

74 *Kritisches Theaterjournal*, 264–265. “... ein liebender Faun, der durch die widrigen Grimassen die Grazie durch frosterweckendes Zänebleken, das Lächeln ersetzen will.—Ein Amor, der, wenn er eine Empfindung erregt, gewiß nur das Gefühl des Abscheuens erwecken kann.”

75 Goehring, 143–144.

76 Goehring, 145 and 209.

77 *Una cosa rara* (Vienna, Kurzbek, 1786), 3.

78 Mary Hunter, “Bourgeois Values and Opera Buffa in 1780s Vienna,” in *Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna*, ed. Mary Hunter and James Webster (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 185.

79 Link, “The Da Ponte Operas,” 39.

80 See Goehring, 159 and Johann Peztl, *Skizze von Wien*, ed. Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar (Graz: Leykam, 1923), 319.

81 For basic information about the adaptation, see Angermüller, 47. See also *Una cosa rara* (Vienna: Kurzbek, 1786), 75; and *Der seltsame Fall oder: Schönheit und Tugend* (Vienna: Wallishauser, 1789), 91–92.

82 For example, at the beginning of the second-act sextet where Lilla and her friend Ghita mistake the courtier Corrado and the prince for their husbands because of darkness, Eberl deleted the stage directions that ask the two “adulterous” couples to embrace. Eberl also rewrites those passages where various characters accuse women of lacking constancy. From Corrado’s monologue in Act II, scene 5, for instance, Eberl deleted the passage where Corrado imagines that Lilla will become his lover once she has fallen for the prince because women become more yielding after “the first fall.”

83 On May 10, 1790, Schikaneder and Benedikt Schack produced a sequel to *Una cosa rara*, titled *Der Fall ist noch weit seltsamer, oder Die geplagten Ehemänner* (“The Case Is Far Rarer, or The Troubled Husbands”). The work partially abandoned the restraint with which Eberl approached Da Ponte’s libretto. In Schack’s opera Lilla and Ghita flirt with the mayor (whom they firmly rejected in the earlier work) and let themselves be persuaded to kiss him; the sequel also features a love duet in which Lilla and Lubino openly discuss procreation, in the manner of Papageno and Papagena in the *Die Zauberflöte*. See Katharina Löthe, “Die geplagten Ehemänner: Benedikt Schacks und Emanuel Schikaneders Singspiel und Ehe auf der Bühne des Hamburgs Theaters im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Musiktheater in Hamburg um 1800*, ed. Claudia Maurer Zenck (New York: Lang, 2005), 183 and 187. The looser approach to infidelity in the sequel is indicative of the loosening state supervision over suburban theater in the 1790s (see Chapter 4).

84 The section immediately preceding the maxim ends with an extended melisma (on the word “Seligkeit”) sung by Belmonte and Konstanze in thirds. After a grand pause, the maxim begins and the vocal lines now consist of repeated pitches separated by eighth-note rests that interchange with octave leaps. The wide leaps, the omnipresent rests, and the staccatos suddenly introduced in the orchestra create a sense of breathlessness that alerts the listeners to pay attention to the text after the previous coloratura section. The straightforward diction and the reduced orchestration, moreover, ensure that the text can be easily understood.

85 For a concise summary of the documents concerning the establishment and abolition of the *Singspiel* company, see Link, *The National Court Theater*, 11–12.

86 *Opeletten von C. F. Bretzner* (Leipzig: Schneider, 1779), 99–192; *Das wütende Heer, oder Das Mädchen im Thurm* ([Vienna: J. Logenmeister]). For example, in the second aria “Ha! Die Schlange.” In the aria, Robert does not specifically mention adultery and cuckoldry, but the 1779 libretto has him point at his forehead as if in anticipation of growing horns. The stage direction does not appear in the Viennese libretto, although the other stage directions were retained in that particular scene.

87 *Der Apotheker und der Doktor* (Vienna: Logenmeister, 1786), 33.

4 Die Zauberflöte and subversive morality in suburban operas

One of the most striking and commented upon features of the duet “Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen” from *Die Zauberflöte* is that although the princess Pamina and the servant Papageno sing about love, their duet is not a “love duet,” that is, a musical number where two lovers express mutual feelings for one another.¹ Instead, Pamina and Papageno sing about love in general from a depersonalized and de-sexualized perspective.² One reason for this is that the text of the duet does not easily fit the situation at hand. Immediately before the duet, Papageno complains to Pamina that he cannot find a female companion despite his affectionate heart, and Pamina assures him that he will find one soon. Instead of expressing Papageno’s frustration and Pamina’s hopes, the ensuing duet discusses the positive effects love has on the human disposition (especially in couplets 1, 4, and 5), and celebrates the noble and divine nature of amorous feelings between men and women (the final quatrain).³ Thus in dramaturgical terms, the duet transcends the on-stage reality and possesses an aura of a metaphysical maxim.⁴

Numerous *Singspiele* produced in the 1790s by the two main suburban theaters in Vienna, Schikaneder’s Wiednertheater and Marinelli’s Leopoldstädter Theater, featured love duets between an aristocratic character and a servant. As the following pages show, however, most of these duets put a sexual twist on the interaction between the nobles and the servants. These socially mismatched, racy “love” duets are particularly prominent in a group of suburban works that I refer to as “heroic-comic operas.” A list of the heroic-comic operas selected as a representative sample, based on availability of their librettos and music, can be found in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.⁵ Suburban librettists used that term quite often, particularly in the later 1790s, though not all works discussed in my study are referred to as “heroisch-komische Opern” in their librettos (columns 2 of Tables 4.1 and 4.2 list the generic title of each opera after its main title). I use the term “heroic-comic opera” in connection to any *Singspiel* from the 1790s that closely resembles *Die Zauberflöte* in its reliance on magic and exoticism and its use of at least two pairs of lovers: one serious couple of royal or aristocratic descent and one servant couple for comedic relief. Within the comic, genre-bending dramaturgy of these *Singspiele*, the convention of two classes of lovers almost seems to beg for a duet that mixes a high-class lover with one of the servants.⁶ *Die Zauberflöte*’s duet therefore both develops an important convention of suburban opera but also represents a curious exception within that convention.

Table 4.1 Original heroic-comic operas produced at the Wiednertheater in the 1790s

Premiere performance	Title "Generic title"	Librettist Composer(s)
November 7, 1789	<i>Oberon, König der Elfen</i> ("Oberon, King of the Elfs") "romantisch-komische Oper"	Karl Ludwig Giesecke Paul Wrantitzky
November 4, 1790	<i>Ein Singspiel ohne Titel in drey Aufzügen</i> ("A Singspiel without Title in Three Acts")	Leopold Hiesberger Johann Baptist Schenk
November 11, 1790	<i>Der Stein der Weisen, oder Die Zauberinsel</i> ("The Philosopher's Stone, or The Magic Island") "heroisch-komische Oper"	Emanuel Schikaneder Franz Xaver Gerl, Johann Baptist Henneberg, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Benedikt Schack
Early 1791	<i>Der wohlthätige Derwisch, oder Die Schellenkappe</i> ("The Beneficent Derwish, or The Magic Cap") "Lust- und Zauberspiel mit Maschinen, Arien, und Chören"	Schikaneder Gerl, Henneberg, Schack
September 30, 1791	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i> "große Oper"	Schikaneder Mozart
November, 14, 1794	<i>Der Spiegel von Arkadien</i> ("The Mirror of Arcadia") "große heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Franz Xaver Stüssmayr
June 27, 1795	<i>Der Königssohn aus Ithaka</i> ("The Royal Son of Ithaca") "große heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Franz Anton Hoffmeister
November 21, 1795	<i>Der Höllenberg, oder Die Prüfung und Lohn</i> (The Devil's Hill, or The Trial and Reward) "heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Joseph Wölfl
July 15, 1797	<i>Der Löwenbrunn</i> ("The Lion Fountain") "große heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Ignaz Xaver von Seyfried
October 25, 1797	<i>Babilons Pyramiden</i> (Pyramids of Babylon) "große heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Johann Mederitsch, Peter Winter
June 12, 1798	<i>Das Labyrinth, oder der Kampf mit den Elementen</i> ("The Labyrinth, or The Struggle with the Elements") "große heroisch-komische Oper"	Schikaneder Winter

Note: Only works with extant librettos documenting the approximate text used during the Viennese performances in the 1790s are listed.

This chapter shows that the relatively careful treatment of morally sensitive subjects in *Die Zauberflöte* distinguishes Mozart's work from contemporaneous suburban heroic-comic operas to which it has often been compared in scholarly studies.⁷ The works of Schikaneder, Marinelli, and their collaborators inject irony

Table 4.2 Original heroic-comic operas produced at the Leopoldstädter Theater in the 1790s

Premiere performance	Title "Generic title"	Librettist Composer
February 17, 1789	<i>Der Glück ist kugelrund, oder Kaspar's Ehrentag</i> ("The Fortune is Fickle, or Kaspar's Special Day") "musikalisches Feenmärchen"	Adolf Bäuerle Wenzel Müller
September 9, 1790	<i>Das Sonnenfest der Braminen</i> ("The Sun Festival of the Brahmins") "heroisch-komisches Original-Singspiel"	Karl Friedrich Hensler
June 8, 1791	<i>Kaspar der Fagottist, oder Die Zauberzither</i> (Kaspar the Bassoonist, or The Magic Zither) "Singspiel"	Müller Joachim Perinet
May 3, 1792	<i>Die Verschwörung der Odalits/ken, oder Die Löwenjagd</i> ("The Conspiracy of the Odaliques, or The Lion Hunt") "Singspiel"	Hensler Müller
October 2, 1792	<i>Pizichi, oder Fortsetzung Kaspar's des Fagottisten</i> ("Pizichi, or The Sequel to Kaspar the Bassoonist") "Original-Singspiel"	Perinet Müller
June 13, 1793	<i>Ritter Willibald, oder Das goldene Gefäß</i> ("Knight Willibald, or The Golden Pot") "romantisches Singspiel"	Hensler Ferdinand Kauer
May 12, 1795	<i>Caro, oder Megären's zweyter Theil</i> ("Caro, or The Second Part of Megära") Singspiel ...	Perinet Müller
May 13, 1796	<i>Der unruhige Wanderer, oder Kaspar's letzter Tag</i> ("The Anxious Wanderer, or Kaspar's Final Day") "Feenmärchen"	Hensler Müller
December 15, 1796	<i>Das Schlagenfest in Sangora</i> ("The Snake Festival of Sangora")	Hensler Müller
January 11, 1798	<i>Das Donauweibchen, Erster Theil</i> ("The Maid of the Danube, Part I") "heroisch-komische Oper"	Hensler Kauer
February 13, 1798	<i>Das Donauweibchen, Zweyter Theil</i> ("The Maid of the Danube, Part II") "romantisch-komisches Volksmärchen mit Gesang"	Hensler Kauer
November 11, 1798	<i>Der Sturm</i> ("The Storm") "heroisch-komische Oper"	Hensler Müller

and farce into not only love duets, but also scenes dealing with seduction and adultery and those that depict the ethical powers of music. In terms of its didactic outlook, then, *Die Zauberflöte* does not easily fit the operatic culture of the Viennese suburbs, devoted to earthy, as opposed to elevated, entertainment. Instead, Mozart's opera is more closely linked to the *Singspiele* produced in the 1780s at the Vienna court theater and written according to the aesthetic viewpoints of the National Theater ideologues. These same viewpoints were mostly abandoned or outright ridiculed in the suburban works due to the commercial considerations of suburban theater owners, as well as the period's relatively relaxed censorship

policies. Whereas the previous chapter has illustrated how in *Die Zauberflöte* Mozart abandoned the subtle didactic ironies of the Da Ponte operas, the following paragraphs show that he also carefully avoided the less-than subtle ridicule of operatic didacticism in the suburban repertoire and returned to the educative sincerity of *Die Entführung* and other works written for the National Singspiel company.

Love duets or duets about love?

Several scholars have singled out Wenzel Müller's 1790 heroic-comic opera *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*, set to a libretto by Karl Friedrich Hensler, as a possible model for the didactic fervor of *Die Zauberflöte*.⁸ Although the opera contains some didactic moments, it also incorporates numerous racy elements. The overall outline of the plot of *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen* resembles those of the National Singspiel works. Similar to Belmonte in *Die Entführung*, the opera's main hero, the Englishman Eduard, comes to an exotic island in search of his beloved Laura, abducted into slavery and sold into the harem of a local ruler. Just as Ali from Gluck's *La Rencontre imprévue*, furthermore, Eduard is tested in his devotion to Laura by the advances of the local beauty Bella. But unlike the hero of Gluck's opera, Eduard does not exercise complete steadfastness. Eduard's inability to withstand Bella's charms becomes the subject of the first-act duet, in which he succumbs to Bella's entreaties:

BELLA:
Soll ich denn sterben, ich lieb dich allein.
EDUARD:
Ha! Ihre Thränen, die nehmen mich ein.
BEIDE:
Wir wollen uns lieben,
Aus zärtlichen Trieben,
Der Liebe uns weihn.
(*Beide Arm in Arm ab.*)

BELLA:
Then I shall die, I love you alone.
EDUARD:
Oh! Her tears make me weak.
BOTH:
We want to love each other,
Out of tender impulses,
We want to dedicate ourselves to
love.
(*They depart arm in arm.*)

The references to "tender impulses" and "loving each other" together with the stage direction that they should leave holding hands suggest that Eduard and Bella's relationship is not purely platonic.

Throughout the duet, Wenzel Müller's music illustrates how passionate Bella and Eduard gradually become for each other: in the first section, they sing antiphonally, but gradually their vocal lines become more and more intertwined, until in the last three lines they sing in homophony. The musical setting aptly expresses Bella and Eduard's emotional and probably also sexual union, which, as one can easily imagine, follows their departure from the stage. Later in the opera Eduard turns out to be Bella's long-lost brother, abducted to England many years ago by Laura's father (for reasons that are never explained). Perhaps the creators of the opera hoped that such a twist in the plot would clarify the feelings between Eduard and Bella as love between

siblings, and their duet would therefore be understood not as an expression of sexual attraction, but as a celebration of love in general, somewhat along the lines of Pamina and Papageno's duet. Unlike in *Die Zauberflöte*, however, Eduard and Bella talk about their own feelings in a sensual manner and leave the stage together, thus hinting at an incestuous rather than humanitarian, didactic subtext. Unwittingly incest fascinated eighteenth-century writers of both drama and comedy; a comedic exploration of sexual desires based on unknown family relationship represents a prominent theme in the story of Marcelina and Figaro in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*.⁹

Risqué situations involving sexually tinged encounters between a high-born character and a servant continue to appear in the Leopoldstadt *Singspiele* of the later 1790s, such as the 1792 *Pizichi, oder Fortsetzung Kaspars des Fagottisten* and in *Das Schlangenfest von Sangora*, the 1796 sequel to *Das Sonnenfest von Braminen*. Schikaneder's heroic-comic operas from the later 1790s also feature numerous duets that focus on the sexual side of love as opposed to metaphysical ramifications: these include *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, *Der Königssohn aus Ithaka*, *Der Höllenberg, oder Die Prüfung und Lohn*, *Babilons Pyramiden*. Some of these duets strike so close a resemblance to "Bei Männern" that the combination of Mozart-like music with a risqué subject creates a sense of ironic distance or perhaps even farcical mockery of Mozart's famous musical number. This is the case with the first-act duet, "O Freund! Mein Busen pochet" (No. 9), from Schikaneder and Stüssmayr's 1794 *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*. As in *Die Zauberflöte*, the duet brings together a high-born female (princess Philanie) and a male servant (Metalio) and comes as the last musical number before the first-act finale.¹⁰ The dramatic set-up of the duet in *Der Spiegel* is similar to that in *Die Zauberflöte*; Metalio has just saved Philanie from the clutches of the evil magician Tarkeleon, which parallels Papageno's rescue of Pamina from Monostatos. The duet opens when Philanie expresses her gratitude to Metalio, but it soon steers in a surprising direction: Philanie kisses Metalio's hand in order to express her thankfulness, or so she claims, and Metalio protests experiencing physical distress.¹¹

Still, still mein Busen kochet,
Kuß meine Hand nicht mehr.
...
O weh! o weh! dies Küssen
Dringt mir durch Mark und Bein.
Stop, stop my bosom is in flame,
Do not kiss my hand any more.
Oh no! oh no! these kisses
Course through my blood and limbs.

Philanie awakens sexual desires in Metalio, and he fears that he will become unable to resist acting upon these desires. Philanie's kisses, moreover, might not be completely chaste, since in spite of Metalio's protests, Philanie continues her fondling and eventually calls him her "second beloved" ("Stets wirst du meinem Herzen / der zweyten Liebbling seyn"). Unlike Bella and Eduard in *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*, Metalio and Philanie do not conclude with mutual love proclamations—Metalio continues his protestations and Philanie her thanksgiving/firtings—yet Schikaneder's introduction of sexual innuendo still undermines and possibly ridicules what was originally an expression of gratefulness.

Süssmayr's music endorses the flirtatiousness. A sixteenth-note flute arpeggio accompanies Metlilio's first expression of frustration ("Still, still, mein Busen kochet"), and a similar figure underlies the following statement of Philanie, "Stets will ich dich verehren, / Uns bindet Freundschaftsband" ("I will always honor you, / A bond of friendship connects us"), but the melody is now scalar and has a chromatic touch (Example 4.1).

1
Stil, still, mein Busen kochet, küß mir die Hand nicht.
7
Dank-bar-keit so sehr!

PHILANIE

12
Stets will ich dich verehren, uns bindet Freundschaftsband.
mehr!

Example 4.1 *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, opening of Philanie and Metlilio's duet.

The chromatic mellifluousness makes Philanie's statement sound sensual, raising the possibility that a coquettish or even sexual intent might indeed hide behind her declarations of "friendship," "thankfulness," and "adoration."

Initially Süssmayr's music cleverly imitates Mozart's "Bei Männern," but later adopts a mocking attitude. Like Mozart, Süssmayr marks his duet *Andantino*, and introduces it with a short prelude that begins with the strings and concludes with a flute cadence (Example 4.1). Süssmayr's 3/8 meter immediately calls Mozart's 6/8 to mind, although the greater amount of accented downbeats in Süssmayr's melody makes it sound more earthy and rustic.¹² The opening measures of the vocal line continue to evoke "Bei Männern": similar to Pamina, Philanie sings her first two lines alone. But whereas in "Bei Männern" Papageno repeats the first portion of Pamina's melody, Süssmayr has Metlilio expand Philanie's opening interval from a fourth into a fifth and proceed with a different melody; and the wider opening leap distorts what in Philanie's rendition seemed like a noble, exemplary statement. In the fifth stanza, Süssmayr's setting acquires a satirical attitude towards "Bei Männern" when it references the other famous duet from *Die Zauberflöte*: Papageno and Papagena's "Pa, pa, pa." In the middle of that duet (mm. 62–66), Mozart's comical couple briefly bicker about whether their next child will be a Papageno or a Papagena. Similarly, Philanie engages in a short quarrel with Metlilio when she says he will be her "second beloved," although Metlilio claims that she will have the "first" place in his heart. Süssmayr develops the exclamations "du die erste" (you the first) and "du der zweite" (you the second) in a call-and-response section that evokes the discussion between Papageno and Papagena (Example 4.2).

12
PHILANIE
Stets wirst du mei-nem Her-zen der zwei-te Lieb-ling sein!

METLILIO
Ich fürcht' in meinem Her-zen wirst du die ers-te sein!

18
Du der zwei-te, du die ers-te!
Du der zwei-te!
Du die ers-te, du die ers-te!

Example 4.2 *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, call and response in Philanie and Metlilio's duet.

By referencing Papageno and Papagena's buoyant, sexual foreplay, Süssmayr enhances the racy connotations of the exchange between Metlilio and Philanie. Süssmayr's duet ultimately subverts the message of "Bei Männern": in the earlier duet, any possibility of an attraction between Pamina and Papageno is

kept carefully concealed, as if to suggest that desire between members of the two sexes can be channeled in a healthy and productive manner into friendship and mutual support; no such hope is expressed in *Der Spiegel von Arkandien* where relations between men and women often have a crude, sexual undertone.

At least one contemporary of Schikaneder seems to have feared the subversive sexual potential of the scene. In Christian Vulpius's 1796 adaptation of Schikaneder's libretto (titled *Die neuen Arkadier*) for the Weimar court theater, Metallo does not depart with Philanie after the duet as suggested in the 1795 Viennese libretto, but stays behind to deliver a short monologue.¹³

METALLIO (sieht ihr nach.)

Das hat sie allerliebste gemacht!—Wie sie's alle machen. Sie macht mir den Kopf wirrblicht, und geht fort.—Ich muß ihr nach! Da hilft alles nichts! Warum hat sie nicht gehört. Ich muß ihr nach!

METALLIO (looks as she leaves.)

What has she done!—Like all of them do. She makes my head spin, and leaves.—I have to follow her! There is nothing else to do! Why did she not listen. I have to follow her!

Vulpius's addition of the phrase "Warum hat sie nicht gehört" ("Why did she not listen") suggests that Philanie was not flirting but simply did not hear Metallo's protests. Although he has Metallo follow Philanie after his short monologue, moreover, Vulpius does not depict the two characters leaving the stage together, possibly because he, together with many other eighteenth-century critics, feared that such a departure would prompt the audience to imagine that the couple engages in sexual activity once off the stage (see Chapter 3).

Adultery and constancy

Yet another type of risqué love duet appears in Schikaneder's 1795 *Der Hölleberg, oder Prüfung und Lohn* ("The Devil's Hill, or Trial and Reward"). In the second-act duet, "Wirst du dich nur gallant betragen" ("If you behave courteously from now on"), the Papageno-like wandering musician Klingklang and his female acquaintance Mylia discuss the best ways to seduce women.¹⁴ Unlike Papageno, who finds Papagena only at the end of *Die Zauberflöte*, Klingklang is married to the nymph Nierra from the beginning of *Der Hölleberg*. By showing Klingklang's desire to embrace other women and "press them to his chest," so that "love sneaks into their hearts," however, the duet introduces the subject of marital infidelity. Since the spoken dialogue is lost, it is impossible to find out how exactly the duet fits into the plot of the opera, but in the following quartet, "Nun peitschet mit Ruthen, den schändlichen Mann" ("Let's lash with rods, the shameful man"), Klingklang is berated by his wife Nierra and promises to renounce love affairs. This suggests that the whole episode was meant as a satirical tale of punished adultery.

Numerous other suburban heroic-comic operas from the 1790s portray marital infidelity, especially in connection to servant couples.¹⁵ In their treatment of adultery these suburban works strongly contrast with the absolute endorsement of fidelity in Mozart's *Die Entführung* and other National Singspiel works from

the 1780s (see Chapters 1–2). The theme of adultery plays a particularly prominent role in one of the most well-known and popular suburban works of the late eighteenth-century: Hensler and Ferdinand Kauer's *Das Donauweibchen*, the first two parts of which premiered in 1798. Throughout the two musical plays, the main hero Albrecht is torn between his bride, Bertha, and the seductive Danube nymph Hulda. At the end of Part II, Albrecht finally renounces Hulda and swears fidelity to Bertha, but only after he nearly committed to Hulda's demand that he regularly forsakes his marital bed and spends three nights a year with her. Part I, furthermore, introduces Lilli, an illegitimate daughter of Albert and Hulda, conceived, as Lilli herself explains, in a one-night encounter four years earlier.¹⁶ Throughout the opera Hulda continues to flirt with and seduce numerous men. Similarly flirtatious is Hulda's daughter Lilli in spite of her young age. Particularly suggestive is Lilli's duet with an unnamed Boy in Act I, scene 16 of *Das Donauweibchen II*; according to the stage direction the two children kiss and embrace, while singing that since they are still children, they amuse themselves with child-like activities, but once they grown up they will interact in other ways, "[Wir] scherzen und kieren / Nach unserer Art / ... Jetzt sind wir noch Kinder, / Bald wird's anders seyn" ("We joke and coo, / In our own way / ... Now we are still children, / But soon it will be different").¹⁷ In *Das Donauweibchen*, as in most other suburban *Singspiele* of the 1790s, various characters also sing arias and ensembles that promote infidelity or make it seem inevitable, such as the duet for the minstrel Minnewart and the servant Fuchs in *Das Donauweibchen I* that compares the unsteadiness in love to a "perpetuum mobile." Minnewart expands on ideas from this duet in *Das Donauweibchen II*, where he sings two songs about male infidelity. In one of the two songs, the second-act aria "Es hat die Schöpferin der Liebe" ("The creator of love did"), Minnewart lists his promiscuous encounters with women, similar to the "Catalogue" aria from *Don Giovanni*.

In the heroic-comic operas by Schikaneder and his team, depictions of adulterous couples transformed throughout the 1790s, possibly because of *Die Zauberflöte*'s influence. *Die Zauberflöte* does not deal with the subject, which might be the result of its plot construction, where both couples get acquainted and fall in love only during the course of the opera. A subtle hint, though only one, that a troublesome future might await the relationship of Papageno and Papagena appears in the second act of *Die Zauberflöte*, where Papageno swears faithfulness to the old hag while expressing in an aside his hope to find a prettier girl:

PAPAGENO

Nun, da hast du meine Hand, mit der
Versicherung, daß ich dir immer getreu
bleibe, (für sich) so lang ich keine
schönere sehe.

PAPAGENO

Well, here is my hand, with the
assurance, that I will be always
faithful to you, (aside) until I see a
prettier one.

This humorous aside is never mentioned again, and at no point within Mozart's opera are we led to suspect that Papageno might ever cheat on Papagena once she has revealed her youth and beauty.

Schikaneder's first post-Zauberflöte heroic-comic opera, *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, does depict infidelity in a married servant couple, but makes it a part of a cautionary tale. Infidelity figures prominently particularly in episodes connected with the eponymous magic mirror. The mirror, presented to Metallio by Tarkleon, possesses the power to make women believe that the owner is the person they desire the most. Metallio has no scruples in using the mirror to seduce the noble heroine Philanie; her betrothed, prince Ballamo, prevents the seduction only in the last moment. With the mirror's help, Metallio also manages to get a love declaration from his wife Giganie. To Metallio's consternation, however, Giganie declares love to her own husband only because she mistakes him for Ballamo. In the second-act finale, Metallio's mirror enchants the female inhabitants of a magic island, but before he can use his power over them, the women manage to break the spell, become aware of Metallio's trickery, and threaten to kill him. Metallio escapes, reunites with his wife, and both of them reflect on what the mirror episode has taught them:

Was nützt ein müssig Leben? What's the point of an idle lifestyle?
 Was nützt ein Schelmenstreich? What's the point of a roguish trick?
 Betrug trifft nie darneben, Betrayal never afflicts anyone,
 Trifft seine Herren gleich. But those who initiated it.

From the eighteenth-century ethical point of view, the maxim compensates for the earlier risqué actions of Metallio and Giganie. Metallio is punished for his infidelity when he is nearly killed by the angry mob, but once he acknowledges his wrongdoings and promises to behave differently in the future, he is reunited with Giganie and presumably lives happily ever after. The opera therefore cautions the audience that sinful behavior gets punished, and that the trespassers who repent are rewarded.¹⁸

In Schikaneder's later heroic-comic operas (especially in *Der Hölleberg*, *Babilons Pyramiden*, and *Das Labyrinth*), infidelity is no longer presented within this "educational" framework; instead, it becomes a source of titillating entertainment, just as in *Das Donauweibchen*. In *Das Labyrinth, oder Der Kampf mit den Elementen*—the celebrated but also heavily criticized sequel to *Die Zauberflöte*—Papageno breaches the codes of "proper" conduct on several occasions, yet his actions are not punished or censured in any way. Most notably, Papageno has an affair with Monostatos's sister Gura. He is in fact so excited about the possibility of acquiring "a black woman for pasture" ("zum Zeitvertreiß / ein schwarzes Weib"), that he decides to free Monostatos, whom he has captured earlier. Gura turns out to be rather abusive and threatens to roast Papageno over a fire if he is unfaithful. The only character punished for Papageno's infidelity is Papagena. She finds Papageno during his tryst with Gura, becomes jealous and runs away with Monostatos who later tries to rape and kill her. When Papageno rescues her, he sings the only instructional statement associated with his love escapades within the opera: "Gelt Weibchen, jetzt wirst du mir glauben, / Beym Mann ists am besten zu seyn!" ("Well wife, now you will believe me, / The best

place to be is next to your husband!"). It is the wife who needs to be punished and educated about the dangers of her husband's infidelity, the opera suggests. Later in the opera, Papageno also flirts with the three Ladies and with the Queen of the Night. Unlike Metallio in *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* or the 1791 Papageno, the 1798 Papageno does not promise to remain faithful to Papagena in the future.

It might seem that Schikaneder's approach to infidelity became more non-chalant and his didactic preoccupations less earnest between *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* and *Das Labyrinth*. This is in fact what Manuela Jahrmärker has suggested in connection to various sub-plots within the later operas in which characters fail tests and trials or commit crimes and transgressions but are never punished (as Papageno is for telling a lie in the first act of *Die Zauberflöte*).¹⁹ But the more "educational" approach to infidelity in *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* is in fact an exception—possibly related to the fact that the opera was Schikaneder's first work created in emulation of the high-minded *Die Zauberflöte*.²⁰ Schikaneder's two pre-Zauberflöte heroic-comic operas, *Der Stein der Weisen* (1790) and *Der wohlthätige Derwisch* (1791), approach the issue of adultery in the more cynical manner that also characterizes *Das Labyrinth*. *Der Stein der Weisen*, a heroic-comic opera set to a libretto by Schikaneder by a group of composers most probably including Mozart himself and produced a mere 12 months prior to *Die Zauberflöte*, focuses in a humorous manner on the infidelity of Lubanara, the wife of the Papageno-like Lubano. Lubanara praises infidelity in her first-act aria, where she details her plan to flirt with the wizard Astromonte. Two arias by Lubano, moreover, talk about female infidelity in generalized terms—the first one in Act I, "Alle Wetter! O ihr Götter!" ("My goodness! Oh, gods!"), and another one in Act II, which begins with the exhortation: "Den Mädchen trauret nicht zu viel, / Denn treulos sind sie alle" ("Do not trust girls, / Since all of them are perfidious"). At no point throughout the opera, moreover, does Lubanara receive punishment or express regret for her adulterous behavior. The villainous magician Eutifronte eventually abducts Lubanara and conjures a pair of gilded antlers on Lubano's head, thus emphasizing Lubano's status as a cuckold. Schikaneder and his composers further ridicule Lubano's unhappy marriage by bringing in a chorus of hunters who mistake Lubano for a stag and start chasing him. The resulting choral number is filled with horn calls, a common musical representation of cuckoldry. The approach to the idea of moral education is therefore quite different in *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*, and the cynicism of the earlier opera in many ways prefigures Schikaneder's heroic-comic works from the later 1790s. In its treatment of love and sex, *Die Zauberflöte* therefore injected the spirit of uprightness into the risqué suburban productions, but this spirit was largely abandoned in the later works, including *Die Zauberflöte*'s own sequel.

Suburban "didacticism"

Even those suburban Viennese works that take a less restricted approach to infidelity usually exhibit some moralistic concerns. Didacticism is in fact often seen as an important feature of eighteenth-century Viennese popular theater. In his

studies of *Die Zauberflöte*'s connection to Viennese popular comedy, for example, David Buch saw the didacticism in *Die Zauberflöte* as deriving from the "admonishing tales" and "moralizing *Reden*" common in suburban operas and plays of the period.²¹ And yet, the educational elements in the heroic-comic operas performed at the Wiednertheater under Schikaneder's directorship in the years leading up to *Die Zauberflöte* are much less pronounced than those in Mozart's opera itself. The main premise of the 1789 *Oberon*, *König der Elfen*, for instance, is a test of the fidelity of Hüon and Amande, the opera's main couple, even in face of mortal danger. The plot of *Oberon* thus both recalls the tribulation of Konstanze and Belmonte and prefigures the trials of Pamina and Tamino. The test of fidelity becomes especially pointed in the third act, when Amande and Hüon are nearly burned to death for rejecting the amorous advances of Almansor, the pasha of Tunis, and Almansari, his wife. Musically, the composer Paul Wranitzky follows the moralistic tropes of earlier Viennese *Singspiel* composers, particularly in Hüon's introductory aria, "Des Lebens Freuden" ("The joys of life"), where he emphasizes a maxim about manly valor through text repetition, fermatas, and a modulation to the dominant:²²

Denn ohne Zagen
Sein Schicksal tragen,
Geziemt dem Jüngling,
Geziemt dem Mann.
Für without hesitation
To face one's fate,
Behooves a youth,
Behooves a man.

Still, Hüon's aria is the only moment in the whole opera where a character expresses a didactic reflection in generalized terms.

In certain musical numbers of *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart engages in a subtle critique of his suburban predecessors' lukewarm approach to didacticism. Buch has noted numerous musical links between *Die Zauberflöte* and *Der Stein der Weisen*, several of which occur during moments of potential didactic significance.²³ For example, the padlock that the three Ladies use to punish Papageno's lies in *Die Zauberflöte* has a parallel in the padlock that the rustic character Lubano places on the door of his cabin to prevent his unfaithful wife Lubanara from meeting other men. As Buch has shown, Mozart sets the moment in which the Ladies take off the padlock from Papageno's mouth to a melody that resembles the one used by Franz Xaver Gerl, the composer of the Lubano/Lubanara duet in *Der Stein der Weisen*, at the moment when Lubano locks Lubanara in (Example 4.3).²⁴

But whereas in Gerl's number the shared musical motive accompanies Lubano's act of closing the padlock, in Mozart's work it resounds during the act of taking it off. The two scenes therefore use similar music to accompany dramatically antithetical actions, thus representing quite dissimilar lessons. In *Die Zauberflöte*, the Ladies clearly explain the padlock's cautionary significance: "Dies Schloß soll deine/meine Warnung sein" ("The padlock shall warn you/me"). Mozart and Schikaneder further comment on its allegorical function in the maxim that immediately follows, "Bekämen doch die Lügner alle" ("If the lips of all liars"),

The image shows two musical excerpts. The first, from 'Der Stein der Weisen' (measures 71-72), features Lubano and Papageno. The lyrics are: 'Weib-chen, ja, so bleibst du he-schlo-sen Weib-chen, ja, so bleibst du he-schlo-sen, etc.' The second excerpt, from 'Die Zauberflöte' (measures 36-37), features Papageno. The lyrics are: 'Dies Schloß soll meine War-nung sein, etc.' and 'soll mei-ne War-nung sein, etc.' Both excerpts show vocal lines with lyrics and piano accompaniment.

Example 4.3 Padlock moments in *Der Stein der Weisen* and *Die Zauberflöte*.

transforming the seemingly comic episode into an instructive tale. In *Der Stein der Weisen*, Lubano and Lubanara at no point warn against adultery or explain that Lubano's padlock represents a symbol of female chastity and fidelity. In the potentially reflective moment that concludes the duet, Lubano and Lubanara homophonically sing not an easily graspable message but nonsense syllables ("Dum, dum, didl dum!").²⁵ Thus Mozart's quotation of Lubano and Lubanara's duet in *Die Zauberflöte* not only imitates Gerl's score, but it also comments on what some Viennese audience members might have seen as lacking didactic reflection in *Der Stein der Weisen*.

"Emulating" Mozart's maxims

In the decade after *Die Zauberflöte*, the Wiednertheater operas significantly expanded the number of instances in which characters drew instructive reflections from the preceding plot. Possibly in response to Mozart's final work, moralistic announcements became particularly prominent in Schikaneder's six heroic-comic operas from the later 1790s: *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, *Der Königssohn aus Ithaka*, *Der Höllenberg*, *Der Löwenbrunn*, *Babilons Pyramiden*, and *Das Labyrinth*. As in the case of "love" duets, however, these later works mix *Die Zauberflöte*'s moralistic fervor with explicitly satirical attitudes.

Der Spiegel von Arkadien, for instance, subtly ridicules *Die Zauberflöte*'s reliance on instructional statements by child-like characters.²⁶ In *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* child performers impersonated the genies Agathos and Kalos sent by

the gods to protect the human inhabitants of Arcadia and therefore closely resembled the Three Boys from *Die Zauberflöte*. But whereas in Mozart's opera, the Boys clearly educate the adult characters and their audiences about proper forms of behavior (in the first-act finale they preach to Tamino and Papageno and in the second-act finale they save both Pamina and Papageno from suicide), in *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* the role of the two genies is less straightforward. At the beginning of the first-act finale, the evil magician Tarkoleon attempts to kill the opera's two main couples (Ballamo and Philanie, Metallio and Giganie) with poisoned wine—the genies save them in the last moment by offering milk, and in the ensuing duet they extol the advantages of that substance:

Die Milch ist gesünder, Milk is healthier,
Ist lauter, und rein, It is stronger, and pure,
Es trinken die Kinder Children like it
Sie lieber als Wein!— More than wine!—
Drum laßt euch nicht schrecken, Thus do not be scared,
Und trinket sie leer, Drink until the bottles are empty,
Und sollt' sie euch schmecken, And if you like,
So bringen wir mehr!— We will bring more!—
Sie stärket die Kräfte, It strengthens the powers,
Erhält uns gesund; Keeps us healthy,
Verdünnet die Säfte, It dilutes the [bodily] fluids,
Macht voll, und macht rund. Makes us full, and makes us corpulent.
Den Wein müßt' ihr meiden, You have to avoid wine,
Er hitzet das Blut; It heats up the blood;
Drum folget uns beyden, Thus follow the two of us,
Wir meynen's recht gut! We mean it well!²⁷

The scene therefore functions as a moralistic allegory of sorts: one in which poisoned wine stands for the dangers of alcoholism. Yet the educational fervor of the poisoned-wine episode rings false. None of the characters demonstrates a penchant for excessive drinking, and Schikaneder's transformation of a dramatic incident (Tarkoleon's attempt to poison the two couples) into a moralistic tableau (anti-alcoholism campaign) fits only uneasily with the onstage action. This incongruity introduces an element of irony into the scene.

In his setting of the milk duet, Süßmayr further strengthens the ironic subtext when he imitates, in a conspicuously simplified manner, Mozart's procedures from *Die Zauberflöte*'s second-act finale. At the beginning of Mozart's finale, the Boys prevent Pamina from committing suicide, and afterwards the four of them announce what Pamina should have known all along:

Zwei Herzen, die vor Liebe brennen, Two hearts that burn with love
Kann Menschenohnmacht niemals Cannot be separated by human
trennen. blindness.
Verloren ist der Feinde Muth', All efforts of their enemies go forlorn,
Die Götter selbst schützen sie. The gods themselves protect them.

As in many other moments of *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart emphasizes the maxim by a general pause and change of musical style. The maxim music, moreover, aptly expresses the universal appeal of the message by combining an artless, peasant *Ländler*, featured during the vocal statements, with a serene, aristocratic minuet, heard during the woodwind interludes (whereas the vocal lines stress beat one, the interludes shift emphasis to beats two and three—Example 4.4, mm. 146–147).

The combination of various dance *topoi* in Mozart's musical setting elevates the maxim and connects it to other moments in his operas in which utopian visions are expressed through pastoral styles (such as the scene in which the Countess forgives the philandering Count in the second-act finale of *Le nozze di Figaro*, or the maxims in *Die Entführung*).²⁸

Süßmayr's music also accentuates the genies' instructive message: the genies' song starts with a general pause, followed by a marked stylistic shift that sets it off the preceding segment (Example 4.5). Similar to Mozart, Süßmayr uses a *Ländler*, but in the form of a full-blown dance movement with simple phrase structure and strophic repetition of musical material. The literalness of Süßmayr's *Ländler* becomes prominent in the handwritten orchestral score kept at the Austrian National Library (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.16475), where a stage direction (absent from the 1795 printed libretto) asks the Genies to "leave the stage dancing" ("tanzen ab") during the woodwind postlude. As a result, the *Ländler* in *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* does not so much point to a utopian Arcadia and its noble inhabitants as to an earthy, peasant form of dance entertainment, that probably involved large consumption of alcohol. The musical setting therefore clashes with the Genies' high valuation of milk as opposed to wine.²⁹ Süßmayr and Schikaneder here both emulate and subtly ridicule *Die Zauberflöte*'s adroitly placed maxims and their musical settings. Or else, the scene may simply represent an example of dramaturgy and music that have not been thought through in a consistent and compelling manner as far as the educational aspects are concerned.

Maxims with similarly convoluted instructive messages continued to appear in the musical numbers of Schikaneder's heroic-comic operas throughout the later 1790s, gradually becoming more rapid and perfunctory from a didactic point of view. A particularly clear example of this appears in the first-act finale of the 1797 opera *Babilons Piramiden*, where the comic servant couple Forte and Piana search for a set of keys that Forte, the overseer of the sacred pyramid complex in Babylon, was in charge of guarding (the keys had been stolen from Forte by Piana herself in an earlier scene). When they finally find the keys, Forte and Piana deliver a general reflection in the form of a proverb:

Was das Sprichwort pflegt zu sagen What the proverb says
Präge dir/Präg' ich mir in Kopf hinein, You should/I will commit to memory,
Leute, welche Schlüssel tragen, People who carry keys,
Müssen sehr behutsam seyn! Should be very cautious.³⁰

Die Zauberflöte's intense didacticism, illustrated in "Bei Männern" and other instructive passages discussed in Chapter 3, was therefore quite exceptional within the world of suburban opera of the late eighteenth century and most likely originated in Mozart's own experience as a composer of German opera in Vienna. As scholars have previously suggested, it is safe to assume that Mozart had a considerable influence over the final shape of *Die Zauberflöte*'s libretto—this likelihood is corroborated by the libretto's difference from other Schikaneder's texts, by the differences between the 1791 printed libretto and the text of Mozart's autograph, and by Schikaneder's own statement that he diligently thought through the text of the opera with the composer himself.³⁴ As a result, it is likely that Mozart was also responsible for many of *Die Zauberflöte*'s maxims.

Among the suburban creators of *Singspiele*, Mozart had a unique experience as a composer of Viennese opera. At the time of *Die Zauberflöte*'s inception, Mozart was the only composer working for a suburban theater who also had received commissions from the by-then defunct National Singspiel.³⁵ Unlike Mozart, the other collaborators on *Oberon*, *Der wohlthätige Derrwisch*, and *Der Stein der Weisen* composed solely for Schikaneder's Theater an der Wieden: both Franz Xaver Gerl and Benedickt Schack collaborated with Schikaneder during his troupe's itinerant days, whereas Johann Baptist Henneberg joined the company only in 1789 after a career as an organist. And Paul Wrantzky had not composed any operas for the Vienna court theater prior to achieving wide acclaim with his *Oberon* of 1789. Whereas in *Die Zauberflöte* Mozart might have been drawing on his unique, first-hand experience with the reformist zeal of the National Theater movement, the other composers of Schikaneder's circle were mainly rooted in the traditions of the commercial, partially improvised popular theater. As is well known, Mozart was quite disturbed by the fact that by 1791 Vienna did not possess a state-supported national opera company,³⁶ perhaps *Die Zauberflöte* was his attempt to rectify this situation by recourse to the only institution that produced German opera theater in Vienna during the final years of his life.

Musical instruments and sexual innuendo

One particularly strong link between *Die Zauberflöte* and Viennese traditions of educative opera that remained unarticulated in the works of the National Singspiel but that points to Mozart's interest in the use of musical theater for didactic purposes is *Die Zauberflöte*'s depiction of magical instruments. The theme of music's ethical power connects *Die Zauberflöte* to the ultimate prototype of serious court opera—the works based on the Orpheus myth.³⁷ In Vienna, it was Gluck's 1762 rendition of the Orpheus story that became the most celebrated representative of this elevated type of court opera; one that was often discussed by German critics of Viennese theater, such as Sonnenfels (see Chapter 1) and one with which both Mozart and Schikaneder must have been familiar.³⁸ In place of Orpheus' lyre and singing voice, *Die Zauberflöte* features Tamino's flute and Papageno's magic bells and imbues them with humanitarian powers. The flute tames wild animals (a veiled reference to music's power to soothe violent passions) and gives Tamino

and Pamina encouragement in their last trial (thus symbolizing steadfastness of spirit). Similarly, in the first-act finale Papageno's magic bells pacify Monostatos, and in the ensuing maxim, Papageno and Pamina attribute humanizing power to the bells:

Könnte jeder brave Mann Solche Glückchen finden!	If only everybody could Find magic bells like this!
Seine Feinde würden dann Ohne Mühe schwinden,	All his enemies would then Without effort disappear,
Und er lebte ohne sie In der besten Harmonie.	And he would live without them In the best harmony.
Nur der Freundschaft Harmonie Mildert die Beschwerden;	Only the harmony of friendship Can soften every sort of trouble,
Ohne diese Sympathie Ist kein Glück auf Erden.	Without this sympathy [i.e., friendship], There is no happiness on earth.

The maxim connects musical harmony to the moral well-being of humans, and Mozart stresses this analogy by developing lines 5 and 6 of the maxim in canonic imitation (mm. 337–344).

The two most popular suburban counterparts to *Die Zauberflöte* that made use of magical instruments were Perinet and Müller's *Der Fagottist, oder Die Zaubertzither*, produced at the Leopoldstädter Theater a few months before *Die Zauberflöte* in 1791, and its 1792 sequel *Pizichi*. These works, however, ridicule rather than emulate the Orpheus myth. *Der Fagottist*'s equivalent of the magic flute, the magic zither, appears at the beginning of Act I, when it is handed to Prince Armidoro by the fairy Perifrime. Like the magic flute, the zither is supposed to make it easier for Armidoro to defeat an evil magician (Bosphoro), but Perifrime's initial description of the zither does not show the instrument in an entirely savory light: "Take this zither, it has the power to control human hearts, and to incite or appease various passions" ("Nimm diese Zither, sie hat die Kraft die Herzen zu lenken, und Leidenschaften aller Art zu erregen und zu stillen").³⁹ Whereas in *Die Zauberflöte*, the Ladies praise the flute as beneficial to the well-being of its listeners, Perifrime's choice of the verb "lenken" (to conduct, control) and her unspecified statement about "Leidenschaften aller Art" (passions of all kinds) allow the possibility that the zither could be misused.⁴⁰ Later in the act, Armidoro admits that when he plays the zither *piano*, he arouses compassion, but when he plays it *allegro*, he makes the hearts of all female beauties melt. To this statement, Armidoro's Papageno-like servant, Kaspar, adds: "We have experienced this often before."⁴¹ Kaspar implies that they have used the zither to seduce women—perhaps in some unspecified adventure that occurred before their arrival to Bosphoro's castle.⁴²

The magic bassoon, presented by Perifrime to Kaspar and therefore paralleling Papageno's magic bells, has an even cruder subtext. Already the choice of instrument implies farcical, perhaps even sexual, intent since the way it seems to grow out of a performer's lap, makes it an easily recognizable phallic symbol. Bassoon

performers also have to blow hard and contort their faces, thus clearly contrasting with the upright, majestic bearing of flute or zither players. The uses of the instrument within the opera reflect its physical properties: the bassoon becomes associated with sexual intercourse itself. At one point, Kaspar departs with the female servant Palmire in order to “amuse her with his music.” When they return, Kaspar is unable to produce a single tone from his bassoon and complains that he must have broken his “Blasinstrument” (figuratively “blowing horn”). The risqué humor of this scene becomes more pronounced later in the first act when the Bosphoro’s servant Zumio surprises Kaspar and Palmire kissing, and Kaspar explains that he has simply been demonstrating the correct embouchure to Palmire. Since “embouchure” represents Kaspar’s code for kissing, the images of music-making and a broken instrument can easily be understood as standing for the sexual act and post-coital enfeeblement.

Throughout *Der Fagottist*, music-making is also frequently associated with homoeroticism. At first, Kaspar uses the bassoon to gain the trust of Zumio, when he promises to teach Zumio how to use the bassoon to enchant girls. During the ensuing lesson (in scene 12 of the second act), the two men exchange more or less veiled references to oral sex.⁴³

ZUMIO	ZUMIO
Lieber Kaspar lehr michs doch!	Dear Kaspar come and teach me!
KASPAR	KASPAR
Halt den Finger auf das Loch—	Put your finger on the hole—
ZUMIO	ZUMIO
Und den Schnabel?	And the mouthpiece?
KASPAR	KASPAR
Auf den Mund.	To your mouth.
ZUMIO	ZUMIO
Ey, ey, das ist mir zu rund.	Oh, oh, it is too round for me.
KASPAR	KASPAR
Blase, blase!	Blow, blow!
ZUMIO	ZUMIO
Durch die Nase?	Through my nose?
KASPAR	KASPAR
Nein durchs Maul du dickes Schwein.	No, through your mouth you fat pig.
ZUMIO	ZUMIO
Nu gieb Acht, itzt blas’ ich drein.	Now pay attention, I will blow into it.

The musical setting subtly enhances the sexual connotations of the text by stressing the most suggestive lines “Und den Schnabel / An den Mund” and “Ey, ey, das ist mir zu rund” (both stated twice, mm. 17–32), and “Jetzt blas’ ich drein” (stated five times, mm. 41–46).⁴⁴ Kaspar’s bassoon performance also arouses homoerotic desire in Zumio and Bosphoro:

The Magician and Zumio take one another’s hand and kiss reciprocally. Kaspar pauses his performance for a little bit, he laughs, and when he sees that [Bosphoro and Zumio] seem to regain self-control, he starts playing again. [After another stanza of the aria, the stage directions continue]: He stops playing. Everybody staggers to the side. The Magician and Zumio become aware of their delusion, and breathe heavily.⁴⁵

The homoerotic subtext of the bassoon is further explored in *Pizichi*, the 1792 sequel to *Der Fagottist*. In the first act (scene 16) Kaspar rescues the court jester Buzephagel from a giant pumpkin, and the two of them sing a suggestive duet about blowing the bassoon and the “Schwefelpfeiferl,” Buzephagel’s pipe-like instrument.⁴⁶

The association between magical instruments and illicit sexuality in *Der Fagottist* further underscores the humanistic functions of the flute and bells in *Die Zauberflöte*. In Act II of *Die Zauberflöte*, Papageno does use the bells to attract Papagena, but his desire focuses on a single woman, not multiple sexual partners as in *Der Fagottist*. Moreover, Papageno stresses constantly that he wants to court Papagena not simply to satisfy his sex drive, but because he wishes to start a family and have children. No mention of marriage and procreation, by contrast, occurs during the discussions of music’s sexual power in *Der Fagottist*. Papageno’s bells also stand clear of associations with sexual coercion, promiscuity, or the sexual act itself. Unlike the victims of Zumio and Bosphoro’s seductive music-making (and possibly also Armidoro’s and Kaspar’s—in the offstage adventures that Kaspar hints at during his description of the zither’s powers), Papagena professes to be in love with Papageno even without the bells.⁴⁷

Why so “immoral”?

The uniqueness of *Die Zauberflöte* and its didacticism stems to a large extent from the fact that the opera managed to maintain the ideals of German reformed theater whereas most other suburban heroic-comic works more or less abandoned them. In avoiding the customary “immorality,” Mozart and Schikaneder worked in opposition to specific economic and political pressures facing the suburban theaters in the late eighteenth century. Scholars of Viennese popular comedy have explained the satirical approaches of Schikaneder, Hensler, and Perinet as a concession to audience demands.⁴⁸ Jennyfer Großauer-Zöbinger has noted that those few spoken plays produced at the Leopoldstädter Theater between 1781 and 1806 that emulated educational comedies produced at the National Theater were not successful with the public; instead, the Leopoldstadt audiences favored pieces that emphasized spectacle and entertainment.⁴⁹ Morals did not sell as well as suggestive humor and satire—an issue that the National Singspiel directors did not have to be as concerned about, since they could rely on financial backing by the court.⁵⁰ Suburban dramatists acknowledged the economic value of immorality on numerous occasions. Thus when a reviewer for the *Kritisches Theaterjournal von Wien* complained in 1788 that the Leopoldstädter Theater play *Das listige Stubenmädchen* (“The Crafty Chambermaid”) “tarnished the morals,” the

playwright Ferdinand Eberl responded that the reviewer would not be as critical if he himself were running a private, commercial theater and had to be concerned about its solvency.⁵¹ Similarly, in the foreword to a collection of his pieces published in 1790, Hensler apologized for the “dramaturgical mistakes” in them and explains that he made those “mistakes” because he was writing not according to artistic ideals but “for the entertainment of the audience.”⁵² Schikaneder himself made similar claims in the preface to the 1795 edition of *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, where he responded to critics who accused him of writing immoral librettos that he worked mainly for the entertainment of the audience and for his own box office.⁵³ In his collaboration with Mozart, Schikaneder therefore must have temporarily suspended his commercial approach to theater morals.

The subversion of didacticism in the suburban repertoire might be indicative of a specific audience structure and a set of audience expectations typical for the Viennese popular theater. Although some scholars have claimed that the suburban theaters had more socially diverse audiences than the court theater, the exact social composition of late eighteenth-century theater-goers is difficult to define—most likely people from different social background mixed at all German-speaking productions in Vienna, whether they were in the suburbs or at the court theater (the mixed audience structure at the German performances in the Vienna court theater under Joseph II is discussed in Chapter 2).⁵⁴ The upper classes who frequented the suburban theaters, however, continually emphasized their distance from the suburban repertoire. In his famous *Skizze von Wien*, Johann Pezzl admitted that the “better” citizens of Vienna sometimes forsook the more serious plays at the court theater to see performances in the suburbs, but that they did it mainly for the sake of (occasional) diversion, following the maxim “Varietas delectat” (“Variety is delightful”).⁵⁵ Perinet expressed a similar idea in his dedication to the 1793 edition of the libretto for *Pizichi*. He wrote that his main concern in writing the piece was entertainment and delectation (“Zerstreuung und Ergötzen”), not reformist ideals (“Regelmäßigkeit”); he hoped the reasonable and better (“vernünftige und bessere”) members of the audience would enjoy it as well, especially during the carnival season when everyone deserved some diversion.⁵⁶ Thus for the members of the “better” classes in Vienna, be they state bureaucrats, educated aristocrats and middle classes, critics, and associates of the National Theater, the risqué and clearly less proper suburban operas and plays represented a means through which to define their own social superiority—they tolerated and enjoyed the works of the suburban authors, but at the same time kept their distance. In their approach to didacticism in *Die Zauberflöte*, Mozart and Schikaneder clearly aimed at a different reaction from the high-minded visitors to Vienna’s suburbs—the opera was envisioned not as a titillating diversion but as an earnest work that could satisfy the demands an ideal German audience, such as that envisioned by Lessing in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*.

The ironic attitudes to the moralistic ideals of German theater reformers expressed in operas and plays produced in Vienna’s suburbs also reflected the socio-cultural status of the suburban stages. As shown in previous chapters, the authors associated with the court-supported National Theater to a large extent belonged to a highly educated group that sought financial and political alliance

with government institutions and was willing to accept and creatively work with restrictions imposed by these institutions. Many of the restrictions, particularly those connected to censorship, were in fact advocated for by theatrical authors, critics, and aestheticians themselves, such as Stephanie the Younger and Joseph von Sonnenfels. Many of the intellectuals involved with the national theater movement, furthermore, were outspoken critics of popular culture. The associates of the suburban theaters, by contrast, most likely viewed these same restrictions as oppressive. The ironic subtexts in the Leopoldstadt and Wiednertheater operas therefore represented a means through which suburban authors and their audiences were able to subtly subvert the official doctrine of didactic theater; the same doctrine that *Die Zauberflöte* upheld.

Relaxed censorship

Mozart and Schikaneder’s commitment to the idea of educational theater in *Die Zauberflöte* becomes even more prominent in view of the fact that the state authorities were not as strict in supervising theatrical content during the 1790s as during the previous decade. To be sure, all of the texts presented on the suburban stages had to be censored, most likely by Hägelin. Schikaneder himself alluded to the presence of censorial supervision in the preface to the 1797 edition of *Der Königsohn aus Ithaka*. In it, Schikaneder attacked Christian Vulpius, who complained, in the preface to his 1796 adaptation of *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* for the Weimar court theater, that the Viennese original contained numerous “obscenities.” Schikaneder responded that the Viennese censors were as strict about good morals as anywhere else in Germany, and that the purported obscenities therefore must have been a product of Vulpius’s dirty mind.⁵⁷ But perhaps Schikaneder exaggerated the image of the censors’ vigilance for the sake of his anti-Vulpius argument. Several Viennese commentators of the 1790s in fact complained about insufficient censorship in suburban theaters. In his 1794 note on theater censorship, preserved in Vienna’s Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, the court secretary Karl Escherich complained that the censor is not strict enough with the suburban pieces and that the suburban performers sometimes do not respect the cuts demanded by the censor, which leads foreign visitors and aestheticians to view Vienna as a place of dubious and uncouth national taste.⁵⁸ As we have seen, many elements of Schikaneder’s operas from the 1790s run counter to the principles of theatrical morality promoted in the censorial records and pursued by the associates of the National Theater. The approach to propriety and didacticism in works produced at Wiedner- and Leopoldstädter Theaters in the 1790s, moreover, was also less cautious than in some suburban works from the 1780s, such as in Eberl’s adaptations of Martín y Soler’s operas (see Chapter 3).

The greater forbearance of the state authorities towards suburban repertoire becomes particularly obvious from the difference between how the suburban operas from the late 1790s treat the issue of out-of-wedlock births as opposed to how the censor Hägelin approached the same problem in August von Kotzebue’s drama *Die Sonnenjungfrau*, which premiered at the Vienna court theater in 1791. In his

1795 "Guidelines" (introduced in Chapter 1), Hägelin specifically mentions *Die Sonnenjungfrau* and its main heroine's (Cora's) pre-marital pregnancy as too offensive to be presented on stage, especially because Cora is a vestal virgin.⁵⁹ In the 1791 Vienna version of the play, the references to Cora's pregnancy were therefore suppressed.⁶⁰ At another point in the "Guidelines," Hägelin stressed that pregnant and adulterous women were forbidden from the stage.⁶¹ And yet, in numerous suburban operas from the same period, extramarital pregnancies and adultery abound. *Das Donauweibchen* in particular continually reminds the audience that Lilli is an illegitimate child of Hulda and Albrecht, and a supposedly extramarital child is also ascribed to the comical servant Forte in *Babilons Pyramiden*.

The relaxed moralistic preoccupations of Viennese theater censors of the 1790s might appear somewhat paradoxical in view of the fact that during the same period, the suppression of the Austrian press intensified.⁶² This relaxation, however, had to do with a reconceptualization of the political and social purpose of vernacular theater in Vienna in the 1790s. As Carl Glossy and others noted, in the Josephine period, vernacular theater was viewed as a school of morals for the German-speaking population, but in the 1790s the government wanted to diminish the possibility that its subjects would pursue revolutionary ideas spreading from France, and therefore was not as strongly opposed to theatrical works that would have been considered immoral just a few years earlier.⁶³ The political background of the relaxed censorship is most prominently revealed in an anonymous letter (it is unclear who wrote it and to whom it is addressed) from the fall of 1791, preserved in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv. The author expressed willingness to compromise on the moral and artistic qualities of works performed at the Vienna court theater for the sake of distracting the population from incendiary political issues: "Would it not be better if we embraced good taste and refined sentiments half a century later, as opposed to allowing our primness to turn our people into cannibals who destroy their own kin in the good French manner?"⁶⁴ The evolution of approaches to Viennese censorship in the 1790s resonated more generally with the Austrian government's changing attitude towards the police; after the ascent of emperor Franz in 1792, the Viennese authorities became more concerned with rooting out Revolutionary sympathizers than with public order and security.⁶⁵

The shifting opinions about the social purpose of theater are also illustrated in the 1798 edition of Sonnenfels's *Sätze aus der Polizey, Handlungs-, und Finanz-Wissenschaft*. In the 1760s and 1770s Sonnenfels was a proponent of the view that theater should be a school of morals, and he emphatically defended that view in the original edition of the *Sätze* from 1765.⁶⁶ In the 1798 edition, Sonnenfels still urged that state authorities ensure moral propriety of theatrical pieces, but he also added a new section where he admitted that theater could not always function as a morality school and often represented merely a form of entertainment for the population.⁶⁷ In his 1798 *Handbuch der inneren Staatsverwaltung* ("Handbook of Interior State Administration"), Sonnenfels viewed theater as an entertaining diversion that prevented "unemployed people of all ages, ranks, and classes, who do not know how to fill their time" from engaging in "the most pernicious types of dissipations," such as procuring the services of prostitutes.⁶⁸ Both

publications suggest that late in his career Sonnenfels was no longer concerned with making vernacular theater a site of moral education, but rather with employing it as a substitute for less savory types of popular entertainments and pastimes. The reformist fervor that drove Viennese theater and opera in the early years of the National Theater started to cool off already in the late 1780s. In *Skizze von Wien* (1786–1790), Pezzl notes that whereas in the previous decade (presumably the late 1770s), theater was treated by many like a religion, in his own day it has become "a pleasant, upstanding, and tasteful entertainment."⁶⁹ In the decade after Pezzl's *Skizze*, Viennese suburban theater continued to explore the entertaining and pleasing, while gradually turning away from the upstanding and tasteful.

The neglect of the ideals of theater as a moral institution in the Viennese heroic-comic operas of the 1790s therefore reflected both the financial realities of the private theatrical companies in the Viennese suburbs and the ideological and political shifts in the approach of the Viennese authorities. The approach to moral issues had become a lot more relaxed in Schikaneder's and Hensler's operas from the 1790s, and the tendency to engage sexual farce, parody, and satire became more pronounced as the decade progressed. Within these trends, the intense preoccupation with didacticism in *Die Zauberflöte* was somewhat valedictory—Mozart's final *Singspiel* was reconstituting the ideals of the theater reformers from a decade ago. *Die Zauberflöte*'s unique affinity with the world of Viennese National Theater becomes particularly apparent in view of the fact that the court theater eventually produced Mozart's suburban work in 1801, six years after the re-establishment of a new imperial *Singspiel* company. Not only was this the first time *Die Zauberflöte* was performed in Vienna outside the Wiednertheater, but it was also the first time that an originally suburban opera and the first and only time that a work by Schikaneder was performed at the court theater.⁷⁰

In spite of its connection to reformist aesthetics of the 1780s, *Die Zauberflöte* also prefigured important trends to come around 1800. As Chapter 5 demonstrates, moralistic German operas returned to the court theater in 1795. Certain aspects of Mozart's final opera, especially the character of Papageno, foreshadow the process that Beatrix Müller-Kampel has called "Versittlichung" (moral elevation) of the comic figure in Viennese popular theater.⁷¹ Müller-Kampel has shown that by the early nineteenth century Viennese comedic figures were less demonic, obscene, and morally and socially offensive. Many of Papageno's features resemble the nineteenth-century comedic figures rather than the crude and obscene characters in the repertoire of the late eighteenth century. Schikaneder himself supports such an interpretation in the preface to his opera *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, in which he says: "I would like to see that others perform Papageno as a capricious character, not as they would perform a Hanswurst role, as unfortunately happens in many theaters."⁷² It is ironic, however, that Schikaneder's later Papageno-like characters brought back the crass humor associated with the original Hanswurst of the Viennese folk theater—the same humor that Schikaneder for the most part avoided in *Die Zauberflöte*.

Mozart's wide-ranging experience as an opera composer might represent the most significant clue in the puzzle of *Die Zauberflöte's* exceptional didactic intensity. The differences between *Die Zauberflöte* and other suburban heroic-comic operas of the 1790s illuminate the importance of the aesthetic ideas associated with German theater reform for Mozart's operatic imagination, even at a time when he worked in an environment that largely abandoned those ideas. Although in many ways a product of the Viennese suburban culture and more specifically of Schikaneder's successful theater enterprise, *Die Zauberflöte's* approach to moral instruction and propriety is quite close to practices pursued by the ideologues and authors of the National Singspiel. Thus not only does *Die Zauberflöte's* moralistic intensity point to Mozart's interest at creating a German opera, but it also clearly points to his investment in the specifically Viennese theories of national theater.

Notes

- 1 The duet became one of Mozart's most famous numbers immediately after the opera's premiere in 1791. A vocal score of the duet was published soon after the opera premiered. In the same year Anton Eberl (brother of Ferdinand Eberl discussed in Chapter 3) wrote a set of 12 piano variations based on the duet. Other composers, including Friedrich Joseph Kirmair in 1795 and Beethoven in 1801, later marketed on the duet's popularity and wrote their own sets of variations on the famous tune.
- 2 Hermann Abert thought that the duet's metaphysical concept of love stemmed from "the spirit of rationalism" and the contemporary "idea of the divine nature of the union between man and woman," as expressed, for example, in Schiller's poem "Der Triumph der Liebe." Abert, 1271.
- 3 Mozart's elevated musical setting of the duet also inspired numerous theories about its inception. According to Friedrich Rochlitz, Mozart had to revise the duet three times (five times, according to Mozart biographer Georg Nikolaus von Nissen) because Schikaneder was bothered by its learned style. See Peter Branscombe *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte*, 208–209.
- 4 Stefan Kunze sees the clash between Pamina and Papageno's banter and the message of the duet as an important example of the sudden shifts between heterogeneous theatrical styles that make up *Die Zauberflöte*. Kunze, 555.
- 5 Helen Geyer-Kieff has discussed many of these works in her study *Die heroisch-komische Oper, ca. 1770–1820*, but she focused solely on those works that have the term "heroic-comic" in their title, which excludes many other similar operas.
- 6 Mozart himself explored similar class-transcending mixtures of characters in his *opere buffe* (most famously in "La ci darem la mano" from *Don Giovanni* and also in "Sull'aria" from *Le nozze di Figaro*). However, it is difficult to imagine such a coupling in the more high-minded *Die Entführung*.
- 7 The magisterial and still relevant study of *Die Zauberflöte* in the context of Viennese popular theater is Otto Rommel's *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*. More recent studies include Peter Branscombe's *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte*; Jörg Krämer's *Deutschsprachiges Musiktheater*; and David Buch's *Magic Flutes and Enchanted Forests*, 295–312.
- 8 Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte*, 29; Bauman, "Introduction" in Wenzel Müller, *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*, ed. Thomas Bauman (New York: Garland, 1985), 2; and Rommel, 501.
- 9 Eighteenth-century novels and plays dealing with unwitting sibling incest are discussed in Potter, *Marriage, Gender, and Desire in Early Enlightenment German Comedy*, 58–59; and Hartmut Nonnenmacher, *Natur und Fatum: Inzest als Motiv und Thema der französischen und deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2002).

- 10 The noble origin of Philanie is not revealed until scene 19 where we learn that she is the daughter of the king of Thessaly.
- 11 *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* (Vienna: Ochs, 1795), 31.
- 12 As *Die Zauberflöte's* autograph score shows, Mozart avoided the 3/8 meter in "Bei Männern," although it would have spared him difficulties in setting the text. Mozart was apparently not entirely satisfied with the 6/8 meter, and at a late stage of the opera's inception, he changed the bar lines to better emphasize the key words of Schikaneder's text (what was originally "Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen / Fehlt auch ein Herz nicht" became "Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen / Fehlt auch ein gutes Herz nicht." As Peter Branscombe has pointed out, both versions of the 6/8 meter go against the stresses in Schikaneder's iambic tetrameter. Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: Die Zauberflöte*, 121–122. The syllabic stress of the German words calls for a 3/8 (Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen). Yet unlike Süßmayr, Mozart preferred the 6/8 meter most likely because it gave the melody a greater subtlety and corresponded to the duet's elevated tone.
- 13 *Die neuen Arkadier* (Weimar: Hoffmann, 1796).
- 14 *Der Höllenberg, oder Prüfung und Lohn* (Vienna, 1798), 23–24.
- 15 Besides *Der Höllenberg*, the most prominent depictions of adultery appear in *Der Stein der Weisen*, *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*, *Pizichi*, *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, *Babilons Pyramiden*, *Das Donauweibchen*, and *Das Labyrinth*.
- 16 The role was taken by the six-year-old daughter of the Leopoldstadt composer Wenzel Müller.
- 17 *Das Donauweibchen, zweyter und letzter Theil* (Vienna: Kamesima, 1798), 29.
- 18 The most concise discussion of the principle that theatrical works should depict vices only in order to ridicule, punish, and abhor them appears in Joseph von Sonnenfels's 1765 *Sätze aus der Polizey, Handlungs-, und Finanzwissenschaft*, reprinted in Vienna numerous times throughout the eighteenth century.
- 19 Manuela Jahrmärker, "Der Weg vom barocken zum frühromantischen Singspiel: Schikaneders heroisch-komische Opern der 1790er Jahre," in *Der Zauberflöte zweyter Theil*, ed. Manuela Jahrmärker and Till Gerrit Waidelich (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), 97–99.
- 20 Schikaneder himself compares *Der Spiegel von Arkadien* to *Die Zauberflöte* in the preface to the later opera's 1795 libretto edition. Also, the only extant review of the opera's premiere in 1794, published in *Wiener Zeitung*, hails the work as a worthy successor of *Die Zauberflöte*. The review was republished in English translation in Franz Xaver Süßmayr, *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*, ed. David Buch (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2014), xiii–xiv. [bib?]
- 21 David J. Buch "Die Zauberflöte, Masonic Opera, and Other Fairy Tales," 208.
- 22 *Oberon, König der Elfen* (1792), 14. The original Viennese libretto is lost.
- 23 See esp. David Buch, "Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 3 (1997): 195–232, and "Die Hauskomponisten am Theater auf der Wieden zur Zeit Mozarts (1789–1791)," *Acta Mozartiana* 48 (2001): 75–81.
- 24 See Buch, "Die Zauberflöte, Masonic Opera, and Other Fairy Tales," 214, and in "Der Stein der Weisen, Mozart, and Collaborative Singspiels at Emanuel Schikaneder's Theater auf der Weiden," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2000): 99.
- 25 The musical setting of the "Dum, dum, didl dum" segment may have inspired Mozart's musical approach to the onset of direct moralizing in the quintet. Like Mozart, Gerl employs frequent rests between individual words of Lubana's and Lubanaro's statements at this point, and he also marks the violins *pizzicato*, which further thins out the texture.
- 26 For a recent discussion of child-like characters in Viennese *Singspiele* from the early 1790s, see Adelaide Mueller, "Who Were the Drei Knaben?," *The Opera Quarterly* 28, no. 1–2 (Winter–Spring 2012): 88–103.
- 27 *Der Spiegel*, 39–40.

- 28 For more discussion of the connection between the pastoral style and moralistic utopia in *Le nozze di Figaro* see Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 157–160, as well as Michael Beckerman, “Mozart’s Pastoral,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1991): 93–102. On the sentimental uses of the pastoral as an expression of utopia in eighteenth-century culture in general, see Goehring, *Three Modes of Perception in Mozart*, 143–148.
- 29 Whether we read the clash as intended or inadvertent depends on our own interpretive priorities and, of course, would be colored by decisions made in staging the scene—if this were ever to happen (the work disappeared from theaters already in the early nineteenth century and has, to my knowledge, never been seen again).
- 30 Emanuel Schikaneder, *Babilons Pyramiden* (Vienna: Jahn, 1800), 40.
- 31 See Egon Komorzynski, *Emanuel Schikaneder: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters* (Vienna: Döblinger, 1951), 7.
- 32 Sonnek discusses numerous didactic passages from Schikaneder’s operas of the 1790s and compares Schikaneder to Schiller, since both of them supposedly regarded theater as a moral institution. Sonnek, 228 and 240.
- 33 Norbert Wiltich, “Karl Friedrich Hensler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Theaters” (Diss., University of Vienna, 1926), 173.
- 34 See Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: Die Zaubergeflöte*, 80. Schikaneder’s comment on Mozart’s involvement in the libretto production appears in the Preface to *Der Spiegel von Arkadien*.
- 35 See also Buch, “Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden,” 196. Some composers (such as Dittersdorf) did write operas both for the court and suburban theaters prior to *Die Zaubergeflöte*, but none of them actually cooperated with the National Singspiel of 1778–83. Numerous composers, such as Johann Baptist Schenk and Franz Xaver Süssmayr, received both court and suburban opera commissions in the following decade.
- 36 For a brief summary of Mozart’s opinions about German opera in Vienna after the end of the National Singspiel, see Abert, 796–801.
- 37 On the connection of the Orpheus story to *Die Zaubergeflöte*, see Wolfram Frietsch, *Die Traumfahrt der Zaubergeflöte* (Stuttgart: Opus Magnum, 2010), 190–192; Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: Die Zaubergeflöte*, 12; and Brigid Brophy, *Mozart the Dramatist: The Value of his Operas to Him, to his Age, and to Us* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), 153–156.
- 38 On the reminiscences of *Orfeo* in *Die Zaubergeflöte*, see Abert, 1284–1285.
- 39 *Der Fagottist, oder Die Zaubergeflöte* (Vienna: Schmidt, 1791), 15.
- 40 The fact that in the German language the word “lenken” appears often in the form of “ablenken” [to distract, divert, draw away] further increases the possibility of it being put to nefarious uses.
- 41 *Der Fagottist*, 20.
- 42 Musical instruments used for seduction of women come forth in other Leopoldstadt operas of the 1790s as well. For example, in the 1796 *Das Schlangenfest in Sangora*, the servant Jokolo enchants the noblewoman Tita with his zither, and later the harem overseer Zaffer sings an aria in which he expresses the desire to possess a similar zither so that he could seduce women easily (“Wenn ich eine Zitter hätte”).
- 43 *Der Fagottist*, 45–46.
- 44 The score of the duet was published in *Wiener Comödienlieder aus drei Jahrhunderten*, ed. Blanka Glossy and Robert Haas (Vienna: Schroll, 1924), 53–57.
- 45 *Der Fagottist*, 33.
- 46 At least two other Leopoldstadt works from the 1790s explore the comic potential of homoeroticism. In Act I, scene 7 of *Das Sonnenfest der Braminen*, for example, Barzalo pretends to be Kaleph’s daughter Bella and arouses the interest of Pirokko. Similarly, in the first-act sextet from the 1792 *Verschönerung der Odalisken*, two harem overseers (Scherbet and Großmin) kiss and hug after drinking alcohol.
- 47 The bells do make Monostatos and the slaves dance in the first-act finale, and this ability has made the instrument suspect to recent interpreters. Carolyn Abbate, for

- example, has seen the bells as sinister, since they deprive Monostatos and his slaves of free will, “force” merry song into their throats, and turn them into an automaton collective. Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 80. The sinister quality, nevertheless, is not very prominent and is couched in comedy, whereas in *Der Fagottist*, the instruments are sinister in more obvious ways.
- 48 See Komorzynski, 83, 89, 143, 165.
- 49 Jennyfer Großauer-Zöbinger, “Das Leopoldstädter Theater (1781–1806): Sozialgeschichtliche und soziologische Verortungen eines Erfolgsmodells,” *Lithes. Zeitschrift für Literatur- und Theatersoziologie* Sonderband 1 (June 2010): 22.
- 50 The financial participation of the Viennese court in the running of the court theater under Joseph II is clear particularly from the documents published in Rudolf Payer von Thurn, in *Joseph II als Theaterdirektor*.
- 51 See *Kritisches Theater-Journal von Wien* (Wien: Ludwig, 1788), 119, and Ferdinand Eberl cited in Großauer-Zöbinger, 35.
- 52 Karl Friedrich Hensler, “Vorbericht” in *Marinellische Schaubühne in Wien* (Wien: Wallishauser, 1790). Cited in Komorzynski, 182.
- 53 *Der Spiegel*, vii.
- 54 On the mixed structure of the suburban audiences see Rommel, *Die Alt-Wiener Volkstomödie*, 19. On the social structure of the Burgtheater audience during the Josephine era, see Schindler.
- 55 See Johann Pezl, *Skizze von Wien*, ed. Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar (Graz: Leykam, 1923), 322.
- 56 “Ich weiß, daß dieses Spektakelstück keinen Anspruch auf Regelmäßigkeit zu machen hat, aber ich denke, wenn es eine Zeit im Jahre giebt, die man die Faßnacht heißt, an der auch der vernünftige Mann zuweilen Antheil nimmt, so mag wohl auch dann und wann so eine Zauberkomödie mit unterlaufen, um sich zu zerstreuen, und Aug und Ohr darin zu ergötzen.”
- 57 *Der Königsohn aus Ithaka* (Vienna: Hoffmeister, 1797), iv–v.
- 58 HHStA, Hofth. Akten, Karton 1, folios 145r–157r. See transcription in Elizabeth Grossegger, *Das Burgtheater und sein Publikum: Pächter und Publikum, 1794–1817* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 124–128. The document is also discussed in Friedrich Wilhelm Schembor, *Meinungsbeeinflussung durch Zensur und Druckförderung in der Napoleonischen Zeit: Eine Dokumentation auf Grund der Akten der Obersten Polizei- und Zensurhofstelle* (Vienna: Austrian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2010), 229.
- 59 This statement is part of the passages that were suppressed by Carl Glossy in his 1897 edition of Hägelin’s *Güdelines*, and brought to light again only in Lisa De Alwis, “Censoring the Censor: Karl Glossy’s Selective Transcription (1897) of Karl Hägelin’s Directive on Viennese Theatrical Censorship (1795),” in *SECM in Brooklyn: Topics in Eighteenth-Century Music I*, ed. Margaret Butler and Janet Paige (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2014), 235.
- 60 *Die Sommerjungfrau* (Vienna: Wallishauser, 1801).
- 61 See De Alwis, “Censoring the Censor,” 236.
- 62 For an overview of the institution of Austrian press censorship in the 1790s, see Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials: Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 108.
- 63 Glossy, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Theater Wiens,” x–xx.
- 64 HHStA, Vertrauliche Akten, Karton 42, folio 15. “Ist’s nicht besser, daß der gute Geschmack und das feinere Gefühl ein halbes Jahrhundert später zu uns kommen, als daß unser Steifsinne . . . die Menschen zu Kaniballen mache die auf gut französisch [sic] ihr eigenes Geschlecht vernichten.”
- 65 For an overview of the development of Austrian police system in the revolutionary age, see Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials*, esp. 117–128.

- 66 Sonnenfels, *Sätze*, 1765, 76–81.
- 67 Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung, und Finanz*, 6th ed. (Vienna: Camesina, 1798), 115–116.
- 68 Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Handbuch der inneren Staatsverwaltung mit Rücksicht auf die radical change of attitude between Sonnenfels's earlier and later writings on theater and misinterprets the 1798 statements as supporting the idea of theater as a "moral diversion."* Krämer also sees the passage as related to Sonnenfels's campaign for strengthening censorship. Krämer, 63. However, within the 1798 book, Sonnenfels does not even mention theater censorship, merely focusing on book censorship.
- 69 Pezzi, 317.
- 70 The absence of suburban works from the court theater repertoire is somewhat surprising considering that the imperial stages had for several decades relied heavily on German adaptations of pre-existing *opéras-comiques*. That the personnel of the Vienna court theater valued the repertoire of the Parisian fairs more than the Viennese suburban products is remarkable considering that, as Brown has pointed, in Paris *opéra-comique* was often viewed "as too déclassé a spectacle to be worthy much notice." Brown, *Gluck and the French Theater in Vienna*, 19.
- 71 Beatrix Müller-Kampel, *Hanswurst, Bernadon, Kasperl: Spaßtheater im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Schönigh, 2003), 187.
- 72 See reprint in *Maske und Kothurn 1* (1955): 359–360. "Ich wollte wünschen, man spielte meinen Papageno als einen launischen Menschen, nicht als einen Hanswurst, wie es leider auf so vielen Bühnen geschieht."

5 The politics of morality at the court theater in the 1790s

Not all operas produced in Vienna in the decade after *Die Zauberflöte* embraced the risqué viewpoints of Schikaneder, Hensler, Perinet, and other authors working for the suburban theaters. More serious treatment of moral issues marks the majority of *Singspiele* produced at the court theater. These works, however, date only from the second half of the decade, since the court theater performed mainly Italian opera prior to the creation of a new German opera company in the spring of 1795. From the beginning, the new company was in fierce competition with the suburban theaters, and morality became an important element of the theatrical debates and the struggle for audiences and revenues. The struggle became even fiercer due to the economic strains resulting from Austrian military defeats in the wars against Revolutionary France. Moreover, the new *Singspiel* troupe operated under a new, semi-private administrative system: in 1794 emperor Franz II leased the court theater to the banker Peter Braun (since 1795 Baron Peter von Braun) and thus relinquished the direct control the court executed over the theater during the previous two decades.¹

The authors and personnel of the new, court-supported company to some extent attempted to revive the austere didacticism associated with Joseph II's National *Singspiel*, and used it to explain the company's existence and purpose. This chapter focuses on those aspects of the court theater *Singspiele* that most prominently reflect the repertoire's dedication to strict standards of propriety and intense didacticism—in particular I explore the ways in which court theater librettists and composers approached love duets and patriotism. At the same time, however, some of the musical works produced at the imperial stages in the late 1790s relied on farce and satire as a means to better compete with the suburban companies. The didactic preoccupations of the new court-theater company, moreover, were strongly influenced by the changing nature of Viennese theater censorship that evolved under the social and political pressures resulting from the French Revolution.

Instituting the new *Singspiel* company

Debates about whether the court theater should engage a new *Singspiel* ensemble raged throughout the early 1790s and brought back the longstanding viewpoints about the importance of good morals and didacticism for German theater