JANE K. BROWN

THE PERSISTENCE OF ALLEGORY: DRAMA AND NEOCLASSICISM FROM SHAKESPEARE TO WAGNER

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Mozart and Classicism

The tendency of writers and scholars to associate *Faust* with *Don Giovanni* has obscured for all but specialists how important *Die Zauberflöte* was for the following generation, and especially for Goethe. Ludwig Tieck's fairy-tale drama, *Der gestiefelte Kater* (Puss in Boots, 1797) plays on Mozart's popularity by importing elements from *Die Zauberflöte*, the more irrelevant the better, into his own play within a play, especially the set for the trials by fire and water; whenever the onstage audience gets too irritated, Mozart always cheers them up. Schiller mounts a tragic version of *Die Zauberflöte* in his *Braut von Messina* (Bride of Messina, 1803);[12] Heinrich von Kleist's *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* (1807) is subtitled "Die Feuerprobe" (Trial by Fire) and contains in act 4 a trial of the heroine by water as well; semi-supernatural guiding figures like Tamino's three genii spook all through the plays of Zacharias Werner (1768-1823), in his day considered a dramatist of Schiller's class arid now unaccountably ignored; Wagner's Siegfried (1876) still has its bear, magic sword, and trial by fire. Goethe thought *Die Zauberflöte* was so important that he made it the centerpiece of the Weimar repertoire, celebrated it in *Hermann und Dorothea*, used it extensively in a dramatic prologue *Was wir bringen* (1807), and worked hard on a sequel to it in the 1790s which he only gave up when he realized it was written to Mozart's already-existing music.[13] I would suggest that *Die Zauberflöte* represented for an entire generation the solution for getting past the aporias of neoclassicism and allegory to recover a viable dramatic tradition.

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The crisis of representation in this opera is precisely that its plot no longer seems to make sense, because its most colorful figure, the Queen of the Night, changes valence in the middle of the libretto. First she appears as the wronged mother whose daughter has been abducted by an evil sorcerer, but abruptly in scene 15 the sorcerer turns out to be good and the Queen proves to be the real villain. For most of the nineteenth century the text was read as a quasi-dialectical Romantic allegory: a series of connected oppositions like dark and light, night and day, female and male, evil and good, enable the universe to function stably, as long as the first term remains properly subordinated to the second.[14] Then, in the early 1890s, when dialectics lost favor to positivism, Otto Jahn proposed an alternative, strictly occasional reading. In this view the opening on June 8, 1791, of Joachim Perinet's *Kaspar der Fagottist, oder: Die Zauberzither* ("Kaspar the Bassoonist, or: The Magie Zither," an adaptation of the same tale from C. M. Wieland's collection *Dschinnistan* that Schikaneder was using for *Die Zauberflöte*) forced a sudden change in plot, in which the good Queen of the Night became an evil figure.[15] Jahn's assertion has been largely rejected on internal grounds, but the continuing discomfort with the reversal reveals the shaky status of allegory as drama becomes more mimetic.

The opera actually has an unproblematic basis in traditional allegory. Indeed, it is strikingly reminiscent of Calderón's *El mayor encanto amor*, discussed above in Chapter 5. Because of the Habsburg connection between Spain and Austria, Spanish dramas traveled readily to Vienna both with and without the names of their authors; from the early eighteenth century on there was a healthy tradition of popular drama and musical theater in Vienna based on Spanish plots.[16] Whether or not Mozart and Schikaneder knew this particular play, they had access to materials that derive from it.[17] Calderón's court spectacular is an allegory of faith based on the visit of Ulysses to Circe in Ovid, whose obvious religious import made it easy for Calderón to recast it in shortened form as a morality play. By Mozart's time even mythological allegory was archaic and had been largely superseded by, among other things, the vaguely orientalizing fairy-tale vehicle of *Die Zauberflöte*. In both texts, as in all moralities, the definition and development of humanity is a central theme, here visible in the fluid boundary between human and animal: in Calderón the clown is transformed into a monkey for part of the play, while Mozart's clown Papageno is a bird-man. Circe changes men (at least those who submit to their appetites and drink) into animals, so her island, in Calderón, is full of tame animals. *Die Zauberflöte* has a ballet of animals tamed by Tamino's flute. Furthermore the heroes of both texts must resist the temptations of the dangerous, indeed evil, female rulers of illusory realms. In both works the clown parodies the love story of the hero. Both clowns talk too much and are repeatedly punished for it. And both become tied to crones: Calderón's Clarin is "rewarded" by Circe with a duenna who appears from a treasure chest, Papagena first appears in the guise of an old woman. Clarin's duenna reveals visually for the first time the true ugliness of Circe, an ugliness which Ulysses

will only later recognize. The more secular Papagena, by contrast, turns out really to be quite attractive, at least to Papageno, and they will have a large family.

Calderón's plot dramatizes the choice of virtue over pleasure. Ulysses' companions are transformed into beasts by Circe, but Ulysses rescues them with the aid of a magic twig provided by Iris: divine intervention enables man to recover his humanity. But as Ulysses tarries in Circe's domain he falls in love: man trusting to his own powers is always subject to temptation. By means of trumpet calls, the armor of Achilles, and finally the ghost of Achilles himself, Ulysses is recalled to self-reflection and resolves to depart for home, while in the adjacent comic scene Clarín looks in a mirror (concrete self-reflection) and sheds his monkey identity. In the meantime, Circe routs the army of her other lover, Arsidas, with an army of phantoms, for all the achievements of sin are but illusion. Circe calls up a storm to prevent Ulysses' departure, but Galatea calms the seas because Ulysses had earlier killed the Cyclops, murderer of Galatea's own beloved, and had thereby avenged constant love. Once again divine intervention, prompted by previous good works, comes to the aid of the repentant sinner. As Ulysses departs to the sea, Circe's palace sinks and is replaced by a fire-spewing volcano. In the tradition of masque the plot functions as a series of significant pictures.

Die Zauberflöte dramatizes the same choice. Tamino arrives in the alien realm of the Queen of the Night and it is clear by the beginning of act 2 that he must learn to distinguish light from dark and undergo moral trial. From the very beginning he requires superhuman, if not divine, assistance, for his first words are "Help me" ("Zu Hilfe"). He is delivered from a dangerous dragon by three ladies whose silver spears, echoed repeatedly in the golden flute, silver glockenspiel, and a pattern of gold and silver all through the play, elaborate the theme of divine talismans implicit in Iris's magic twig and the armor of Achilles. Like Ulysses, Tamino ignores the obvious danger of the realm he has entered (rendered visible in the poisonous serpent from which he was just rescued), and a miniature painting easily convinces him to enter the service of the Queen of the Night and fall in love with her daughter, virtually sight unseen. Here the plots diverge, for Tamino's love is not sinful, but leads, circuitously, to marriage. Instead of being recalled to virtue in a moment of self-reflection, Tamino enters the temple of Sarastro and submits to tests of his virtue that culminate in the trials by fire and water. The Queen of the Night, a late incarnation of Circe, invades the depths of Sarastro's temple, whence she is routed with thunder and lightning. She and her army are phantoms in their lack of power; they are now routed as the forces of Circe's lover were, and for the same reason—both threaten to destroy a closed artificial world. Now, however, that closed world contains not the dangerous enchantment of love, but the sacred doctrine of love generalized to love of humanity. This is the final dispersal of the Queen and her forces, and the thunder and lightning take the place of the volcano into which Circe was transformed. This

moral allegory, a late and secularized descendent of European morality drama, is the traditional, underlying allegory in the opera. All readings of it as Masonic or political allegory are essentially even more secularized embroidery on this basic structure.[18]

Considered from the opposite point of view, however, with Pamina as heroine rather than as object of Tamino's interest, the story is the popular plot of abduction and seduction taken over from Richardson's novels into drama. Monostatos evokes Clarissa's Lovelace and his numerous successors in drama, Sarastro the powerful father-fixation typical of the bourgeois tragedies of Lessing and later German writers, the dilatory Tamino the half-hearted lovers of the same plays, the Queen of the Night both the typically contemptible mothers of these texts and also the virago abandoned by the dilatory lover for a new, more innocent beloved. But this mimetic plot is slightly garbled. For if *Die Zauberflöte* were a proper seduction drama, Sarastro would literally be Pamina's father, Tamino and Monostatos would fall together as the lover who carries Pamina off but cannot bring himself to marry her. Only the Queen of the Night would remain the object of the same misogynistic contempt. The seduction plot is garbled by the allegorical substrate.[19]

In response Mozart and Schikaneder undermine the allegory. First, despite its thunder and lightning, *Die Zauberflöte* lacks the most spectacular visual effects of Calderón. No Galatea floats across the waves at the end. While the last scene celebrates the initiation and marriage of Tamino and Pamina—constancy, stability, and virtue, "smooth sailing" for the future, and thus everything that Galatea represents—these values are no longer concretely personified. Even with his lion chariot Sarastro is no competition for Calderón's personifications of divine good, Iris with her rainbow and Galatea's sea chariot on a real lake; and the Queen of the Night spews only vocal pyrotechnics. Second, Schikaneder no longer works with traditional names and designations. The moral valence of Calderón's Iris, Galatea, and Circe depended on a body of mythology known to all, but the same cannot be said for Sarastro or the Queen of the Night, whose moral valence is problematic for much of the opera. Sarastro was obviously descended from Zoroastro, the kindly sorcerer in Handel 's *Orlando* (1733) , one of many eighteenth-century operas based on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (although the particular name does not derive from Ariosto). Sorcerers and sorceresses in Ariosto can be bad or good, and one rarely can tell beforehand which kind one is dealing with. Both Sarastro and the Queen of the Night belong to this indeterminate class.

Indeed, much of the problem with the opera's coherence stems from the assumption that "Queen of the Night" is a mythical designation. All modern responses to the first act depend in one way or another on that premise. But it does not stand the test of philology. A nuance—or rather actually, a crashing guffaw—is lost on us, though inescapable for Mozart's audience. For a "Nachtkönigin" in Mozart's Vienna was a latrine-cleaner.[20]

To be sure, the term occurs mostly in the masculine form (''Nachtkönig"), but it is found as a feminine in Stranitzky's collection of adaptations of Italian operas into German from 1724 (see Chapter 6). The context is telling. The clown shows off by saying to the queen: ''View me from the front and smell me from behind, o beauty of beauties, queen of the night or night-queen" ("Betrachtet mich von vorn und riechet mich von hinten, Schönste aller Schönen, Königin der Nacht oder Nachtkönigin," Payer von Thurn, *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* 2:91; also twice as a masculine with explicit reference to privies or filth, 1:58 and 95). He is dismissed with contempt. To call a woman Queen of the Night was evidently no compliment. As director and most famous member of the company at the Kärntnertor Theater, Stranitzky himself had created the role of Hans Wurst, the first of the characteristically Austrian clowns to dominate the German popular theater of the eighteenth century. A tradition of Hans Wurst comedy written by and for famous clowns leads without interruption from Stranitzky in the 1720s to clown-director-author Emanuel Schikaneder sixty years later.[21] Because Stranitzky's plays are basically translations and adaptations of operas performed at the Viennese court, they are full of motifs and gestures that recur in Mozart's Singspiele, such as, in *Die Zauberflöte* the central emphasis on virtue with the contrasting view of the clown, as well as more specific motifs like opening with a hero calling for help and the imposition of silence.[22] The Queen of the Night in this now unrecognized meaning is part of that large eddy in the encounter between allegory and neoclassicism.

Nevertheless, although the Queen of the Night spends the second half of the opera wandering in the "underground passages"—the sewers and drains?—of Sarastro's palace, she still maintains considerable metaphysical stature. As the source of all the weapons in the play she generates its violence, whether murder or suicide. As widow of the possessor of the great sun disk, as feminine principle in the world, and as night, she embodies the irrational forces tamed by the powers of light, wisdom, and enlightenment. Whatever Mozart and Schikaneder thought the word meant, they have maintained her mythical stature. But given the lurking scatological reference, how can any other meaning not be seriously undercut? Are her revenge arias serious, or are they not parodies of the Senecan rage arias so familiar from *opera seria*? Euphemism by nature veils its own meaning: to identify one of the moral poles in the plot with a euphemism seems to call all of the play's meanings into question.

And meaning, organized around the image black/white, is a central thematic problem in the libretto. There is no difficulty distinguishing dark from light in the opera, but their moral value is unclear, and the problem of knowing is articulated repeatedly. When Tamino is first turned away from the Temple of Wisdom and told Sarastro is its priest, he cries, "So then everything is deception!" ("So ist denn alles Heuchelei!" Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte* 31). Hypocrisy is a common vice in morality plays, but there it is always visible which figures lie and which are honest—as is still the case, for instance, in *Othello*. But in *Die Zauberflöte* the audience sees no more clearly than the characters. Tamino is soon informed that he has been deceived by a woman, a theme later elaborated by Sarastro,

who speaks of the "illusions and superstition" practiced by the Queen of the Night ("Blendwerk und Aberglauben," 38). The instability derives, in turn, from the shiftiness of representation in the text. It begins with Tamino's and Papageno's difficulties understanding one another, where Papageno's total ignorance of the world reflects Tamino's own state of darkness. In the dark realm of the Queen "truth" or "knowledge" is communicated through images and signs—the painting of Pamina evokes Tamino's full-blown love, the thunder and lightning announcing the arrival of the Queen seems to confirm her divine status. But in the realm of Sarastro visual signs are problematic. The first authority figure encountered in the sunny realm of Sarastro is the black Monostatos; he turns out, however, entirely to misrepresent both the attitudes and intentions of his master, who is neither a tyrant nor even a reformed tyrant of the traditional eighteenth-century variety like Voltaire's Don Guzman or Mozart's own Bassa Selim and emperor Tito. Monostatos's slaves equate his blackness with his moral evil (24), but when Papageno matter-of-factly wonders in the next scene why people shouldn't come black as well as white, the significance of color is disrupted. Monostatos himself later pleads that, though black, he has the same need for love as anyone else—he is the same color inside—and shortly after he attributes a black outside to himself but a black inside—the intended murder of Sarastro—to the white Pamina (45, 48). When Sarastro finally says that he knows that Monostatos is as black inside as out, the final rupture has taken place: the perception of inside or moral color is an entirely separate process from that of the outside one. Instead, knowledge in Sarastro's realm is communicated in sound or language—the temples have their names inscribed over the doorways, the priests confirm Sarastro's intention to have Tamino initiated not by making a visual sign but by blowing horns, the flute and glockenspiel demonstrate their power of sound only in Sarastro's realm, even though they come from the Queen. While Papageno's enforced silence in the first scene results from his simple rudeness, in Sarastro's realm the enforced silence enhances the power of language: language must be used sparingly and carefully because it is the vehicle of truth. Thus as the play progresses from dark to light, it also progresses from nonverbal signs to language, from belief to knowledge, from outer to invisible inner, and from visual to abstract.[23] Unlike the texts of the previous century, it responds to the now familiar anxiety of secularization by deliberately moving away from allegory.

In the love relationship between Tamino and Pamina the problem of knowledge is grafted onto the question of representation. Tamino loves Pamina from seeing her picture; Pamina loves Tamino simply from hearing Papageno report that Tamino loves her. Pamina even sings her first love duet with Papageno, who represents Tamino by proxy. A pastorale in a moderate tempo, and in the opera's central, "Masonic" key of E-flat major, it is the most placid music in the opera. Oddly enough, these absurdities accord perfectly with the epistemology of the text outlined above, for Tamino sees the picture in the Queen's realm, Pamina hears the words in Sarastro's realm. So openly does the text depend on the obvious convention that an opera must have lovers that spectators rarely bother to question the "reality" or mimetic believability of the situation.

But in fact, the text also precludes such questioning by calling its own mimesis into question at the crucial moment when Papageno first enters Pamina's chamber. For Papageno feels compelled to check Pamina's identity against the miniature portrait given to Tamino but now worn by his messenger. The comparison is an obvious gag, and a very old one: dark eyes, red lips, blond hair—it must be the right girl, with the possible difficulty that Pamina has hands and feet while the portrait has none. Later in the same scene Papageno then addresses Pamina as "schön's Fräuleinbild" ("lovely miss," literally: "lovely image of a miss," 28), a playful distortion of a common term for woman in eighteenth-century German, "Frauenbild." Pamina is less a mimetic reality than the image of an image. Papageno's superliteral reading of the portrait emphasizes how far this play is from truly mimetic representation.

But if this play were truly allegorical, then we would know immediately what Pamina is an image of. She would have to embody the goal of Tamino's striving, wisdom. Thus in the Corpus Christi moralities of Calderón, the hero's beloved is usually named "Grace" or some equivalent, unless the hero is Christ, in which case her name is "Humanity" or perhaps "the Soul." In an allegory the literal and figurative meanings function congruently in the plot. But in *Die Zauberflöte* Tamino's striving for wisdom, embodied in the male Sarastro, conflicts with his striving for Pamina. Tamino sends Papageno to make love in his name while he tarries at the gates to the Temple of Wisdom, and while Pamina is driven to desperation by her love for him Tamino subjects himself willingly to the trials of the priests and even, at their behest, promises to avoid and abandon her. Only when he has fully agreed to and enacted his renunciation of Pamina is she restored to him. Tamino wins wisdom, and he wins Pamina as well. But these two plots are not connected either logically or dramaturgically. Hence it would be a mistake to view Pamina as either wisdom or an allegory for wisdom: she is simply a parallel goal, not even an analogy. This radical separation of figure and meaning is inconceivable in the allegorical dramatic tradition, in which analogy implies identity.

On the one hand, then, *Die Zauberflöte* reveals a radically internalized psychology. Monostatos's blackness is confusing because the real Monostatos, as he himself claims, is his heart, inside him and invisible to the rest of us (45). Pamina judges Papageno's honesty by his "gefühlvolles Herz" (28). And when Tamino claims to be disillusioned that wisdom is the purview of Pamina's kidnapper, the priest wishes Tamino could know Sarastro's true intentions. Tamino can see nothing but the abductor; the loving foster-father can be revealed solely through verbal expression of the secret intention, the hidden self.[24] The problem of knowledge in this play follows directly from its secularized psychology. But the opera is also allegorical. It externalizes its meaning and makes it visible. How can both these assertions be true simultaneously?

It has become something of a cliche in recent decades to talk about the universality of *Die Zauberflöte* as a combining, whether blending or totalizing, of different musical discourses;[25] one might also understand the naming of the Queen of the Night as a pointed clue to the modal counterpoint or heteroglossia of the libretto.[26] Against the background of a text so ambivalent toward its own underpinnings and assumptions about how it represents, and in which its primary mode of representation is at odds with its epistemology, the anomaly of the Queen of the Night and her scatological roots makes more sense. The Queen of the Night has all the qualifications of a proper allegory: she is connected to the cosmos as the embodiment of night against day, dark against light, superstition against knowledge, evil against good. But by calling into question all the easy distinctions on which such a cosmos rests, the text acknowledges, rather than stumbles over, the fact that the cosmos is not really there any more. By making the Queen's moral significance ambiguous the opera demands that we understand simultaneously in two modes.

But this universality is, in its turn, hard to take seriously. The opera is, after all, really just a Singspiel with pretensions. In Stranitzsky the term "Queen of the Night" is used by the clown as an inappropriate form of address to a real queen. It would not be amiss to understand the Queen of the Night as a parody of herself. The opera calls not only meaning into question, but also the conventions of opera, of pictures, of seduction drama, of almost everything with which it comes in contact—not corrosively, but playfully. As music tames the wild beasts and wild men in *Die Zauberflöte*, parodying of course the Orpheus legend, and as the musical and playful Viola and Feste mediate between worlds in *Twelfth Night*, Mozart's and Schikaneder's playful irony allows a temporary but miraculous cohabitation of the modes. Almost forty years later, in 1828, Goethe brought about the resolution of all the conflicts in his "Novelle" of 1828 by having a small boy enter a dark enclosure playing his flute and return peacefully with a lion that had frightened all the adults, and thereby reverse the narrative's definitions of nature and art. With this salute to *Die Zauberflöte* Goethe raises Mozart's playful irony to a methodical irony of serious play, what he called in his last recorded remarks on his *Faust*, "very serious jokes" ("sehr ernste Scherze," letter to Wilhelm von Humboldt, March 17, 1832).[27]

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Coda

"This Insubstantial Pageant"

Believe me, sir
It carries a brave form. But 'tis a spirit.

—*Shakespeare* (The Tempest 1.2.411-12)

The title phrase falls in Prospero's famous set speech in *The Tempest*:

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors
> (As I foretold you) were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air,
> And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capped tow'rs, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded
> Leave not a rack behind. (4.1.148-56)

Prospero's "insubstantial pageant" is an interrupted wedding masque performed by bodiless spirits summoned by the slightly more embodied spirit Ariel. The masque is an allegory that allies the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda to the cosmic order of nature; its spirits and its meaning are simultaneously visible yet abstract. When the "real" world of the play requires Prospero to deal with Caliban's plot to overthrow him, the masque evaporates: its spirit figures give way to "real" and substantial mimetic characters—Prospero, Miranda, and Ferdinand. Here is the traditional stance of mimesis: allegory is insubstantial. And yet Prospero's swelling rhetoric in its turn subsumes the reality in the play to that of the spectator's more real world—"the great globe itself"—Shakespeare's own theater, the theater of the world, and the world. But even "the great globe itself" will dissolve, and so, in this hierarchy of mutable worlds, the insubstantial pageant of the spirits takes on the permanence of Truth and of the eternal order of the cosmos. Throughout *The Tempest* Ariel stages various spirit plays; superficially delusory, they actually communicate important truths to characters and audiences who know how to read them. The spirits in the play are "brave forms," while the glittering external forms of Prospero's clothing prove empty lures for the hapless clowns, whose only spiritual support derives from the bottle. Allegory's dissolution is a sublimation that banishes not itself but mimesis.

Prospero's insubstantial-substantial truth reflects the moral structure of religious drama, as well as the moral and social context of court masque, yet in its staging, mythical content and characters, it also reflects the classicizing influence of the illusionist stage, still oddly evanescent and insubstantial. But *The Tempest* also represents the impact of Aristotelian theory with its plot unified by Prospero's stage management, its relatively restricted location, and the strict unity of time otherwise atypical for Shakespeare. Senecanism appears in the ruler's dramatic isolation on his desert island, in the constant attempts to overthrow him, and in his plan for revenge. This Classicism, represented also by Prospero's mutable cloud-capped towers, has remained much more memorable than the masques of his airy spirits. Classicism clothes both mimesis and allegory here: like the robes of Prospero it can seem an insubstantial shell, but also the substantial dignity of the ruler.

The Tempest embodies in summary the ambiguities and anxieties that attend the shift from allegory to mimesis through so many different kinds of neoclassicism. Like all European drama, whether Aristotelian, neoplatonist, Senecan, Vitruvian, operatic, or Greek Revival, it lives from the tension between the spiritual and the real, the allegorical and the mimetic, the insubstantial and the corporeal. In this book I have tried to show how all these different forms of classical revival interact in different fashion to create the genres we know as morality play, Elizabethan tragedy, neoclassical tragedy, court masque, Corpus Christi play, school drama, bourgeois tragedy, opera, dance pantomime, German Classicism, Naturalism, and all those other names we give to texts for stage performance.

But these oppositions are manifested not only, not even primarily, at the level of content, character and allusion, but as so often, through the formal structures we have seen organizing texts all over Western Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, with and without music, with and without lavish sets and spectacle. Plot was the most important element of tragedy for Aristotle, and his hierarchy is validated when the Christian plot of repentance and salvation—spiritual, "insubstantial"—survives tenaciously through centuries of neo-Aristotelian focus on character from Shakespeare (as he is commonly read) through Racine, Lessing, Wagner, Ibsen, and Shaw. Only when the nineteenth century declares God dead, or at least disappeared, when the cosmos on which it depends is secularized, does its truth cease to inform and substantiate the dramatic representation of the world effectively.

Faust, Part II is the swan song of European dramatic allegory. It marks its position by a return to Shakespeare's ambiguous ruminations. In its first scene, "Anmutige Gegend" (Charming Landscape), Faust is healed from the devastations of the tragedy of Margarete, the subject of Part I, by nature spirits singing under Ariel's direction. He and his elves have

two, equally important, effects upon Faust. First, they cause him to reenter the cycle of nature in time, to return to the "real" world. Second, Faust takes from this encounter a new capacity to read nature allegorically: he can now see the meaning of life, its embeddedness in the order of nature in an insubstantial rainbow caused by the reflection and refraction of sunlight in water. Goethe's Ariel follows no orders from Prospero but simply acts without the mediating mimesis of the magician plot; indeed, his name is given only in the printed speech heading. He is not a tricksy spirit being forced to heal Faust by a human mind, but a pure allegory of the order of nature. If Shakespeare has embodied himself in *The Tempest* in Prospero, Goethe keeps his distance. Yet this spectacle gives way to a carnival masque that refigures characters from *The Tempest*: Caliban is Mephistopheles, Prospero becomes Faust playing Plutus (god of wealth; all three names are synonymous), and Ariel appears as Boy-Charioteer, who is the spirit of Poetry. If in the first scene Goethe's allegories seemed purer than Shakespeare's, here the allusion to *The Tempest* keeps them from seeming arbitrary; only by connecting himself to a historical tradition of allegorical drama can Goethe still write it in the 1820s, and thereby give his pageants their proper insubstantiality, their transcendent meaning.

Goethe's focus on the insubstantial spirit in Shakespeare explains why there was a last effusion of interest in allegory as it was fading from the scene. Spirit, in German the same word as "mind" (*Geist*), became one of the code words the German Romantics set in opposition to what they perceived as the excesses of Enlightenment rationalism. In its other common philosophical formulation in the period the term was subject, as opposed to object. Aligning the spiritual with the subject, the interior self, meant that the cosmos now resided inside the self rather than outside in the universe; as a result Romantic allegory became paradoxical and soon had to give way to the term symbol, as we have seen. Nevertheless, their last-ditch effort against the complete rationalization and secularization of culture has really been the source of the terminology and categories that have made this study possible.

For the irresistible but unperformable *Faust* was stemming a tide. Before World War I, historical substance was running wild on the European stage. In the era of the great naturalists Ibsen, Chekhov, Shaw, Puccini, and Hauptmann, ever more elaborate, precisely historical illusionistic sets and costumes, stage effects, pantomime, music for mood and to emphasize emotional climaxes characterize not only opera, but all stage drama. All the paraphernalia of *Gesamtkunstwerk* were brought to bear by leading directors of the period: Henry Irving's production of *Faust* featured a sword that lit up during Faust's duel with Valentine (Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre 1850-1910* 115), and Max Reinhardt rose to prominence as a master of spectacular stage effects. Now, however, the great panoply of effect was in the service not of allegory, but of mimesis. This age determines still current concepts of the "normal" on the stage; its great Shakespeare critic A. C. Bradley and his Hegelian theory of

tragedy with its focus on character conflict still often prevail today. Almost simultaneously, to be sure, a reaction (that in fact embraced many naturalists themselves) developed in the exaggerated modernist formalism of "l'art pour l'art" and surrealism. Goethe's identification of Aristotle as the ultimate formalist was prescient indeed. If allegory suffered a protracted, Dickensian death from Wagner to Hofmannsthal, the same can be said of mimesis.

The lesson of Seneca is that nothing ever really dies, but remains a ghostly presence for succeeding generations. Indeed, Goethe's Faust knows this presence well and warns against it: "If spirits haunt you, continue on your way" ("Wenn Geister spuken, geh' er seinen Gang," 11450). Aristotle's categories of mimesis and the unities continue to haunt the introductions to freshman anthologies of drama and the language of reviewers to this day. And similarly, the familiar plot of morality continues its life on the stage, in melodrama, and in film, as every lover of Hollywood westerns would acknowledge. My goal is that the ghosts be recognized and their insubstantiality welcomed into our discourse rather than left to haunt its margins.

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Endnotes for Mozart and Classicism

12. The heroine Beatrice is abducted from the convent where her mother, widow of the ruler of Messina, hides her by an unknown man who turns out to be her brother and is similar both to Sarastro and to Tamino. His twin brother functions as the equivalent of Monostatos and specifically lacks Tamino's virtues of constancy, tolerance, and discretion. Imagery of light and darkness pervades the play. Although Schiller characterizes the chorus in the play as a classical chorus it functions more like a chorus in Verdi in its participation in the action.

13. Staiger, "Goethe und Mozart" 49. Staiger analyzes the affinity at length 45-66; Robert Spaethling surveys it more extensively in *Music and Mozart*; on *Hermann und Dorothea* and *Die Zauberflöte*, see J. K. Brown, "Schiller und die Ironie von *Hermann und Dorothea*. "

14. I describe the best and most general tradition of allegorizing readings, which stretches from Goethe's fragmentary sequel, *Der Zauberflöte Zweiter Teil*, to the analyses of Ernst Bloch (*Prinzip Hoffnung* 387-91 passim) and Hans-Geog Gadamer ("On the Course of Human Spiritual Development" 37-55). A more specific and limited version of this trend is to be found in the readings of the opera as a Masonic allegory, of which the most notable example is Jacques Chailley's *"La flûte enchantée," opéra maçonnique: Essai d'explication du livret et de la musique*. There has also been a tradition of readings going back as far as 1794 of the opera as political allegory and even roman à clef, described briefly in Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte* 219-21, and more extensively by Paul Nettl in "Deutungen und Fortsetzungen der *Zauberflöte*" in Csampai, *Die Zauberflöte* 183-200. For a recent example of this tradition see Csampai's introductory essay, "Das Geheimnis der *Zauberflöte* oder die Folgen der Aufklärung" (9-40), a good example of the drivel that typifies such discussions.

15. The claim is coupled in Jahn with the assertion that not Schikaneder but an even less significant contemporary, Karl Ludwig Giesecke, was the real author of the libretto. Unimaginable amounts of time and energy have gone into perpetuating this myth by denying it; the controversy still leads a healthy existence in footnotes and textual summaries. For thorough analyses see Rommel, *Maschinenkomödie* 61-67, and Egon Komorzynski's *"Entstehung der Zauberflöte"* 149-65. For a detailed survey in English, with defense of the unity of the text, see Batley, *Preface* 105-30. Coupled with this controversy is passionate disagreement about which of the many texts evidently known to Schikaneder is to be regarded as the "real" source of the opera; in addition to the essays aiready cited, see Branscombe, *Die Zauberflöte* 4-34, and, most recently, Assmann, *Die Zauberflöte*.

16. The transmission is extensively documented by Sullivan in *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries*.

17. Charles Rosen sees Gozzi as the determining predecessor for Mozart, particularly in *Die Zauberflöte* (*Classical Style* 318). Eighteenth-century Italian drama was heavily dependent on the Spanish plots of the preceding century and may well have been a link in the transmission to Vienna.

18. The coherence of the allegory in *Die Zauberflöte* becomes clearer when we compare it to *Kaspar der Fagottist, oder: Die Zauberzither*. Its plot is astonishingly similar to that of *Die Zauberflöte*. Prince Armidoro, while out hunting, is led to the radiant fairy Perisirime. She commissions him to rescue her daughter, who has been abducted by an evil enchanter, and gives them a magic zither, a magic ring, and a magic bassoon. As long as Armidoro and Kaspar trust in the fairy and call on her (or her assistant) in need—as long as they demonstrate proper faith—she will save them. Indeed they are all saved more by Perisirime's interference than by any great efforts of the hero, whose one deed is to steal a magic talisman from the enchanter as he sleeps. The trials, the crone, and the apparent reversals in the fairy queen and enchanter are all absent; the plot is a great deal less interesting than Schikaneder's. Allegory remains only in the way the plot structure illustrates the underlying religious premise that faith leads to salvation. So banal and saccharine had allegorical representation become in the common practice of Mozart's day.

19. For more on the mimetic aspects see the essay version of this material: J. K. Brown, "The Queen of the Night and the Crisis of Allegory" 149-52.

20. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, defines *"Nachtkönig"* as *"euphemistisch für abtritt-, cloakenräumer.* [There follows a list of examples, covering areas from Bavaria to Carinthia, and as far north as Leipzig]; der nachtkönig sol zur gewöhnlichen zeit und an den gewöhnlichen ohrten den unflath ausschütten" (13:195; "Night king, euphemism for the cleaner of sewers and latrines; ... the night king is to dump out the filth at the usual time in the usual places"). That its scatological implications would have been appealing to Mozart seems obvious. Cf. Solomon on Mozart's enthusiasm for the carnival aspects of bawdiness (*Mozart: A Life* 356-61), which he associates explicitly with the maternal principle. The term still had negative resonance for Beethoven, who once applied it to his sister-in-law Johanna: "Tonight this Queen of the Night was at the artist's ball till 3 o'clock, not only with her intellectual but also bodily nakedness—according to rumor she can be—had—for 20 fl., o horror ... " ("Diese Nacht ist diese Königin der Nacht bis 3 uhr auf dem Künstlerball gewesen nicht allein mit ihrer Verstandeßblöße sondern auch mit ihrer körperlichen—für 20fl., hat man sich in die Ohren gesagt, daß sie—zu haben—sei, schrecklich ... ," to Giannatasio del Rio, February 17, 1816; Beethovens Briefe 92). What Beethoven meant by the term is not completely clear. Solomon assumes he meant prostitute (Beethoven 235), but John Burk considered it an allusion to Mozart, though without elaborating (*The Life and Works of Beethoven* 186). I am grateful to Joel Lazar for calling my attention to the Beethoven reference.

21. The name Hans Wurst for the clown occurs already in seventeenth-century German plays, but Stranitzky established the consistent persona which then remained associated with his name and that of his chosen successor Gottfried Prehauser (1699-1769). Later clowns developed other names and personae (Rommel, *Maschinenkomödie* 33). The definitive history of the Viennese tradition in the theater is Rommel's *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*; an effectively condensed version of the parts relevant to the literary-historical context of *Die Zauberflöte* is to be found in the substantial introduction to *Maschinenkomödie* already cited. A somewhat elaborated version in English may be found in Batley, *Preface*.

22. The call for help is in *Die Enthaubtung des weltberühmten Wohlredners Ciceronis* , silence in *Der Großmüthige Überwinder Seiner Selbst*. The generosity of the Bassa Selim at the end of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* is typical of *Haupt- und Staatsaktion*, as is the confusing plot organized around the beloved in disguise found in Mozart's first operetta, *La finta giardiniera*.

23. The text conveniently overlooks the fact that words are as much signs as visual images, and that their truth value also depends on the capacity to command belief. I claim, however, only that the text has a pattern, not necessarily philosophical rigor.

24. Compare also Pamina's judgment of Papageno's honesty by his "gefühlvolles Herz," Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte* 28.

25. E.g., Charles Rosen in *The Classical Style* 317-21, with regard both to libretto and setting; Ludwig Finscher, "Mozart und die Idee eines musikalischen Universalstils," with regard to Mozart's mature style in general, and *Die Zauberflöte* in particular, 278; Ernst Bloch in "Die Zauberflöte und die Symbole von Heute" 100-103, with regard to the libretto; and Rose Subotnik, "Whose *Magic Flute*?" with regard to libretto and setting. Bakhtin has even been invoked, by Rose Subotnik, to explain in effect the layering of a postmodern deconstructive reading over an Enlightenment universalist reading of both text and music. Subotnik understands discourse, for the purposes of her argument, primarily in a political sense, and understands the different discourses diachronically. I focus rather on synchronic discourses, both present in and for the eighteenth century, and at a more abstract level than politics.

26. Such modal counterpoint indeed underlies Northrop Frye's notion of literary quality: "For while one mode constitutes the underlying tonality of a work of fiction, any or all of the other four may be simultaneously present. Much of our sense of the subtlety of great literature comes from this modal counterpoint" (*Anatomy of Criticism* 50-51). "Heteroglossia" is Bakhtin's term for the same structural phenomenon.

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