your narrow and vulgar middle class (of which I saw an incomparable specimen in a Reigate train).’⁴⁸⁹

The model of English masculinity that Arnold depicts through the testy epistolary exchange of *Friendship’s Garland*, especially in the example of Bottles, presents the industrialist man as a determined character, whose ambition for social elevation evolves entirely through amassing a personal fortune through a relentlessly fact-based training, rather than finding self-realisation through philosophy and culture. Indeed, Arnold recalls that when Bottles invited him to dinner (before the encounter with Arminius in the train) he would eulogise his practical education: ‘None of your antiquated rubbish — all practical work — latest discoveries in science — mind constantly excited — lights of all colours — fizz! fizz! bang! Bang! That’s what I call forming a man.’⁴⁹⁰ As Arnold points out, this practicality, ‘English energy and self-reliance’, achieves far more in practical terms than any amount of *Geist*.⁴⁹¹

As Aidé was part of Arnold and Lewes’s literary peer group, it is enticing to think of Aidé rewriting Eisenstein as Essersmith to personify — but also to satirise — the masculinities of the middle-class industrialist, a type of man who preoccupied Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy* and *Friendship’s Garden*. In so doing, Aidé constructed a figure easily recognisable to the London audience of *Die Fledermaus* in 1876 than the ennobled Viennese rentier Eisenstein. Not everybody watching *Die Fledermaus* at the Alhambra would have been familiar with the work of Lewes and Arnold, but for those who were, or who moved in similar society to Aidé, the comparisons would be more vivid.

One final factor in the parallel between Essersmith and Bottles, Aidé and Arnold, is their construction of two men whose modes of life and outlook were antithetical to their own chosen ways of life, which were shaped by intellectual and literary activity. Joseph A. Kestner has summarised some of the necessary qualities: ‘the model of the paterfamilias, the man in the family unit required to be provider, lover, husband, supporter, moral guide, infallible authoritarian and unquestioned arbiter.’⁴⁹² At the same time, in order to ‘function in the public sphere, and therefore

⁴⁸⁸ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 53.

⁴⁸⁹ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 46.

⁴⁹⁰ Arnold, ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 71.

⁴⁹¹ Arnold ‘Friendship’s Garland,’ 73.

⁴⁹² Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting*, 141.

be able to provide financial support for a family, a man needed selfish ambition, aggressiveness, and unemotional efficiency.⁴⁹³ Matthew Arnold felt the tension between these criteria for ideal manliness and his own ideal, in which withdrawing from the business and busyness of the world was of equal (or even greater) merit than participation. He encountered, and wrestled with a conflict, though, because of the emphasis among his social class for vigorous engagement in the public sphere, and the insinuation of effeminacy if a man did not comply. As Ellis has pointed out, Arnold's early poetry was derided in a review by George David Boyle for its 'indolent, selfish quietism,' the air of 'self-complacent reverie,' and a lack of 'severe manliness.'⁴⁹⁴ Later, in *Culture and Anarchy*, Arnold would lampoon the notion that the poet must be an outward-looking man of action, using the nemesis John Bright, who was not only a classical scholar and a poet, but also 'a doer and a worker.'

Arnold observed also a struggle between different modes of Christian masculinity. The variety exemplified by his father, Thomas Arnold, was outward-looking and public, an 'energetic, manly Christian warrior, a soldier of Christ' working to reform education and inculcate future generations in Christian manliness.⁴⁹⁵ Meanwhile, John Henry Newman had chosen to retreat from the world, although he acknowledged that 'a tendency to withdraw from the world' was 'the first thing that makes holy persons seem wanting in openness and manliness.'⁴⁹⁶ Newman found in his religion the confidence to retreat into the life of a scholar and divine without compromising his masculinity. Lacking the religious convictions held by either Thomas Arnold or Newman, Arnold continued to encounter internal conflict between his own conception of masculinity, and the mode of masculinity that society expected of him.

Another contemporary of Aidé, G. H. Lewes, undertook a similar journey. Although he began his career fully engaged in the public sphere — as a widely-published journalist, as a clerk in the offices of a notary and a Russian merchant, as a drama and literary critic, and a journal correspondent — he later 'retreated' (while remaining socially very active) into a life of literary and scientific thought with George Eliot. Indeed, it was the success of her novels that permitted this retreat. While Arnold believed that culture (the study of perfection) was the antidote to the

⁴⁹³ Billie Andrew Inman, 'Reviewed Works: *Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910* by Claudia Nelson; *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* by Herbert Sussman,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1996) 139.

⁴⁹⁴ Heather Ellis, "'This starting, feverish heart': Matthew Arnold and the Problem of Manliness,' *Critical Survey* 20, no. 3 (2008) 100.

⁴⁹⁵ For Thomas Arnold, the defining quality of masculine development was embodied within the transition from boyhood to manhood, rather than a distinction between men and women, and 'emphasized 'distinctions of moral and intellectual maturity over those of gender *per se*.' Ellis argues that Thomas Arnold looked beyond the 'limited, physical qualities of being male, to the far greater moral, spiritual and intellectual virtues of being a man.' Heather Ellis, 'Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood,' *The Journal of Victorian Culture* 19, no. 4 (December 2014) 429.

⁴⁹⁶ Ellis, "'This starting, feverish heart",' 100.

anarchies of the modern and directionless democracy, Lewes saw science as a key to remedying social disorder. As his scientific research into physiology and biology grew deeper, Lewes remained influenced by ‘Romantic’ thought, including Schelling, Oken, and Goethe, maintaining a dual interest in the scientific method and the metaphysical. As he retreated from business and public activity — two criteria for Victorian masculinity — and managed George Eliot’s income (which supported not only Eliot and Lewes’s household, but also covered the expenses of Lewes’s wife Agnes, her debts, and their children’s education), Lewes adopted a mode of life somewhat antithetical to the dominant model of acceptable, forward-moving masculinity.⁴⁹⁷

Aidé, whom Henry James called ‘the Diane de Poitiers of our time’ in a reference to the French courtier of the sixteenth century, was known to be a keen observer of the behaviour of his social group, a group in which the men tended to operate in ways opposite to the demands of business.⁴⁹⁸ They had either retreated from the hurly-burly of business or altered the traditional means of providing financial support for a family, channelling their ambition elsewhere, and — rather than cultivating unemotional efficiency — looked to their capacity for thought and emotional response to shape their lives. Aidé, after his stint in the army, had likewise retreated into a life of literary and artistic endeavour. It is unclear whether he experienced similar feelings of conflict to those which affected Arnold, but in his depiction of Essersmith he presented a vision of one of these ‘men of action’ who represented the antithesis of his and his friends’ lives, while creating a character immediately recognisable to his audience.

4.8. Conclusion.

This chapter has examined the first production of *Die Fledermaus* in London in 1876, and particularly how the piece was adapted for a new audience by Aidé and Hamilton Clarke. The chapter offered a discussion of the changes Aidé made in order to render the libretto topical and relevant to current concerns and cause celebres — such as its references to the Polish Question, industrial reform, and the purchase of honours — and related them to critical concerns about the dominance of Continental operetta in London’s theatres. More importantly, this chapter has considered the role that masculinity played in the London adaptation of *Die Fledermaus*, especially how the various articulations of masculinity in the operetta intersected with Aidé’s own masculinity. Scrutinising Hamilton Aidé’s position within the artistic and literary world of the 1870s and 1880s highlighted some of the modes of masculinity prevalent in the groups with which he socialised. Some of the men in these circles, notably Matthew Arnold and G. H. Lewes,

⁴⁹⁷ Beverley Park Rilett discusses Lewes’s management of Eliot’s early fiction-writing career, and subsequent earnings in ‘The Role of George Henry Lewes in George Eliot’s Career: A Reconsideration,’ *George Eliot – George Henry Lewes Studies* 69, no. 1 (2017) 9.

⁴⁹⁸ Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Master, 1901-1916* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972) 331.

felt at odds with society's expectations of masculine behaviour for men of their status, and insecure about their dedication to lives of cerebral activity, rather than action.

Aidé's transformation of Genée's rentier, Eisenstein, into Essersmith, a former industrialist, seems akin to one of the 'models' Arnold displays in *Friendship's Garland*, through the figure of Bottles. This transformation of Eisenstein into Essersmith, alongside the substitution of a Polish identity for Rosalind rather than a Hungarian one, appear to be examples of Aidé making *Die Fledermaus* more relevant to his London audience. In Aidé's adaptation of *Die Fledermaus*, his excision of some of Genée's scabrous humour in exchange for a more knockabout style of light comedy bears out descriptions of his 'facile talent.'⁴⁹⁹ At the same time, some of Aidé's alterations also evince a more knowing — even sly — satire on the preoccupations of his contemporaries, and constructions of masculinity in late nineteenth-century London.

⁴⁹⁹ Aidé's protégé Robert Hitchens wrote in his autobiography *My Life* that Aidé was 'a highly accomplished man, but he had not the touch of greatness that makes men defiant of the conventions ... A lot of his talent was his – facile talent.' Robert Hitchens, *Yesterday* (London: Cassell & Co., 1947) 85.

Chapter 5: *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper and *fin de siècle* masculinities.

‘Das war Stimme der Natur!’

‘That was the voice of nature!’

Eisenstein, *Die Fledermaus*, act 3.

5.1 Introduction.

On 28 October 1894, twenty years after the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* at the Theater an der Wien, the Hofoper gave its first performance of the operetta. Virtually a ‘second premiere’ for *Die Fledermaus*, this Hofoper performance has received relatively little historical or critical attention. Nevertheless, the autumn 1894 performance — which doubled as a celebration of the ‘Strauß-Jubiläum’, the fiftieth anniversary of the composer’s professional debut — merits consideration for its significance as an operatic event. Furthermore, the performance serves as a discussion point in the context of *fin de siècle* discourses about gender and sexuality. The beginning of a new chapter in the performance history of *Die Fledermaus* coinciding with a new approach to gender suggests a fresh reading of *Die Fledermaus* and its means of providing an onstage illustration of these newly medicalised and pathologized elements of Viennese bourgeois masculinity.

The transition of *Die Fledermaus* from the ‘suburban’ Theater an der Wien — where it epitomised a fusion of Parisian *opéra bouffe*, Viennese *Volksstück*, and the dialect comedies of Anzengruber, Nestroy, and Raimund — to the Hofoper gave *Die Fledermaus* and its composer a new status. Whereas before the humour of *Die Fledermaus* had been of a piece with the repertoire of the Theater an der Wien, situated on a lower rung of the operatic hierarchy, elevation to the musical pantheon of the Hofoper gave an official affirmation to the musical merit of Strauss’s operetta. Following performances of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper, critics wrote about the piece as an opera, using the formalist language considered appropriate to discussions of musical content and quality, and asserting that the musical quality of *Die Fledermaus* would ensure its place in the Hofoper’s repertoire. Indeed, after the death of Johann Strauss in 1899, *Die Fledermaus* remained for some time his only work performed at the Hofoper.

Nevertheless, the arrival of *Die Fledermaus* at Vienna’s Hofoper — the cultural ‘crowning glory’ of the imperial capital — caused controversy.⁵⁰⁰ Some critics asked whether *Die Fledermaus* was a suitable piece for the Hofoper, intimating that its association with the dialect comedy traditions of the Theater an der Wien rendered the operetta inappropriate for this hallowed temple of art. Other writers argued that because *Die Fledermaus* was a mainstay of the Theater an der Wien, and guaranteed their box-office revenue, it was unethical of the Hofoper to appropriate *Die Fledermaus*. A significant debate concerned the performers: critics fretted that

⁵⁰⁰Meanwhile, *Die Fledermaus* had become part of the repertory of opera houses (rather than the theatres associated with operetta) in other Austro-Hungarian towns and cities, as well as German cities, since its 1874 premiere.

the Hofoper's opera singers would flounder with the *Volksspiel* elements of *Die Fledermaus*, a comedic style unique to the revered traditions of the *Vorstadt* theatres. These writers acknowledged that the Theater an der Wien performers did not have the correct voices to sing at the Hofoper but asked whether the Hofoper artists could successfully depict the characters of *Die Fledermaus*, who had been immortalized by Jani Szika, Alexander Girardi, and their colleagues since 1874. The divide in opinion was partisan and reflected other divisions in the city. By and large, the 'liberal' newspapers supported the move to the Hofoper, while the conservative papers criticised it, citing tradition — not musical quality — and the fitness of particular pieces for specific theatres.

This chapter will examine some of these circumstantial matters, before presenting more discussion of the operetta in the context of scientific and popular conceptions of masculinity — conceptions which had changed considerably since the 1870s. While the 'manhood acts' of honour and its restitution remained central to some constructions of Viennese masculinity in the 1890s, innovations in medical thought, particularly psychiatry, contributed to a discourse in which 'inadequate' masculinities were pathologized. Differences between men and women increasingly became a medical, rather than a philosophical, matter. While these innovations formed part of an ongoing project in psychiatry, the years 1885 to 1900 represent the first 'sustained attempt' to account for masculinity based on systematic clinical observation.⁵⁰¹ Within this scientific movement, some key texts include Sigmund Freud's lectures on 'male hysteria' in 1886, and the publication of Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psycopathia Sexualis* in the same year, followed by Max Nordau's *Degeneration (Entartung)* published in 1892.

These medically-oriented texts did not systematically or explicitly explain what constituted masculinity, but their fixation on various threats that imperilled men's moral rectitude and sexuality suggests that 'correct' masculinity preoccupied the authors. In these texts, masculinity — both as a collective, and in individual manifestations — initially appears strong and immovable. However, like many fortresses, masculinity was vulnerable to damage by violent siege, or by more surreptitious forms of erosion: without constant vigilance, the seeds of immorality could take hold in the masonry, and gradually compromise the entire structure, resulting in crumbling and collapse. During the late 1880s and 1890s, new research began to suggest that the reasons for such collapse came from within men, the result of organic frailty or hereditary degeneration.

Although scientific and medical texts provide ideal sources for interpreting constructions of masculinity, studying gender and masculinity from a historical perspective runs the risk of overemphasising scientific innovation while shying away from deliberate engagement with

⁵⁰¹Raewyn Connell, among other authors attributes, this phenomenon almost entirely to Siegmund Freud, but other influences seem apparent. Connell, *Masculinities*, 8-9.

modes of expression from literature and popular culture.⁵⁰² These influences from the humanities include the work of artists, novelists, and playwrights, whose creativity shaped, or reflected upon attitudes towards masculinity. The early works of Hugo von Hofmannstahl and Arthur Schnitzler directly address the condition of masculinity in a similar milieu to that found in *Die Fledermaus*, while other texts, including, for example, Stefan Zweig's retrospective reflections in *Die Welt von Gestern*, vividly depict coming of age as a man in Vienna at the *fin de siècle*.

The score and libretto of *Die Fledermaus* are products of 1874 but as a performed work, it possessed and still possesses the capacity to function as living text in the 1890s.⁵⁰³ In addition, *Die Fledermaus* had the advantage of being set in a recognisably contemporary milieu, which was unusual for operetta at this time, and atypical of Strauss's operettas until this point.⁵⁰⁴ Because of its contemporary setting, the decision made by the Hofoper to stage *Die Fledermaus*, rather than one of Strauss's other operettas, perhaps reinforced the significance of this operetta as a recognisable comment on everyday life. The scenes enacted on stage in *Die Fledermaus*, and particularly the depiction of interactions between men and women, can be understood as representative of the social climate that prevailed at the time of the performance. Therefore, in this chapter I propose to read the masculinities in *Die Fledermaus* through the lens of ideas and theories promulgated in the scientific and literary spheres, using the premise that although the characters were not re-written for performances at the Hofoper in the 1890s, audiences might now perceive the characters' behaviour and deceptions in *Die Fledermaus* in a new, medical context.

5.2 Circumstances of the first Hofoper performance, 1894.

The decision to stage *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper in 1894 lay with the theatre's director, Wilhelm Jahn. While the celebrations of the 'Strauß-Jubiläum' provided one reason for the performance, Jahn's decision also reflected the trend of expanding the Hofoper's repertoire during his tenure, to include more works with spoken dialogue.⁵⁰⁵ Journalists tended to refer to the German works in this category as *Spieloper*, and their performance was closely associated

⁵⁰² Kate Fisher and Jana Funke, 'Sexual science beyond the medical', *The Lancet*, Vol. 387, Issue 10021 (February 2016) 841.

⁵⁰³ My definition of 'text' here includes the score, the libretto, and individual performances. Nicholas Till, 'The operatic text: works, receptions, and repertoires,' *Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies*, Nicholas Till ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 225-253. Nicholas Cook has also proposed the use of 'script' instead of text, seeing, 'in the context of performance culture, scores...much more like theatrical scripts than the literary texts' and reconsidering 'assumptions of the music-as-writing approach.' Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 1-2.

⁵⁰⁴ Compare with Strauss's other operettas set in Rome (*Carneval in Rom*), eighteenth-century Venice (*Eine Nacht in Venedig*), Vienna in 1783-1784 (*Cagliostro in Wien*), and Portugal in 1580 (*Das Spitzentuch der Königin*).

⁵⁰⁵ Jahn's repertoire expansion included Italian, French, and German works with spoken dialogue. Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna, 1896-1897: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 81.

with Jahn's interpretations. He tended to leave other German works which were not *Spieloper* to his colleague, Hans Richter.⁵⁰⁶

Jahn did not conduct the first Hofoper performance of *Die Fledermaus* on 28 October 1894: the recently appointed Vice-Kapellmeister, Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, took the reins instead, and the matinee doubled as a benefit for the pension fund of the court theatres. The production featured new sets and decoration by Anton Brioschi, whose opulent 'Makart' designs served for more than two hundred and forty performances of *Die Fledermaus* between October 1894 and June 1944.⁵⁰⁷ The cast included singers who had specialised in operetta earlier in their careers, and who regularly performed in *Singspiel*, alongside colleagues for whom operetta was an excursion into new territory. (Table 5.1)⁵⁰⁸ Several members of the cast would become as closely associated with their Hofoper *Die Fledermaus* roles as the operetta's first performers at the Theater an der Wien; in some cases, this close association would become a source of resentment.

Table 5.1. Core cast, *Die Fledermaus*, 28 October 1894, Hofoper.⁵⁰⁹

Role	Performer	Other Hofoper roles c. 1894
Rosalinde von Eisenstein	Paula Mark	Marzelline (<i>Fidelio</i>); Wellgunde (<i>Götterdämmerung</i>); Carmen (<i>Carmen</i>); Cherubino (<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>).
Gabriel von Eisenstein	Fritz Schrödter	Don José (<i>Carmen</i>); Erik (<i>Der fliegende Holländer</i>); Jaquino (<i>Fidelio</i>); Tonio (<i>La fille du Régiment</i>).
Falke	Benedikt Felix	Dr. Cajus (<i>Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor</i>); Leuthold (<i>Guillaume Tell</i>); Antonio (<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>); Moralès (<i>Carmen</i>).

⁵⁰⁶ Mosco Carner, Rudolf Klein, 2002 'Vienna. 4. 1830-1945. (i) Hofoper (later Staatsoper).' Accessed 21 January 2019.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000905465>.

Christopher Fifield, 2001 'Richter, Hans [Johann].' Accessed 21 January 2019.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023402..>

⁵⁰⁷ Anton Brioschi trained as an artist in Munich and worked initially at the Hanover Court Theatre from 1883. In 1885 he returned to Vienna, and joined his father working at the Hofoper. Anton Brioschi specialised in the opulent, yet realistic style of set painting and decoration inspired by the work of the Viennese painter Hans Makart, who was hailed during his short life as the 'Richard Wagner of German Painting.' His pre-eminence at the Hofoper was eclipsed in the first decade of the twentieth century by the Secessionist Alfred Roller and his assistant Heinrich Leffler. Thomas Grey, 'Wagner and the "Makart Style",' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25, no. 3 (November 2013) 225-260. Evan Baker, 'Roller, Alfred.' Accessed 22 April, 2018.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023712>

⁵⁰⁸ In January 1886, Hofoper and Theater an der Wien performers came together at the Theater an der Wien for a benefit performance of *Die Fledermaus*. Schrödter and Benedikt Felix took the roles of Eisenstein and Falke. *Der Humorist*, 4 January 1886, 2-3; a similar performance took place at the Theater an der Wien on 27 March, 1886, to raise money for hospitals and asylums for children, again with Schrödter and Felix. *Morgen-Post*, 27 March 1886, 8.

⁵⁰⁹ Sources: Spielplanarchiv of the Wienerstaatsoper; ÖNB Bildarchiv; ANNO Historische österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften.

Alfred	Andreas Dippel	Don José (<i>Carmen</i>); Radames (<i>Aida</i>); Manrico (<i>Il Trovatore</i>); Siegfried (<i>Siegfried</i>); Eric (<i>Der fliegende Holländer</i>).
Frank	Josef Ritter	Escamillo (<i>Carmen</i>); Guglielmo (<i>Così fan tutte</i>); Nevers (<i>Les Huguenots</i>); Don Pizarro (<i>Fidelio</i>).
Blind	Anton Schittenhelm	Minor roles in <i>Der Ruß, Harlekin als Elektriker</i> ; Pedrillo (<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>).
Orlofsky	Lola Beeth	Susanna (<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>); Julie (<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>); Frau Fluth (<i>Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor</i>); Marie (<i>Der Trompeter von Säckingen</i>); Eurydike (<i>Orpheus und Eurydike</i>)
Adele	Ellen Brandt-Forster	Micaëla (<i>Carmen</i>); Marzelline (<i>Fidelio</i>); Cherubino (<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>); Sophie (<i>Werther</i>).
Ida	Karoline Skositz	Waberl (<i>Am Wörthersee</i>); Weib des Bauers (<i>Die Puppenfee</i>).

5.3 The 1894 Hofoper performance: reception and controversy.

The reception of the Hofoper's first performance of *Die Fledermaus* divided along a general tendency to fretful concern in the conservative papers, and lively praise in the liberal papers (see **Table 5.2**). Of the former group, the *Wiener Caricaturen* expressed particular apprehension before the performance that *Die Fledermaus*, a 'light, graceful, cheerful creature' could be 'if not crushed, then at the very least squeezed under the influence of too much "great art".' One critic, recalling a performance of Ferdinand Raimund's play *Der Verschwender* at the Burgtheater, said that 'all ingenuousness [and] all naivete' had been lost in the unsuitable actors' cumbersome lurching between pathos and humour.⁵¹⁰ The writer fretted that the Hofoper's mystique and artists would harm Strauss's creation in a similar way.

Table 5.2. Viennese newspapers and periodicals, showing political alliances.⁵¹¹

Title	Circulation	Editorial position and affiliations 1890-1900
<i>Das Vaterland</i>	Daily	Conservative, Catholic affiliation.
<i>Der Floh</i>	Weekly	Satirical: conservative, anti-Semitic.
<i>Deutsche Zeitung</i>	Daily	Conservative.
<i>Deutsches Volksblatt</i>	Daily	Conservative: supported Christian Socialists.
<i>Die Presse</i>	Daily	Liberal.

⁵¹⁰ '[...]er bewegte sich steif und schwerfällig zwischen gespreiztem Humor und gespreiztem Pathos.' *Wiener Caricaturen*, 28 October 1894, 3. *Der Verschwender* was first produced in 1834 at the Josefstadt Theatre. The Burgtheater performance took place in 1885.

⁵¹¹ Source: *ANNO Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften* (www.anno.onb.ac.at)

<i>Figaro</i>	Weekly	Humour, satire: conservative.
<i>Kikeriki</i>	Weekly	Satirical: conservative, anti-Semitic.
<i>Neue Freie Presse</i>	Daily	Liberal.
<i>Neues Wiener Journal</i>	Daily	‘Non-partisan’; liberal-leaning.
<i>Wiener Caricaturen</i>	Weekly	Satirical: conservative, anti-Semitic.
<i>Wiener Salonblatt</i>	Weekly	Lighter, gossip, social news (equivalent of <i>Tatler</i>).
<i>Wiener Zeitung</i>	Daily	Official government newspaper.

After the performance, the reviews in the liberal newspapers, including the *Wiener Zeitung*, *Die Presse*, and the *Neue Freie Presse*, tended to emphasise the musical and vocal quality of the Hofoper’s staging. The *Wiener Zeitung* declared that ‘The performance was brilliant’ due to the performers, and because *Die Fledermaus* was in form and content not an operetta, but a comic opera which had long belonged to the Hofoper.⁵¹² The *Neue Freie Presse* lamented, along similar lines, that comic opera was not ‘better maintained’ at the Hofoper.⁵¹³ The unique aesthetic standards of the Hofoper did not diminish the effectiveness of the comic scenes, and although the singers were ‘foreign to the whole genre,’ they entered into it ‘with talent and gaiety.’⁵¹⁴ The critic concluded that although other operettas by Strauss were equally as rich in charming melodies, *Die Fledermaus* won the day for its overall grace and unity, and despite its moderate vocal demands, the piece avoided triviality.

Robert Hirschfeld’s review in *Die Presse* exemplifies the overall character of responses in the liberal press:

man könnte die besten komischen Opern zum Vergleich heranziehen und Strauß bliebe im Vordergrund. Von den blühenden, unvergänglichen Reizen dieser Tonwelt ist ja heute nichts mehr zu sagen. Genug, daß sie auch in Räumen, für welche sie nicht bestimmt schienen, ihren vollen Glanz entfalteten.⁵¹⁵

in a comparison with the best comic opera, Strauss would remain in the foreground. Of the blossoming of the unforgettable charms of this *Tonwelt* there is nothing more to say today. Enough that they unfolded their full glory in quarters for which they did not seemed destined.

This blossoming, Hirschfeld wrote, was also due to the incomparable orchestra, and the strength of the cast. All the performers contributed ably to the performance, but Fritz Schrödter — who had experience of operetta earlier in his career — led the way, his comedy as assured as his spicy (*würzige*) voice. Fritz Schrödter’s delivery was discreetly inflected, gratifying in its cheerfulness and in tone.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹² *Wiener Zeitung*, 29 October 1894, 4.

⁵¹³ *Neue Freie Presse*, 29 October 1894, 3.

⁵¹⁴ *Neue Freie Presse*, 29 October 1894, 3-4.

⁵¹⁵ *Die Presse*, 30 October 1894, 1-2.

⁵¹⁶ *Die Presse*, 30 October 1894, 2.

Meanwhile, *Das Vaterland*, a conservative Catholic newspaper, discussed the role of the conductor, Fuchs, who proved to be a ‘helmsman with a secure hand. In operetta, a territory remote from his serious nature, he found himself with surprising ease, and conducted as briskly as a Hofballmusikdirector.’⁵¹⁷ The ‘most honourable part’ of the success of the performance was due to the orchestra, which ‘played with air and fire.’ Lola Beeth’s Orlofski was also ‘very original,’ being ‘a Polish prince in a tailcoat, who betrayed his nationality all the more with his speech.’ *Das Vaterland* also contrasted the failure of Strauss’s opera *Ritter Pásmán* with the success of *Die Fledermaus*:

Schließlich hat doch Strauß Recht behalten; als er damals zur Oper kam, war ihm das Schicksal nicht günstig; nun kam die Oper zu ihm, und das war gut und vom größten Erfolge begleitet; Strauß braucht eben keine Oper zu schreiben, um im Wiener Hofopertheater eine Heimat zu finden.⁵¹⁸

After all, Strauss has been proved right; when he came to the Opera, fate was not favourable to him; now the Opera has come to him, and this has been good, accompanied by the greatest success. Strauss does not need to write an opera to find a home in the Vienna Hofoper.

Figaro made a similar comment, namely that with the performance of *Die Fledermaus* in the Hofoper, Johann Strauss found the sincere praise that he had failed to achieve with his opera, *Ritter Pásmán*.⁵¹⁹

Three years later, in October 1897, *Die Fledermaus* achieved another milestone in its performance life at the Hofoper, by moving from the matinee repertory to the evening repertory. This performance, at which the composer was present, represented an apotheosis of sorts for the operetta, confirming the artistic status that Hirschfeld had ascribed to the piece in 1894. The October performance was also the first and only one of *Die Fledermaus* that the Hofoper’s new director, Gustav Mahler, would conduct during his tenure. Despite the praise that his interpretation would receive, Mahler had no special affection for *Die Fledermaus* or Johann Strauss, a view he had expressed to his friend, the violist Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

Strauss is a poor fellow; with all his melodies and ‘ideas’ going to waste, he reminds me of a man who has to pawn his few possessions in order to keep going, and soon has nothing left, whereas another (the real composer) can find plenty of large notes and small change in his pockets whenever he needs them.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ *Das Vaterland*, 30 October 1894, 1.

⁵¹⁸ *Das Vaterland*, 30 October 1894, 1.

⁵¹⁹ *Figaro*, 3 November 1894, 7-8. *Ritter Pásmán*, the opera Strauss wrote specifically for Hofoper in 1892, received only eight performances between its premiere on 1 January 1892 and 4 March 1892. Although Strauss’s orchestrations and Hungarian dances received acclaim, the audience failed to respond especially enthusiastically to the story. While the opera included a romantic story and a happy ending, the overall musical tone was serious and worthy, and Lajos Dóczi’s libretto died from ‘acute text failure.’ Traubner, *Operetta*, 130-131.

⁵²⁰ Henri Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler. Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897-1904)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 84.

After the evening performance in October, Mahler then relinquished the annually increasing number of *Die Fledermaus* performances to his staff conductors, Joseph ‘Pepi’ Hellmesberger, Karl Leuze, Bruno Walter, and Julius Lechner. Nevertheless, when the Hofoper’s regular Eisenstein, Fritz Schrödter, complained that appearing repeatedly as Eisenstein would compromise his reputation, Mahler sent him a brusque memorandum:

An operetta is simply a small and lighthearted opera, and many classical works are given this title. The fact that recently compositions without musical value have been called operettas makes no difference. Johann Strauss’s work surpasses them in every way, notably in its excellent musical diction, and that is why the administration has not hesitated to include it in the Opera repertoire. You yourself, dear Herr Schrödter, have often sung works that are far below the level of *Die Fledermaus* — *Am Wörther See*, for example ... I very much regret that I cannot accede to your wish to be withdrawn from the role of Eisenstein or to be paid a bonus for singing it.⁵²¹

Schrödter capitulated: by the time of his final performance of Eisenstein in December 1920, he would have sung the role more than one hundred times at the Hofoper and Staatsoper.

In 1897, just as in 1894, critical responses to *Die Fledermaus* were divided largely according to the editorial position of the newspaper. The *Neue Freie Presse* enthused about Mahler’s interpretation of the ‘Waltz King’s most ingenious work’:

Director Mahler hatte das Stück studiert und mit dem Spürsinn des echten Theatermannes in der Partitur eine ganze Anzahl von Nuancen, von Orchesterwitzten entdeckt, die vielleicht noch Niemand vor ihm bemerkte oder doch in die That umsetzte.⁵²²

Director Mahler has studied the piece, and with the flair of a true man of the theatre has discovered in the score a quantity of nuances of orchestration, which perhaps nobody has before noticed or put into action.

The *Neues Wiener Journal* commented on the particular care with which Mahler must have rehearsed the piece, noting that he successfully directed *Die Fledermaus* as a comic opera rather than operetta, while making subtle changes in the usual tempi, and placing special emphasis on individual instrumental effects.⁵²³ The writer hoped that *Die Fledermaus* would become part of the regular repertoire, but worried that Mahler — in excising from the piece some of the tiresome habits instilled by custom — would fill it instead with his own irritating habits.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ *Am Wörther See*, an opera by Thomas Koschat (1845-1914) was first performed at the Hofoper in March 1880. La Grange, *Years of Challenge*, 182.

⁵²² *Neue Freie Presse*, 2 November 1897, 5.

⁵²³ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 2 November 1897, 4.

⁵²⁴ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 2 Nov 1897, 4. Mahler’s ‘irritating habits’ were perceived as both musical and personal, born of his energetic presence on the podium; his passionate gestures (which he would later almost eliminate from his style) provoked increasingly pejorative criticism, demonstrated by a vituperative anonymous article, ‘Die Judenherrschaft in der Wiener Hofoper,’ that appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung* on 4 November 1898:

‘Herr Mahler’s manner of conducting is not above criticism ... It often happens that Herr Mahler’s left hand does not know what the right is doing ... Mahler’s left hand often jerks convulsively, marking the Bohemian magic circle, digging for treasure, fluttering, snatching, strangling, thrashing the waves, throttling babes-in-arms, kneading performing sleights of hand – in short it is often lost in a *delirium tremens*, but it does not conduct.’

The satirical and conservative press now took a different approach, arguing that despite the musical success of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper, audiences were not seeing or hearing the true or ‘rechte Fledermaus.’ Influenced perhaps by the polemics of the arch-conservative and Pan-Germanist critic and theatre director, Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, these papers took the view that the Hofoper had appropriated *Die Fledermaus*, leaving the Theater an der Wien bereft and seeking new forms of novelty. The director of the Theater an der Wien, Alexandrine von Schönerer, took to producing opera, scoring a major coup in 1897 by securing the Viennese premiere of Puccini’s *La Bohème*, while the Hofoper had to make good its undertaking (made by Jahn) to perform Leoncavallo’s *La Bohème* to Mahler’s regret.

Less than a month after Mahler’s performance of *Die Fledermaus*, the satirical papers, *Der Floh*, *Wiener Caricaturen*, and *Kikeriki* seized on the conflict between the Hofoper and the Theater an der Wien, for which *Die Fledermaus* was one of the catalysts, and began to mock Mahler’s decision to stage operetta in the evening repertoire of the Hofoper. On 18 November, *Kikeriki* referred derisively to his new practice, making a pun on the word ‘Operette’ and the verb ‘retten’ meaning ‘to rescue’:

Fledermaus und Angot im Opernhaus

Man holte den neuen Director herbei,
Daß der die **Oper rette**.
Wie es scheint, verstand er die Sache falsch
Und bringt uns die — **Operette**.⁵²⁵

They brought in the new Director
That he might save the Opera
It seems he misunderstood this
And brings us — Operetta.

References to a perceived feud between the directors Schönerer and Mahler, as they took from one theatre the repertoire that belonged to the other, became a regular feature of *Kikeriki* and *Der Floh*. A week before the publication of the doggerel about Mahler, *Der Floh* had run a column called ‘Theaterdirectoren-Monolog,’ parodying the thoughts of the directors of the city’s theatres, Max Burkhard (Burgtheater), Emmerich von Bukovics (Volkstheater), Franz Jauner (Carl-Theater), Mahler, and Schönerer:

Mahler: Die Claque hab’ ich hinausgeworfen, wer zu spät kommt, darf nicht mehr hinein, jetzt bin ich nur noch im Zweifel, ob ich nicht die Spätkommenden hinauswerfen und die Claque wieder hereinlassen soll? [...]

Frl. v. Schönerer: Der ‘Judas von Tirol’ war keine dreißig Silbertinge werth, und mit dem ‘Verregneten Amor’ bin ich vom Regen in die Traufe gekommen. Soll ich’s jetzt vielleicht der Hofoper nachmachen und statt der ‘Fledermaus’ die ‘Götterdämmerung’ zu dreifach erhöhten Preisen geben, um volle Häuser zu erzielen.⁵²⁶

These criticisms of Mahler’s irritating habits, whether covertly or openly anti-Semitic, obliquely impugned his masculinity, contrasting it unfavourably with the “roast beef” of the “strong and manly” Hans Richter. K. M. Knittel in “Ein hypmoderner Dirigent”: Mahler and Anti-Semitism in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, *19th-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1995) 268-270.

⁵²⁵ *Kikeriki*, 18 November 1897, 3.

⁵²⁶ *Der Floh*, 7 November 1897, 3.

Mahler: I have thrown out the claque, and latecomers may now not go in, but now I'm in doubt, should I throw out the latecomers, and admit the claque again? [...]

Frl. v. Schönerer: The 'Judas of the Tyrol' is not worth thirty pieces of silver, and with the 'Rainy Day Cupid' I have come from the rain into the eaves [I have jumped from the frying pan into the fire]. Perhaps I should now imitate the Hofoper and instead of the 'Fledermaus' give 'Götterdämmerung' at three times higher prices to ensure full houses.

In the conservative press, the view that the Hofoper had stolen *Die Fledermaus* from its natural habitat prevailed. Some branches of the press conflated with this perception their scathing attitude towards Mahler's directorship, their ire largely motivated by anti-Semitic prejudice. However, following Mahler's promotion of *Die Fledermaus* into the evening repertoire of the house, the number of performances of the work continued to increase throughout the decade, becoming one of the most frequently performed pieces at the theatre.

On 20 August 1899 the *Wiener Caricaturen* declared that the 'Hofoper must let the *Fledermaus* flutter away to the Theater an der Wien, buzz back to her birthplace.' The author continued that despite the 'enthusiastic fibbing' ('enthusiastischen Geflunkers') by critics and audience which greeted performances of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper, the operetta had never been entirely comfortable ('behaglich') there. In the court theatres, the author continued, one could not find the 'correct Fledermaus,' just as one could not find the 'correct Raimund' or the 'correct Anzengruber.'⁵²⁷ No matter how much the court actors attempted to embody the inimitable 'fesch oder g'müthli' vernacular, one could not escape the impression that they were mixing with people they would rather avoid.⁵²⁸ Director Mahler ignored his detractors, taking his cue to continue scheduling performances of *Die Fledermaus* from the box office takings.

Two recurring themes emerge from reviews of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper: the first is that the high musical standards at the Hofoper gave new life to Strauss's operetta, almost reinventing the piece through the artistry of the singers, orchestra, and conductors. Reflecting on reports of Mahler's single performance of *Die Fledermaus*, which emphasise how he brought to the piece his unique style and attention to detail, it becomes clear that this performance was something out of the ordinary. Meanwhile, other comments in these reviews still infer that a *Fledermaus* in the Hofoper could not be a 'rechte *Fledermaus*' in such an inauthentic environment; they continued to suggest that some of the Hofoper artists disparaged *Die Fledermaus*, an impression that Mahler's memorandum to Fritz Schrödter suggests may have been the case. Nevertheless, these critical reactions to performances of *Die Fledermaus* at the

⁵²⁷These performances coincided with ongoing concern about the perceived moral and artistic bankruptcy of Vienna's theatres, which had been forcefully expressed by the pan-Germanist critic Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn in his 1885 pamphlet *Wien war eine Theaterstadt* ('Vienna used to be a city of theatre'), in which he accused the theatres of betraying their ethical and didactic obligations. Yates, *Theater in Vienna*, 168-170.

⁵²⁸*Wiener Caricaturen*, 20 August 1897, 3.

Hofoper suggest that musically the opera house's ensemble and orchestra shone a new light on the piece, refreshing what had become familiar through routine. In this vein, considering *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper as a reinvented product of the 1890s also permits a reading of the operetta's story and characters through the eyes of the decade.

5.4 A new paradigm for masculinities in *Die Fledermaus*.

Although medicalized interpretations of masculinity form the basis of discussion in this chapter, it should be emphasised that the culture of chivalric honour and duelling had not abated in the 1890s; if anything, *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and the obligation to duel had established a still greater hold on the officer corps and the Austrian civilians who emulated them. In the 1890s concepts of what constituted ideal forms of masculinity, especially for men of the bourgeoisie (who in turn took many of their cues from the officer corps and nobility) were still based on the values of chivalrous honour. *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* provided one obvious example of a 'good' masculinity which aspired to the spiritual elevation of knightly conduct, and which the military enshrined in their *Ehrenkodex*.

But, by the middle of the 1890s, coinciding with the first Hofoper performance of *Die Fledermaus*, authors had begun to publish more explicit criticisms of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and the barbarity of militarism in civilian society. Among this work, Arthur Schnitzler's dramas of 1895 and 1896, *Leibelei* and *Freiwild* explored the futility and hypocrisy of 'honour' and the obligation to duel. Through these plays Schnitzler emphasised how unnecessary tragedy resulted from the individual's obedience to convention, at the expense of rational behaviour. The strengthening of adherence to honour codes and the feudal practice of duelling indicated to Schnitzler that Liberalism had failed. Meanwhile, Bertha von Suttner, the author and pacifist, also criticised duelling as a bellicose practice which would eventually lead to war. She attacked duelling in *Das Maschinenzeitalter* (*The Machine Age*, 1889) and *Die Waffen nieder* (*Lay Down Your Arms*, 1889).

The behaviour of the male characters in *Die Fledermaus* could be discussed in relation to Schnitzler and von Suttner but other enticing avenues of investigation, especially medical ideas, are equally relevant. By the mid-1890s, developments in scientific thought had begun to conceptualize gender as a medical and psychological phenomenon, rather than a purely biological and philosophical one. The idea of masculinity being medicalized, or pathologized, comes to us indirectly through the medical-psychiatric work of Richard von Krafft-Ebing. His research coalesces with that of other doctors and writers, including Emil Kraepelin, Albert Moll, and Max Nordau. Their theorization of gender, as Agatha Schwartz and others have noted, involved assertions of empirical evidence that privileged the well-off, educated, professional or noble,

heterosexual man as the rational and reasonable norm; everything else was sensual, excessive, and ‘other’ to normality.⁵²⁹ This ‘otherness’ also included women as a general category.

The evolving theories of gender in the 1880s and 1890s also served to reinforce, rather than reduce, the sexual double standard that permitted men certain sexual freedoms, while demanding chastity from women. In fact, some texts used ‘empirical’ method to provide a scientific justification for this double standard. Of course, these double standards of behaviour had certainly existed and been acknowledged long before the premiere of *Die Fledermaus* in 1874. My suggestion is that by the time of the Hofoper performances of *Die Fledermaus* from 1894 onwards, its medicalized justification in text books could inform interpretations of some scenes in the operetta.

5.5 Krafft-Ebing and *Psychopathia Sexualis*.

One of the texts, significant for both its medical importance and its vivid appeal to the popular imagination, was Richard von Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and the remainder of this chapter will view the behaviour and interactions of the male characters in *Die Fledermaus* from the perspective of Krafft-Ebing’s book. The following section suggests how Krafft-Ebing’s case studies — first published in 1886 but going through many revised and enlarged editions before the author’s death in 1902 — made a significant impact on conceptualizations of masculinity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Viewed through the writing of Krafft-Ebing, *Die Fledermaus* hints at new contexts for discussing the masculinities articulated in the operetta.

One of the nineteenth century’s pioneers of psychiatry, Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) was born in Mannheim and studied medicine at Heidelberg University. He qualified in 1863, and then worked as a clinician and researcher in universities, asylums and private clinics, first in Strasbourg and then in Austria. In 1880, having decided to devote himself to research, he resigned from the university at Graz to dedicate more time to forensic psychiatry. Krafft-Ebing’s publications from the years 1875–1880 had gained a wide readership amongst psychiatrists and neurologists.

In 1886 came the publication of the first edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing’s most influential work, coinciding with his opening of a private sanatorium-style clinic in Mariagrün (Graz) for well-off private patients suffering from neurasthenia, a condition he defined as a disturbance between the accumulation and expenditure of ‘nerve force’.⁵³⁰ *Psychopathia Sexualis*, however, was intended primarily for legal and forensic use in the court system.

⁵²⁹Agatha Schwartz, ‘Austrian *Fin-de-Siècle* Gender Heteroglossia: The Dialogism of Misogyny, Feminism, and Viriphobia’, *German Studies Review* 28, no. 2 (May 2005) 347–348.

⁵³⁰The Mariagrün sanatorium was promoted carefully as a haven for people suffering from ‘functional nervous disease’ not an asylum for the ‘mentally disturbed’. Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*:

Psychopathia Sexualis deals primarily with what Krafft-Ebing called ‘perverted sexual instinct,’ defined as anything which diverted from the natural ‘impulse for procreation.’ He regarded these conditions as pathological rather than criminal — illnesses that could be relieved through treatment. The significance of *Psychopathia Sexualis* comes from its presentation of an empirical collection of clinical observations.

In 1889 Krafft-Ebing moved to Vienna, where he was appointed to one of the chairs in psychiatry at the university and held an associated position in the psychiatric department of the general hospital. Krafft-Ebing became an exponent of hypnotism as part of a cure for mental disturbance, carrying out public displays in the manner of Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris.⁵³¹ In his lectures, Krafft-Ebing surveyed the history of psychiatry as ‘a progression from metaphysical and philosophical speculation to the sound method of natural science.’⁵³²

When *Psychopathia Sexualis* was published, its author specified that the book was intended for professionals, rather than lay readers, who could use it to inform themselves forensically. However, the number of men who wrote to Krafft-Ebing following the publication of the first edition, suggests that *Psychopathia Sexualis* soon acquired a wide popular readership.⁵³³ The growing number of case studies Krafft-Ebing collated in each edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis* attempted to bridge this gap, by considering anatomical evidence, and making detailed descriptions of the patients’ symptoms and psychological states. Although Krafft-Ebing synthesized a range of new psychiatric knowledge of gender and sexuality in these studies and his commentaries on them, he never explicitly discussed what constituted ‘masculinity.’ Nevertheless, his understanding of what constituted ‘normality’ emerged as a by-product of showing what he considered abnormal, and these factors helped shape concepts of appropriate behaviour.

Krafft-Ebing, *Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 92-93.

⁵³¹ Krafft-Ebing’s public performances enraged some of his university colleagues, including Moritz Benedikt, the professor of electrotherapy, who accused Krafft-Ebing of carrying on in a sensational way, and exploiting fashionable topics with his ‘fine nose for “worldly success.”’ Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 95.

⁵³² Initially believing that the principal cause of ‘insanity’ was a disease of the brain tissue, Krafft-Ebing and his contemporary psychiatrists realised that with the exception of some conditions, including epilepsy and neuro-syphilis, post-mortems failed to detect physical defects in the brains of those who had died insane, an ‘embarrassment’ as Oosterhuis has put it, that ‘forced physicians to posit functional rather than structural lesions.’⁵³² Krafft-Ebing realised that there existed a ‘gap between anatomical and neurophysical research, on the one hand, and clinical observation, on the other’ making it hardly possible to connect clinical pictures of mental diseases to uniform pathological anatomical findings. Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 101-102.

⁵³³ Fisher and Funke, ‘Sexual science,’ 840-841.

Psychopathia Sexualis was widely discussed in the press, as were Krafft-Ebing's public experiments in hypnosis.⁵³⁴ In the satirical papers, *Der Floh*, *Kikeriki*, and *Der Humorist* references to Krafft-Ebing's public appearances, and his treatments for 'Nervenkrankheiten,' including kleptomania and fear of earthquakes, appeared alongside articles about operetta.⁵³⁵ It is likely that at least some of the Hofoper audiences of *Die Fledermaus* would have been aware of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and perhaps familiar with the text.

5.6 Krafft-Ebing, masculinity, and *Die Fledermaus*.

When *Die Fledermaus* made its move from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper, its traverse of the *Ringstrasse* had a symbolic meaning equivalent to Krafft-Ebing's documentation of difference, or what he called perversion. The Theater an der Wien — considered to be one of the *Vorstadt* (suburban) theatres — sat fewer than six hundred metres from the Hofoper, and its audience demographics were not wildly different: people attended the Hofoper and the suburban theatres in order to enjoy the specific genres and performance styles associated with each venue. Theatre and music critics, especially those of a conservative bent, expressed strong views about the repertoire suitable for the court and suburban theatres, but this did not affect who attended, and generic categories were not set in stone.⁵³⁶ The divide between the two theatres was less based on divisions between high and low culture than it was related to conceptualizations of social difference, and fear of disorder. Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner have documented perceptions of these social differences in what they call 'Outcast Vienna.' The suburbs were regarded with suspicion and distaste by the habitués of the *Ringstrasse* and its immediate environs.⁵³⁷ In the suburbs existed squalor, immorality, migrants, indulgence, and dissidence, a welter of disobedience belied by the elegance of the architecture.⁵³⁸

The Theater an der Wien, while not as far-flung as the Ottakring, also formed part of this outsider identity, a conception strengthened by the characteristics of the material performed there. The traditions of dialect comedy, improvisation, double-entendre, burlesque, and parody mirrored

⁵³⁴ 'Die hypnotischen Experimente des Hofraths v. Krafft-Ebing,' *Die Presse*, 13 July 1893, 15. *Die Glühlichter*, 3 September, 1896, 4, included a mocking report on a woman with 'Kleptomanie' who stole jewellery: 'Sie wurde dem Prof. Krafft-Ebing zur Behandlung übergeben.' ('She was handed over to Prof. Krafft-Ebing for treatment.'). The psychiatrists active in Vienna at the turn of the century, including Krafft-Ebing, Freud, and Wilhelm Stekel, tended to believe that kleptomania, especially for women, resulted from thwarted or misplaced sexual instinct. Wilhelm Stekel, 'The Sexual Root of Kleptomania', *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 2, no. 2 (July 1911) 239-241.

⁵³⁵ 'Herr von Aengstlich über das Erdbeben,' *Der Floh*, 21 April 1895, 2.

⁵³⁶ The rivalry between Alexandrine von Schönerer's Theater an der Wien and the Hofoper demonstrates the increasing porousness of generic divides towards the end of the century.

⁵³⁷ Some elements of the *Vorstadt* were acceptable — the pleasures of the Prater were romanticised in both high literature, and popular song — but the realities of industry and poverty were despised and ignored by authors. Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, 'Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,' *International Labor and Working-Class History* 64 (Fall 2003) 28.

⁵³⁸ Maderthaner and Musner, 'Outcast Vienna 1900,' 30.

the disobedience associated with the suburbs. Meanwhile, the Hofoper and the Hofburgtheater, standing sentry on either side of the Hofburg, represented artistic order and purity, and reflected the orderliness of the autocratic regime. These two theatres were considered the two finest jewels in the imperial artistic crown.⁵³⁹

In this context, the journey of *Die Fledermaus* from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper possesses some symbolic significance: the operetta emerged from the *Vorstadt* — with all its messy associations — and entered the temple of art and perfection. Similarly, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's careful documentation and counsel of his patients and their symptoms delivered them — at least in his view — from a dark hinterland of confusion and psychical disorder into the clarity and order offered by empirical science. In so doing, Krafft-Ebing illuminated some attributes of masculinities and their articulation, rather as the early Hofoper performances of *Die Fledermaus* illuminated features of Strauss's score that had become lost to habit and routine. Furthermore, the depiction in *Die Fledermaus* of male weakness, and men failing to perform correctly the most socially acceptable and lauded forms of masculinity, had parallels with the troubled, imperfect masculinity abundant in *Psychopathia Sexualis*.

As mentioned above, Krafft-Ebing intended *Psychopathia Sexualis* primarily as a technical book, 'addressed to earnest investigators in the domain of natural science and jurisprudence,' rather than to the man in the street. The text offers no specific discussion of masculinity *per se*, but it does make repeated reference to particular traits that contribute to forming impressions of good and problematic masculinity.⁵⁴⁰ Lisa Downing has written that in texts such as *Psychopathia Sexualis*:

The discourse of sexual science [had] high expectations of masculinity as the fantasized embodiment of reason, but also a fatal suspicion of male weakness. It only barely manages to disguise the latter by means of its misogynistic projection of passivity onto women[.]⁵⁴¹

For men, losing these qualities of reason and rationality, through excessive sensuality, precipitated an 'exacerbation' of natural instincts, which could result in outrages of lust, including sadism and murder.⁵⁴² Krafft-Ebing's concept of 'perversion' and the evidence he gathered to support his theories would come to define:

all forms of sexual eccentricity or nonconformity, and the construction of a narrow definition of heterosexual, coital normativity through the pathologization of other sexualities frequently overlapped with fears of degeneration or with concerns about

⁵³⁹ Gavin Plumley, 'Symphonies and Psychosis in Mahler's Vienna,' *Journeys into Madness: Mapping Mental Illness in the Austro-Hungarian Empire*, Gemma Blackshaw and Sabine Wieber eds., (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012) 45.

⁵⁴⁰ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with special reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Study*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (London: F. J. Rebman, 1894) v.

⁵⁴¹ Lisa Downing, 'The Birth of the Beast: Death-Driven Masculinity in Monneret, Zola and Freud,' *Dix-Neuf* 5, no. 1, 32.

⁵⁴² Downing, 'The Birth of the Beast,' 32.

racial, national, and class identity particular to European *fin de siècle*.⁵⁴³

Krafft-Ebing made his diagnoses based on observation and discussion, his adherence to degeneracy theory, in combination with his methods of hypothesizing, provided his psychiatric practice with scientific legitimacy, making him the ‘leading apostle of degeneration theory’ in psychiatry.⁵⁴⁴

Krafft-Ebing’s patient case studies often begin with a review of the patient’s family’s mental health, noting incidences of ‘nervousness,’ religiosity, and addictions. Parents, grandparents, and siblings who suffered from poor physical health were carefully noted, as evidence of hereditary weakness.⁵⁴⁵ In the rare event that no consistent pattern of inherited weakness from parent to child emerged, Krafft-Ebing concluded that ‘hereditary derangements’ were highly mutable, and in some cases resulted in ‘functional deviations of the sexual instinct’ or what Krafft-Ebing called ‘Geschlechtstrieb.’⁵⁴⁶

The male characters of *Die Fledermaus* present few clear examples of ‘Geschlechtstrieb,’ but some of their behaviour and traits have parallels in the broader themes of Krafft-Ebing’s text. I want to focus on an alternative angle, a leitmotif that recurs throughout *Psychopathia Sexualis* and forms a link between an element of masculinities and the characters of *Die Fledermaus*, the theme of deception.

5.7 Krafft-Ebing, deception, and masculinities: discrepancies between the inner and outer man.

The case studies collected in *Psychopathia Sexualis* demonstrated that appearances could be deceptive. Krafft-Ebing’s case studies of his male patients and correspondents frequently refer to the unimpeachably masculine cast of their stature and deportment. He highlighted that the exterior of the most ‘normal’ and conventionally masculine-appearing man might hide a complex web of perversion.⁵⁴⁷ Therefore, while some patients might evince physical signs of constitutional

⁵⁴³Peter Cryle and Lisa Downing, ‘Feminine Sexual Pathologies,’ *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 18, no. 1 (January 2009) 2.

⁵⁴⁴Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 103-104.

⁵⁴⁵Summarised by Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 104-109.

⁵⁴⁶Andreas De Block and Pieter R. Adriaens, ‘Pathologizing Sexual Deviance: A History,’ *The Journal of Sex Research* 50, no. 3-4 (2013) 280.

⁵⁴⁷For Krafft-Ebing’s purposes, ‘perversion’ or ‘parathesia’ is defined as a turning away of the sexual instinct from the ‘normal’ reproductive act, when ‘abnormal association finds expression in passionate uncontrollable emotion,’ and leading to ‘perverse acts.’ The reason for this, according to Krafft-Ebing’s colleague, Dr Albert von Schrenck-Notzing who practiced hypnotherapy in Munich, was that ‘As a rule [anomalies of sexual instinct] are certainly only symptoms of a constitutional malady, or of a weakened state of the brain, which manifest themselves in the various forms of sexual perversion. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, vii, 56; Lisa Downing, ‘Sexual Variations,’ *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire*, Chiara Beccalossi and Ivan Crozier eds., (Oxford: Berg, 2011) 67; Andreas Sommer, ‘Policing Epistemic Deviance: Albert von Schrenck-Notzing and Albert Moll,’ *Medical History* 56, no. 2 (2012) 255-276.

malady, others gave no outward indication. In these instances, Krafft-Ebing appears almost surprised that in several cases, the interior and the exterior do not match, which is perhaps why he drew attention to these external indicators of masculinity at odds with the inner realities of the patient. It is difficult to decipher whether this is because Krafft-Ebing was himself surprised by his patients, or because he wished to surprise his readers.

This contrast between the ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ man that preoccupied Krafft-Ebing becomes especially provocative in the context of recollections of Vienna in the 1890s. For example, Stefan Zweig’s account of reaching maturity in Vienna at the *fin de siècle* emphasised the importance of attaining a mature and manly appearance: ‘The men sported long beards or at least twirled a mighty mustache, so that their manhood was apparent even from afar.’⁵⁴⁸ According to Zweig, in an ‘old State’ presided over by an ‘Aged Emperor, ruled by old Ministers, a State without ambition, which hoped to preserved itself unharmed ... solely by opposing all radical changes,’ youth, haste and eagerness — the characteristics of young men — were considered suspicious.⁵⁴⁹ The qualities of ‘moderation and leisure’ and a ‘fetish of security’ were considered the ‘only effective virtues of man.’⁵⁵⁰ A man of thirty would find himself considered dangerously immature, ‘regarded as an unfledged person.’ Even a forty-year-old was considered unready for positions of responsibility, being perhaps ‘not quite reliable.’⁵⁵¹

To make professional progress in this environment, Zweig claimed that young men of the Viennese *fin de siècle* tried to look mature as soon as possible: ‘age alone was an advantage ... a man in that age of security ... who wished to get ahead, was forced to attempt all conceivable methods of masquerading ... to appear older.’ Newly qualified doctors and lawyers wore ‘mighty beards and gold spectacles,’ affected ‘long black frock coats and walked at a leisurely pace, and whenever possible acquired a slight *embonpoint*, in order to personify the desired sedateness.’⁵⁵² When Zweig attended concerts or the opera, he noted that ‘My father, my uncles, my professors, the salesmen in shops, and the musicians in the Philharmonic at their music desks behind the podium were all portly ‘dignified’ men of forty.’⁵⁵³ In a sense, they were working hard to create an illusion of the most socially desirable form of masculinity, which itself could create an additional layer of deception.

The case studies in Krafft-Ebing’s text emphasise that cultivating mighty beards — the outward markers of authority, independence, hardiness, decisiveness, and even primal masculinity — provided no guarantee of a ‘natural’ man within. One such man (Case 50), wrote to Krafft-Ebing:

⁵⁴⁸ Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, trans. Anthea Bell (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2013) 95.

⁵⁴⁹ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 55.

⁵⁵⁰ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 55.

⁵⁵¹ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 56.

⁵⁵² Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 56.

⁵⁵³ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 46.

Physically and mentally I am in all respects masculine. I have a superabundant growth of beard, and my whole body is very hairy ... I am energetic ... want of courage is not manifest when my pride is injured.⁵⁵⁴

Case 94 ('Acquired Contrary Sexual Instinct'), wrote that, 'I myself am tall, and, in speech, gait, and manner, give a perfectly masculine appearance.'⁵⁵⁵ Case 113 (a Hungarian merchant) prompted Krafft Ebing to write:

No one seeing this patient to whom I owe this communication, would suspect his condition. His outward appearance is, in all respects, masculine; he has a well-developed, full beard, strong and deep voice ... Signs of degeneration are absolutely wanting.⁵⁵⁶

The masculine cast of men's hair and stature is a thematic thread throughout the case studies. A thirty-seven-year-old man (Case 122) whose 'contrary sexual instinct' Krafft-Ebing diagnosed as 'Effemination and Viraginity,' described himself as 'rather a powerful man, with abundant growth of hair, and all respects masculine.'⁵⁵⁷ Another patient with 'contrary sexual instinct' — a thirty-six-year-old man — was 'very intelligent, and is, in all respects, of masculine appearance. In dress and manner, he presents nothing that would attract attention. Gait, voice, and skeleton, — the pelvis especially, — masculine in character.'⁵⁵⁸

Despite these assertions of manly appearance and bearing, Krafft-Ebing often noticed signs of neuropathy in his patients, even if physically they showed no signs of degeneration. He also noted carefully their family histories, recording whether parents, siblings, or grandparents had exhibited such traits as nervousness, insanity, extreme religiosity, or alcoholism. In his view, these forms of heredity taint could predispose men towards perversion, conditions to which an elevated social status did not make a man immune.

The emphasis that Krafft-Ebing and his patients placed on the 'strong, deep' voice as a characteristic of ostensibly vigorous and health masculinity also provokes comparison with performances of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*. In the operetta, Alfred and Blind were written for tenors, and although Eisenstein is now traditionally cast as a baritone, Jani Szika (the role's creator at the Theater an der Wien) and Fritz Schrödter who performed Eisenstein at the Hofoper were both tenors. It is worth acknowledging not only recent scholarship concerning masculinity and the tenor voice, but also how these high male voices were perceived and pathologized during the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁹ Unlike the 'natural' baritone register, the tenor voice represented a 'crisis point of gender signification in the voice' as Pamela Karantonis has discussed:

⁵⁵⁴ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 190.

⁵⁵⁵ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 191.

⁵⁵⁶ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 265.

⁵⁵⁷ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 290.

⁵⁵⁸ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 235.

⁵⁵⁹ See Gregory W. Bloch, 'The pathological voice of Gilbert-Louis Duprez,' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 2007) 11-31; Davies, 'In Search of Voice: Nourrit's Voix Mixte, Donzelli's Bari-Tenor,' *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 123-151.

the operatic tenor can be most instructive as to how masculinity is performed by a ‘taming’ of the upper regions of the voice. In a feat of vocal trapeze artistry, the head voice of the tenor pulls him back from any historical associations with the sexual ambiguity of the counter-tenor [or *castrato*] and into a new but fragile celebrity. Ultimately it could be argued that the operatic tenor is a marginalised form of masculinity for his ability to conquer the ‘unused register’ and risk emasculating himself in the process.⁵⁶⁰

The ambiguous instabilities of the tenor voice have particular resonance when considered in the context of Krafft-Ebing, who — writing as an ‘exponent of the state-judicial system’ — aimed to demarcate ‘legitimate masculinity sharply and dichotomically from femininity.’⁵⁶¹

5.8 Deception as a theme in opera and *Die Fledermaus*.

Arguably, the forms of deception practised in *Die Fledermaus* do not stray far from examples in other operas and operettas, where it is a well-established plot device in opera seria, opera buffa, and opéra bouffe: composers and librettists understood well the dramatic and comic potential of disguises and deceptions, as evidenced by Mozart’s three da Ponte operas. Various forms of gender-related deception also occur in *opera seria*, for example Bradamante’s disguise in Handel’s *Alcina* (1735).

In Parisian *opéra bouffe* disguise and deception also provided useful plot devices. Offenbach and Sardou’s King Fridolin (*Le Roi Carotte*) disguises himself as a student so that he can walk among common people and hear what they think of him. In *La belle Hélène*, Paris disguises himself as a shepherd to participate in the ‘Contest of Wit’ with the Greek kings.

A less well-known example is the deception carried out by Rose in *La jolie parfumeuse*, which had its premiere at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in Paris in November 1873, a few months before the Viennese premiere of *Die Fledermaus*.⁵⁶² The two pieces share some similarities in the forms and intentions of their deceptions. In *La jolie parfumeuse*, Rose marries a young clerk, Bavolet. After their wedding party, Bavolet asks his wealthy godfather, La Cocardière, to escort Rose to the rooms he has prepared. La Cocardière instead tricks Rose, by taking her to his house, where he tries to embrace her while instructing her about a wife’s role. A group of ballet dancers, including La Cocardière’s mistress Clorinde, then arrive for supper. Annoyed, La Cocardière hides Rose in an adjoining room. Meanwhile, Bavolet has returned to his rooms, and dismayed by Rose’s absence, rushes to La Cocardière’s to find out what has happened to her. Rose hears him, and Bavolet suspects there is another woman in the house:

⁵⁶⁰ Pamela Karantonis, ‘The tenor in decline? Narratives of nostalgia and the performativity of the operatic tenor,’ *The Legacy of Opera: Reading Music Theatre as Experience and Performance*, Dominic Symonds and Pamela Karantonis eds., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013) 122.

⁵⁶¹ Martin Lücke, ‘In Labor des Prometheus: Polare und integrative Männlichkeitskonstruktionen in der Sexualwissenschaft um 1900,’ *Masculinities in German Culture*, Sarah Colvin and Peter J. Davies eds. (New York: Camden House, 2008) 88.

⁵⁶² A Viennese adaptation of *La jolie parfumeuse* by Karl Truemann opened at the Carltheater in Vienna in November 1874, titled *Schönrrdschen*. Reviews appear in several newspapers, one of the longest is in the *Neues Wiener Blatt*, 8 November 1874, 1-2.

Eh bien, moi, je veux savoir si cette femme n'est pas la mienne, si cette femme n'est pas la traîtresse qui m'a abandonné... qui m'a déshonoré la première nuit de mes noces !⁵⁶³

Well, I want to know whether this woman is not mine, whether this woman is not the traitor who abandoned me ... who disgraced me the first night of my wedding!

Rose emerges, disguised as 'Dorothée Bruscombille', a ballet dancer from Toulouse to whom Rose had noticed she bore an uncanny resemblance. Like Eisenstein at Orlofski's party, Bavolet is entirely taken in by 'Dorothée's' accent and the *grande toilette*, as she leads him to another room. The following morning, Bavolet is simultaneously guilt-ridden and angry with Rose, who has still not appeared. Rose meanwhile hears that he intends to jump into the Seine. She searches for him, and they meet accidentally. Bavolet, still angry, asks where Rose was all night, and she replies, using the 'Toulouse' accent she had spoken in the previous night. Bavolet realises what has happened, and Rose emerges victorious, her quick thinking having foiled La Cocardière and caught out her own husband.

The audience of *Die Fledermaus* in the years 1894–1899 would certainly have been familiar with the dramatic and comic possibilities offered by deception. However, *Die Fledermaus* differs in one crucial regard: many of the deceptions are imposed upon the characters, with or without the knowledge of other characters. Throughout the operetta, an expectation that characters should personify different identities guides aspects of their behaviour, creating a parallel with some of the societal expectations that shaped the behaviour of Krafft-Ebing's patients.

Deception, as Krafft-Ebing's patients attest, and the characters in *Die Fledermaus* also embody, provided opportunities, but also posed problems. The principal fear was that of having one's deceptions discovered and suffering the consequences thereof. Another potential problem was the need to play a role convincingly, which was an especial concern for men who laboured under the burden of perversion, and for whom discovery could lead to professional and personal disgrace.⁵⁶⁴ The deceptions in *Die Fledermaus* are imposed upon the characters by Falke's dramatic joke: when Falke introduces Eisenstein and Frank to Orlofski as Marquis Renard and Chevalier Chagrin, they must inhabit these personae all evening. However, assuming the role of a nobleman emboldens Frank to offer his patronage and protection to 'Olga' as she embarks upon training as an actress. Then, in act 3, when the masks fall, and Adele realises that Frank is no nobleman, her interest swiftly declines. Likewise, Frank's discovery that Adele really is a servant cools his interest.

⁵⁶³ Hector Crémieux and Ernest Blum, *La jolie Parfumeuse. Opéra-Comique en trois actes* (Paris: Tresse, Éditeur, 1875).

⁵⁶⁴ The danger of discovery was equally serious for women, although with different implications and consequences.

As Marquis Renard, Eisenstein feels that he is irresistible to women, whether they are the ‘little rats’ of the ballet, or the ‘Hungarian’ countess, whose disguise and apparent rank intrigue him. But the fragility of his disguise and his fear of discovery is highlighted by Eisenstein’s discomfort when Adele sees through his deception and taunts him in ‘Mein Herr Marquis.’ Eisenstein’s behaviour as Renard also persuades many of the guests that he is a bachelor, so when they learn that he has a wife, they express shock. Here, Eisenstein’s deception finds a parallel with an archetypal figure in the Viennese popular press, the ‘married bachelor’ (**Figure 5.1**).

Behaviour such as Eisenstein’s was nothing new in 1894, but in the eyes of Krafft-Ebing it was a natural attribute of healthy masculinity, and he gave it a scientific justification. Krafft-Ebing suggested (somewhat contradictorily) that although a man will and should view a woman as a ‘means of satisfying his natural instinct,’ unbounded sensuality, left unchecked, could bring down empires. If a man did not fulfil his duty of belonging ‘only to the woman of his choice’, danger beckoned:

The weakness of men ... in comparison with women lies in the great intensity of their sexual desires. Man becomes dependent on woman, and the more, the weaker, and more sensual he becomes; and this just in proportion, he becomes neuropathic.’⁵⁶⁵

From this masculine neuropathy, Krafft-Ebing wrote, would arise ‘the danger to society that mistresses and their dependents may rule the state and compass its ruin.’⁵⁶⁶

The image of the man weakened, or even rendered insensate by indulgence, was not confined to medical texts, but as the cartoon in the *Wiener Caricaturen* demonstrates, it was a common trope in the popular media. In this image, ‘married bachelor’ could almost depict Eisenstein. Four women wearing minimal costumes adapted from *commedia dell’arte*, surround him. The scene suggests a mythological parody, perhaps of the Judgement of Paris, or images of the sleeping Endymion.

⁵⁶⁵ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 14.

⁵⁶⁶ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 14.

Figure 5.1. 'Carnivalstraum eines verheirateten Junggesellen.' *Wiener Caricaturen*, 11 January 1891.

This ‘married bachelor’ stereotype was not a new phenomenon on the Viennese stage. W. E. Yates’s analysis of Nestroy’s *Das Mädl aus der Vorstadt* discusses a scenario very similar to that of *Die Fledermaus*, in which men are evasive about their engaged or financial status in pursuit of women of a lower social status.⁵⁶⁷ Yates explains that when the men remove themselves from Vienna to the suburbs, the standards of conduct expected of them are different; similarly, in *Die Fledermaus*, the spa town setting also provides licence for different standards of behaviour.

Two of Nestroy’s principal characters, Schnoferl (a poor man’s lawyer), and Kauz — derisively called ‘ein *Speculant*’ — have equivalents in Eisenstein and Falke, particularly as Schnoferl shares certain qualities of the factotum with Falke. Schnoferl does not enact any personal revenge on Kauz, unlike Falke’s intentions towards Eisenstein. Like Falke, however, he makes derisive comments about his friend’s behaviour. Watching Kauz play blind man’s buff, Schnorferl says ‘Schauts da is er ja, mein lieber Freund Kauz zugleich in einem buchstäblichen, und in einen metaphorischen Rosengarten.’ (Look, there he is, my dear friend Kauz, at once in a real and a metaphorical rose garden.)⁵⁶⁸

The second acts of *Die Fledermaus* and Nestroy’s play both involve parties and food. In both instances the variety and availability of the food are vividly described. Yates’s analysis of *Das Mädl aus der Vorstadt* shows how the feast can be understood metaphorically:

It was axiomatic that a plot could not include the depiction of an immoral act, and the censor kept a vigilant watch for indecent *double-entendre*. In the case of *Das Mädl aus der Vorstadt* the ban on the treatment of immorality determines the nature of the party in Act 2. If wealthy men like Kauz and Gige went out into the poorer suburbs, it was not to eat. But since the dramatist was barred from overt presentation of sexual exploits, the feast being prepared in Act 2 must be read as a metaphor. This metaphorical force is indeed suggested in the first Act ... when Schnorferl discussing Kauz’s ‘taste’ in his amours, observes that even connoisseurs of pheasants and oysters sometimes allow themselves salted meat and dumplings.⁵⁶⁹

The potential for satiation at Orlofski’s party is frequently referred to, again through the medium of food, a plethora of things to eat and drink, freely available to those who ask.

Feasting serves equally well as a metaphor in *Die Fledermaus* and *Mädl aus der Vorstadt*, but this gustatory indulgence — which might earlier have seemed merely satirical — assumes greater significance in the context of Krafft-Ebing’s work. He viewed over-indulgence in food and drink as akin to unrestrained sensuality, and sometimes as a symptom of some other pathology dangerous to masculine rectitude. Krafft-Ebing connected, for example, the incitements and temptations of city living with a ‘dissipated, luxurious, sedentary manner of life, preponderance of animal food, and the consumption of spirits, spices etc.’ as stimulæ for

⁵⁶⁷ In Nestroy’s play these women are seamstresses rather than dancers.

⁵⁶⁸ W. E. Yates, ‘Sex in the Suburbs: Nestroy’s Comedy of Forbidden Fruit,’ *The Modern Language Review* 92, no. 2 (April 1997) 386.

⁵⁶⁹ W. E. Yates, ‘Sex in the Suburbs,’ 385.

excess.⁵⁷⁰ In at least one case, Krafft-Ebing explicitly linked the consumption of spirits with a man's episodes of 'hyperaesthesia' or satyriasis.⁵⁷¹

While marriage provided some protection against temptation and excess, Krafft-Ebing suggested the likelihood of infidelity was strong, writing 'From the fact that by nature man plays the aggressive *role* in sexual life, he is exposed to the danger of over-stepping the limits set by law and morality.'⁵⁷² Later, in act 3 of *Die Fledermaus*, when Rosalinde's own deceptions are revealed (her supper with Alfred, and her trickery of Eisenstein at the party), Eisenstein expresses outrage at Rosalinde's conduct. His behaviour here illustrates the double standard that prevailed throughout the nineteenth century, but once again Krafft-Ebing had an explanation to show that women's 'natural' disposition was towards chastity, marriage, and monogamy. This was fortunate because otherwise, 'the whole world would become a brothel and marriage and a family impossible.'⁵⁷³ For a woman to lapse from her chaste state was a serious failing:

The unfaithfulness of a wife, in comparison with that of a husband, is morally much more weighty, and should be more severely punished legally. The unfaithful wife dishonours not only herself, but also her husband and her family, not to speak of the possibility of *pater incertus*.⁵⁷⁴

Krafft-Ebing's view that women's chastity and men's tendency to roam beyond the bonds of marriage were both natural gave scientific legitimacy to a longstanding moral double standard: 'No matter how sensual a man may be, unless also thoroughly depraved, he seeks for a consort only that woman whose chastity he cannot doubt.'⁵⁷⁵

Eisenstein illustrates this sense of dishonour when he learns that another man has been locked up in his place, after being found dining with Rosalinde. He borrows Blind's solicitor's wig and gown, determined to get to the bottom of the mystery. Rosalinde soon arrives too, to get Alfred out of prison before the mix-up becomes clear. Eisenstein, posing as a solicitor asks to hear Alfred and Rosalinde's story (Terzett, 'Ich stehe voll Zagen'). Learning the details of his wife's behaviour enrages Eisenstein. However, he is forced to control himself. Rosalinde, witnessing Eisenstein's anger, becomes exasperated:

Mein Herr!
Es scheint fast, als empfinden Sie
Für meinen Gatten Sympathie.
Dum muß ich Ihnen sagen,
Ein Ungeheuer ist mein Mann,
Und niemals ich vergeben kann
Sein treulos schändliches Betragen.
Er hat die vor'ge ganze Nacht

Sir!
It almost seems that you feel
Sympathy for my husband,
Therefore I must say to you
My husband is a monster
And I can never forgive
His disloyal, shameful infidelity.
He has spent the entire evening

⁵⁷⁰ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 33, 49.

⁵⁷¹ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 27.

⁵⁷² Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 14.

⁵⁷³ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 13.

⁵⁷⁴ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 15.

⁵⁷⁵ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 10

Mit jungen Damen zugebracht,
 Lebt' herrlich und in Freuden.
 Doch schenk ich's nicht dem Bösewicht,
 Und kommt er wieder mir nach Haus,
 Kratz ich ihm erst die Augen aus
 Und dann laß ich mich scheiden!⁵⁷⁶

With young ladies
 Living the high and merry life.
 But I'm not letting the scoundrel off
 And if he comes home to me,
 I'll scratch out his eyes,
 And then I'll seek a divorce!

When Eisenstein 'reveals' his true identity to chastise Rosalinde, she counters this with tangible evidence of his indiscretions, the gold repeater watch, and asks 'Wollen Sie nicht wieder die Schläge meines Herzens zählen, Herr Marquis?' He is amazed ('You were my Hungarian?'), but then his response — 'Das war Stimme der Natur' — echoes the explanation of Nestroy's Kauz for his behaviour: 'wir Männer müssen ja alle a wenig austoben.'⁵⁷⁷ Eisenstein's allusion to 'Stimme der Natur' offers a comparison with the recurring motif in Krafft-Ebing's work of *Naturtrieb*, the voice or instinct of nature.⁵⁷⁸ Similarly, Eisenstein's fury at the possibility of Rosalinde's indiscretion echoes Krafft-Ebing's pronouncement on the moral seriousness of a wife's unfaithfulness, which 'dishonours' wife, husband, and their families.⁵⁷⁹

5.9 Conclusion.

Because *Die Fledermaus* is an operetta, and not a play by Ibsen, the disguises and deceptions of *Die Fledermaus* are intended to amuse. Nevertheless, they also expose the ultimate fragility of deception, the fear of being found out, and its concomitant disgrace. The comedy is itself another form of deception, simultaneously masking and emphasising/revealing the social realities of the characters' behaviour. Read from the perspective of Krafft-Ebing's scientific text, they take on additional significance as metaphors for the pathological deceptions his male patients perform to protect themselves. When Rosalinde says in act 1, 'Er weint und tanzt zugleich. Wie leichtsinnig doch diese Männer sind!' ('He weeps and dances at the same time. How capricious these men are!') she mutters these words in passing, but they express many of the contradictions between the inner and outer worlds experienced by Viennese men at the *fin de siècle*.⁵⁸⁰

Reading *Die Fledermaus* as Krafft-Ebing and his colleagues may have seen its characters and their foibles, provides a view of the operetta as a product of the 1890s, when

⁵⁷⁶ *Die Fledermaus*, act 3, scene 11, no. 15.

⁵⁷⁷ 'We men must let off steam a little.' Yates calls the 'speciousness' of Kauz's reasoning 'comically self-evident, but what Kauz says is little different from the "social morality" that Stefan Zweig describes as still flourishing towards the end of the century,' when it remained a commonplace to stereotype men and women as 'Jäger und Beute' ('hunter and game'). Krafft-Ebing also espoused this model: 'the active or aggressive role belongs to man; woman remains passive, defensive. It affords a man great pleasure to win a woman, to conquer her; and in the *ars amandi*, the modesty of a woman who keeps herself on the defensive until the moment of surrender, is an element of great psychological significance and importance.' Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 59.

⁵⁷⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 3, scene 14.

⁵⁷⁹ Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 15.

⁵⁸⁰ *Die Fledermaus*, act 1, scene 14, no. 16.

perceptions of gender and gender-specific behaviour had been given scientific justification by doctors. Although chivalric honour and its defence still figured significantly in thought about ideal manly behaviour, these older models were in some cases being supplanted by modern, scientific thought, with an influence that lasted well into the twentieth century. Although the principal aim of *Psychopathia Sexualis* was an examination of ‘perversion’ for legal and forensic purposes, Krafft-Ebing’s comments on the roles of men and women in marriage illuminate aspects of Genée’s libretto in ways that would not have been possible in the 1870s when *Die Fledermaus* had its premiere at the Theater an der Wien. The broad readership of Krafft-Ebing’s book suggested that its ideas must have stimulated these readers and shaped how they viewed male behaviour. Newspaper critics believed that the transition of *Die Fledermaus* from the Theater an der Wien was a form of re-birth for the operetta, which challenged preconceptions about the musical worthiness of the genre for the Hofoper; in a similar way, these productions of 1894–1899 allow the modern reader the chance to reconsider its masculinities in a new, scientific context.

Conclusion.

‘Laß aus diesen heil’gen Hallen
Uns versöhnt nach Hause wallen.’

‘Let us leave these hallowed halls
It is time for us to go home.’
Eisenstein, *Die Fledermaus*, act 3.

Just as *Die Fledermaus* changed and evolved in the nineteenth century, so it continues to be reinterpreted in new contexts in the twenty-first century. As more translations, adaptations, and performances of Strauss and Genée’s operetta are made for different theatres and different audiences, its characters sometimes move further away from their early identities; meanwhile, directors manipulate the operetta to accommodate their own visions of its characters and meanings. Some productions update *Die Fledermaus* to the *fin de siècle*, or inter-war period, permitting references to Freudian theory, or alluding indirectly to Schorske’s idea of an Austrian *Sonderweg*. In other instances, the effects of *Regietheater* render *Die Fledermaus* almost unrecognisable, much to the chagrin of those who believe, like the conservative critics of the 1890s, in the existence of a ‘rechte Fledermaus.’ Hans Neunfels’s 2001 production for the Salzburg Festival, Christof Loy’s production for Oper Frankfurt in 2011, and Christopher Alden’s 2012 production for the Canadian Opera Company represent three extremes of this tendency: the polemical reactions they provoked echo the controversy incited by the first performances of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper over a century earlier, even though the causes of the controversy are very different. Even the most ‘traditional’ performances of *Die Fledermaus* frequently cut dialogue and music, a process which places emphasis on different aspects of the operetta.

There also exists a conception that Viennese operetta of the ‘Golden Age’ was characterised by its reluctance or inability to offer an equivalent level of satire to that found in Offenbach’s Parisian *opéras bouffes*, and that the ‘flirtatious, wine-soaked, waltz-timed frivolity’ of *Die Fledermaus* epitomises this tendency.⁵⁸¹ In every modern production, whether it embraces a traditional or *Regietheater* approach, the articulation and performance of masculinities change, doing so in order to mirror the ideas, issues, or concerns of the time of performance. Although this manner of responding to contemporary contexts is typical of stage works generally, as an operetta *Die Fledermaus* is a more mutable text than many other operatic works, which, despite the unsettled nature of their scores and libretti, do not share with operetta the tradition of spoken improvisation, and the necessity for topicality.

Returning to Strauss and Genée’s score and libretto and reading them historically opens up the question of how *Die Fledermaus* articulated different manifestations of masculinity in late nineteenth-century Vienna. In fact, the process of researching and writing this thesis has

⁵⁸¹ Clarke Bustard, review of Virginia Opera’s *Die Fledermaus* in 2012, at *Letter V: The Virginia Classical Music Blog*. Accessed 14 November, 2018. <https://vaopera.org/2012/11/letter-v-blog-review-die-fledermaus/>.

demonstrated how a strongly historical focus can revise our understanding not just of *Die Fledermaus*, but also of operetta as a genre. By making connections between the characters and incidents in *Die Fledermaus* and wider discourses on gender and masculinity in the late nineteenth century it became clear that this operetta provides a profitable and provocative medium for examining Viennese constructions of masculinity in texts beyond operetta. I have drawn together perspectives on masculinity from critical musicology and opera studies, sociology, and masculinities studies, art history and medical history, literary studies, and nineteenth-century German philosophy, to better analyse and understand articulations of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*. The score and libretto of this operetta have proved to be just as viable a resource for exploring the rich complexity of masculinity in late nineteenth-century Vienna as novels, memoirs, iconography, and journalism.

Although *Die Fledermaus* is a comic piece, its themes are dark and serious. Haffner and Genée may have removed from the libretto the references to Métella and her patrons found in *Le Réveillon*, but *Die Fledermaus* also explores a world behind a respectable bourgeois façade, akin to the picture that Nestroy had painted two decades earlier in another work for the Theater an der Wien, *Das Mädl aus der Vorstadt*. Just as Nestroy's play commented on the hypocrisies of Vienna's bourgeoisie, and most especially its men, more examples of the ways in which *Die Fledermaus* made trenchant comments on different constructions of masculinity began to emerge.

The aim of this thesis was not to rescue the reputation or reassert the canonical status of *Die Fledermaus*, but, to paraphrase Ralph P. Locke, to ask: 'what are these men doing in operetta?'⁵⁸² I have suggested that it is what the men do and say in *Die Fledermaus* — the way that they perform masculinity — that furnishes the operetta with a more acute degree of satire than *Die Fledermaus* has been credited with. Such an analysis gives weight to Volker Klotz's remark that 'Die Operette ist besser als ihr Ruf ... eine eigenwertige, eine fortschrittliche, eine vitale und vitalisierende Kunst.' ('Operetta is better than it sounds ... a worthy, a progressive, and a vital and vitality-giving art.')⁵⁸³ While *Die Fledermaus* has been subjected to the same serious directorial interpretations of *Regietheater* as opera, it has not undergone parallel critical evaluation to the same extent, creating a situation in which the vital and vitality-giving characteristics mentioned by Klotz remain hidden.

Die Fledermaus was created in an era increasingly obsessed by honour and duelling culture: the glorification of the officer class's style and mentality gained traction amongst middleclass men, who wished to emulate the behaviour of their social superiors, or maintain the prestige they had acquired during military service (especially for those who participated in the *Einjährig-Freiwilliger* after its introduction in 1868). This form of elite masculinity, which was

⁵⁸² Ralph P. Locke, 'What Are These Women Doing in Opera?' *En travesti*, 59-98.

⁵⁸³ Volker Klotz, *Operette. Porträt und Handbuch einer unerhörten Kunst* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 1991) 15.

subject to dishonour by even the vaguest of perceived slurs, created an environment in which duels were fought on the most spurious grounds by inexperienced men who wished to preserve their honour in the manner of the high nobility. The friendship between Falke and Gabriel von Eisenstein illustrated contrasting approaches to honourable behaviour, highlighting the contradictions of honour codes: Eisenstein, whose title suggests the elite *Satisfaktionsfähig* status, consistently exhibits inappropriate behaviour for such a man. Meanwhile, Falke, who seeks to restore his blemished reputation, pursues other means of attaining his goal, demonstrating that true manly dignity exceeded the posturing of officially-sanctioned forms of elite masculinity.

Die Fledermaus does not offer an equivalent level of critique of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit* and *Duellzwang* to that offered by Arthur Schnitzler, but the operetta does present a man, Falke, attempting to right a moral wrong through symmetrical means, rather than through violence. Such behaviour, in which transgression ‘is symmetrically balanced with an act of retribution, thereby re-establishing an equilibrium’ offers to the viewer an alternative form of masculinity whose sense of honour seems genuine.⁵⁸⁴ A twenty-first-century audience, unversed in the subtleties of *Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*, and the resulting frequency of fatal duelling in Austrian society in the 1870s, would be unaware of the potential significance of honour codes in the behaviour of Eisenstein and Falke, an example of how elements of satire in operetta plots can be highly specific to the time and locality of their performance, as can specific elements of gendered behaviour. Illuminating the finer nuances of this interplay between operetta, masculinity, and satire in Viennese society forms one of the significant contributions of this thesis, demonstrating the benefits of a methodology involving deep immersion in historical sources and contexts.

The intersection of masculinity, nationality, and status is another space in which a historical approach can provide fresh perspectives on *Die Fledermaus* and its characters. An example of this occurs in the blend of Russian and Germanic attributes embodied by Orlofski. Orlofski exhibits traits characteristic of the *lišniy chelovék* (superfluous man). The astute viewer of *Die Fledermaus* in 1874 — and even a member of the audience today — could have made a connection between Orlofski’s ostentatiously world-weary persona, his professed lack of interest in gambling, food, and love, with the characteristics of a Russian literary masculine archetype, the *lišniy chelovék*. Although Orlofski’s character suggests elements of similarity with the *lišniy chelovék*, his *Langeweile* renders Orlofski more Viennese than Russian: his *Langeweile* connects Orlofski with a clearly gendered Austro-German philosophical discourse.

The librettist’s choice of *Langeweile* for Orlofski, rather than one of its related conditions, *ennui*, or *Melancholie*, attributed to Orlofski an affliction that was both distinctly Austro-German and masculine. Through his affliction with *Langeweile* Orlofski exhibited the terminal point of the problems that Arthur Schopenhauer had promised to men who did not engage wholeheartedly

⁵⁸⁴ Ben Knights, *Writing Masculinities*, 128.

in intellectual endeavour: a permanent state of table-tapping unease and dissatisfaction. This was the result suggested also by Wertheimer's feuilleton. Meanwhile, a man who, correctly, could devote himself to profound contemplation, might cultivate his *Langeweile* as an opportunity for thought, rather than fear it as an affliction. For Schopenhauer, *Langeweile* was the preserve of the educated elite, and could only be experienced by men. Orlofski avowedly has *Langeweile*, but despite being an elite male, he demonstrates no will or desire to overcome it, marking a deficiency in this form of masculinity.

An initial perception that Orlofski is emblematic of inferior, deficient masculinity has also been suggested as the rationale behind casting Orlofski as a *travesti* role, with the intention of making the character seem ridiculous, or to lampoon Russia. However, although Orlofski is foreign and far from heroic, this thesis has demonstrated that Orlofski occupies a pivotal role in *Die Fledermaus*, not only hosting the party but exercising his *noblesse oblige*: by allowing Falke to use the party as the arena for his revenge he enables Falke to salvage his reputation.

Investigating further the connections between masculinity and the *travesti* role has helped to gain new insights into Orlofski as a character, while also contextualising the role within the larger sphere of *travesti* roles in drama, opera, ballet, and operetta. The idea that the *travesti* role is one which provided a 'masculine image deprived of maleness' is particularly pertinent to such roles in operetta, where the character's obviously female voice further complicates the masculine image.⁵⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the reception of Orlofski as a *travesti* role in the late nineteenth century suggested that for critics the masculinity of the image was of secondary importance to the physical and vocal impression created by the female performer. I have suggested that Orlofski, like other *travesti* roles, seems to have been designed for the delectation of the male viewer. The critical responses to performances of Orlofski by Nittinger, Benson, Steinburg, Beeth, and Abendroth make few references to a successful simulation of being a masculine character, but frequently dwelt on the singers' feminine appearance. These comments in the Viennese press echoed remarks on the performance and appearance of *travesti* performers in Paris, specifically *travesti* dancers who performed male characters on stage in ways that offered a pleasing spectacle to male viewers but offered no threat or challenge to their own masculinity. Critical reactions to these performers of Orlofski also emphasise the extent to which the male voices of critics dominate our perception of them, demonstrating that studying the articulation of masculinity in operetta has implications for masculinity offstage as well as on.

That geography and culture both play a significant role in constructions of masculinity was emphasised by considering the changes that Charles Hamilton Aidé made to the libretto of *Die Fledermaus* for its first London performances in 1876, helping to demonstrate that masculinity is closely tied to locality. While Orlofski's *Langeweile* and Falke's desire to avenge

⁵⁸⁵ Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer,' 37

a trick played upon him by the *Satisfaktionsfähig* Eisenstein would have had humorous resonance for the audience at the Theater an der Wien, these references held less significance for the audience at the Alhambra Theatre in Leicester Square. Instead, Aidé's alterations to the plot and characters of *Die Fledermaus* demonstrate connections with local *causes célèbres*, such as the 'Polish Question' and the ennoblement of businessmen. In Genée's libretto the allusions to the *Ausgleich* between Austria and Hungary in the duet between Eisenstein and the masked Hungarian would have been recognised by a Viennese audience, but in his adaptation Aidé circumvented these forms of topicality, while interpolating new ones. Furthermore, Aidé's transformation of Genée's Orlofski into a female opera singer, Hilda, poses questions about the motivation for this decision, when *travesti* roles were commonplace on the stage in London: did the *travesti* role of Orlofski impugn some element of masculinity particular to the librettist, or the theatre itself?

The adaptation of *Die Fledermaus* for London highlights relationships between genre, gender, and morality in the Victorian theatre, a rich ground that would benefit from further exploration. Such research would also yield more information about the performers of Continental operetta in London, who like their peers in Vienna, tend to be more challenging to identify and trace than the opera singers who performed at Covent Garden or the Hofoper. When Continental operetta faded from the limelight in London, overtaken by Gilbert and Sullivan's successful collaborations, the situation illustrated a recurring correlation between operetta and ephemerality.

Related to ephemerality are the aesthetic and social value of operetta, themes I explored in relation to the transition of *Die Fledermaus* from the Theater an der Wien to Vienna's Hofoper in the 1890s. The abundance of debate in Viennese newspapers concerning the transition of *Die Fledermaus* from the Theater an der Wien to the Hofoper in 1894 emphasised the absolute centrality of operetta to the wider cultural and political scene environment in Vienna in the 1890s. The tone and content of reviews of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper between 1894 and 1899 demonstrate the potential for developing a study of *Die Fledermaus* in relation to formalist criticism and canon formation at the end of the nineteenth century. These critical debates complement the discussions presented in the Introduction concerning Strauss's abilities as an operetta composer, and responses to the arrival of works by Offenbach and Strauss in London. Just as *Die Fledermaus* changed when it was adapted and performed in London, so it also changed at the Hofoper. Opera singers, equally at home in repertoire by Mozart and Wagner, took on the roles written by Strauss and Genée for the Theater an der Wien, a theatre whose performers were equally at home in operetta and traditional Viennese dialect comedy.

The Viennese *fin de siècle* presents an inviting prospect for the confluence of opera studies and medical humanities, an interdisciplinary approach more readily associated with the

works of Richard Strauss.⁵⁸⁶ As an operetta, *Die Fledermaus* is rather removed from the usual exemplars of *fin de siècle* style. The approach I have taken in this thesis shows the potential for using historical and reception studies to illustrate changing perceptions of *Die Fledermaus* at the end of the nineteenth century. As the lively critical response to *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper and Mahler's remarks to Fritz Schrödter illustrated, drawing on archival research can recolour musicological views of this decade, as can using medical texts of the period to theorize aetiologies of masculinity in the operetta.

Building on recent work that examines opera through the lens of medical and psychological ideas my use of Krafft-Ebing's text as a means of interpreting an older work allowed me to scrutinize *Die Fledermaus* through the eyes of the 1890s.⁵⁸⁷ While considering how the audience might view *Die Fledermaus* in performance at the Hofoper, I also considered what Krafft-Ebing's new text said about masculinity. Even if the characters' behaviour was the same in 1894 at the Hofoper as it had been in 1874 at the Theater an der Wien, Krafft-Ebing's text provided a new perspective on the reasons for the behaviour, using science to justify this conduct. The scientific, medical explanation for marital infidelity given by Krafft-Ebing asserted that it was natural and almost unavoidable for men to be unfaithful to their wives, due to the strength of their innate desire to propagate the species (*Fortpflanzung*). Meanwhile, a wife's infidelity was an offence of the utmost seriousness, possibly indicating some form of hereditary blemish, and a sign of hyperaesthesia. My reading of *Die Fledermaus* at the Hofoper in the 1890s from the viewpoint of Krafft-Ebing suggested that Eisenstein's enthusiasm for female company, whether among the *Ratten* of the *corps de ballet* or with the Hungarian *Gräfin*, was simply a manifestation of normal, healthy masculine behaviour. Indeed, coincidentally, Krafft-Ebing refers often to the significance of this *Naturtrieb* (natural instinct) in relation to men, a phrase that in act 3 of *Die Fledermaus* Eisenstein approximates to excuse his behaviour ('Das war Stimme der Natur.' — 'That was the voice of nature.')⁵⁸⁸

Interpreting *Die Fledermaus* through Krafft-Ebing's text suggests the potential for further research that brings together the masculinities of the *travesti* role with the pathologizing of cross-dressing by Krafft-Ebing and his colleagues. The wearing of a costume onstage did not hold for Vienna's early sexologists the same significance as a woman choosing to wear men's clothing in everyday life, but their writing nevertheless affected the semiotic impression made by *travesti* roles.⁵⁸⁹ Again, this is an area that has been explored with reference to the early twentieth

⁵⁸⁶ Jill Scott, 'From Pathology to Performance,' and 'Choreographing a Cure,' *Electra after Freud* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005) 57-80, 81-94.

⁵⁸⁷ Arthur Groos, "'TB Sheets",' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7, no. 3 (November 1995) 233-260; Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: Desire, Disease, Death* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

⁵⁸⁸ *Die Fledermaus*, act 3, no. 16, Finale.

⁵⁸⁹ Claire L. Taylor, "'Coveted Pleasures": Inverts and Perverts at the *Fin de Siècle*,' *Women, Writing, and Fetishism, 1890-1950: Female Cross-Dressing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 50ff.

century and Richard Strauss, who — in collaboration with Hofmannsthal — reinvigorated *travesti* roles in opera sometimes as in the case of *Der Rosenkavalier* with a ‘heavy sapphic charge.’⁵⁹⁰ However, researching the ongoing reception of *travesti* roles in older operettas, including *Die Fledermaus*, during the early twentieth century would yield a better understanding of the performers: a group whose offstage voices are often conspicuously silent, as James Q. Davies has noted.

The thesis has also revealed the ephemerality of the lives and legacies of the operetta performers who created *Die Fledermaus* in 1874, and invites further investigation into the intersection of criticism, masculinity, professionalism, and the musical canon. The men who performed in operatic works that became part of a canon at the end of the nineteenth century occupy a more prominent place in the annals of operatic greatness than the largely unwritten lives of the stars of operetta who earlier made significant contributions to the creation of a genre. This research would complement recent studies by James Q. Davies, as would a deeper enquiry into critical reactions to *travesti* roles in Viennese operetta. The plentiful archival resources, many still largely untapped, held by the Theatermuseum Wien and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek would provide abundant material for this project.

Extending the score-based analysis found in Chapter 2 to other sections of music in *Die Fledermaus* (in particular, its ensembles) would offer an exploration of interactions between music, characterisation and masculinity throughout the operetta. Continuing to unite such musical analysis with social, cultural, and historical contexts opens the way to the reconsideration of a larger corpus of Strauss’s stage works. To study Strauss’s operettas in this way would contribute to opera and operetta studies, further illuminating the role of operetta as Klotz’s vital and vitality-giving art.

After watching or listening to recent productions of *Die Fledermaus*, returning to Genée’s libretto and Strauss’s score in the version closest to that performed at the Theater an der Wien in April 1874 is always surprising and revealing. The characters assume a strength of identity which is diminished in pared-down productions. Discovering connections between these characters and the world in which they were created highlights the cultural and historical significance of operetta as a genre in which composers and librettists address troubling questions, uncertainties, and societal practices in a comic medium. As scholarship concerning operetta and operatic masculinities continues to develop in diverse directions, my thesis has highlighted the musical and cultural elements of performing masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*. My approach to these questions, uncertainties, and practices, through the articulation of masculinity in *Die Fledermaus*

⁵⁹⁰ Paul Robinson, ‘The Opera Queen: A Voice from the Closet’, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6, no. 3 (November 1994) 287.

has demonstrated the value of the operetta as a musical and historical text, and as an oblique, ironic comment on masculinities in Habsburg Vienna.

Appendix 1

Characters and cast of *Die Fledermaus*, April 1874.

a.	<i>Le Réveillon</i> characters ⁵⁹¹	
b.	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> : characters ⁵⁹²	
c.	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> first cast, 5 April 1874, Theater an der Wien. ⁵⁹³	
<p>Characters marked * are listed as ‘Gäste des Prinzen Orlofski’ on the poster for the premiere.</p> <p>Characters marked † appear on the poster for the premiere, but not in the cast list of the Strauss Edition Wien critical edition of <i>Die Fledermaus</i>.</p> <p>Characters marked ‡ appear in the critical edition, but not on the poster for the premiere.</p>		
<i>Le Réveillon</i>	<i>Die Fledermaus</i>	First Cast
Gaillardin, <i>propriétaire à Pincornet-les-Boeufs</i>	Gabriel von Eisenstein, <i>Rentier</i> , Tenor	Jani Szika
Fanny, <i>femme du Gaillardin</i>	Rosalinde von Eisenstein, <i>seine Frau</i> , Soprano	Marie Geistinger
Pernette, <i>femme de chambre de Fanny</i>	Adele, <i>deren Stubenmädchen</i> , Soprano	Caroline Charles-Hirsch
Duparquet, <i>notaire</i>	Dr. Falke, <i>Notar</i> , Baritone	Ferdinand Lebrecht
Bidard, <i>avocat</i>	Dr. Blind, <i>Advocat</i> , Tenor	Carl Matthias Rott
Turillon, <i>directeur de la prison</i>	Frank, <i>Gefängnisdirektor</i> , Tenor	Carl Adolf Friese
Prince Yermontoff	Prinz Orlofski, Mezzosoprano	Irma Nittinger
Alfred, <i>chef d’orchestra du prince Yermontoff</i>	Alfred, <i>sein Gesangslehrer</i> , Tenor	Hans Rüdiger
	Ivan, <i>Diener des Prinzen</i> , Sprechrolle	Gärtner
Léopold, <i>domestique de Tourillon</i>	Frosch, <i>Gerichtsdieners</i> , Sprechrolle	Alfred Schreiber
Métella		
	Ida, <i>Adeles Schwester</i> , Mezzosoprano	[Hermine] Jules
	Melanie, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Soprano	Kopf
	Faustine, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Soprano	R. Grünfeld
	Felicita, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i>	[Emilie] Schindler
	Minni, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Soprano	M. Grünfeld
	Sidi, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Soprano	Treuge
	Silvia, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Mezzosoprano	Kunzler

⁵⁹¹ Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, *Le Réveillon : Comédie en trois actes* (Paris : Michael Lévy Frères 1872) n.p.

⁵⁹² *Neue Johann Strauss Gesamtausgabe* (Vienna: Strauss Edition Wien); Theaterzettel, Theatermuseum Wien, Inv. No. PA_RaraG96.

⁵⁹³ Playbill (Theaterzettel) for *Die Fledermaus*, 5 April 1874. Theatermuseum Wien, Inv. No. PA_RaraG96.

	Hermine†, <i>Korphäen der Oper</i> , Mezzosoprano	
	Natalie†, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Mezzosoprano	
	Sabine†, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Mezzosoprano	
	Silvia, <i>Korphäen der Oper*</i> , Mezzosoprano	
	Lori†	Steinburg
	Paula†	Romani
	Ali-Bey, <i>ein vornehmer Ägypter</i> , Tenor	Gustav Romani
	Rasmusin, <i>japanischer Gesandtschafts-Attache</i> , Tenor	Jäger
	Murray, <i>ein reicher Amerikaner</i> , Bass	Liebold
	Baron Oskar†	Wellin
	Lord Middleton†	Fink
	Cariconi, <i>spanischer Spieler</i> , Bass	Thalboth
	Vier <i>Diener</i>	
	Chorus: Soprano I, II, Tenor I, II, Bass	
	Ester, Zweiter Diener des Prinzen†	Buchner, Kaschke
	Ein Amstdiener†	Schwellak
	Herren und Damen. Masken. Bediente†	

Appendix 2

Characters in *Le Réveillon* (Paris 1872), *Die Fledermaus* (Vienna 1874, London 1876), and *On Bail* (London 1877).

<i>Le Réveillon</i> Henri Meilhac, Ludovic Halévy. Paris, 1872.	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> Richard Genée [and Carl Haffner]. Vienna, 1874.	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> Charles Hamilton Aidé. London, 1876.	<i>On Bail</i> W. S. Gilbert. London, 1877.
Gaillardin	Gabriel von Eisenstein	Baron Essersmith	Jonathan Lovibond
Fanny Gaillardin	Rosalinde von Eisenstein	Rosalind Essersmith	Fanny Lovibond
Duparquet	Dr Falke	Count von Folke	Hebblethwaite
Tourillon	Frank	Frank	Mr Marcoolly
Prince Yermontoff	Prinz Orlofski	Hilda	Duke of Darlington
Pernette	Adele	Adele	Perkins
	Ida	Ida	
Alfred	Alfred	Alfred	Alfred Trimble
Bidard	Dr Blind	Dr Blind	Portiboy

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Kikeriki
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Morgen-Post
Neue Freie-Presse
Neues Fremden-Blatt
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The British Medical Journal
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