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Onstage and Beyond the Stage
Early Nineteenth Century Viennese Theatre Costumes and Street Fashion
Introduction and Current Research

The way people dress demonstrates their preferred mode of self-expression, and nineteenth-century Vienna residents' social, economic, political, and cultural status was woven into the very garments they wore. Similarly, theatre evokes a society's hopes and fears, as it offers a space for cultures to define themselves and experiment with their values onstage. Costumes bridge the identity-shaping roles of these art forms, conveying a character's personality and place in the world through dress. However, the aesthetic effects of costumes do not just stay within the theatre. Instead, they influence how people dress after the curtain closes, as contemporary styles affect the clothing worn onstage, as well.

I have received a Fulbright grant to investigate the connection between theatre costumes and offstage fashion trends in nineteenth-century Vienna during the 2022-2023 academic year, before I return to the United States to start my Master of Fine Arts degree in costume design. Although there is no specific deliverable for this grant, I hope that my research can advance my understanding of theatre and dress history. It may eventually provide material for a journal article, as well. This paper will detail my process and findings so far and propose some goals going forward. My main research questions are as follows:

1. How did everyday fashion affect stage costumes in early nineteenth century Vienna?
2. How did stage costumes affect everyday fashion in early nineteenth century Vienna?
3. Is this influence unique to Viennese, Austrian, or German-speaking theatre, and if so, how?

Although I understand that two semesters of investigation cannot sufficiently answer these three rather broad questions, they have provided me a starting point in my research thus far. In the current semester, I have primarily focused on Question 1, how stage costumes affected street

fashion in early nineteenth century Vienna. I have found that while Biedermeier theater-makers and critics stressed accuracy to character and setting, costumes often conformed more to contemporary fashion trends than ethnic or historical styles.

Sources

My two main primary sources for this project are the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode (Wiener Zeitschrift)* and the *Wiener Theaterzeitung*. Published from approximately the Congress of the Vienna to the Revolutions of 1848 (1816-1849), the *Wiener Zeitschrift* aligns with the Biedermeier era and thus provides periodization for my research project. The publication includes theatre reviews, longer articles, and fashion illustrations, which I have analyzed holistically to investigate a Viennese perspective on costume and fashion during this time. As an additional source, the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* (or *Bäuerliches Theaterzeitung*), published by Adolf Bäuerle from 1806 to 1860, offers more reviews and commentary on theatre and performance in general. Together, these periodicals describe what people wore both on the stage and on the streets in the Biedermeier era and highlight the intersections between these two forms of dress.

Background Information

Dramaturgical theory on costumes developed substantially in the century preceding the Biedermeier period. During the Baroque and Renaissance eras, stage costumes basically mirrored contemporary styles, with a few decorative or fantastical elements added to represent specific characters.¹ As Annemarie Bönsch argues, “Es ist die zeitmodische Silhouette, die derart prägend auf das Bühnenkostüm wirkt, das in nachfolgenden Zeiten bei der Betrachtung

¹ Hannah Follert, “Der Einfluss der Zeitsilhouette auf historische Bühnenkostüme: am Beispiel der Operette *Madame Pompadour* von Leo Fall,” PhD diss., (Universität Wien, 2014), 12-13.

historischer Bühnenkostüme primär die damalige Zeitmode erkannt wird.² For instance, in a 1780s illustration of Roxelane in “Roxelane et Mustapha,” set at the court of a sixteenth-century Ottoman sultan, the actress Marie Justine Favart is dressed in decidedly French Rococo style (see fig. 1). Yet by the late eighteenth century, a reform movement began to promote costumes that reflected historical accuracy and a character’s specific circumstances and personality.³ Some costumes found their basis in a play’s historical setting or the lifetime of the playwright, while others still clung to contemporary styles.⁴ One can observe this reforming impulse in a 1788 scene sketch of *Hamlet*. While *Hamlet* takes place in medieval Denmark, William Shakespeare lived in sixteenth century England. The actors’ costumes thus depart from Rococo styles and feature sixteenth-century garments, like the ruff, much more explicitly than the aforementioned Roxelane costume (see fig. 2). One proponent of this new movement was August Wilhelm Iffland, who became director of the Nationaltheater in Berlin in 1796 and in 1802 published his “Gesetze und Anordnungen,” which outlined regulations for costumes. Iffland advocated for costumes that fit a character’s class or rank and recommended, for instance, that an actor should not don a suit of the latest style in every scene or an actress playing a maternal figure should not adorn herself in the same manner as a young love interest.⁵ Iffland’s successor at the Nationaltheater, Carl Graf von Brühl, added an awareness of historical accuracy and nationality to Iffland’s emphasis on social standing. Brühl stressed that costumers should consult ethnographic studies, artworks, and other cultural sources to properly clothe actors.⁶ However,

² Annemarie Bönsch, “Bühnenkostüm und Mode. Die “Unzertrennlichen,” in Ulrike Dembski (hg.): Österreichisches Theatermuseum: *Verkleiden – Verwandeln, Verführen*, Wien 2010, 64.

³ Marion Linhardt, “Kleider der Illusion, Kleider der Distanz: Kostümkonventionen des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts und das Wiener Vorstadttheater,” *Nestroyana* 30 (2010): 150.

⁴ Follert, 13.

⁵ Gretel Wagner and Ekhart Berckenhagen, *Bretter, die die Welt bedeuten: Entwürfe zum Theaterdekor und zum Bühnenkostüm*, (Berlin: Kunstbibliothek Berlin, 1979), 148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

Marion Linhardt cautions that scholars must balance the theories that directors such as Brühl and Iffland promoted with the practical concerns faced by early nineteenth century theaters.

Motivations to appear aesthetically pleasing, plus the fact that most costumes were made of accumulated stock pieces worn by actors in multiple productions rather than built from scratch, hindered truly accurate costuming.⁷



In addition to this general lack of precision, a marked gender differences arose in the accuracy of Biedermeier stage costuming. While men's costumes imitated styles of the past, women's stage costumes remained profoundly influenced by the current fashionable silhouette.⁸ Designs for an 1834 production of *Tasso's Tod* by Philipp von Stubenrauch, costume director for the imperial Burgtheater in Vienna, exemplify this discrepancy, especially in relation to a fashion sketch from the *Wiener Zeitschrift* of the same year (see fig. 3-5). On the one hand, Stubenrauch's rendering for "Leonore von Este" resembles the woman in the fashion plate, with

⁷ Linhardt, 156.

⁸ Ibid, 155.

an off-the shoulder gown, wide double-puffed sleeves, and hair curled at her temples. She lacks the ruff, tight hairstyle, and jacket worn in a depiction of the real Eleonora d'Este (see fig. 6). On the other hand, the garments of "Ludovico von Este" look nothing like the suit donned by the Biedermeier man in the fashion plate. Stubenrauch's sketch features a black skirted doublet, black jerkin, and purple hose, which reflect the garments worn by Ludovico d'Este's father Alfonse I d'Este and brother Alfonse II d'Este in sixteenth century portraits (see fig. 7-8). Notably, Ludovico von Este appears to wear a composite of sixteenth century trends, instead of the style of a specific decade. This stylistic mixing demonstrates Linhardt's assertion that although the men's costumes used in historical plays had largely freed themselves from ties to the fashion of the time and were called "original," this originality was by no means associated with historical fidelity.⁹ Thus, scholars agree that theatre costumes were not particularly accurate to the time period of individual productions but rather reflected contemporary trends in the early nineteenth century. The closer connection between women's costumes and contemporary silhouettes means that I will focus on mainly female garments in my visual analysis, though my textual analysis will investigate both genders' dress.

⁹ Linhardt, 155.



Figure 3. Therese Peche als Leonore von Este. Philipp von Stubenrauch, K. K. Hofburgtheater, 11 April 1834. Theatermuseum Wien



Figure 4. Modenbild I. Wiener Zeitschrift January 2 1834



Figure 5. Carl von La Roche als Ludovico von Este. Philipp von Stubenrauch, K. K. Hofburgtheater, 11 April 1834. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 6. "Eleonora d'Este," *Die Gartenlaube*, Sammelband, Nr. 15, Leipzig 1885, p. 249.



Figure 7. "Alfonse d'Este (1486-1534), Duke of Ferrara" copy after Titian, late 16th or early 17th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 8. Alfonso II d'Este, copy after Cesare Aretusi, 16th century, provenance unknown.

Textual Analysis

Even though costumes were not particularly historically or ethnically exact during the Biedermeier period, contemporary critics still expressed concern for accuracy in articles and reviews. In an 1816 review of "Der Dichter und Tonsetzer" at Theater nächst dem Kärnthnerthor, W. Hebenstreit complained of the "auffallende Mannigfaltigkeit...in der Kleidung," with a "modern gekleideten Dichter," "den Onkel uralt buntscheckig," and a nephew dressed in a "polnischen Oberkleide" and then in a "Oberrock nach englischem Schmitte," while another

character was costumed “ganz französisch.” Thus, the critic conveyed a clear desire for both ethnic and historical consistency in costuming, ending his description with “Darüber sollte und musste der Kostumdirektor befragt werden!”¹⁰ In a review of “Wahnsinn” at Theater an der Wien in the same year, a critic whose initials are now completely illegible complained of inconsistencies between the play’s text and the characters’ costumes. He wrote,

Der Kleidung des Wahnsinnigen war gewählt charakteristisch, nicht so die des Herrn Trollstein, welcher nach der letzten Mode sehr zierlich gekleidet sein soll. Das ist man den doch nicht mit einem dreieckigen (Patent) Hut und mit Augengläsern. Ein junger Spieler trägt wohl eine Lorgnette, aber keine Brillen in der Regel. Im Drama selbst ist vom Lorgnettiren die Rede, welches den Gebrauch den Augengläsern geradezu ausschliesst.¹¹

Therefore, the reviewer demonstrated a sense of appropriate headwear and eyewear according to the character’s age, the script, and the contemporary style. He went on to criticize other instances of theatrical anachronism vis a vis costumes, including the ancient Greek heroine Phraedra in a dress with a train and the Scottish Lady Macbeth dressed in a half-Swiss, half Nuernberger style. Then he remarked cryptically, and perhaps sarcastically, “Die Zusammenstellung dieser fremdartigen, der Dichtung und der Darstellung gleich nachtheiligen Stoffe, wird gelegentlich ein interessantes Gemälde des neuen Kostum-Systems geben.”¹² Similarly, an 1846 reviewer of “Die beiden Schüssen” at the A.A. private Theater an der Wien lamented an actor’s costume, “das wenigstens einer um 150 Jahre älteren Zeit angehörte.”¹³ Adolf Bäuerle criticized in his 1815 review of “Armuth und Edelsinn” at Theater in der Leopoldstadt that a modern businessman appeared like a “Justizrath vor 50 Jahren” and not a “deutscher Kaufmann unserer Zeit,”

¹⁰ W. Hebenstreit, “Schauspiel (Theater nächst dem Kärthnerthor)”, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, July 17 1816, 336.

¹¹ “Schauspiel,” *Wiener Zeitschrift*, July 24 1816, 351-352.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ “Feuilleton,” *Wiener Zeitschrift*, Sept. 19 1846, 752.

echoing Iffland's and Brühl's emphasis on time period, occupation, and nationality in proper costuming.¹⁴ Some reviews also offered positive appraisals. For instance, a Herr Professor Deinhardstein commented in a review of the medieval courtly drama "Maximilians Brautzug" in 1829 that "das Kostüm waren eben so geschmackvoll als zeitgemäß und schön."¹⁵ Therefore, reviewers offered both compliments and criticisms of costuming in relation to nationality, history, and character in the Biedermeier period.

In addition to cursory comments in theater reviews, some writers went into greater depth on the theory behind proper theatre costuming. In his 1815 article "Aphorismen für Schauspieler und Freunde der dramatischen Kunst," Bäuerle instructed his newspaper readers on the technicalities of staging a production. He advised, "Ein Künstler beobachtet das Kostüme, wenn er den historischen Darstellungen auf diese Eigne jedes Volkes und Zeitalters Rücksicht nimmt, und den ganzen Charakter des Volkes, das er zu seinem Stoffe aushebt, mit allen Eigenheiten der Zeit, in die er die Scene verlegt, ausstellt. Dies aber setzt nicht bloss oberflächliche, sondern gründliche Kenntnisse der Geschichte voraus." In order to properly portray these essential details, Bäuerle cautioned, "das Studium der Geschichte [ist] äußerst nothwendig," and mentioned that there were quality publications on historical costuming now available for purchase. Moreover, Bäuerle stressed that proper costuming was not only necessary for those who would notice something amiss. Rather, accuracy benefited audience members who did not understand costuming, as well, "weil der höhere Zweck der Schaubühne nicht allein angenehmer Unterhaltung, sondern auch in lehrreichen Unterrichte besteht; das Kostüme aber, als ein wesentlicher Theil des Ganzen, uns in den Moden, Sitten und Gebräuchen dieses oder jenes

¹⁴ Adolf Bäuerle, "Der Monath Januar," *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, Feb. 28 1815, 84.

¹⁵ Deinhardstein, "Maximilians Brautzug," *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, Dec. 1 1829, 589.

Volkes und Zeitalters belehrt.”¹⁶ Therefore, Bäuerle cited the pedagogical as well as artistic goals of theater as reason for historically accurate dress onstage.

While Bäuerle promoted historical and ethnological research for costuming, other authors took this quest for accuracy to an even greater extreme. An antiquarian with the surname Böttiger published numerous articles about ancient Greek art and culture in relation to dress in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*. In his 1820 “Über das antike Kostum in Grillparzers Sappho,” Böttiger argued, “Ueberall, wo in dramatischen Werken sich offenbart, das Treue in Zeichnung der Zeit und des Orts unter die Kunstzwecke des Dichters gehört, da wird es selten zu rechtfertigen sein, dass man von dem wissenschaftlich korrekten Kostum abweiche.” In the context of *Sappho*, a play set in ancient Greece, Böttiger claims, “ausgemacht bleibt es, daß im ganzen Drama nichts vorkommt, welches nicht durch strenge Beobachtung des Üblichen im Wiegen- und Mutterlande aller wirklichen Kunst noch gehoben und der gebildeten Schaulust reizender gemacht werden könnte.”¹⁷ Like Bäuerle, Böttiger also stressed precise attention to detail in proper costume, writing, “In mancher Kleinigkeit wird außerdem noch das Übliche mit der genauesten Darstellung antiker Formen befolgt, und dabei auch dem ganz modernen Zuschauer ein sehr wohlgefälliger Anblick gewährt werden können.”¹⁸ He recommended that costumers employ sources such as statues from the Vatican or sarcophaguses of the muses in Italian, English, and Swedish museums to correctly dress their actors.¹⁹ Böttiger even went into great detail on the proper sleeves, belts, and other garments worn by each figure in the play according to their character

¹⁶ Bäuerle, “Aphorismen für Schauspieler und Freunde der dramatischen Kunst,” *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 25 May 1815, 192.

¹⁷ Böttiger, “Über das antike Kostum in Grillparzers Sappho,” *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 28 Oct. 1820, 1061.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1062.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1063.

and rank and argued that actresses should educate themselves on how to properly drape Greek-style garments, down which side of the body and whether they could cover their arms.^{20,21}

However, an investigation of Viennese costumes for Sappho demonstrates that garments were more likely to follow a fashionable silhouette than precise historical research. In fact, Bönsch specifically mentions ancient costumes as the most dramatic example of European efforts to fit historical, loose-fitting styles into a bodice-based garment.²² For instance, a von Stubenrauch sketch for a Burgtheater production in 1818 displays a similar sweeping train and high, empire-style waist to a fashion plate from the *Wiener Zeitschrift* in the same year (see fig. 9-10). In contrast, an illustration from an 1835 Burgtheater production of the same play shows the characters with a lower waist, triangular, wide-shouldered bodice, enormous puffed sleeves, and hair curled to the side of their face, again resembling the current fashions published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* (see fig. 11-12). Hence, both before and after Böttiger published his 1820 article, costumers appear more heavily influenced by contemporary styles than ancient source material for Grillparzer's *Sappho*.

²⁰ Ibid, 1065.

²¹ In relation to ancient Greek and Roman costumes, von Brühl wrote, "Manchen Frauen beim Theater ist vorzüglich daran gelegen, einzelne schöne Theile ihres Körpers zu zeigen...Die griechischen Gewänder sind ihnen daher die liebsten, weil sie die Formen am meisten sehen lassen." Yet the truthfulness of this statement is dubious, given that Brühl's assessment of actresses and historically accurate costumes in general was tinged with the sexism of Biedermeier Europe. Brühl criticized, "Gewöhnlich protestieren die Frauen am mehresten gegen die Entfremdung und Abweichung von der bestehenden Mode, weil es ihnen oft an gehöriger Kunstkenntnis und wissenschaftlicher Bildung fehlt, woran übrigens die männlichen Bühnen-Künstler gleichfalls keinen Ueberfluss haben!," demonstrating his low opinion of those he costumed in general and specific assumptions about female actors (qtd. in Wagner, 150).

²² Bönsch, 65.



Figure 9. Sophie Schröder als Sappho, Philipp von Stubenrauch, K. K. Hof-Burgtheater, 21 April 1818. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 10. Modenbild I., Wiener Zeitschrift, 1 January 1818.



Figure 11. Mad. Grelinger und ihre beyden Tochter Klara und Bertha Stich in Grillparzers Sappho, Matthäus Kern, K.K. Hof-Burgtheater, 23 July 1835. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 12. Modenbild I., Wiener Zeitschrift, 23 June 1835.

In contrast to Böttiger’s strict requirement of scientific accuracy and his own earlier assertions, Bäuerle again wrote extensively on costumes in his 1826 “Einige Bemerkungen über Tiecks dramaturgische Blätter in Beziehung auf Wien” and expressed a more nuanced approach. Bäuerle’s essay ran over two months of issues of the *Theaterzeitung*, but notably, he addressed Ludwig Tieck’s criticisms of Viennese costuming practices first. In his *Dramaturgische Blätter*, the Berlin Romantic author and critic had proposed a “poetisches allgemeines Theaterkostum,” which would comprise of basic, stock pieces that costumers could use for all productions set in a

certain era, with small “geschmackvollen Modificationen” according to each specific play.²³ Bäuerle countered Tieck’s point by repeating his assertion from a decade before that costumes should display “wissenschaftlich und historisch begründete Mannigfaltigkeit selbst für den ungelehrten Theil der Zuschauer.” The *Theaterzeitung* publisher stated that even the most uneducated members of the public would still be able to differentiate between dress of separate centuries and would become displeased and distracted if theaters were to employ the same costume for all medieval productions, for instance. In fact, this type of “poetisches allgemeines Theaterkostum” would constitute backsliding to a time before costume reform. Bäuerle thus declared, “Geist und Wesen der Zeit, und ihre Eigenthümlichkeiten sind charakteristisch; die Hauptformen derselben sind für die Bühne unerlässlich; und nur in kleinen Nebendingen darf man von der Wahrheit weichen.”²⁴ However, Bäuerle qualified this strict adherence to historical details in response to Tieck’s specific critiques of Viennese theater. The Austrian author took offense at Tieck’s comment that “in Wien war man auf demselben irrigen Wege, und hat selbst jetzt noch keine bedeutenden Fortschritte gemacht,” compared to the theatre of thirty-five years previously. Bäuerle defended the current state of Viennese theatre costuming as follows:

Wenn nicht immer in allen Bestandtheilen ganz streng (da dem Schönheitssinn bisweilen das strenge Anhalten an frühere Zeiten untergeordnet werden muß*) doch nimmer treu im Styl der Zeit kostümiert, in welcher ein Stück spielt, wenn man es in Einzelheiten bisweilen unterläßt, so geschieht es wenigstens nicht aus Mangel an Sachkenntnis und an Studium, wie den der fleißige Herr v. Stubenrauch hier gewiß, auch in dieser Hinsicht, es mit jedem seines Faches aufnehmen kann! Der individuelle Geschmack der einzelnen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft erhält bisweilen auch das Übergewicht, und zuletzt mag doch Recht behalten, wer gefällt, und auserkoren hat, was ihm am Besten steht, wenn es nur nicht grille Gegensätze zum Styl des Ganzen hervorbringt.²⁵

²³ Bäuerle, “Einige Bemerkungen über Tiecks dramaturgische Blätter in Beziehung auf Wien,” *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 15 July 1826, 337.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 338.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 333.

Thus, Bäuerle allowed some divergence from historical precision in relation to taste and artistic sense. Yet based on his earlier writings and statements even in other parts of this essay, it is unclear whether Bäuerle truly believed in this more flexible approach to costuming or if he merely sought a way to defend his city's theatrical practice from Tieck's outsider perspective.

However, the example Bäuerle provided in relation to tasteful departures from historical accuracy illuminates the author's more nuanced perspective. Bäuerle highlighted the opera "Agnes Sorel," based on the mistress of fifteenth century French king Charles VII. He explained that in real life, Sorel as a historical figure would have worn large, uncut diamonds, but the character could not appear onstage at the Hoftheater in gems of that nature, because uncut diamonds would appear odd to a modern audience. Thus, Bäuerle appealed to his readers, "Muß nicht hier mit Aufopferung der historischen Treue das Auge durch glänzenden Schmuck befriedigt werden? Doch ist der Schmuck alterthumlich gefaßt, dies ist die Hauptsache."²⁶ Hence, Bäuerle here tempered his reliance on historical accuracy with an awareness of the audience's perception. A costume must capture the social standing of character, as Iffland would support, and remain true to the production's setting, as von Brühl would desire. Yet when these two goals come into conflict and convey an improper impression to the viewer, as Agnes Sorel's uncut diamonds, Bäuerle proposed a compromise: cut gems that appear old-fashioned, even if they are not exact to true historical facts. Thus, Bäuerle brought a part of theatre as essential as the director, designer, or actor into the costuming conversation: the audience.

Visual Analysis and Case Study: *Agnes Sorel* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*

In order to demonstrate the development of theater costumes over the Biedermeier period and illustrate further connections between early nineteenth-century stage costumes and street

²⁶ Bäuerle, "Einige Bemerkungen über Tiecks dramaturgische Blätter in Beziehung auf Wien," *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 13 July 1826, 333.

fashion, I have decided to make a case study of the numerous operas under the title *Agnes Sorel* and Friedrich Schiller's play *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. Both productions are set in fifteenth-century France and contain an overlapping cast of characters. The medieval or purportedly medieval costumes are also particularly notable in the context of the Romantic era, when these pieces were written and performed, during which a particular fascination with the Middle Ages developed.

Die Jungfrau von Orleans, which centers around St. Joan of Arc, was first staged in Leipzig in 1801 and constituted one of Schiller's most performed plays during his lifetime. It premiered in Berlin the same year, with August Wilhelm Iffland as director. The production was a great success, and Iffland, who hoped the spectacle could compete with opera, supervised the production of 362 costumes for the performance. The coronation procession was the highlight of the play, featuring an enormous ensemble cast in brightly colored clothing.²⁷ *Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt* featured an engraving of this scene, about which publisher Georg Voss noted, "Das Kostüme (!) ist darin mit der größten Genauigkeit beobachtet. Es sind mehr den 190 Figuren auf der Platte und darunter wenigstens 100 Hauptfiguren, wo das Kostüme sehr sauber illuminiert ist" (see fig. 13).²⁸ After von Brühl became head of the Berlin theater world, he staged a newly designed production. The new director claimed, "Die Kostüme zu dem Trauerspiel: Die Jungfrau von Orleans auf dem Berliner Theater weichen durchaus von allen denen ab, welche man auf anderen Bühnen und selbst früher in Berlin sah. Der Grund dazu liegt in der, einmal als unumstößlichen Grundsatz angenommen, getreuen Nachbildung der Kleider und Waffen des Landes und Zeitalters in welchem das Stück spielt...Alles, was aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert, namentlich aus der Zeit Carl VII. in Abbildungen und Monumenten

²⁷ Wagner, 146.

²⁸ Georg Voss, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* 53, 3, Leipzig, 3 May 1806, pg. 431, qtd. in Wagner, 146.

übriggeblieben, ist hier nach Möglichkeit benutzt worden.“²⁹ Thus, Brühl signaled his reliance on historical source material for the production and the uniqueness of this new, empirical approach. For each costume sketch, such as those of Karl VII and Philipp der Gute, he provided a detailed description of the garments and weapons worn (see fig. 14). Hence, the Berlin productions of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* demonstrate the conscious turn towards specific, research-based costuming during the early nineteenth-century reform movement.



Figure 13. "Bühnenbildentwurf: Krönungszug zu Jungfrau von Orléans, Schiller," Friedrich Jügel, 1806, Kunstbibliothek Berlin.



Figure 14. Karl VII. Und Philipp der Gute in Schillers "Die Jungfrau von Orleans. Kolorierte Kupferstichtafel (Taf. 41), in *Neue Kostüme auf den beiden Königl. Theatern in Berlin unter der General-Intendantur des Herrn Grafen von Brühl*. Berlin 1819-1831, Kunstbibliothek Berlin.

In contrast to Berlin performances, costumers' own insights on *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* in Vienna have not yet come to light, but critical reviews and production sketches can further illuminate the development of costume practices in the Austrian capital. In an 1820 staging at Hoftheater nächst der Burg, the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* assessed, "Das Kostüm war historisch genau, reich und prachtvoll ohne leeren Flittertand."³⁰ As this review is one of the few cases in

²⁹ Qtd. in Wagner, 150.

³⁰ Adolf Bäuerle, "Neuigkeiten," *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 23 Nov. 1820, 562.

which a critic (presumably Bäuerle) concluded that costumes had actually displayed proper historical accuracy, it is particularly lamentable that I could not find any renderings for this specific production. Four years later, the Theater in der Josephstadt performed *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* in Vienna again, and the *Theaterzeitung* remarked that “Das Kostüm war glänzend und der Arrangement des Krönungszuges verdient mit Lob erwähnt zu werden,” mentioning the coronation procession again as a highlight.³¹ The first production from which both sketches and a costume review exist is the 1833 Hofburgtheater production. Heinrich Adami wrote in the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* “Das Costume, durchaus neu nach den Angaben des Hrn. v. Stubenrauch angefertigt, zeigte den glänzendsten Reichtum, den herrlichsten Geschmack. Der lange Krönungszug trat, gleich einem wundervoll geordneten, verschwenderisch mit Farben aller Art geschmückten Bilde, an unseren Augen vorüber.”³² Upon observing the costumes from this production, one can immediately note the similarities to a contemporary 1830s silhouette, rather than a medieval style (see fig. 15). Specifically, the main character Johanna’s blue- and white-striped, belted dress with a wide collar tucked into the waistband and enormous leg-of-mutton sleeves resembles fashion illustrations in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* throughout the 1830s (see fig. 16-18). In fact, the dress bears a striking resemblance to other theater costumes of the same era, regardless of in which time period the productions were supposed to take place. Dresses in *Sappho*, set in ancient Greece, *Tassos Tod*, set in sixteenth-century Italy, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, set in fifteenth-century France, all share the same bell-shaped skirts, wide triangular bodice and dramatic puffed sleeves, despite the centuries and even millennia between their historical settings (see fig. 19). Therefore, comparing sketches from different productions of the

³¹ Adolf Bäuerle, “Neuigkeiten,” *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 17 Dec. 1825, 619.

³² Heinrich Adami, “Neuigkeiten,” *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, 7 Oct. 1833, 807.

same decade can profoundly illustrate the influence of contemporary silhouette on theater costumes.



Figure 15. Antonie Fournier als Johanne (a), Therese Peché als Agnes Sorel (b,c), and Karoline Wilhelmine Lambert als Königin Isabeau, Philipp von Stubenrauch, K. K. Hof-Burgtheater, 4 October 1833, Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 16. Rollenporträt [von] Antonie Fournier als Johanna in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" und als Kriemhild in "Der Nibelungenhort," *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, Johann Christian Schoeller, 30.11.1833. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 17. Modebild XXII. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 30 May 1833.



Figure 18. Modebild XII. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 24 March 1831.



Figure 19. A side-by-side comparison of previously-cited images of 1830s costumes and dress: Johanne in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, a fashion illustration from the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, Sappho in *Sappho* and Leonore von Este in *Tasso's Tod*.

In addition to contrasting images from separate productions, a cross-analysis of characters from the same or similar productions over time can show consistencies of Biedermeier costuming in the German-speaking world. For instance, a von Stubenrauch costume for an 1806 production of *Agnes Sorel* depicts the titular character in a high-waisted, straight-skirted, square-necked gown with multi-puffed “Marie” sleeves (see fig. 20). The sketch was printed in a collection of von Stubenrauch’s designs in 1813 and closely resembles a *Wiener Zeitschrift* illustration from 1818 (see fig. 21). Agnes Sorel in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* similarly wears Marie sleeves in Girolamo Franceschini’s early 1840s collection *Neue Costume-Sammlung verschiedener Zeiten und Nationen*, but an 1841 fashion illustration indicates that these puffed arms had come back into style (see fig. 22-23). Franceschini’s Agnes Sorel also models a wide V-shaped neckline, V-shaped waistline, and bell-shaped skirt, which appear in the 1841 fashion illustration but neither the 1818 illustration nor the 1806/1813 costume. Even minute changes in style seem to have permeated theater costumes. Von Stubenrauch again designed for an opera entitled *Agnes Sorel* in 1848, and this Agnes wears straight sleeves and a jacketed bodice with tabs that extend past the waistline, similar to a fashion illustration of the same year (see fig. 24-

25). Just like her contemporary Agnes Sorel, Johanna or Jeanne D'Arc can represent the changes in what theater-makers understood or presented as a medieval style during the Biedermeier period. A sketch in the *Münchner Theater Journal* in 1815 shows Johanna in a high, empire-waisted dress, an armored breastplate, and Marie sleeves, strikingly similar to the aforementioned von Stubenrauch Agnes Sorel costume (see fig. 26). Franceschini's 1840s sketch of Jeanne D'Arc also depicts the heroine in a breastplate over a dress, but the waistband has lowered significantly and the skirt has widened to mimic the contemporary silhouette (see fig. 27). It is unclear whether Franceschini's sketch is tied to a specific production, but notably, it very closely resembles a von Stubenrauch costume for Königin Isabeau in an 1833 Burgtheater performance (see fig. 28). The two renderings share a belted breastplate which narrows to a point at the hips, a tasseled, mesh or lace overskirt, and an underskirt with a patterned border. Franceschini may have based his costume on von Stubenrauch's sketch. Or this resemblance could indicate that designers repeated certain stylistic tropes in the same production across different decades, even as the currently fashionable silhouette most profoundly influenced the style of theatre costumes.



Figure 20. (top-left) Antonie Laucher als Agnes Sorel in "Agnes Sorel." Aufführung am 04.12.1806 im Kärntnertortheater; Philipp von Stubenrauch, *Auswahl schöner Costumes für Theater- und Ball-Anzüge*, gezeichnet von Ph. Von Stubenrauch, um 1813. Theatermuseum Wien.

Figure 21. (bottom-left) Modenbild VI. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 8 February 1816.

Figure 22. (top-middle) Agnes Sorel in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" aus *Neue Costume-Sammlung verschiedener Zeiten und Nationen*, No. 4, Blatt 3., Girolamo Franceschini, 1841-1846. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 23. (bottom-middle) Modenbild XXXVIII. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 15 July 1841.

Figure 24. (top-right) Christine Hebbel als Agnes in "Agnes Sorel." K. K. Hofburgtheater; Philipp von Stubenrauch, 25 February 1848. Theatermuseum Wien.

Figure 25. (bottom-right) Modenbild Nr. 43. "Toilette von J. F. Bohlinger Nr. 1150." *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 21 February 1848



Figure 26. Anna Altmutter als Johnanna und Carl Carl als Lionel in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," 2. Akt, 10. Szene, Johann Nepomuk Muxel, *Münchener Theater Journal*, 1815. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 27. Karoline Wilhelmine Lembert als Königin Isabeau in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," Philipp von Stubenrauch, K. K. Hof-Burgtheater, 4 April 1833. Theatermuseum Wien.



Figure 28. Jeanne D'Arc in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" aus *Neue Costume-Sammlung verschiedener Zeiten und Nationen*, No. 4, Blatt 1., Girolamo Franceschini, 1841-1846. Theatermuseum Wien.

However, images can offer pitfalls in relation to accuracy in theater costuming, as both Biedermeier artists and modern scholar have noted. Von Brühl himself cautioned, „Bei den vorliegenden Kupfern, welche sich in der That immer mehr von den früheren durch richtige Charakteristik in der Nachbildung der Originale auszeichnen, wäre dennoch so manches zu erinnern, weil das Zeichnen der Kostüme überhaupt sehr schwierig ist, und ein mehrjähriges Studium derselben erfordert...vorzüglich bei den weiblichen Abbildungen, der Künstler zuweilen in den Fehler der Schauspielerinnen verfallen ist; den alterthümlichen Kostümen etwas Modernes beizumischen, was dem Kennerauge natürlich auffallen muss“ indicating that sketches of costumes may reflect a nineteenth century fashionable silhouette even more than the garments actually worn onstage.³³ Bönsch also indicates that “Der Entwurf alleine lässt selten sichere Rückschlüsse auf das tatsächlich ausgeführte Bühnenkostüm zu.”³⁴ Therefore, the uncertainty as to how much artists edited or stylized costume sketches remains. The potential manipulation to printed images versus actual garments further indicates the pervasive desire to conform to a contemporary silhouette and thus partially answers my first research query. However, it also leads to further questions regarding how much I can rely upon costume sketches in my own investigations. In a time before photography, in which written descriptions of costumes are rare or hard to interpret, and from few to no extant garments survive, it remains unclear how I can corroborate my findings regarding the connection between stage costumes and everyday fashions. I may have to settle for presenting my conclusions with warning similar to Bönsch’s or von Brühl’s on the veracity of my sources.

³³ Qtd in Wagner, 150.

³⁴ Bönsch, 70.

Next Steps

Based on my semester of investigation, there is ample primary and secondary evidence to answer my first research question, on how everyday fashion affected stage costumes in early nineteenth century Vienna. Especially for women's costumes, the contemporary silhouette influenced the styles seen onstage, yet designers and critics also demonstrated concern about the accuracy of costumes. I have found some information on my third question, as well, on whether this influence was unique to Viennese, Austrian, or German-speaking theatre. It is outside of the scope of this paper to go into further detail here. I do admit that I have not completely investigated how the relationship between stage costumes and everyday fashions in Vienna may compare to theaters outside of central Europe. Yet in relation to national or cultural awareness, comments from directors like von Brühl, theater critics like Bäuerle, and various reviewers indicate that nineteenth-century theatre-makers and -goers were aware of ethnic identity onstage.

Therefore, my second question on how stage costumes affected everyday fashions remains the most open for investigation. Problems of causality are always hard to answer without specific evidence, and I hoped to come across an article in either the *Wiener Zeitschrift* or the *Theaterzeitung* that explicitly mentioned a fashion trend inspired by a character or costume onstage. I did not find such a passage until very late in my research and partially by accident, as I prepared for this colloquium session. A "Modebericht" from an 1845 issue of the *Wiener Zeitschrift* mentions an "Agnes-Mantel," which "fällt hinten gerade herunter und bildet vorn eine Art Leibchen. Agnes Sorel ist es, welche dieses hübschen Kleidungsstücke den Namen verlieh."³⁵ While this excerpt appears promising, it is unclear whether the name of this cape is based on the character from Schiller's play, the numerous *Agnes Sorel* operas, or the actual

³⁵ "Modebericht," *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 6 Nov. 1845, 888.

historical figure. No productions of either *Agnes Sorel* or *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* appear to have taken place in 1845 in Vienna, according to my brief investigation. However, the “Modebericht” implies that Paris fashions inspired the cape styles in the report, as the French city constituted Europe’s fashion capital. It remains to be seen whether a production featuring Agnes Sorel as a character took place in Paris around this time or if the name derives from an earlier era. Moreover, it is unclear if the fashions in the illustration on the next page depict this “Agnes-Mantel” or another style of cloak (see fig. 29). Therefore, this first piece of evidence for the influence of theater costumes on everyday fashion raises more questions than it provides answers. I do not yet know if the “Agnes-Mantel” will raise further insight or if I will investigate another style in relation to this facet of my research, but I continue to search for more source material on how actors’ garments onstage affected what audiences wore once they left the theater.

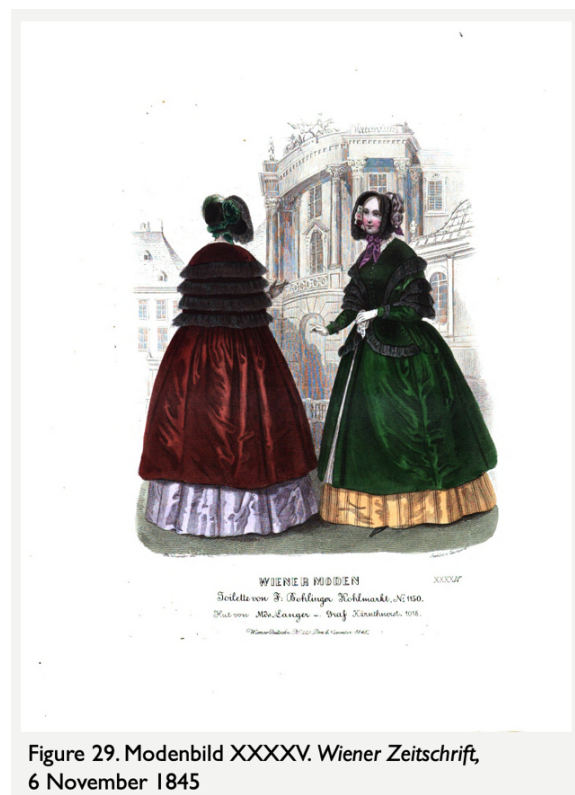


Figure 29. Modenbild XXXXV. Wiener Zeitschrift, 6 November 1845