

MADNESS, SEXUALITY AND GENDER
IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC THEATER PIECES:
FOUR INTERPRETIVE ESSAYS

by

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Abstract

MADNESS, SEXUALITY, AND GENDER
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by

Megan B. Jenkins

Adviser: Professor Joseph Straus

Diagnoses of madness are inextricably entwined with social and cultural beliefs about gender and sexual behavior. The portrayal of characters in music theater as mad relies on contemporaneous understanding of mental illness, as often resulting from, or expressed in transgression of normative gender roles or heteronormativity, and this may apply either to male or female characters. Such transgressions are explored—with regard to recent reconceptualizations of madness within Disability Studies—in four works: Arnold Schoenberg’s monodrama *Erwartung* (1924); Richard Strauss’s opera *Salome* (1905); Kurt Weill’s *ballet chanté, Anna-Anna* (1933), also known as *The Seven Deadly Sins*; and Igor Stravinsky’s neo-classical opera, *The Rake’s Progress* (1951).

Like *Lucia di Lammermoor*, the nineteenth-century opera with the best-known mad scene, *Erwartung* features a female lead character overwrought by emotion and driven to extreme behavior. Unlike Lucia, however, Die Frau—the main character in *Erwartung*—was created at a time when Freudian theory was spreading widely and permeating the

consciousness of both its creators and its audiences, thus lending *Erwartung* wider interpretive possibilities. As the title character of Richard Strauss's 1905 opera, Salome is often regarded as the opera's source of pathological desire and mental disease; however, Herod also displays traits of madness, and these traits can be interpreted through the lens of gender studies as being essentially feminine. Anna-Anna, the protagonist of Weill's *ballet chanté* embodies, in this reading, the Freudian concepts of schizophrenia, homosexuality, and narcissism, which Freud regarded as being inextricably entwined with one another. Baba the Turk is an essential character in *The Rake's Progress* because she suggests and embodies a spectral homosexual presence in the opera. She "queers" Tom Rakewell, thus highlighting his madness as the result not only of a bad bet with Nick Shadow, but also of his inability to live up to the expectations of manhood in post-World War II America.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: COMING OUT AS MAD

The influential disabilities studies scholar Simi Linton advocates for scholars “coming out” as disabled in their work as part of the disabilities studies movement. It occurs to me that mental health issues are not so easily discussed—after all, scholars have much invested in the notion that their minds are sharp. There is a very wide range of human behaviors in this world we live in, but only a narrow range that is considered acceptable by the dominant culture. It would not be wise to advertise one’s tendency toward depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, borderline personality disorder, or any other mental illness in one’s writings for at least two main reasons: first, it is possible that no one would hire you to work at their university; and second, your research and writing would not be taken seriously. In the academy, acuity of the mind is not just preferred, it is required.

However, Bradley Lewis takes a bold tack in the introduction to his book, *Moving Beyond Prozac, DSM, and the New Psychiatry*:

Although this book is in many places critical of the field, I write as an advocate of psychiatry, both as a consumer and a provider, who has had many rich and rewarding experiences with psychiatry. My own psychotherapy, which lasted several years, has been the single best thing I ever did for myself.¹

Of course, Lewis’s “post-psychiatry” and his way of assessing the field of psychiatry is not the dominant narrative in the field, which may point to the possibility that coming out as mad or as being deeply engaged with madness is not necessarily advisable.

Nevertheless, I want to join the movement in musicology that proposes to break the

¹ Bradley Lewis, *Moving Beyond Prozac, DSM, and the New Psychiatry* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), xii.

silence around disability, and so I will share the roots of my interest in madness, which are indeed uncomfortably close to me at times.

A close relative of mine has battled with chronic depression for as long as I can remember, and the ups and downs of her illness have left indelible marks on me. The questions around the “constructed-ness” of mental illness are not just theoretical to me; rather, they are an important part of how I assess this important relationship in my life.

Beyond that, the extent to which the label “homosexual” or “lesbian” is pathologized and the history of homosexuality as disease, label, or lifestyle choice is of great interest to me because I identify as a lesbian. In short, the history of mental illness seems to me to be relevant to the way in which I live my life every single day.

My understanding of the history of mental illness does not lead me to suppose that I am “beyond” the reach of my culture’s estimations of mental illness. But knowing how mental illness and mental health are constructed, and considering the various truths that we can discover using this history as a lens, gives me hope that someday we will live in a more just, vibrant, and tolerant society.

Many people have taken the time and effort to help my hone my understanding of the issues I present in this dissertation, and—as important—many have helped me to remain grounded and optimistic about this project. First and foremost: many thanks to my adviser, Joseph Straus, who offered his insightful feedback and encouragement to keep going in almost equal measure.

Anne Stone stepped into this project at a moment when I most needed her understanding and professionalism. I am continually impressed by her grace, musicological acumen, and broad knowledge of music and its contexts. Every time I

speaking with Anne about the pieces I have been studying, I come away reinvigorated and inspired. I met Polly Thistlethwaite first through the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS), where she was a board member and I a staff member. Her friendship over the years is invaluable, and I am honored to have such a creative, active scholar on my committee. Jane Sugarman cares deeply about the academic disciplines of music and their integrity. Her commitment to academic rigor added much to this dissertation. Although I was carefully shepherded by the members of my committee through this process, I wish to state that any gaps in my argument or inconsistencies in its presentation are fully my own.

The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies and its leadership were instrumental to the development of my ideas. I am grateful to Paisley Currah, CLAGS's former executive director, and Sarah Chinn, who took over directorship seamlessly in 2008, for allowing me the opportunity to present my work in an LGBTQ Colloquium and through CLAGS's *Seminars in the City*. My *Seminars* experience in particular was rewarding because of the many bright and engaged "students" who attended my course on gender in opera every month in the spring of 2008. I was especially delighted—as were seminar attendees—when Liz Wood visited us in our last meeting when "Sapphonics" was on the reading list and *Der Rosenkavalier* on our minds.

The CUNY Graduate Center smoothed the way for my studies with a generous Chancellor's Fellowship and a Writing Fellowship, as well as a Doctoral Student Research Grant and three Sue Rosenberg Zalk Student Travel and Research Fund Awards.

Lincoln Center Institute for the Arts and Education and my colleagues there have not only stimulated my imagination, creativity, and innovation, they also provided emotional support and many delicious snacks during the time I worked there.

I am thankful to my colleagues at the Graduate Center, Brooke Bryant and Jennifer Jones Wilson, who took the time to read my work and helped me to clarify my thoughts.

Many of my ideas came to me while I was running—especially when I was trying to explain my dissertation to my running buddies, the women and men of Front Runners New York. In Heather Laurel my running and my academic worlds overlapped, to my benefit in both running and writing. Many thanks also go to Blossom Coryat who both badgered me and enticed me to keep working, especially in the last months of this process.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Madness: 1. Imprudence, delusion, or (wild) foolishness resembling insanity; an instance of this. 2. Insanity; mental illness or impairment, esp. of a severe kind; (later esp.) psychosis; an instance of this. Also spec. (now rare): rabies. 3. Wild excitement or enthusiasm; ecstasy; exuberance or lack of restraint. 4. Uncontrollable anger, rage, fury.

-Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition

This dissertation seeks to highlight the indelible marks of gender and sexuality on the social construct of madness in four dramatic music works from the first half of the twentieth century: Marie Pappenheim and Arnold Schoenberg's *Erwartung*, Richard Strauss's *Salome*, Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht's *The Seven Deadly Sins*, and *The Rake's Progress* by Igor Stravinsky, W.H. Auden, and Chester Kallman. I argue that in each of these works either the characters become mad as punishment for gender or sexual transgressions, or we know a character is mad because he or she transgresses gender or sexual boundaries. Madness—both in real life and in music theater works—is not only, but partially, socially constructed with respect to normative gender and sexuality. When people or characters transgress those borders, they are labeled as mad.

Madness is a social construct that is often used to control individuals' behavior, especially women's.² Composers and librettists act as agents of social control when they

² The idea that the labeling and treatment of mental illness is a form of social control has been written about since the middle of the twentieth century in scholarly works, as well as in novels. See for example: Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, [1965] Trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage Books, 1988); Thomas S. Szasz, *The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970); Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness*, [1972] (New York: Doubleday, 2005); and Marge Piercy, *Woman on the Edge of Time* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1976). Male mental health is less frequently the focus in scholarly literature about madness in

mete out punishment to their characters. In parsing the four dramatic works that are the focus of this dissertation with an eye toward uncovering themes of resistance and alternative interpretations, I am part of the movement of humanist scholars who seek to challenge sexist and heterosexist deployment of mental illness diagnoses.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed a flourishing of medical discourse around madness, its causes, and its cures in Europe and the United States.³ Medical and scientific discourse about madness quickly spilled into everyday language and became commonplace. Shoshana Felman has succinctly noted that madness occupies a paradoxical position of being pervasive in our culture, while still representing exclusion.⁴

Composers, librettists, and audiences became aware of scientific studies of human behaviors through the publication of these studies and of the theories of the first psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, as well as through other means of dissemination, such as public lectures and demonstrations, university courses, and works of art. Herb Kutchins and Stuart A. Kirk note that “Inevitably, psychiatric concepts and the behaviors they ‘medicalize’ seep deeply into our fiction, theater, movies, language, humor, and

opera, literature, or art. Disproportionate attention paid to female psychological frailty is a tradition that has its roots in the medical and psychological enterprises of the nineteenth century.

³ Joan Acocella, *Creating Hysteria: Women and Multiple Personality Disorder* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1999); Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1999); Herb Kutchins and Stuart A. Kirk, *Making Us Crazy: DSM: The Psychiatric Bible and the Creation of Mental Disorders* (New York: The Free Press, 1997).

⁴ Shoshana Felman, *Writing and Madness: Literature, Philosophy, and Psychoanalysis*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 13.

view of ourselves and our neighbors”⁵ While Kutchins and Kirk are focused on the history of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*, the first edition of which was published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in 1952,⁶ I believe that the institution of psychiatry seeped into popular conception long before the APA published the DSM, and that is why mental illness is so frequently a topic in twentieth-century operas.

It is only natural, then, that madness has long been a topic of musicological inquiry. However, traditional work on the subject has tended to focus on mental disorder and resulting behaviors, including evidence of visual or auditory hallucination or “amnesia, hallucination, irrational behavior or sleepwalking.”⁷ More recent work, informed by developments in feminist literary theory and queer theory, has suggested that gender-nonconformity and sexual variance are both cause for diagnosis of madness and evidence of mental illness in a character.⁸

While I believe that madness is a fluid social construction, it would be both unwise and insensitive to claim or imply that that mental illness does not exist, or that many of the therapies—medical, psychological, spiritual, or otherwise—that have been

⁵ Kutchins and Kirk, 12.

⁶ American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, fourth edition [DSM-IV] [1994] (Washington DC: APA, 1996).

⁷ See for example: James Parakilas, “Mozart’s Mad Scene,” *Soundings* 10 (Summer 1983): 3 – 17; Stephen A. Willier. “Mad scene.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. 30 December 2008 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007756>>.

⁸ See for example, Susan McClary, “Excess and Frame: The Musical Representation of Madwomen,” in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* [1991] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, Trans. Betsy Wing, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith, eds., *En Travesti: Women, Gender, Subversion, Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

developed to help people suffering from mental illness are not meaningful and sometimes necessary. However, in post-Freudian Western cultures, diagnosis of a mental illness often depends heavily on judging whether a person's behavior is socially appropriate, and the standards of judgment are often directly and indirectly related to gender and sexual expression.

In the United States in the early twenty-first century, it is common for doctors and laymen to diagnose a variety of mental illnesses or other psychological condition, and for people to seek medical or therapeutic treatment to alleviate symptoms of mental illness. According to the American Psychiatric Association, "91% of Americans are likely to consult or recommend that a family member consult with a mental health professional."⁹ At the same time, this culture simultaneously takes the idea of madness very lightly. References to hysteria, paranoia, madness, mental retardation, delusion, hallucination, narcissism, and other social and mental disabilities are ubiquitous in popular culture and everyday speech at this time in the United States. It may seem excessive to say that a child who cannot concentrate in school (attention deficit hyperactive disorder) or a woman who diets overzealously (anorexia nervosa) are both "mad"; however, gradations and types of mental disturbances that are listed in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* of the American Psychiatric Association (*DSM*) range from the very mild to deeply debilitating psychological conditions.

In writing about madness, I am working against two seemingly contradictory circumstances: 1) the deeply held faith in the psychiatric community around its ability to diagnose and treat mental disorders through systematic analysis of symptoms; and 2) the

⁹ American Psychological Association, "Facts and Statistics: Stigma," <http://www.apahelpcenter.org/articles/topic.php?id=6> (accessed October 9, 2009).

valorization in popular culture of the idea (if not the reality) of being “crazy”: in songs, television shows, slang, and informal turns of phrase. The exclusivity that Felman associates with madness can be interpreted in both affirmative and negative ways. One contemporary example of the valuing of mental illness is Clare Dickens’s reference to her son’s mental illness as “a dangerous gift,” in the book they coauthored before he committed suicide.¹⁰ This concept of mental illness as a gift has its roots in the earliest writings about madness, when madness was sometimes regarded as a form of divine communication.

Madness is considered a mental or sometimes spiritual disease, and people who are mad, or who are labeled mad, have not been treated well. Historically, mad people have been and sometimes still are shunned, locked up, sometimes even killed. At the same time, madness has a long history of being regarded as being a sign of divine inspiration, genius, or engagement with a higher plane of understanding. In the works discussed in the following chapters, these conflicting views of madness come into play. The madness visited upon characters in *Erwartung*, *Salome*, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, and *The Rake’s Progress* is reflected and sometimes caused by their gender and sexuality transgressions, but the very fact that these narratives are the subjects of powerful music dramas speaks to the ways in which madness may be regarded as inspirational or beautiful.

Foucauldian thought tells us that just because a culture can talk about sex openly and frequently does not mean that it is a culture that is at ease with sex; rather, obsessing over sex, constantly finding it in our art and texts is an indication that we are just as

¹⁰ “Coping with Bipolar Affective Disorder,” *Diane Rehm Show*, WAMU 88.5 FM, Philadelphia, June 30, 2009.

repressed in some ways as our Victorian forebears.¹¹ Likewise, the prevalence of discourse about madness is far from an indication that we as a culture have come to terms with mental illness; rather, I believe it reveals our profound discomfort with “abnormal” behaviors, the inexplicable nature of who is mad and why, and the uneasy notion that we are all susceptible to madness.

In examining the ways madness has been diagnosed, treated, and written about in the last century or so, it becomes apparent that conceptions of madness are deeply dependent on cultural context. It is essential to ground scholarly work in the present moment, “because only our contemporary framework can anchor the entire interpretive scheme.”¹² The *DSM* and its growth in both size and influence on psychiatric practice over the past 60 years undeniably affect the way modern scholars approach mental illness in dramatic music works, even those that predate the first *DSM* (1952), as do all four of the pieces under consideration in this dissertation. The fourth edition (1996) contains not only more major categories of disorders than ever before, but within the major headings there are more subcategories of diagnosable disorders and even further subdivisions of those subcategories.¹³

Not only have many diagnoses been added to the *DSM* over its fifty-year history, but some have also disappeared; notably, homosexuality no longer appears in the *DSM-IV* (it was in the original *DSM* of 1952, as well as in *DSM-II* and *III*). Political lobbying and awareness campaigns from within and without the APA convinced the editorial

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* Volume I [originally translated 1978] (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 3 – 14.

¹² Ralph Hexter, “Masked Balls,” in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 14/1 & 2 (2002): 94.

¹³ American Psychiatric Association. *DSM-IV*, 21 – 22.

committee that homosexuality was not a mental disorder, but instead a healthy way to live one's life.

The changes in the *DSM* remind us that the boundaries of mental health are ever-shifting. One of the major dangers of a “scientifically based” approach to psychiatry is the assumption that there is a singular Truth that is objective, universal, and understandable with enough research and testing done according to scientific methods. Science accepts language as transparent when language is actually culturally constructed and politically charged.¹⁴ Faith in scientific discourse most often places straight, white men in a position of privilege over almost everyone else.¹⁵ The institution of psychiatry does not question the validity of its existence or its reliance upon science; therefore, a scientific psychiatric enterprise necessarily perpetuates inequitable power relations based on race, class, gender, education level, or cultural difference.

Rather than presenting new, more specific, more nuanced, more up-to-date diagnoses of the mad characters in the four works I address in this dissertation, I explore these characters' narratives through a lens that exposes the ways that differences—especially gender and sexual differences—are interpreted as disorders.

Humanities and Madness

Far from being simply the subject of medical and scientific study, madness has a long history as the subject of artistic expression, especially painting and literature. After Foucault's groundbreaking 1965 monograph on the history of madness in the Enlightenment—a study in how humans use labels, exclusion, and confinement as

¹⁴ Bradley Lewis, *Moving Beyond Prozac, DSM, and the New Psychiatry* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

sources of power—many scholars have taken up the challenge of examining critically madness and its power structures.¹⁶

At certain times in history, fascination with madness has increased, probably because the drive to control people's behavior is related to the perceived threat of anarchy or social disorder. Literary critic Elaine Showalter refers to the general increase in anxiety about the end of civilization that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century as “endism” (and she points out a similar cultural phenomenon that occurred at the end of the twentieth century). At the end of the nineteenth century, endism was implicated in the medicalization of homosexuality, the creation of the enterprise of psychiatry, and legislation around gender roles and sexual behavior. Showalter draws parallels between the end of the nineteenth century and the sexual culture and backlash against it at the end of the twentieth century.¹⁷

Showalter also defines three portrayals of madwomen that were prevalent in the nineteenth century, and which the twentieth century inherited: Ophelia, Crazy Jane, and Lucia. These stereotypes accounted for nearly all the literary madwomen in Romantic literature, and each one was linked with female heterosexuality.¹⁸ Crazy Jane is the least threatening to men and to patriarchy: she is a poor servant who has been abandoned by her lover, either through his leaving her or through his death. She then spends the rest of her life dedicated to the memory of her lover in her every act and thought. Lucia is on the opposite end of the spectrum from Crazy Jane: her reaction to her unhappy romantic

¹⁶ Foucault, *The History of Madness and Civilization*.

¹⁷ Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830 – 1980* (New York: Penguin, 1985); and Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

¹⁸ Showalter, *The Female Malady*, 14 – 16.

relations is deadly violence directed toward a man. The Ophelia type is a combination of the characteristics of the Crazy Jane and Lucia types. Of these three types of madwomen Showalter notes that “they operated as ways of controlling and mastering feminine difference itself.”¹⁹

The twentieth century sees an expanded repertoire of mad women, and though they are unique in some ways, there are vestiges of the three types that Showalter outlines. For example, the only character in *Erwartung*, the unnamed Die Frau, is connected to the Lucia type—she is driven mad by her love for a man, and she is dangerously violent in her madness. Salome, too, is a woman whose madness is triggered by the rejection of one whom she would like to have as a lover. Even though these works were composed in the twentieth century, and even though much scientific research was being conducted, the institution of psychiatry and these artistic portrayals of madness were still focused on failed romantic relationships as the primary cause for female madness. I suspect this is because Showalter’s three types of mad women were so deeply entrenched in Western culture.

Music and Madness

Music, especially dramatic music, has also often been a vehicle for portraying madness from the seventeenth century through the twenty-first century. Perhaps the most frequently pointed to intersection of music and madness is the nineteenth-century operatic mad scene.²⁰ While opera and opera reception are valuable resources for

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 17.

²⁰ Willier, “Mad scene”; Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*; McClary, “Excess and Frame”; Ralph P. Locke, “What are These Women Doing in Opera?” in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*. pp. 59 – 98, eds. Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Julianna Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

scholars to examine the culture, politics, and history that gave rise to that specific work, it is important to remember that we are examining representations of madness, and not actual physical or psychological experiences of madness. Although as opera-goers and scholars we become quite attached to characters, and perhaps have a tendency to speak/write about them as though they are historical figures, it is important not to confuse representation with reality. These characters—even when based on real people’s lives—are crafted to represent contemporaneous conceptions of madness.

Portrayal and reception of madness in Western art music reflect the contemporaneous conceptions of both madness and music. Chapter Two presents a review of scholarly literature about Gaetano Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) and a new interpretation of Schoenberg’s *Erwartung* (1909) in order to demonstrate the ways in which hysteria was received differently at different moments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar note that from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, the madwoman’s narrative moved “from the liminal zone of the third storey [i.e., where Mrs. Rochester lived]...to the first storey, in which her own story could be central.”²¹ I argue that a parallel shift occurs in opera. While Lucia’s madness occupies just one double aria in a whole opera, in *Erwartung*, Die Frau’s narrative takes center stage, and her madness is the singular focus of the forty-five minute monodrama.

²¹ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man’s Land, Volume 1: “The War of the Words,”* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 67.

In Chapter Two, I compare and contrast Lucia with Die Frau of *Erwartung*.²² In my reading of *Erwartung*, I find that Die Frau's behavior is informed by Freudian case studies with which librettist Marie Pappenheim was familiar. By taking the connection between Freudian discourse and the libretto just one step further, it is possible to read a lesbian sub-narrative in *Erwartung*. While Showalter resists the idea that Dora is a lesbian and regards this possibility as an aspersion that Freud cast upon Dora in his analysis, I think that Freud was denying Dora her feelings for Frau K. and her lesbianism.²³ I demonstrate the possibility of a lesbian sub-narrative in *Erwartung* through a close reading of the libretto and material from Freud's case studies and other essays in the hope of reclaiming Dora's lesbianism as a positive space.

In Chapter Three I turn to Strauss's *Salome* (1905) and its themes of inappropriate desires. Although *Salome* has been generally interpreted in light of the evident madness of its title character—and her obviously excessive and transgressive desire for John the Baptist—I show that the king Herod, who in some analyses is regarded as being the guardian of patriarchal values—including the value of reason—is as mad as Salome. This is not to say that his madness takes the same form as Salome's; rather, Herod's madness is manifested through his forays into behaviors that are generally considered feminine. His behavior is as transgressive of normative gender roles, and thus as mad, as hers. I

²² Other scholars, including Mary Ann Smart and Ramona Margherita Pugliese, have addressed the way that reception of *Lucia* and her mad scene changed drastically from between when it was written in 1835 and 1889: Ramona Margherita Pugliese, "The Origins of Lucia di Lammermoor's Cadenza," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16/1 (March 2004): 23 – 42; Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4/2 (July 1992): 119 – 141.

²³ Showalter, *The Female Malady*, 159.

demonstrate Herod's femininity through analysis of the score, especially by contrasting his musical statements with those of his wife, Herodias.

Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill's sung ballet *The Seven Deadly Sins* (1933) is particularly ripe for analysis with regard to Freudian discourse because of the tensions that surrounded the composition of the piece. Brecht, the librettist, wanted to avoid all intimation of Freudian thought in his works, including *The Seven Deadly Sins*, but Weill's music subverts Brecht's anti-Freudian vision. *The Seven Deadly Sins* resists a Marxist reading and instead becomes a tale in which can be read Freud's theories of the entwined pathologies of schizophrenia, narcissism, and homosexuality. Through analysis of the libretto, music and creation of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, I demonstrate a lesbian sub-narrative in *The Seven Deadly Sins*, a reading to which directors such as Peter Sellars have also been attuned.

In my fifth and final chapter, I present a reading of Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman's opera *The Rake's Progress* (1951), in which I argue that Tom Rakewell is not able to live up to society's expectations for male performance, and his punishment for not being able to perform masculinity is madness. Specifically, I believe that the Rake is tainted by the "spectral presence of homosexuality,"²⁴ which was a major concern in the United States in the 1940s. Additionally, I present an alternate reading of *The Rake's Progress* in which we follow Baba the Turk's progress in contrast with the Rake's. I propose that the narrative of Baba's progress offers the viewer a redemptive narrative of homosexuality. Baba's tale contains markers of the homosexual sub-cultures in U.S. urban centers, such as fascination with the theater and cross-gender characteristics.

²⁴ Terry, 159.

Jennifer Terry's assessment of the climate surrounding homosexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can also be applied to madness:

Homosexuality, like other perversions of the normal, has incited immense speculation, intricate corrective procedures, and penetrating therapeutic interventions in a fashion that bears down on sexual dissenters but which also imposes prescriptions and demands on the "unafflicted" by way of warning the "general population" of the dangerous proximity of perversion.²⁵

Considering the ways in which madness and sexuality are linked, it is not too far-fetched to contemplate mental or social disability as just one of many "perversions" that "normal" people should avoid in order to maintain their status as "unafflicted."

Felman notes that madness has the effect on the various scholarly disciplines of "subverting their boundaries," or bringing together various disciplines, such as sociology, philosophy, and psychiatry, in order to try to make sense of madness. What follows is a subversive undermining of the boundaries of madness as well as convergence of the tools of several disciplines.²⁶

²⁵ Terry, 13.

²⁶ Felman, 12.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY INTO THE TWENTIETH

This dissertation explores the continuities and differences in four music theater pieces of the early twentieth century, the main characters of which are performed and interpreted as mad. My goal is to contextualize these works and interpretations with reference to contemporaneous ideas and theories about madness. In this chapter, I will point out the demonstrable continuities that exist between the nineteenth-century operatic mad scene and manifestations of madness in twentieth-century dramatic music, even though very different musical and cultural contexts shape these portrayals. These musical narratives of madness, when read through the lens of critical inquiries such as gender and queer studies, can be seen as cultural products that shed light on the meanings of madness within a particular culture.

Just as the history of madness in the nineteenth century can be traced as shifting with the myriad cultural factors surrounding concepts of madness and gender, so too, can a trajectory of madness be traced forward from the nineteenth century into the staged works of the twentieth century. Examination of early twentieth-century operas and experimental music theatre works in the vein of *Erwartung* reveals madness, especially female madness, as a recurrent theme. Changing ideas of psychology, disability, gender, and musical expression inform these depictions of madness throughout the twentieth century.

There are many similarities between Lucia in *Lucia di Lammermoor* and Die Frau in *Erwartung*, which make them valuable sources for comparison. However, there are also distinct differences in how madness is portrayed in each piece. The structures of the

pieces are very different: *Lucia* is an opera in three acts, and Lucia's mad scene comprises one double aria in the third act, whereas in *Erwartung*, Die Frau is the only character in the monodrama, and her emotional state is the sole subject of the four scenes that comprise the piece. Finally, I argue that Die Frau and her behavior are based on a Freudian, psychogenic understanding of mental illness, whereas Lucia's madness is based on a Charcotian—or biological—viewpoint of the cause of female mental illness.

These differences in the portrayal of mad women, along with a close reading of the libretto, lead me to regard *Erwartung* as possibly a story of repressed or latent lesbianism. In Freudian theory, repressed sexual urges were the cause of numerous pathologies, and these causal urges were often so deeply repressed that the patient was not aware of them herself. Die Frau seems to have certain traits in common with two of Freud's case studies,²⁷ one of which—*Dora*—is widely interpreted in the lesbian and gay scholarly community as Freud's misreading of a lesbian relationship.²⁸

The nineteenth-century operatic mad scene is a highly visible convention in contemporary operatic repertoires, and one that has been addressed with some frequency in recent scholarly literature.²⁹ The mad scene has been presented generally as a generic

²⁷ Sigmund Freud, *Dora: An Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* [1905] (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963).

²⁸ Jacques Lacan, "Intervention on Transference." in *In Dora's Case: Freud—Hysteria—Feminism* [1985], second edition. pp. 92 – 104. Ed. Charles Bernheimer and Claire Kahane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Heather Findlay, "Queer Dora: Hysteria, Sexual Politics, and 'Lacan's Intervention on Transference,'" in *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Politics* 1 (1994): 323 – 347.

²⁹ See for example, Paolo Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos: The Mad-Scene," in *Con che Soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580 – 1740*, eds. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1995); Susan McClary, "Excess and Frame: The Musical Representation of Madwomen," in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* [1991] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); James Parakilas, "Mozart's Mad Scene," *Soundings* 10 (Summer 1983): 3 –

tradition of nineteenth-century opera, and as a convention often exemplified by Lucia's double aria in Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835).³⁰ If Lucia di Lammermoor is the quintessential nineteenth-century operatic madwoman, then Die Frau, the only character in Arnold Schoenberg's monodrama *Erwartung*, may well represent the exemplary madwoman of Expressionist music drama.

There are many continuities between Lucia and Die Frau, but the differences between them indicate the enormous shift in thinking that Freud brought to discourse around mental illness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In my examination of the continuities and contrasts between *Lucia di Lammermoor*, particularly Lucia's double aria that comprises the "mad scene," and *Erwartung*, I will demonstrate that in both cases the women's madness is gendered—their madness is understood to take a particular form based on their gender. That they are mad is revealed in their socially inappropriate sexual behaviors and desires.

In both cases, the mental illness that scholars and critics generally ascribe to these characters is *hysteria*.³¹ Hysteria has a long and nearly continuous history, dating to

17; Ellen Rosand, "Operatic Madness: A Challenge to Convention." In *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*. ed. Steven Scher. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Stephen Willier, "Mad Scene," in *New Grove Dictionary Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 30 October 2005). <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

³⁰ Willier, "Mad Scene."

³¹ With regard to *Lucia di Lammermoor* see, for example, Ramona Margherita Pugliese, "The Origins of Lucia di Lammermoor's Cadenza," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16/1 (March 2004). With regard to *Erwartung* and Die Frau, see for example: Robert Falck, "Marie Pappenheim, Schoenberg, and the *Studien über Hysteria*," *German Literature and Music: An Aesthetic Fusion, 1890 – 1989* (München: Fink, 1992); Alexander Carpenter, "Schoenberg's *Erwartung* and Freudian Case Histories: A Preliminary Investigation." *Discourses in Music* 3/2 (Winter 2001 – 2002) (Accessed online 12 Sept. 2005); and Bryan R. Simms, "Whose Idea Was *Erwartung*?" in *Constructive Dissonance*, Eds. Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailey, pp. 100 – 112 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

ancient Egypt and Greek antiquity. In its four-thousand-year history, one thing that has remained consistent is that hysteria is a condition affecting women, and one that the best medical minds throughout the ages have been unable to explain. The word hysteria comes from the Greek *hystera*, or uterus, because ancient Greek physicians believed that the wandering of the uterus caused otherwise inexplicable symptoms in women. They believed that marrying and bearing children would cure the problem.³²

The term hysteria was used in early nineteenth-century medical journals to describe a condition suffered mainly by women, manifested by emotional disturbances, convulsions or other physical symptoms.³³ The points in time that are most relevant for this study are: 1835, when *Lucia* was first premiered;³⁴ 1889, when interest in *Lucia* resurged following a new production with Nellie Melba singing Lucia; and 1909, when Marie Pappenheim and Arnold Schoenberg were creating *Erwartung*.

Although there are many differences, both obvious and more subtle, between *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Erwartung*, there are many points of reference between the two operas to which we can look for similarities. For example, in both cases, the main character is a woman driven to hysterical behavior by a love affair gone awry. Both stories involve the murder of a man by the hysterical woman. (In the case of *Erwartung*, it is not at all certain that there definitely was a murder, however, it is strongly implied, and at the least, the main character seems to believe at some points that she has discovered the body of her murdered lover.) At the same time, the two characters'

³² Joan Acocella, *Creating Hysteria: Women and Multiple Personality Disorder* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1999), 29.

³³ "hysteria," *Path. 1 The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 31 July 2009 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50110725>>.

³⁴ Ramona Margherita Pugliese, "The Origins of Lucia di Lammermoor's Cadenza," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16/1 (March 2004): 23 – 42.

symptoms of madness are manifested in different ways, and it is in these differences that the influence of Freudian thought may be felt.

While the mad scene may well have reached a peak in its popularity in nineteenth-century opera, its roots reach back to the earliest operas.³⁵ Portrayals and reception of madness in Western art music reflect the contemporaneous conceptions of both madness and music. Every time and culture's conceptions of madness and its causes affect the subjects of operas, the action of the drama, the behaviors of the characters, and decisions about costumes, lighting, stage directions, make up, movement, and other technical aspects of theatre. Conceptions about music at any given point in music history—i.e., what is music, what sounds good, what is unique sounding, or aurally disorienting— affect the ways that madness is portrayed musically.

In seventeenth-century, musical depictions of mad people, witches, and the “melancholic” were a regular part of theater performances. Harmonic and melodic dissonance was used to represent the irregular mental and emotional states of these characters.³⁶ The type of operatic madwoman that was popular in the first half of the nineteenth century was innocent, virginal, and lovesick.³⁷ Stephen Willier links early nineteenth-century operatic madwomen, like Lucia, to late eighteenth-century gothic novels, whose heroines were highly virtuous, sensitive, and very young women. The gothic heroine was almost always sexually co-opted by an older, wealthy man who used

³⁵ Rosand, “Operatic Madness”; Parakilas, “Mozart’s Mad Scene.”

³⁶ Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006).

³⁷ Pugliese: 27 – 28. See also Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830 – 1980* (New York: Penguin, 1985).

his power and money to keep her away from her true love. Such treatment invariably resulted in the woman's madness and often her death as well.³⁸

Lucia di Lammermoor

The first audiences of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, in 1835, while accustomed to madwomen being portrayed onstage and in literature, may have found Lucia's character unacceptable because she was a murderess. This may account for the lack of popularity of the opera when it first premiered. Public perception of mental illness changed drastically by the end of the nineteenth century because of changing public perception of female mental illness, including changing concepts about the causes of hysteria, the manifest symptoms of hysteria, and the rise of the *femme fatale* stereotype.³⁹ As a result, the reception of *Lucia di Lammermoor* changed: the kind of behavior onstage that once received a lukewarm reception became popular with audiences.

Lucia's double aria is commonly cited as the *ne plus ultra* of operatic mad scenes, which might mistakenly give the impression that it is a static construction, having existed in one form for the entire history of the score of *Lucia di Lammermoor*.⁴⁰ However, during the nineteenth century, the mad scene was neither a static construction, nor was its reception homogenous. The renowned Lucia and her oft-cited mad scene underwent major changes between the premiere and the version that has been canonized. Although *Lucia di Lammermoor* does not have a standardized score for performance today, as many nineteenth-century operas do, the popular version with a flute cadenza during the

³⁸ Stephen A. Willier, "Madness, the Gothic, and Bellini's *Il Pirata*," *The Opera Quarterly* 6/4 (Summer 1989): 7 – 23.

³⁹ Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late-Victorian Femme Fatale: The Kiss of Death* (London: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1992); Mary Ann Doane, *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

⁴⁰ See, for example, Willier, "Mad Scene."

mad scene, which was first performed at the Paris Opéra by the renowned French flutist Claude-Paul Taffanel and soprano Nelly Melba in the late nineteenth century, is more commonly performed than Donizetti's original score.

While there are no hard and fast instructions on how to portray mad characters, Mary Ann Smart and Susan McClary have both suggested that the most avant-garde musical techniques of any given time period were used to characterize madness on the operatic stage.⁴¹ Pugliese's work on *Lucia di Lammermoor* also supports the point that contemporaneous conceptions of music and madness intersect to produce different operatic conventions at different points in time. She points out that reception of the mad scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor* was tepid at best when the opera premiered in 1835, but by 1889 Lucia's double aria had reached its current status as being the pinnacle of the opera.⁴² Pugliese links this shift in Lucia's reception to changing perceptions of madness—particularly madness in women—that were influenced by psychiatric research and education in the late nineteenth century.

These changing ideas altered audience perceptions of how madwomen should and could act. Famous medical doctors in the nineteenth century, including the neurologist Jean Martin Charcot, were actively promoting their ideas about women and their psychiatric stability, or lack thereof, to the general public. Charcot, a neurologist, worked with lower-class people and the incurable at the La Salpêtrière hospital in Paris. When he

⁴¹ MaryAnn Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4/2 (July 1992): 119 – 141; Susan McClary, "Excess and Frame: The Musical Representation of Madwomen," in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

⁴² Pugliese, 23.

came to La Salpêtrière, it was a dumping ground for the poor and dispossessed.⁴³

Charcot considered himself a neurologist rather than a psychiatrist, and his research was grounded in the physical body. It was rather by accident that he became so involved with hysteria—a mental illness that was generally the purview of psychiatry: he did so much work with hysterics only because all the hysterics were separated from the other cases of madness and assigned to his department at the La Salpêtrière.⁴⁴ Charcot treated his patients like medical lab rats, trying out new treatments on them with varying degrees of success. He theorized that women were susceptible to hysteria and other mental illnesses because of their inferior physiognomy, and that hysteria was rooted in the central nervous system.⁴⁵ According to medical thought at the time, hysterical symptoms could be almost anything, and almost any symptoms that could not be otherwise ascribed were considered to be hysterical.⁴⁶

Charcot held educational demonstrations of hysteria by exhibiting women (actual psychiatric patients, he claimed, not actresses) in the throes of hysterical attacks, which he “triggered by light application of pressure to the ovaries.”⁴⁷ By the time Nelly Melba performed the role of Lucia in Paris, many members of the audience had probably had the opportunity to witness Charcot’s displays of “hysterical” women. One result of Charcot’s exhibitions of the delicate female psyche was an opera audience that was increasingly comfortable with—and desirous of—witnessing women in extreme emotional states.

⁴³ Lilian R. Furst, *Before Freud: Hysteria and Hypnosis in Later Nineteenth-Century Psychiatric Cases* (Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 112.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 – 4.

⁴⁵ Acocella, 30.

⁴⁶ Furst, 24.

⁴⁷ Pugliese, 35.

Charcot's late nineteenth-century audiences also existed on the cusp of a European women's liberation movement that Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar write about as a "war of the sexes" at the turn of the century, a war that was played out in words of the literature and poetry of the time, as well as in semi-public spheres such as salons.⁴⁸ Gilbert and Gubar suggest that it is possible to detect a trend in late nineteenth-century literature in which women are less often represented as "passionless" angels of domesticity, and rather as creatures with dangerous, uncontrollable appetites for sex and power.⁴⁹ This new potential for female agency and desire gave rise to new character types and situations, notably the nineteenth-century *femme fatale*.⁵⁰

Lucia is portrayed as both psychologically unstable and as a danger to men—at least to one man: her husband whom she kills in cold blood after their wedding. In stabbing her husband Lucia seizes a masculine role, literally penetrating him, rather than allowing him to penetrate her in a sexual act. Like Charcot's demonstrations, the *femme fatale* stereotype may have affected the popularity of *Lucia*. By the time of Nelly Melba's portrayal of Lucia, the idea of strong, sexual, and deadly women was firmly in the consciousness of European audiences.

While "dangerous women" have existed in literature reaching back as far as the Old Testament, including Eve, Delilah, and Tamara, the nineteenth century witnessed a new twist on the old trope of seductresses. Along with her tendencies toward destruction of men, the nineteenth-century *femme fatale* also has a propensity for being irrational and extremely emotional—both characteristic markers of madness, specifically the "female

⁴⁸ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land, vol. 1: The War of the Words* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 34 – 35.

⁵⁰ Doane, 2; Stott, 12 – 15.

malady” of hysteria. With depictions of these madwomen coming from the scientific community, as well as appearing in literature and opera, it might have seemed to Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century that just about any woman was on the brink of madness. Joan Acocella notes that in the nineteenth century, “The link between women and hysteria thus became a tautology. Women developed hysteria not because of some external factor, such as the apportionment of power in society, but simply because they were women.”⁵¹ Because femininity and female bodies were closely linked in scientific discourse to madness, all women were perceived to be psychologically frail.

Lucia’s hysteria, Nelly Melba’s performance of it, and nineteenth-century audience reception of those performances were linked to Charcotian theories and performances about women and hysteria. However, continued medical research in the early part of the twentieth was weakening the theories that physical characteristics, such as the shape of the skull or length of limbs, was correlated with mental illness. Below I will show that while the main character in Schoenberg’s *Erwartung* is also generally received as hysterical, her actions and words in the libretto are more closely tied to a Freudian, or psychogenic, concept of hysteria.

Erwartung

Die Frau, the only character in *Erwartung*, is perceived as a potentially dangerous woman and one whose sexuality might be threatening, as was Lucia. It is suggested in the libretto that Die Frau’s lover is dead or missing, and that it is possible that she is the one who killed him in a jealous rage. Whether Die Frau murdered her lover or not is ambiguous, though it is suggested by the libretto in scene IV: “Just look at me/(rages

⁵¹ Acocella, 31.

suddenly): Again you are looking there?” and “(With clenched fists) Oh you...you...you wretch, you liar...you...How your eyes evade me! Do you cringe for shame? (*strikes with her foot against him*).”⁵²

Although its premiere was delayed fifteen years, *Erwartung* has been well received since its premiere in 1924 and has been the subject of much scholarly enquiry in various fields, including musicology, music theory, theatre studies, Germanic studies, and literature. *Erwartung*, like other Expressionist pieces, is atonal, but predates Schoenberg’s 12-tone technique.⁵³ *Erwartung* also fits the definition of Expressionism in that the work expresses emotion with little or no need for plot or narrative.⁵⁴ The audience witnesses Die Frau as emotions pour forth from her—fear, rage, jealousy, loving affection are expressed as though she has no control over the intensity or nature of her emotions, nor can she hide her emotions as they overtake her.

Throughout the course of the monodrama we witness Die Frau experience a wide range of emotions as she searches in vain for her missing lover. We come to learn through her musings to herself and through her speeches to her absent lover that their affair was an illicit one and that quite probably he was involved with another woman as well. It appears that the infidelity of her lover is what causes Die Frau’s madness, though—as I will explore later in this chapter—Freud’s theory allows for many layers of discovery in his patients’ mind and memory.

⁵² Scene IV of *Erwartung*: Marie Pappenheim, *Erwartung*, trans. Louis Stanley (New York: Associated Music Publishers, no date), 14 – 15.

⁵³ O.W. Neighbor, “Schoenberg, Arnold,” in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25024> (accessed June 10, 2010).

⁵⁴ David Fanning, “Expressionism,” in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09141> (accessed March 16, 2009).

Freud supported the idea that most mental health problems were caused by traumatic disruptions in a person's childhood experiences, rather than by experiences as an adult. However, adult and adolescent traumas could trigger or add to emotional disturbances dating from childhood. In contrast, Charcot posited that mental pathology, like hysteria, was rooted in physical weakness; thus, women were prone to hysteria because they were inherently physically frail. Freud's viewpoint differed from Charcot's in that he attributed women's tendencies to hysteria to psychic trauma in childhood development, and not to biological or intellectual causes. However, Freud's theories of childhood psychosocial development also nearly always placed women at a disadvantage because of the extremely complex and nuanced paths that he believed women must travel in order to achieve mental and emotional maturity. While male psychosocial development was also a complicated process in Freud's theories, women's was actually much more complex.

Freud was prolific, and his writings were published widely. Even he himself acknowledged that his case studies were read not only for medical study, but also by the general, non-medical population for entertainment. This was true in large part because some of the details of his patients' lives, affairs, and fantasies were salacious. Two Freudian case studies that were and remain extremely popular are most frequently referenced as possible source material for *Erwartung*: that of Anna O. and that of Dora. Anna O. was treated not by Freud, but by his mentor and colleague Josef Breuer. At Freud's request, Breuer collaborated with him on a volume of case studies, *Studien über*

Hysteria.⁵⁵ Anna O. was treated by Breuer for nearly two years, beginning in 1880. “Anna O.” was a pseudonym for Bertha Pappenheim. Bertha Pappenheim was a distant cousin to librettist Marie Pappenheim and about one generation older than Marie: Bertha was 21 when she began treatment with Breuer in 1880, and was deemed cured of her hysteria by the time Marie Pappenheim was born in 1882.

Marie Pappenheim—regardless of her relation to Bertha—was likely familiar with the Anna O. case study and all of the cases in *Studien über Hysteria* by Freud and Breuer because she was a doctor herself and kept abreast of the latest medical and cultural trends in Austria.⁵⁶ The symptoms that Anna O. and Die Frau suffer in common include hallucinations, insomnia, and extreme mood swings. Perhaps most importantly, Die Frau is tortured by little flashes of memory, such as the day her lover last bid her adieu over the garden wall.⁵⁷ Offering an alternate point of view, Alexander Carpenter suggests that it is not Anna O. upon which *Erwartung* is based, but rather Freud’s case study about “Dora,” whose real name was Ida Bauer.⁵⁸ Below I describe briefly the two case studies.

Anna O. and Dora

Breuer’s contributions to *Studien über Hysteria* are relatively small: one case study—that of Anna O.—compared to Freud’s four cases, and a section containing a

⁵⁵ Joseph Breuer and Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria* [1893]. Translator and Editor James Strachey, with Anna Freud, Alix Strachey, Allan Tyrson (USA: Basic Books, 2000); Neighbour; Falck, 132.

⁵⁶ David Metzger, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music: New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 76.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁸ Carpenter, “Schoenberg’s *Erwartung* and Freudian Case Histories”; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, 159.

theoretical discussion of hysteria. Anna O.'s treatment took place during 1881 and 1882, but Breuer's report on it was not published until *Studien über Hysteria* was published in 1895. Breuer himself only dabbled in psychoanalysis during the time he was treating Anna O., preferring instead his work in medical research. When *Studien über Hysteria* was reprinted in 1908, a short note from each doctor was included in the front pages: Breuer was so distant from the work he had done with Anna O. at that point that he wrote that he had nothing to add to the conversation because he had completed no further work in the field after the first publication.⁵⁹

According to Breuer's case study, Anna O. suffered from unusual and severe hysterical symptoms from 1880, when she was 21 years old until—with Breuer's treatment—the symptoms abated in June 1882. Breuer describes four phases of her illness, during which she experienced paraphasia (the loss of language skills), involuntary squinting, vision problems, paralysis of her extremities, sleep-walking, hallucinations and a series of obsessively repeated physical tics. Anna O. experienced daily periods of being highly excitable, and at times she was deeply melancholy. She experienced irregular sleep patterns, including the need to sleep in the afternoon and a period of self-hypnosis after sunset, which lasted for some hours. Her most lucid part of the day occurred after her evening hypnosis and before she retired to bed around four in the morning. The cyclical nature of her days is a theme that I believe occurs in *Erwartung*, an interpretation that I present in detail below.

⁵⁹ Freud and Breuer, xix. On the other hand, Freud—never one to be falsely humble—wrote that he had done so much work in hysteria in the intervening years that his newer ideas could not be contained in footnotes and addenda, so he left the work as it was, suggesting that readers “begin with *Studien über Hysteria* and thus follow the path which I myself have trodden.”

In Breuer's opinion almost all of the hysterical symptoms that Anna O. suffered from were connected in one way or another to the long illness and subsequent death of her father, to whom she was quite attached. In December 1881 through June 1882, Anna O. hallucinated that she was actually living the previous year's events all over again. Her hallucination was so profound, according to Breuer, that she would bump into walls because the doors were in a different place than they were in the house she had been living in the previous year. Anna O. relived in their entirety the months leading up to her father's death. It should be noted that Breuer emphasized the lack of sexuality that he perceived in Anna O.:

The element of sexuality was astonishingly underdeveloped in her. The patient, whose life became known to me to an extent to which one person's life is seldom known to another, had never been in love; and in all the enormous number of hallucinations which occurred during her illness that element of mental life never emerged.⁶⁰

This lack of sexual feeling or interest in love is in sharp contrast with Dora's case study, and also with *Erwartung*, in which Die Frau's sexuality is emphasized.

Breuer and Freud's bold proposal in "Anna O." and in *Studien über Hysteria* in general, was that, faced with a set of hysterical symptoms, an analyst could eliminate each unwanted behavior by talking through the first incidence of the behavior with the patient. Once the circumstances around the appearance of the symptom were recalled by the patient, the symptom would cease:

The findings—that in the case of this patient the hysterical phenomena disappeared as soon as the event which had given rise to them was reproduced in her hypnosis—made it possible to arrive at a therapeutic technical procedure

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 – 2. Editor James Strachey includes a footnote indicating that Freud quotes the first sentence of this passage in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, published in 1905 and in Chapter II of his autobiography published in 1925.

which left nothing to be desired in its logical consistency and systematic application. Each individual symptom in this complicated case was taken separately in hand; all the occasions on which it had appeared were described in reverse order, starting before the time the patient had become bed-ridden and going back to the event which had first led to its appearance. When this had been described the symptom was permanently removed.⁶¹

This talking-through back to the first instance of the appearance of a behavioral or physical tick has been called “the talking cure,” a phrase that came into popular usage in the mid-and late-twentieth century to refer in general to psychotherapy. Anna O. was the first person to use this phrase when she used it to describe her sessions with Breuer.⁶² Another term that has become inextricably associated with Freudian theory also appears for the first time in the introduction to the *Studien über Hysteria*: “repression.” The editor of the volume notes “This is the first appearance of the term ‘repressed’ (‘*verdrängt*’) in what was to become its analytic sense.”⁶³ This concept is important to *Erwartung* because it is possible that Die Frau has not simply forgotten where she is and how she arrived in the wood, but rather that she has repressed a traumatic memory. At the time that *Studien* was published Freud used “repression” interchangeably with the

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 30. “I used to visit her in the evening, when I knew I should find her in her hypnosis, and I then relieved her of the whole stock of imaginative products which she had accumulated since my last visit. It was essential that this should be effected completely if good results were to follow. When this was done she became perfectly calm, and the next day she would be agreeable, easy to manage, industrious, and even cheerful; but on the second day she would be increasingly moody, contrary, and unpleasant, and this became still more marked on the third day. When she was like this, it was not always easy to get her to talk, even in her hypnosis. She aptly described this procedure, speaking seriously, as a ‘talking cure,’ while she referred to it jokingly as ‘chimney-sweeping.’” N.B. that both “talking cure” and “chimney-sweeping” are in English in the original German text.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, footnote 1 on page 10.

term “defense,” referring to an unconscious but deliberate forgetting of a traumatic event.⁶⁴

Dora’s case study was written by Freud alone and published as its own volume in 1905.⁶⁵ In this case, Freud treated the patient for less than a year until she broke off the sessions on December 31, 1899. He wrote the case study within the next month, and quickly sent it to his publisher. For some reason he thought better of publishing the manuscript at that time, and recalled it almost as soon as he sent it. In the introduction to the 1905 publication he explains that he needed to wait some time in order to protect the identity of his patient and her family; however, in the introduction to a modern publication of *Dora*, Freud scholar Philip Rieff suggests that it was really because Freud was concerned about the reception *Dora* would have—not because he doubted his own work or conclusions, but rather because Freud doubted the public’s ability to understand and embrace his theory of hysteria as presented in *Dora*.⁶⁶

Indeed, Freud had reason to be concerned; *Dora* presents a complicated and only partially complete case study. Additionally, Freud uses *Dora* to present his idea that the subconscious (as it expresses itself in dreams and in our unconsidered actions and words) cannot say “no”; but rather, any denial a patient consciously claimed was actually an affirmation. In other words, when Dora said yes, she meant yes; and when she said no, she meant yes still.

Like many of Freud’s clients, Dora was attractive, intelligent, educated, and from the upper middle class. Freud himself notes, with disapprobation, that some physicians

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Freud, *Dora*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, viii.

might read this case study as though it were a *roman à clef*, relishing the sensual story and failing to appreciate its contribution to science.⁶⁷ Indeed, the “characters” presented in *Dora* are fascinating, and Dora’s family’s entwined stories of adultery, intergenerational affairs, and lesbian attraction are titillating, even in Freud’s scientific report. Dora was eighteen when she started treatment with Freud in 1899 at her father’s insistence. Her symptoms included low spirits, being “unfriendly” to her father, “on very bad terms with her mother,” and at least one loss of consciousness, which may or may not have been accompanied by delusions and convulsions (Freud did not get far enough with analysis to discuss this with Dora).⁶⁸

In searching for the roots of Dora’s symptoms in her subconscious, Freud uncovered and presented to his readers the complicated set of relationships that Dora had been negotiating since her childhood. Dora’s family was quite close to a married couple, referred to as Herr and Frau K. in the case study. Dora’s father was having an affair with Frau K., and it seems that Dora was offered to Herr K. as a sort of bribe or consolation prize for tolerating the affair between Dora’s father and his wife. Freud thought that there had been no formal arrangement of the sort, but that Dora’s father often let his beautiful young daughter be alone in the company of Herr K., even after Dora complained of Herr K.’s trying to kiss or otherwise grope her:

It was possible for Herr K. to send Dora flowers everyday for a whole year when he was in the neighborhood, to take every opportunity of giving her valuable presents, and to spend all of his spare time in her company, without her parents noticing anything in his behavior that was characteristic of love-making.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 16 – 17.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

Dora was deeply distressed by her father's affair with Frau K. and repeatedly told Freud that she wanted nothing more than for him to end it. Freud attributed this in part to the uncomfortable situation in which her father put her with Herr K., and in part because she wanted her father to love her more than he loved Frau K. In any case, her father refused to end the affair with Frau K., even though both he and Freud acknowledged that that would have been the quickest way to relieve Dora's symptoms.

This situation was further complicated by Dora's own strong feelings toward Frau K. Until Dora was about 16 years old, and the relations between her, her father, and Herr and Frau K. had soured, Dora was very intimate with Frau K., spending the night at her home where they would share a bedroom. Freud notes,

When Dora talked about Frau K, she used to praise her 'adorable white body' in accents more appropriate to a lover than a defeated rival [for Dora's father's affections]...Indeed, I can say in general I never heard her speak a harsh or angry word against the lady, although from the point of view of her supervalent thought she should have regarded her as the prime author of her misfortunes.⁷⁰

Although what might seem like an obvious explanation, at least to contemporary readers of *Dora*—that Dora was a lesbian (or bisexual) in love with Frau K.⁷¹—Freud insists repeatedly throughout the volume that Dora is not in love with Frau K; but rather, she is in love with Herr K. Freud suggests that Dora represses her love for Herr K. out of her great friendship with Frau K. Freud notes with regard to Dora's case that "the masculine or, more properly speaking, *gynaecophilic* currents of feeling [i.e., female same-sex desire] are to be regarded as typical of the unconscious erotic life of hysterical

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷¹ See for example: Lacan, "Intervention on Transference" and Findlay, "Queer Dora: Hysteria, Sexual Politics, and 'Lacan's Intervention on Transference'".

girls.”⁷² In other words, Freud viewed same-sex desire between women as a symptom of an illness, a symptom that could point to unrequited or otherwise frustrated longing for a man.

Freud was quite frustrated that after only a few months of analysis Dora left his care with no forewarning. After a session in which Freud felt that he had quite conclusively proved to Dora that she actually, and without her own self-knowledge, was in love with Herr K., “[Dora] seemed to be moved; she said good-bye to me very warmly, with the heartiest wishes for the New Year, and—came no more.”⁷³ Freud’s support for his argument, as he recounted his conversation with her at this session, was largely based on his analysis of Dora’s dreams and the language she used to recount them.

Anna O. and Dora in Erwartung

The primary theme that *Erwartung* and *Dora* share is jealousy, so it is worth mentioning another Freudian conceit about projection that seems relevant here, one that Silvano Arieti mentions in his exhaustive 1974 study of schizophrenia.⁷⁴ Freud describes a mechanism of projection whereby if a man wants to deny a homosexual impulse, he will replace it with the proposition, *I don’t love him; I hate him*, which then turns into *I don’t hate him, he hates me*. Arieti continues in his discussion of Freud’s theories, this line of thought: “Delusions of jealousy in women have a similar mechanism. ‘It is not I

⁷² Freud, *Dora*, 55

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁷⁴ Silvano Arieti, MD, *Interpretation of Schizophrenia*, second edition (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), 19.

who love women, but he (my husband) who loves them.’ In every case the delusion is a defense or an attempt to deny a homosexual wish.”⁷⁵

In other words, it is possible that cases of raging jealousy in women are in fact, repressed lesbian desire. It seems that with this definition of projection, Freudian thought might suggest that Die Frau’s jealousy reveals her own desire for women, perhaps the woman with the white arms she describes in the libretto as the competition for her lover’s affections:

Wo ist sie denn, die Hexe, die Dirne...
die Frau mit die weißen Arme...
Oh, du liebst sie ja, die weißen Arme...
wie du sie rot küßt...

*Where is she then, the witch, the slut...
the woman with the white arms...
Oh yes, you love them, those white arms...
you kiss them red...*⁷⁶

It is meaningful that Die Frau describes the beauty of the other woman in terms of her “white arms.” Dora praises Frau K.’s white skin, too, and both Die Frau and Dora are ostensibly in competition with the women whose white bodies they each describe. We never hear Die Frau’s lover’s version of events—she puts the words of desire for the other into his mouth, so to speak. I wonder if Marie Pappenheim may not have been attuned to the undercurrents of same-sex attraction in *Dora*, and thus reproduced them, perhaps even unwittingly, in *Erwartung*.

Alexander Carpenter in a recent article in *Musical Quarterly* makes a strong case for both Pappenheim and Schoenberg’s familiarity with Freud and his writings. Through close readings of letters between Schoenberg and his pupils and examination of

⁷⁵ Arieti, 19.

⁷⁶ Pappenheim, 156.

Pappenheim's textual borrowings from Freudian case studies Carpenter builds a strong case that *Erwartung* can be characterized as psychoanalytic work. He notes that this has long been a musicological "truism," and his essay is a valuable resource in teasing out the validity of the claim that *Erwartung* is influenced by Freudian theory about and case studies of hysteria.⁷⁷

Many music scholars, including Carpenter and Robert Falck, have looked to the case studies of Anna O. and Dora as source material for *Erwartung* and rightly so; after all, it is highly likely that Marie Pappenheim was familiar with Freud's writings, including the famous case studies. Pappenheim was trained as a medical doctor—a dermatologist—but her interest in Anna O. and Dora may well have gone beyond medical curiosity. Carpenter offers his speculation that Dora would have been more interesting to Pappenheim than Bertha /Anna O. First, Dora was nearly the same age as Marie Pappenheim (Dora was born in 1881, Marie in 1882), and second, Dora's hysteria was caused by a complicated web of abuse and sexual affairs.⁷⁸ Plus, *Dora* was rather recently published, and may have been included in Marie Pappenheim's studies as a medical student. The circumstance of the sexual affair gone awry finds its way into *Erwartung*, whereas the devoted filial love of Anna O. does not.

Falck presents a Freudian reading of *Erwartung* in which Die Frau engages in three types of narrative, one of these being "memory episodes," in which Die Frau relates

⁷⁷ Alexander Carpenter, "Schoenberg's Vienna, Freud's Vienna: Re-Examining the Connections between the Monodrama *Erwartung* and the Early History of Psychoanalysis," in *Musical Quarterly* 93/1 (Spring 2010): 144 – 181.

⁷⁸ Carpenter, "Schoenberg's *Erwartung* and Freudian Case Histories."

fragmented tales from her own past.⁷⁹ Die Frau's memory episodes are triggered by certain words in the libretto. Falck extends the Freudian reading to Schoenberg himself, suggesting that two musical self-quotations in *Erwartung* represent Schoenberg's own memory episodes, and that these memory episodes are triggered by the words of the libretto that are similar to words he had set in previous pieces.⁸⁰ Falck notes the importance of Die Frau's and Anna O.'s shared sensitivity to diurnal cycles in his analysis of *Erwartung*. Anna O. was "a very clear girl" between the hours of sunset and four o'clock AM, and at her worst during daylight hours.⁸¹

Building on Falck, I suggest that the audience watching *Erwartung* only experiences a small portion of the diurnal cycle of Die Frau. We don't know how many times the moon and sun have risen and set on Die Frau trapped in a cycle of jealousy and hysteria. If we read the monodrama in the context of Anna O.'s cycles of lucidity, perhaps *Erwartung* can be read thus: Die Frau returns home in the morning, forgetting her night-time adventure as though it were merely a nightmare. Again, the next day when the sun sets, she waits for her lover for hours until, in the middle of the night, she can no longer bear it, so she leaves her home to seek him where she knows he may be—at the home of another woman who is quite possibly his wife or legitimate fiancé. For the libretto of *Erwartung*, see the Appendix.

Again and again, the jealousy, the discovery, the forgiveness, and the coming dawn all happen in the same order, night after night. Maybe one can imagine that *Erwartung* is a dramatic portrayal of the confessional "talking cure" that Anna O.

⁷⁹ Falck, 133. The other types of narration besides the memory episodes are monologue and (one-sided) dialogue with her lover.

⁸⁰ Falck, 136.

⁸¹ Breuer and Freud, 18 – 19.

underwent night after night for two years with Josef Breuer, each time leading to a few hours of clarity—clarity that would dissipate during the course of the next two days until another session of confession was required.

If the night is the most lucid part of Die Frau's day—as was the case for Anna O.—then she is an even more troubled woman than perhaps originally imagined. Perhaps the “hysterical” woman we see is actually saner at the moment we see her than she otherwise is. She guesses at her lover's infidelity, and she is mentally undone by that possibility when we see her by moonlight, but it is possible that her symptoms are even worse during the daylight hours. I would like to hold onto both possibilities—the reading that says she is mad every night and the one that says she is actually lucid at night—simultaneously. Perhaps they are two truths of many that coexist.

Either way, I am encouraged in these cyclical readings by certain elements in the libretto and the score, including moon symbolism and the importance of G-sharp at the beginning and end of the monodrama. Die Frau mentions the moon many times throughout the piece: three times in scene one, again in scene three, and five times in the long fourth scene. Furthermore, Pappenheim and Schoenberg emphasize the moon and moonlight strongly in the stage directions and description of the set. The moon, with its strong symbolism of lunar and menstrual cycles, serves to evoke the cycle of day and night that is so vital to Anna O.'s hysteria. The moon in *Erwartung* is also associated with blood: “The moon is malicious.../because it has no blood...it paints red blood.../But it will dissolve immediately...”⁸² As it does in *Salome*, this kind of moon symbolism can

⁸² *Ibid.*, 148

be read as suggesting menstrual cycles which are connected to ideas of female insanity and emotional instability.⁸³

In part, this moon imagery suggests that Die Frau and her lover met under another full moon and under happier circumstances: “At least it’s bright here./The moon was so bright *before* [my emphasis].”⁸⁴ I propose that the frequent evocation of the moon may symbolize not only past meetings, but may also imply future meetings in the forest under the full moon. In other words, come the next full moon, Die Frau will again find herself on the dark path to the house of the woman with the white arms.

The end of the piece is ambiguous, with regard to both the music and the text. The final musical event is a chromatic flourish, which Charles Rosen regards as a concluding gesture that replaces a tonal cadence with “a saturation of the musical space in a few seconds.”⁸⁵ As the line ascends, the dynamic level becomes quieter until it reaches the highest and final note at nearly a whisper. The resulting sound is more like a question than a statement.

Die Frau’s own final statement is also less than definitive, and is not even a complete sentence: “I was looking...”⁸⁶ Her words simply trail off, neither a question nor a statement, as though she does not quite recall what it was she was searching for. Musically, Die Frau’s unsettled feeling is portrayed with a tritone comprising her last utterance (“suchte”). The last measures of *Erwartung* are reproduced in Example 1.1

⁸³ Refer to discussion of *Salome* below, especially Hutcheon and Hutcheon’s ideas from “Staging the Female Body.”

⁸⁴ Pappenheim, 138.

⁸⁵ Charles Rosen, *Arnold Schoenberg* (New York: The Viking Press, 1975), 57.

⁸⁶ Pappenheim, 156.

Notably Die Frau's last note is a G-sharp, as shown in Example 2.1 below, the same note at the same pitch level with which the bassoon begins the piece, shown in Example 2.2. For almost a complete beat the solo bassoon holds the G-sharp, marked with the *Hauptstimme* symbol, before other instruments enter, as shown in Example 2.2. Beginning and ending on the same note in the primary melody not only suggests tonality, but also hints at cyclicism and a return to the beginning.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the closing measures of the opera *Erwartung*.
 The first system shows the vocal line for Die Frau (Fr.) with the lyrics "Oh, bist du da..." and the piano accompaniment (piano). The tempo is marked "(in Retzücken aufschreitend)". The vocal line ends with a G-sharp note.
 The second system is marked with the measure number "425" and the tempo "(legend etwas entzogen)". The vocal line continues with "Ich such - te..." and features a circled G-sharp note at the end. The piano accompaniment includes markings for "pp" and "pp u. kl.".
 The third system is labeled "Vorhang" and shows the vocal line for Die Frau (Fr.) with the lyrics "ohne cresc." and the piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment includes markings for "ppp" and "ppp". The system concludes with the instruction "U. R. 5362."

Example 2.1: Closing measures of *Erwartung*

ERWARTUNG

(Monodram)

Dichtung von Marie Pappenheim

Arnold Schönberg Op. 17

I. Szene Am Rande eines Waldes. Mondhelle Straßen und Felder; der Wald hoch und dunkel. Nur die ersten Stämme und der Anfang des breiten Weges noch hell. Eine Frau kommt; zart, weiß gekleidet; teilweise entblät-terte rote Rosen am Kleid. Schmuck.

The musical score for the opening measures of *Erwartung* consists of two systems. The first system includes a vocal line (Gesang) and a piano accompaniment (Klavier). The vocal line begins with a tempo marking 'mäßige' and a 48-measure rest. The piano accompaniment starts with a piano (p) dynamic and includes various textures and dynamics such as pp, ppp, and sf. The score includes performance instructions like 'zart' and 'Frau (zögernd)'. The lyrics 'Hier hin-ein?... Man steht den Weg nicht..' are written below the vocal line. The score is marked with various dynamics and articulations, including accents and slurs.

Example 2.2: Opening measures of *Erwartung*

Conclusion

Madness has been a popular topic for musical drama since throughout opera's history. In the nineteenth century mad scenes reached a pinnacle in popularity, and in the twentieth century the mad scene expanded to take over an entire operas (or dramatic musical works, as the case may be), such as Schönberg's *Erwartung* and *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912); *Eight Songs for a Mad King* (1969) and *Miss Donnithorne's Maggot* (1974), both by Peter Maxwell Davies; Alban Berg's *Lulu* (1937) and *Wozzeck* (1925); and Luciano Berio's *Recital I (for Cathy)* (1972). While popular and scientific conceptions of

madness changed between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, there are still many similarities in musical depictions of madness from these time periods. Specifically, madness and its portrayal are gendered, and often reflect sexual variance or behavior that was considered inappropriate for a particular gender.

Looking at *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Erwartung* as representative works, one sees that both Lucia and Die Frau's madnesses are similar in diagnosis, cause, and in the modernity of their respective musical representation relative to the time period for each piece. Both characters exhibit onstage what contemporaneous audiences would regard as the symptoms of hysteria and their hysteria was represented as having been caused by a romantic affair. For Lucia these symptoms include hallucinations and delusions about a marriage that is not taking place, as well as fainting, and of course, murdering her husband. When she is discovered by her family, she is fantasizing about a future in which she is reunited with the man she loves and other things which have not happened, nor which can come to be. Lucia's hysteria does not include the torturous "reminiscences" that Freud and Breuer marked as the primary cause of hysteria when they wrote in the Introduction to *Studien über Hysteria* "Hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences."⁸⁷ Rather, Lucia's illness manifests itself as longing for a love that she cannot have—a concept of lovesickness that was far more common in early nineteenth-century works of art and literature.

For Die Frau the audience sees that she is tortured not by a false future, but rather by her memories—those of good times with her lover, as well as times of trauma from that relationship. Her scattered thoughts tell the audience about what was, and what

⁸⁷ Breuer and Freud, 7.

happened, rather than describing her fantasy future with her lover. Furthermore, her language hints at the complicated connections Freud drew between female same-sex desire and jealousy.

Both women's madness is portrayed with cutting edge musical language, though of course, the definition of cutting edge changed from 1835 to 1889 to 1909. For Lucia, the updating of the mad scene with Taffanel's flute cadenza in 1889 puts her mad aria at the forefront of chromaticism for that time. Die Frau's madness is portrayed through atonality, chromatic saturation, and strongly expressive musical gestures.

I believe that if contemporary audiences only see Die Frau as a jilted woman who has been unhinged by her lover's leaving her for another woman, then we are giving short shrift to the complexity of the piece and to contemporary understanding of mental illness. Indeed, I have shown that when compared to *Lucia di Lammermoor's* mad scene, one can see that Schoenberg and Pappenheim's knowledge of the latest contemporaneous scientific work on hysteria—including *Dora* and the case study "Anna O."—is apparent. A singular understanding of the piece reinforces both current and past beliefs about women being particularly mentally fragile, especially when it comes to romantic relationships with men.

This is not just the portrayal of madness for the thrill of it, nor for an excuse to step outside tonality (Schoenberg did not need an excuse for atonality the way some composers might have, according to Mary Ann Smart⁸⁸). Rather, this is the portrayal of a complex situation in which any number of things could be true: she killed her lover, or maybe she did not, but the lover is dead anyway, or maybe he is not; perhaps there is

⁸⁸ Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia."

actually blood and a body that she trips over, or perhaps it is just a dew-covered tree stump. Indeed, Schoenberg articulates this himself when he writes in the margins of a 1924 review of *Erwartung*: “The woman may have been wrong in her fearful states of mind, or not (this is not clear, but, all the same, there are only fearful imaginings and these become manifest).”⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Cited by Elizabeth L. Keathley, “‘Die Frauenfrage’ in *Erwartung*: Schoenberg’s Collaboration with Marie Pappenheim.” in *Schoenberg and Words: The Modernist Years*. pp. 139 – 177 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2008), 163.

CHAPTER THREE

SEX AND REASON IN *SALOME*

In Chapter Three, inspired by the scholarship of literary theorist Elaine Showalter, I argue that madness in opera is better understood as a gendered phenomenon—a construct that is deeply entwined in notions of gender-appropriate behaviors and sexuality and which is applied to all people, regardless of their sex or gender.⁹⁰

Medical and scholarly interpretations of madness as a condition that affects mainly women have the effect of masking male madness, including that of the character Herod in Richard Strauss's opera, *Salome* (1905). *Salome* was composed during a highly volatile time in the history of psychiatry, as has been shown in the first chapter of this dissertation. Briefly, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw rapid and drastic changes in thought about human behavior and the extent to which it could be categorized and diagnosed as a disease and then cured. What had in earlier centuries been understood as variety in human behavior became a disease—something that was housed indelibly in the body of the person performing what—to greater or lesser extents—were socially unacceptable acts. In the twentieth century people became identified with their behavior. For example, one did not just commit buggery, one *was* an introvert (or Urning, or homosexual, depending on the theory); or a woman who may have been thought to be a bit nervous might be labeled an hysteric.

While much is made of the way that “perversity” (a medical term in psychiatry) and “decadence” (a literary term with connections to psychiatric thought of the day) pervade the libretto and score of *Salome*, and no character completely escapes the taint of

⁹⁰ Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830 – 1980* (New York: Penguin Press, 1985).

these labels (not even Jochanaan), it is most frequently Salome herself on whom analysts and critics focus their attention. For many scholars, including Gary Schmidgall, Mario Praz, Lawrence Kramer, Derrick Puffett, and Susan McClary, the source of the perversity in the opera is Salome.⁹¹ She inspires the medically and morally inappropriate desires that drive the opera. A quotation from Ernest Newman, a contemporaneous reviewer of the premiere, sums up an attitude that has clung to the opera, even through the intervening century of performances: “In *Salome* the subject is a trifle unpleasant, but Strauss has given us a marvelous study of the diseased woman’s mind.”⁹² I am not claiming that all musicologists believe that Salome is the root of all madness in the opera, nor that scholars are always overt in marking Salome as the root of madness in the opera. In some cases, the authors actually argue overtly for the madness of Herod, but in more covert and subtle ways, their argument comes back around to Salome as the crux of this mad world.

Although *Salome* has been generally interpreted in light of the evident madness of its title character, I will show that Herod, who in some analyses, is often regarded as being the guardian of patriarchal values—including the value of reason—is as mad as Salome. This is not to say that his madness takes the same form as Salome’s; rather, Herod’s madness is manifested through his forays into behaviors that are generally considered feminine, including poetic and fanciful speech, unpredictable changes of

⁹¹ Gary Schmidgall, *Literature as Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Mario Praz, “*Salome* in Literary Tradition,” in *Richard Strauss: Salome*, pp. 11 – 20, ed. Derrick Puffett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Lawrence Kramer, “Culture and Musical Hermeneutics: The Salome Complex,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2/3 (November 1990): 269 – 294; Susan McClary, “Excess and Frame: The Musical Representation of Madwomen,” in *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

⁹² Cited in Puffett, *Salome*, 7.

mood, irrational fears, and whimsical ideas about the people around him.

There are many reasons why musicologists and opera-goers may reach the conclusion that *Salome* is an opera about a madwoman. Salome is, after all, the title character, and certainly she demands attention vocally and visually with dramatic gestures. Too, the restoration of social order and the appearance of a lucid Herod at the very end of the opera might cause one to concentrate on Salome's insanity to the exclusion of other mad characters. Even in feminist readings of *Salome*, it is very often Salome herself who is under discussion as *the* mentally ill, or perverse, character. Several scholars have tackled the problem of Salome from a number of interdisciplinary and contextual perspectives. Sander Gilman uses *Salome* as an example of his argument that in *fin-de-siècle* Austria libretto choices were made with deep awareness of the contemporaneous rhetoric of disease and how the audience perceives disease.⁹³ I will return to his argument below.

Each death that occurs in the opera—Narraboth's, Jochanaan's, and Salome's—is directly linked to a socially inappropriate sexual appetite. Sexual behavior was a major topic of concern in the late nineteenth century when the play *Salome* was written, and continued to be well into the twentieth century. Three schools of thought competed over the course of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth with regard to sexually variant behavior, as summarized by Jennifer Terry: the naturalists, the degenerationists, and the psychogenists.⁹⁴ Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Magnus Hirschfeld each took a naturalist approach to homosexual behavior. Generally speaking, they were of the

⁹³ Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss, the Pervert, and Avant Garde Opera of the Fin de Siècle" in *New German Critique* 43 (Winter 1988): 35 – 68.

⁹⁴ Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 42 – 43.

opinion that homosexuality (particularly male homosexuality) was a naturally occurring and benign variation in human physiognomy, not unlike colorblindness.

Degenerationists, such as Havelock Ellis and Jean-Martin Charcot, felt that pathologies such as homosexual inclination and hysteria had their roots in physical defects, which were ostensibly present from birth; in other words, for degenerationists, mental pathologies, while untreatable and unpreventable, were highly undesirable manifestations of the decline of civilized society.⁹⁵

Sigmund Freud took a different approach than the naturalist or degenerationist scientists, theorizing instead that perversion and pathology were the result of childhood emotional trauma that resulted in a person becoming arrested at a stage of development through which a “normal” person would progress on their way to becoming fully individuated. Furthermore, the inability to progress past a particular stage invariably led to some kind of perversion, even in a biologically sound individual. In psychogenic explanations of mental illness, the line between sanity and insanity is fine and easily traversable. Since physical or inborn traits are not a part of Freud’s conception of mental illness, anyone has the potential to be mad.

Regardless of the vastly different premises of the theories of the three camps, one common conclusion drawn was that women were naturally more prone to mental illness. Neither Ulrichs nor Hirschfield (the naturalists) were as generous toward women as they were toward men in their appraisal of variant sexual behavior. For the degenerationist camp, women were inherently more physically flawed than men, and therefore more

⁹⁵ See Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2000).

susceptible to mental illness. For Freud and other psychogenists, women were at a disadvantage because of the more perilous and complicated path that female children had to tread in order to achieve the appropriate stages of psycho-social development.⁹⁶

In response to the pressures of feminist agitation, equality and access to public institutions such as universities and government, and the developments of sexological research, stock characters such as the *femme fatale*, the hysteric, the nymphomaniac, and other mentally unstable women became common in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century operas and other dramatic genres.⁹⁷ Richard Strauss's *Salome* is just one example of many early twentieth-century works of art, literature and music that demonstrate contemporaneous fears about women in general and also more specifically about the modern New Woman and her feminist goals of independence and sexual pleasure.

Many scholars, including Rebecca Stott, mark the emergence of the feminist movement in the late nineteenth century as a precipitating factor of the *femme fatale* phenomenon that occurred in novels and plays of the same time period, and later in cinematography of the twentieth century. The 1890s were witness to a rise in political action on the part of women seeking equal rights to men, as well as novels and plays that addressed sexual relations frankly. The combination of artistic and political changes

⁹⁶ See, for example, Terry, *American Obsession*, and also Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness* [1972] (New York: Doubleday, 2005).

⁹⁷ Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late-Victorian Femme Fatale: The Kiss of Death* (London: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1992), 12 – 15.

sparked a backlash in which female sexuality was represented as a threat to social health and morality.⁹⁸

Film theorist Mary Ann Doane also traces the origins of the *femme fatale* to social anxiety instigated by incipient feminism in the late nineteenth century, and she notes that “the power accorded to the *femme fatale* is a function of fears linked to the notions of uncontrollable drives, the fading of subjectivity, and the loss of conscious agency—all themes of the emergent theories of psychoanalysis.”⁹⁹ The *femme fatale* appeared first in nineteenth-century novels and plays, including Oscar Wilde’s play, *Salomé* (1892), and Frank Wedekind’s *Lulu* plays (*Earth Spirit*, 1892 and *Pandora’s Box*, 1902). These plays, and many others that feature *femmes fatales*, were transferred to the media of opera and film in the early twentieth century. Through its prevalence in these genres, the stereotype of the ravishing woman has become deeply embedded in European and American culture. It is a stereotype with which we are familiar, and it is perpetuated in works throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries.

Bodies in the nineteenth century became sites for measurement and comparison, and the heterosexual white male body was the yardstick of “normality.” The interest in the human body extended to psychiatry, as well, and bodies were looked to as being able to cause or reveal mental order or disorder. In other words, if a person had a well-proportioned, healthy body, their mind should also be sound. This kind of thinking put

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Additionally, connected to the nineteenth-century interest in morality was a morbid fascination with disease and the concept of a diseased society. For more information refer to Stott’s introduction as well as to Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, “Staging the Female Body: Richard Strauss’s *Salome*,” in *Siren Songs*, ed. Mary Ann Smart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 201 – 224.

⁹⁹ Mary Ann Doane, *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 2.

those who were not white men at a disadvantage. A prime example of the prevailing attitudes of the scientific community in the late nineteenth century can be found in the writings about and descriptions of the “Hottentot Venus,” an African woman named Saartje Baartman whose body was displayed and described in terms that can only be conceived of as imperialist to today’s reader. In her examination of race relations in turn-of-the-century United States Siobhan Somerville drives at her point that European and American discourses about sexual perversion—especially homosexuality—are inextricably entwined with the terminology of race and bodily attributes.¹⁰⁰

Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon establish that Salome—the title character of Wilde’s play and of Strauss’s opera—is a product of late nineteenth century ideas about madness and femininity, noting that

Salome is obviously the typical *femme fatale* in the operatic tradition of Carmen, Kundry, Dalilah, and, later, Lulu—the demonic beauty who could lure men to damnation, and therefore aroused in her beholder fear along with attraction, terror along with desire.¹⁰¹

Not unlike the psychiatrists whose work they use to support their contentions, Hutcheon and Hutcheon focus on Salome’s body and its presentation in order to demonstrate that Salome represents a nexus of burgeoning sexuality, dangerous femininity, and biological difference. Although Hutcheon and Hutcheon are critical of early psychiatries that demonize bodies that are not white and male, in a way their study perpetuates the same attitudes toward women and their supposed predisposition to madness. Hutcheon and Hutcheon ably demonstrate that when Wilde wrote his play—and Strauss his opera—that Salome was “constructed in relationship to pathological sexuality,” and women were

¹⁰⁰ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*.

¹⁰¹ Hutcheon and Hutcheon, “Staging the Female Body,” 210.

perceived as “underdeveloped, childlike creatures” and prey to insanity during and around their menstruation.¹⁰²

Susan McClary includes a chapter on operatic madwomen, “Excess and Frame,” in her volume *Feminine Endings* that examines how madness is portrayed on the stage and in music over three centuries of opera. McClary posits that composers make use of the most avant-garde musical techniques at any given moment in Western art music to represent madness.¹⁰³ For example, McClary suggests that Salome and her particular brand of lunacy were merely an excuse for Strauss to write an opera that stretches tonal harmony to its limits. Furthermore, McClary notes that mad women in art usually die or are somehow contained by what she calls a “double frame.”¹⁰⁴ The first frame is that of the artistic convention in question—in the case of *Salome*, the operatic genre and its attendant conventions and traditions. Within that frame, the second is created by rational characters, often men who, by virtue of their strength of both body and reason, contain madness, usually by murdering the madwoman. In *Salome*, unreason is checked by Herod’s guards when they crush Salome under their shields at Herod’s order; McClary suggests that the chromaticism that she finds to mark Salome’s discourse is squashed—along with Salome’s body—under the C minor chords that represent the guards’ shields.¹⁰⁵

Not long after *Feminine Endings* was published, Paula Higgins criticized McClary’s treatment of Salome, noting that the analysis leaves us in “a theoretical cul-de-sac” because the women in question are only characters produced for and by men; in

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 213 – 214.

¹⁰³ McClary, 86.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

other words, McClary leaves no room for a positive feminist musical experience with *Salome*.¹⁰⁶ Higgins points out this deficiency, and thereby creates a space for later scholars to do so. This is fortunate because feminists do not want to abandon *Salome* as forever tainted as pornographic, heteronormative, or otherwise inaccessible to positive interpretation. Some may want to be Salome (I am thinking here of Toni Bentley and her confessional introduction to *Sisters of Salome*),¹⁰⁷ and some may want to love her as an icon representing female sexual empowerment. Whatever the case may be, McClary's version of events has come under scrutiny since its publication more than a decade and a half ago.

The harmonic destruction of Salome's chromatic world is necessary according to McClary's reading because it serves as a reprieve from madness, not just for the audience or for Herod, but for the entire opera. Because it ends with tonality and with Salome's death, the rest of the opera can be understood as simply leading to the moment when reason is regained, no matter how much pleasure is derived along the way, no matter how tempted we may be by Salome herself. In one musico-dramatic gesture, masculine dominance and the rationality are reestablished.

Focus on Salome in scholarly literature on madness in music is understandable, but has led to understating the case of madness in another conspicuously mad character: Herod. I suggest that Herod's madness, which is revealed throughout the opera, has been less interesting to scholars in part because it compromises the effectiveness of his ability

¹⁰⁶ Paula Higgins, "Woman in Music, Feminist Criticism, and Guerilla Musicology: Reflections on Recent Polemics," *19th-Century Music* 17/2 (Autumn 1993): 174 – 192.

¹⁰⁷ Toni Bentley, *Sisters of Salome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

to protect us from Salome, and in part because scholars—not unlike the medical community—tend to see madness as a “female malady.”¹⁰⁸

In her essay “Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender,” Showalter rightly criticizes feminist scholarship that neglects the effect of the feminization of madness on males and on perceptions of masculinity.¹⁰⁹ While the label of madness is a social construct that has been used by men for centuries to justify treatment of women and to control women’s behavior, men are also gendered, constructed as fathers, husbands, and physicians. These male positions may be privileged, but they are not less constructed, nor are they without their own set of strictures, confines, and their own forms of madness.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, the perceived femininity of madness also influences the ways in which we perceive men who are labeled mad. Because madness is understood to be inherent in female biology and psychology, there was historically little effort to find a cure. Rather, in the nineteenth century, psychiatric efforts were directed at diagnosing madness, most often in the form of hysteria and most often in women. Not until men were affected in unprecedented numbers by shellshock as a result of the First World War, was finding a cure to this mental disorder—which resembled hysteria in many ways—suddenly an imperative.¹¹¹

With regard to *Salome*, McClary and Hutcheon and Hutcheon focus on female madness to the exclusion of Herod’s own brushes with hysteria. However, Strauss’s treatment of Herod reveals of particular social constructs relevant to the turn-of-the-

¹⁰⁸ Showalter, *The Female Malady*; Chesler, *Women and Madness*.

¹⁰⁹ Showalter, “Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender,” in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*. 286 – 344 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹¹⁰ Consider, for example, madmen Tom Rakewell in Stravinsky’s *The Rake’s Progress* (1951) and Wozzeck, from Berg’s opera *Wozzeck* (1925).

¹¹¹ Showalter, “Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender,” 286 – 290.

century social climate—one in which men also faced the possibility of becoming or acting mad due to social stresses or inappropriate childhood development. Consideration of Herod’s madness can also lead to insights regarding scholars’ persistent reluctance to broach the topic.

Although scholars have referred to an operatic topos of madness, little has been agreed upon as to the exact musical signs of madness.¹¹² Musical elements that are commonly referred to as “mad” include chromaticism, resistance to form, and coloratura.¹¹³ Mary Ann Smart has challenged assumptions about Lucia’s musical expression of madness by demonstrating that the representation of madness in her music is extraordinarily ambiguous—all the elements usually cited do occur in her mad scene, but they appear in her more lucid moments as well.¹¹⁴

Similarly, Salome’s defining characteristic is most often referred to as her overwhelmingly chromatic melodies.¹¹⁵ While I concede that Salome’s melodies are seductive, and indeed, chromatic, I suggest that they do not stand in sharp contrast to other characters’ more tonal utterances. The entire musical language of *Salome* is

¹¹² The topos of madness in opera in the vein of Ratner’s and Nattiez’s studies of semiotics has not gained general usage; however, articles such as Ellen Rosand’s and Paolo Fabbri’s suggest that there is a recognized convention that could be called a topos: Ellen Rosand, “Operatic Madness: A Challenge to Convention.” In *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*. Ed. Steven Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Paolo Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos: The Mad-Scene,” in *Con che Soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580 – 1740*, eds. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1995).

¹¹³ See for example McClary, “Excess and Frame”; and Mary Ann Smart, “Silencing Lucia,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4/2 (July 1992): 119 – 141.

¹¹⁴ Smart, “Silencing Lucia”: 137, 139.

¹¹⁵ See for example, McClary, “Excess and Frame”; Hutcheon and Hutcheon, “Staging the Female Body.”

harmonically rich and steeped in chromaticism, and this may be in part because Salome is not the only mad character.

Sander Gilman has written extensively about Herod in “Strauss, the Pervert, and Avant Garde Opera of the *Fin de Siècle*.” Specifically, he shows how for the Viennese public

the image of Oscar Wilde in the public press of the *fin de siècle* ties together a string of seemingly unrelated qualities: a strong anti-British attitude, a sense of sexual pathology, the image of an author as identical to the image of his work, popular images of the language of deviance. All these qualities are linked through association of accepted stereotypes of Jews with qualities of difference ascribed to the homosexual.¹¹⁶

Gilman shows that the Jews are represented in *Salome* musically by the physical characteristic of high voices, and thus Herod, as a tenor is also marked as a Jew. The physical mark of the high and cracking voice that Jews were perceived as sharing, was an outward manifestation of physical abnormalities that also made Jews more likely to suffer from certain diseases, including hysteria and neurasthenia. While European, non-Jewish women were perceived as disease prone, so were men of Jewish descent. Indeed, male Jews were susceptible to diseases that were usually considered feminine, such as hysteria.

In addition to his high voice that Gilman notes, Herod also is prey to other external symptoms of what might be called “male hysteria.” Several times throughout the opera, Herod evinces symptoms of mental instability, including hallucinations. For example, in the fourth scene when Herod and Herodias enter for the first time, Herod waxes forth about his vision of the moon lurching through the clouds like a drunken woman. When Herodias answers plainly, “Nein, der Mond ist wieder Mond, das ist

¹¹⁶ Gilman, “Strauss, the Pervert, and Avant Garde Opera of the *Fin de Siècle*,” 50.

alles,” it becomes clear that Herod has been out-rationalized by a woman, and his grasp on reality is immediately brought into question.

The music supports such an interpretation: Herod’s fanciful statement about the moon has a G-sharp tonal center while shifting between major and minor modes, while Herodias’ answer is firmly in C major as shown in Example 3.1 below. The close juxtaposition of their statements is jarring, and because Herodias speaks second and more forthrightly, and she concludes her utterance with a strong G to C motion, her key seems to be the “right” key, and Herod’s the “other.” Furthermore, Herodias’s melody consists of a succession of root notes of the chord progression.

Little consensus exists in any time period about what characteristics are inherent to any given key, and when a composer does believe in a set of characteristics associated with a certain key—as Strauss did—his beliefs are culturally constructed through the writings and teachings of other composers and theorists. The immense amount of literature that addresses key characteristics suggests that it was a relevant debate throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.¹¹⁷ Rita Steblin identifies a “flat-sharp principle,” which developed in the early nineteenth century, and suggests, in short, that there is a continuum of keys that has overly bright and manic keys on the sharp-key end (e.g., B major) and melancholic keys on the flat end (e.g., D-flat minor). By most accounts, C major occupies the center of the continuum and is regarded as a “pure” key—neither manic nor depressed.¹¹⁸ Through the lens of Steblin’s writings, it is possible to see how Herod’s music is situated on the continuum of flat and sharp keys much closer to

¹¹⁷ Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd edition (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 146.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 96 – 99.

the manic. His mania is in sharp relief to Herodias' "pure" C-major utterance that follows immediately.

Herod's melody contains large skips, melodic motions range up and down

157

Herodias: Fort-wahrend siehstusie an!

Herod: Wie der Mond heu-te Nacht aus-sieht! Ist es nicht ein selt-sa-mes

8 Bild Es sieht aus, wie ein wahn-wit-zi-ges Weib, das u-ber-all nach Buh-len sucht...

13 158 Herod: wie ein be-trun-ke-nes Weib, das durch

Herodias' answer starts and ends on C, contains few large leaps & mostly downward melodic motion

17 Herodias: Nein, der Mond ist wie der Mond, das ist al-les, Wir wol-len hin-ein gehn.

Wol-ken tau-melt

Example 3.1: Herod's and Herodias' parts from the fourth scene of *Salome*, between Rehearsal numbers 156 and 159

Another approach to the differing tonal areas staked out by Herod and Herodias is described by Richard Cohn as the "uncanny" relationship between pairs of triads he calls

“hexatonic poles.” Hexatonic poles are pairs of triads separated by a third that have no notes in common, e.g., C major and G-sharp minor. Cohn suggests that composers use these pairings in late Romantic works to create a sense of a break, or of uncanniness, and he points out an instance of this technique in Salome’s address to Jochanaan’s head.¹¹⁹ While Herod’s and Herodias’ exchange is not marked by the exact progression that Cohn finds uncanny, there is an uncanny relationship between Herod’s G-sharp-centered tonal area and Herodias’ C major.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that in addition to key differences and harmonic uncanniness, Herodias and Herod’s differences are emphasized by the sudden change in orchestration that accompanies each character: Herodias’ accompaniment is dominated by the sound of horns, which were for Herod’s musical statement silent. Thus, while Herod’s statement may be forgiven as poetic musings about the night sky, the music betrays Herod’s distance from reason. The contrast between Herod’s fanciful sentiments and rational reason is made explicit in the libretto by Herodias’s stark pragmatic statement and in her music by her “dull” key of C major.¹²⁰

In most mad scenes, there is a disjuncture between what the mad character says she sees, and what the audience (or other characters) sees.¹²¹ While I do not believe delirium is the sole symptom of mental instability that can be portrayed on the operatic stage, delusional utterances make for a clear mad scene. Such is the case in *Salome* when Herod “feels” a wind blowing and “hears” wings beating that Herodias does not appear to

¹¹⁹ Richard Cohn, “Uncanny Resemblances: Tonal Signification in the Freudian Age,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57/2 (Summer 2004): 299.

¹²⁰ Steblin, 96 – 99. While some writings about key characteristics list C major as “pure” or “majestic” Berlioz’s remarks include the label of “dull” for both C major and C minor.

¹²¹ James Parakilas, “Mozart’s Mad Scene,” *Soundings* 10 (Summer 1983): 3.

feel or hear. When Herod demands to know if others are experiencing the same frightening sensations, Herodias pragmatically suggests that he is ill and they ought to retire. Of course, had they done so at her insistence, the major dramatic moments of the opera would not be possible—specifically Salome’s Dance of the Seven Veils, the resultant beheading of Jochanaan, and Salome’s own murder.

As with the comments about the moon, Herod’s utterance covers an expansive range, this time C to a-flat¹, as shown in Example 3.2 below. Herodias’s replies to Herod’s fear, again brief, contain only two or three notes each, with a limited range, and they are so curt as to resemble recitative, unlike Herod’s passionate lines. After Herod’s initial fright, the scene moves quickly onward, the incident apparently forgotten.

Just before Salome’s famous dance, Herod suffers a second, longer attack of hallucination. Neither of these fits of delusion, while tending toward mixed modes and “manic” keys, contains the slippery chromaticism that is characteristic of Salome’s music. Instead, these utterances are marked by a sudden change in orchestral timbre and short, clipped phrases that contrast with Herod’s wheedling lyricism. The woodwinds whiz through fast, chromatic passages over static, tremolo strings; rather than being seductive, however, this music seems to represent the fearful wind that Herod alone senses. The beating wings may be portrayed by the constant roll on the timpani on a low C that persists through thirteen of the eighteen measures that comprise Herod’s second fit.

Lengthy timpani rolls on single note

Timpani *pp* *cresc.*

Herod ihm. Es ist kalt hier. Es weht ein Wind

Repetitive chromatic lines in woodwinds

p *cresc.*

Tremolos in strings

6 *mf* *dim.* *pp* *tempo primo* (drily) 165 *pp* *accelerando*

Nein, es weht kein Wind. Weht nicht ein Wind? Ich sa - ge Euch:

f *dim.* *fp* *pp* *p*

11 166 *cresc.* *mf* *dim.* *pp*

es weht ein Wind, und in der Luft hor ich et - was, wie das Rau -

cresc. *f* *dim.* *p*

16 *cresc.* *ff* *dim.* *pp* Herodias:

schen von nacht gen Fla - geln. Hort ihr es nicht?

cresc. *f* *ff* *dim.*

21 *tempo primo* 167 168

Ich ho - re nichts. Jetzt ho - re iches nicht mehr. A - ber ich ha - be es ge - hort, es war das Wehn des Win - des. Es ist vor u - ber.

p

As Herod claims that he no longer hears anything, the timpani and chromatic lines are replaced by a different texture.

Example 3.2: Herod's first episode of delusion

Throughout the final portion of the opera Herod and his music are changeable as his mood alternates between lusty delight in Salome's dance, pleading fear at the idea of killing a holy man, and self-righteous anger at Salome's persistence. He is condescending toward Salome in his use of children's music, and he rages at her when she stands her ground. In scene four, as Herod entreats Salome "Tauche deine kleinen Lippen hinein,/deine kleinen roten Lippendann/will ich den Becher leeren," the orchestral parts consist of delicate pizzicato strings and staccato flutes—each quarter note decorated with a grace note. What I perceive as the children's music nature of this music is also found in Herod's melody: the contrast of the meter changing from 6/4 to 3/2, imbues the melody with a sing-song feeling. Also, Herod's melodic line is strictly in quarter notes and half notes, contrasting with the expansive and dramatic melody to which he repeatedly sings her name both before and after his childlike entreaty that she drink from his wine glass. In these measures, shown in Example 3.3, Herod tries many tactics to gain Salome's attentions, and Strauss portrays these attempts with music whose style and mood change every few measures. As a result, Herod seems to be out of control of himself and his expression, a circumstance that belies the extreme vocal control necessary to singing and performing the part, of course.

Sehr lebhaft
♩ = 80 ♩ = ♩ Herod's long flowing lines contrast with later statements

Herod
Sa - lo - me, komm, trink Wein mit

Piano

4
mir, ei - nen kost - li - chen Wein.

173
7
Ca - sar selbst hat ihn mir ge - schickt.
Staccato notes with fast grace notes in orchestra

11
174
Change in meter creates "lilting" sound, along with shorter note values in Herod's part
Tau - che dei - ne klei - nen Lip - pen hin - ein. Dei - ne klei - nen ro - ten

15
175
Lip - pen, dann will ich den Be - cher lee - ren.
f *dim.*

The image shows a musical score for a scene with Herod and a Piano. The score is in 6/8 time and consists of five systems. The first system (measures 1-3) features Herod's vocal line with a long, flowing melody and the piano accompaniment with triplet patterns. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 7-10) includes the vocal line and piano accompaniment, with a section of staccato notes and fast grace notes in the orchestra. The fourth system (measures 11-14) shows a change in meter to 3/8, creating a 'lilting' sound, with shorter note values in Herod's part. The fifth system (measures 15-18) continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment, ending with a forte and then dim. dynamic marking.

Example 3.3: Herod's sing-song melody, "Tauche deine kleinen Lippen hinein..."

It is ironic that this changeable and emotional man represents the male rationality that is to guard us against Salome's madness! Simply put, Herod is as mad as Salome—in his actions and in his musical markers—and yet there is very little similarity in how each character fares in the plot. Herod's manifestations of madness are met calmly by observers: the characters around him smooth over or ignore any disturbance caused by his delusional moments. Herodias placates him, and his servants move to make him more comfortable; everyone else looks the other way. At the very least, they are silent about his dementia, perhaps out of respect, embarrassment, or fear. Maybe the most obvious difference between Salome's and Herod's experiences lies in the fact that in the end Salome is dead while Herod retains his both his life and his position of power.

Although I suggest that Herod is as mad as Salome, I do not intend to suggest that they are mad in the same way. Salome's sexual craving and lack of feminine attributes such as modesty are directly related to fears about the New Woman and her demands for social and sexual equality. Herod's madness is not as easily named or diagnosed; as Elaine Showalter notes, male madness before World War I was nameless, while after World War I the term "shell shock" came into use.¹²² I suggest that Herod's madness be regarded as being the result of the stress under which he is placed. He has recently lost his brother, only to gain the throne, a wife, and an attractive stepdaughter (and a host of incestuous feelings toward her), plus he has the added stress and guilt of holding a holy man prisoner. Both the psychogenic camp and the degenerationist camp regarded the stresses of modern living as cause for all kinds of pathologies. The decision to portray Herod as having hallucinations and strange fancies may well be a reference to these

¹²² Showalter touches on this first in *A Female Malady* and again in *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

theories, which were becoming commonplace in the 1890s and early 1900s, when both Wilde's play *Salome* and Strauss's opera based upon it were being created.¹²³

By the end of the opera it may be said that Herod is returned to his reason. If his incestuous attraction to Salome was the only thing that caused his madness, then we can simply attribute his cure to her no longer being a temptation. However, perhaps it is not just Salome's lack of availability, but the disgust Herod felt when witnessing her lust played out to its extreme. Sander L. Gilman writes about a nineteenth-century cure for insanity called the "startle effect," in which patients exposed to photographs of themselves were startled by their own image, and so were shocked into seeing the errors of their previous behavior. Perhaps Herod saw his own lust-inspired madness mirrored in Salome's insanity, and so was startled into his senses. Salome's "craziest" behavior is probably her passionate kissing of Jochanaan's head, and act that is the fulfillment of her sexual desire for Jochanaan. On some level, Herod must realize that his lust for Salome, who is not only his stepdaughter, but also his niece, is inappropriate. Certainly Salome was not shaken from her sexual drive simply because Jochanaan was killed. If Herod did not recover his senses, who is to say that he would not have kissed the dead head of Salome? I argue that in witnessing the startling effects of madness, Herod is returned to his right mind, or at least to conforming to social expectations of his gender.

Whatever the cause of his sudden lucidity, when Herod gives the command to kill Salome, he is completely lucid and so commanding that no one hesitates or questions his judgment. Herodias, once so protective of Salome, does not protest; the guards, formerly enchanted by her youth and beauty, move immediately to crush her.

¹²³ Terry, 78.

Although Herodias is a starkly rational character, her soundness of mind is suspect because she supports and encourages Salome's request for Jochanaan's head. What does it mean that the most reasonable and "down-to-earth" character is sympathetic to the character who is ostensibly the most mad? I argue that this demonstrates how in Freudian thought the line between sanity and insanity is extremely fine and easily traversed. Freud's theories about the psychogenic origins of all pathologies were threatening because they suggested that absolutely anyone might be perverse or pathological, and those who are so afflicted might not be distinguishable by physical defect. Everyone traverses dangerous phases of psychological development during normal childhood, and thus it is possible—even likely—that anyone could regress to one of those infantile stages at any time of their lives. Examples of stages that were likely to cause perversion or pathology in adulthood included the oral and anal fixation stages and the homosexual stage. It is possible that Herodias represents the dangerous closeness of madness, even in those who are ostensibly of sound mind and body.

The conclusion of *Salome* restores patriarchal social order. Herod redeems himself from his earlier outbursts of nonsense with his peremptory order to murder Salome, which is delivered in a musical statement that more resembles Herodias' pragmatic musical style than his own earlier musical statements. At the very end of the opera, Herod's order to kill Salome is delivered in just two very fast measures, and firmly in the key of C minor, shown in Example 3.4 below. Whether Herodias herself is mad or not, through her silence she acquiesces to the social order imposed by the suddenly sane Herod.

(turning around) Sehr schnell ♩ = 80

Herod

Man to - - - te die - ses Weib!

Example 3.4: Herod's order to kill Salome

Although it is often excused as lust, Herod's madness, and more importantly, his recovery from it are key elements to the unfolding of the plot. Salome is not the victim of her own sexual drives. Rather, she is the victim of Herod's need—and perhaps the audience's need—for him to reassert his own sanity.

CHAPTER FOUR
SCHIZOPHRENIA, NARCISSISM, HOMOSEXUALITY IN
THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

Created for the short-lived dance company *Les Ballets 1933*, *The Seven Deadly Sins* is referred to by its composer Kurt Weill and on the published score's front pages, as a "ballet chanté." *The Seven Deadly Sins* is the story of Anna I and Anna II, two women who are presented both as two sisters traveling the country together and as two different aspects of one person. The plot—to the extent that a plot exists—follows their endeavors to earn money in a United States of America that Weill and librettist Bertolt Brecht conceived as a brutally capitalist and puritanical society. In this genre-resistant work one sister (Anna I), or the practical aspect of Anna, is performed by a singer and the other sister, or the more fanciful aspect of Anna (Anna II), by a dancer (Lotte Lenya and Tilly Losch, respectively, in the premiere). Although the two Annas refer to themselves most frequently as sisters, Anna I, the singer, also states that they are in fact two parts of a single character whose personalities have split from one another. Because there are two women onstage, the love expressed between them can be interpreted as narcissism (love of the self above all others) or homosexuality (same-sex attraction).

In this chapter I argue that *The Seven Deadly Sins* can be read as an essentially queer text in light of Freud's *On Narcissism: An Introduction* (1914), a seminal essay in which he introduces the idea of the entwined pathologies of narcissism, schizophrenia, and homosexuality. These topics seem at first glance not to be a part of the moralistic, anti-bourgeois plot Brecht outlines in his libretto; however, I will show that a lesbian story lies just under the surface of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, especially when the *ballet*

chanté is considered as part of the discourse around popular conceptions of contemporaneous scientific beliefs about mental pathologies. A key element of my interpretation is Weill's musical setting of the libretto, which includes references to American jazz and minstrel songs, as well as evocations of the *Kabaret* tradition with which Weill and Brecht were closely associated (this despite the fact that neither man wrote for the *Kabaret* stage, though their songs were often performed as *Kabaret*).

The Seven Deadly Sins is often known in the United States today under that title. However, it has been published and produced around the world under other titles, including *Les Sept Peches Capitaux*, *Die Sieben Todsünden der Kleinbürger*, and *Anna-Anna*. The title *Anna-Anna*, which was its working title in 1933, places the crux of the issue right up front; that is, it foregrounds the “double-ness” of Anna's personality.

The theme that drives *The Seven Deadly Sins* is schism, a concept that is iterated on many different levels of the work. Most obviously its protagonists—the two Annas—represent a single woman so deeply divided in her psyche that she must be performed by two different women onstage and in two different art forms. Additionally, there is a schism between Anna and her family, which is represented musically, dramatically, and in many productions' stage blocking and choreography. By all published accounts, the genesis of *The Seven Deadly Sins* was something of a battleground between two opposed visions of the cause and meaning of Anna's split personality.¹²⁴ When it came to explaining and understanding human behavior, librettist Bertolt Brecht was a student of

¹²⁴Ronald K. Shull, “The Genesis of *Die Sieben Todsünden*” in *The New Orpheus*, ed Kim Kowalke (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 203 – 216; Foster Hirsch, *Kurt Weill On Stage: From Berlin to Broadway* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2002); Kim Kowalke and Joanna Lee, *The Seven Deadly Sins: A Sourcebook* (New York: The Kurt Weill Foundation, 1997).

Marxist economic theory as well as behaviorism, and he was generally opposed to psychoanalysis; on the other hand, Weill’s vision of *The Seven Deadly Sins* and his realization of it subverts Brecht’s anti-Freudian stance to some extent. In this chapter I will tease out the various strands of Brecht’s and Weill’s differing standpoints and show how *The Seven Deadly Sins* is a crossroads of a tale in which can be read hints of Freudian theories about the entwined pathologies of schizophrenia, narcissism, and homosexuality, and at the same time still functions in some ways as “epic theater,” a style of educational theater closely associated with Brecht.

A Brief Description of The Seven Deadly Sins

Anna’s family—mother, father, and two brothers—is represented by a male quartet (two tenors, baritone, and bass: see the personnel list in Example 4.1 below). The mother’s role is specified for the bass, but the father and two brothers are not specified other than that between the three of them two are tenors and one is a baritone. In other words, the father can be either a tenor or a baritone. The orchestra consists of two flutes (one doubling piccolo), oboe, two clarinets, bassoon, two horns in F, two trumpets, trombone, tuba, timpani and percussion, harp, piano, and banjo doubling with guitar:

Anna I.....	Soprano
Anna II.....	Dancer
Mother	Bass
Father and Two Brothers.....	Tenor 1, Tenor II, Baritone

Example 4.1: *The Seven Deadly Sins* Personnel List

The Seven Deadly Sins is about 45 minutes long and consists of nine discrete sections, including an epilogue and a prologue. Each of the seven sections book-ended by the epilogue and prologue represents both a year in Anna’s journey and one of the

seven deadly sins. Each year Anna is in a different city, trying various ways to earn money. Example 4.2 below summarizes the location and deadly sin represented in each section of the work:

Section	Year	City	Sin	Occupation
Prologue		Leaving Louisiana		
1	1	(city not mentioned)	Sloth	Blackmailing men
2	2	Memphis	Pride	Cabaret dancing
3	3	Los Angeles	Anger	Movie actress
4	4	Philadelphia	Gluttony	
5	5	Boston	Lust	Kept woman
6	6	Baltimore	Greed	
7	7	San Francisco	Envy	
Epilogue		Return home		

Example 4.2: Outline of *The Seven Deadly Sins* Structure

We learn in the Prologue that Anna is actually one person:

Meine Schwester und ich stammen aus Louisiana
 Wo die Wasser des Mississippi undterm Monde fließen
 Wie Sie aus den Liedern erfahren können.
 Dorthin wollen wir zurückkehren
 Lieber heute als morgen
Anna II (spoken): Lieber heute als morgen!
 Wir sind aufgebrochen vor vier Wochen
 Nach den großen Städten, unser Glück zu versuchen.
 In sieben Jahren haben wir's geschafft,
 Dann kehren wir zurück.
Anna II (spoken): Aber lieber schon in sechs!
 Denn auf uns warten unsre Eltern und zwei Brüder in
 Louisiana
 Ihnen schicken wir das Geld, das wir verdienen,
 Und von dem Gelde soll gebaut werden ein kleines Haus,
 Ein kleines Haus am Mississippi in Louisiana.
 (spoken) Nicht wahr, Anna?
Anna II (Spoken): Ja, Anna.
 Meine Schwester ist schön, ich bin praktisch.

Sie ist etwas verrückt, ich bin bei Verstand.
Wir sind eigentlich nicht zwei Personen,
Sondern nur eine einzige.
Wir heißen beide Anna,
Wir haben eine Vergangenheit und eine Zukunft,
Ein Herz und ein Sparkassenbuch,
Und jede tut nur, was für die andre gut ist.
(spoken) Nicht wahr, Anna?

*Anna II (spoken): Ja, Anna.*¹²⁵

In the family's first appearance, Anna's mother (performed ironically by a bass dressed in drag), wrings her hands as she sings about her concerns for Anna (see Example 4.3 below). Anna's family lives in Louisiana, which is imagined in the lyric as an idyllic setting on the Mississippi River. Anna is sent from her home in order to earn enough money to fund the building of a house for them.

¹²⁵ Translation by W. H. Auden: *My sister and I left Louisiana/ Where the moon on the Mississippi is a-shining ever/ Like you've heard in the songs about Dixie./ We look forward to our home-coming—/ The sooner the better/Anna II (spoken): And the sooner the better. It's a month already since we started/ For the great big cities/ Where you go to make money./ In seven years our fortune will be made/ And then we can go back./ Anna II (spoken): In six would be nicer. Our mom and dad and both our brothers wait in old Louisiana/ And we'll send them all our money as soon as we make it/ For all the money's got to go to build a little home/ Down by the Mississippi in Louisiana./ (spoken) Right, Anna?/ Anna II (spoken): Right, Anna. She's the one with the looks. I'm realistic./ She's just a little mad, my head is on straight./ But we're really one divided being,/ Even though you see two of us./ And both of us are Anna./ Together we've but a single past, a single future,/ And one savings account,/ And we only do what suits each other best./ (spoken) Right, Anna?/ Anna II (spoken): Right, Anna.*



Example 4.3: Anne Sofie von Otter as Anna I, with the family (from left to right,) Nicholas Cavallier (bass) as Anna’s mother, Ian Caley (tenor, behind Anna I) as Anna’s father), and Stefan Margita (baritone) and Nigel Smith (tenor) as Anna’s two brothers

The religious references in *The Seven Deadly Sins*—including the seven deadly sins for which the sections are named—are satirical; neither Weill (a nonpracticing Jew)¹²⁶ nor Brecht (a secular intellectual) had much use for organized religion. It is when Anna acts on basically decent impulses that she is chastised by her family for her “sins.” Anna II, the dancer, represents the humane and loving aspects of Anna; Anna I is “practical” by her own account, while Anna II is “the one with the looks.” This plays out

¹²⁶ David Drew and J. Bradford Robinson, “Weill, Kurt (Julian)” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Accessed 15 Feb. 2010) <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30032>; Mervyn Rothstein, “An Epic Effort Redeems a Weill Opera,” in *The New York Times* Feb. 28, 2000: E1.

onstage as Anna I and her family (from a distance) manipulate and bully Anna II in the name of religion and for the cause of the family homestead.

The ecclesiastical theme of *The Seven Deadly Sins* goes beyond just the title of the sections, and extends to both the lyrics and the music that Anna's family sings—the quartet's music is often described by critics as hymn- or chorale-like. Most of the text can either be categorized as beseeching and prayer-like, or it contains references to religious imagery, especially that of fire and brimstone. For example, in the first year of Anna's trip, part 1, "Sloth," her mother engages in an antiphon of sorts, with her two tenor brothers and baritone father answering every line her mother sings with the same musical and lyric, "Lazy bones are for the Devil's stockpot!" Then, in year four, "Gluttony," Anna's family sings in hymn-like, unaccompanied four-part harmony, as shown in Example 4.4.

4. Völlerei - Gluttony

Largo
Familie - Family

Tenor I: Da ist ein Brief aus Phi-la-del-phi-a, An-na geht es gut. Sie ver-
We've got ten word from Phi-la-del-phi-a. An-na's do-ing well mak-ing

Tenor II: Da ist ein Brief aus Phi-la-del-phi-a, An-na geht es gut. Und
We've got ten word from Phi-la-del-phi-a. An-na's do-ing well, she's

Baritone: Da ist ein Brief aus Phi-la-del-phi-a, An-na geht es gut. Und
We've got ten word from Phi-la-del-phi-a. An-na's do-ing well, she's

Bass: Da ist ein Brief aus Phi-la-del-phi-a, An-na geht es gut. Sie ver-
We've got ten word from Phi-la-del-phi-a. An-na's do-ing well. She's

6
 dient jetzt end-lich. Sie hat ei-nen Kon-trakt als So-lo-tän-ze-rin.
lots of mon-ey. Her con-tract has been signed to do a so-lo turn.

sie ver-dient jetzt end-lich. Sie hat ei-nen Kon-trakt als So-lo-tän-ze-rin.
mak-ing lots of mon-ey. Her con-tract has been signed to do a so-lo turn.

sie ver-dient jetzt end-lich. Sie hat ei-nen Kon-trakt als So-lo-tän-ze-rin.
mak-ing lots of mon-ey. Her con-tract has been signed to do a so-lo turn.

dient - - jetzt end-lich. Sie hat ei-nen Kon-trakt als So-lo-tän-ze-rin.
mak-ing ing mon-ey. Her con-tract has been signed to do a so-lo turn.

Example 4.4: The opening measures of “Gluttony”

Through both music and lyrics Weill and Brecht are commenting critically on middle-class morality and what they perceive as the hypocrisy of the middle class, which they see as clinging to antiquated religious values that conflict with the reality of competing in a capitalist society. For example, the Family and Anna I (the singer) are constantly demanding that Anna II (the dancer) not engage in one or the other of the seven deadly sins, but each time, they make that demand because they want her to earn more money for their new home. So, when they tell her not to be a glutton, they are not concerned that she eats too much and has lost sight of God, but rather that she needs to maintain a very slender figure to keep her contract as an actress. When she protests the cruel treatment of an animal on a film set in Los Angeles, the Family exhorts her not to

give in to her anger because they don't want her to lose her job. In "Pride," it is her alter-ego, Anna I, who steps in to tell Anna II that she must take off her clothes and stop being so "artistic" in her dancing if she wants to earn money as a cabaret performer.

Discouraging her from the sin of pride, Anna I pushes Anna II into selling her body. As far as Anna I and the Family are concerned, the only real sin is not making money. Anna II must squelch her natural inclinations toward kindness, love, and artfulness in order to conform to a capitalist society that does not value compassion or art, and that admits no virtues other than profit.

The Creation of The Seven Deadly Sins

In March of 1933, Weill left Germany on the advice of friends and thus escaped the rising tide of National Socialism. His first stop was Paris, where not only did he have friends, but also, only a few months earlier, his music had been warmly received. Ever industrious, Weill immediately began to seek opportunities and commissions, and found a supporter in English financier Edward James. *The Seven Deadly Sins* was composed for a short-lived ballet troupe called Les Ballets 1933, formed by two Russian émigrés to Paris, the choreographers George Balanchine and Boris Kochno. Both Balanchine and Kochno had recently defected from the Ballet Russes because they were unhappy with its leadership after Diaghilev's death. The troupe of brilliant young dancers and choreographers was funded generously by James, who paid for all the expenses incurred by Les Ballets and its tour with the understanding that the troupe would perform works designed to feature his wife, dancer Tilly Losch. James and Losch were estranged at the time that Les Ballets was formed, and the troupe was reportedly James's attempt to

reconcile with Losch.¹²⁷ While the reconciliation never came about, the season produced several ground-breaking, modern dances and led to Balanchine's coming to New York.¹²⁸

Into this intense combination of personalities and personal agendas came the young Kurt Weill, a recent and unwilling refugee from Berlin where he was labeled a degenerate because of his music and a Jew because of his ancestry (though not his personal practice). James was eager to secure Weill's talents after having heard Weill and Brecht's *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1930) earlier in the season. Furthermore, James wanted to commission a work that would put Lotte Lenya—Weill's estranged wife—on stage with Losch because he admired Lenya's performance in *Mahagonny* and thought that she physically resembled Losch (a photo of the two women from the poster advertising the premiere of *The Seven Deadly Sins* is presented in Example 4.5). Together, Weill and James came up with the basic plot outline of the *ballet chanté*, and Brecht was brought in to write the lyrics. Brecht was a second choice; he and Weill had already had a stormy relationship—at times intensely productive and at other times highly vitriolic—while they worked on several operettas including *Die Dreigroschenoper*, *Der Jasager*, and *Der Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*.¹²⁹ Another collaborator from Weill and Brecht's Berlin productions was brought in—Casper Neher, a set designer also exiled from Germany.

¹²⁷ Stephen Hinton, "Die Sieben Todsünden," in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, edited by Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O904717> (Accessed 20 December 2008).

¹²⁸ Balanchine was at that time just 29 years old, and it was during the tour of Les Ballets 1933 that he was approached by the wealthy American arts patron, Lincoln Kirstein. This meeting led to Balanchine's emigrating to New York, and establishing the American Ballet School.

¹²⁹ Shull, "The Genesis of *Die Sieben Todsünden*."



Example 4.5: Tilly Losch and Lotte Lenya in costume and make up for *The Seven Deadly Sins*

Thus, the lyrics were written by Weill and Lenya's old collaborator Brecht and the set designed by Neher. Weill had been having a long-term affair with Neher's wife, Erica; this was apparently acceptable to Lenya, as she had been having an affair of her own with the tenor Otto Pasetti, whom Weill generously hired to perform in *The Seven Deadly Sins* that season. To further complicate the matter, there are rumors that Losch and Lenya also had a romantic, or at least a sexual, relationship during the production.¹³⁰ While this may seem to be only gossip, understanding how these relationships played out demonstrates that the atmosphere both backstage and onstage was highly erotically charged. These interconnections and relationships more than hint at the decadence of Weimar-era Berlin, from whence most of the participants involved had recently arrived.

¹³⁰ Shull, "The Genesis of *Die Sieben Todsünden*."

The Seven Deadly Sins *and American Music*

The American cities that Anna visits were nearly mythological to Brecht and Weill at the point in their careers when they collaborated on *The Seven Deadly Sins*; it is not the first of their works to feature an American backdrop, but to Weill and Brecht at time, America was a less a real geographical location than it was an abstract representation of the political climate in Berlin in the late 1920s. Lareau has characterized 1920s Berlin as “an age of Americanism, capitalism, and icy ‘objectivity’ [which] often appeared as apathy.”¹³¹

Weill was deeply interested in the idea of the American musical landscape, but he had never been there, and some would argue that he had only heard American “jazz” by third or fourth remove from its original sources or from “watered-down” performances such as those by James Reese Europe and Paul Whiteman. However, it is likely that Weill and Brecht both would have been familiar with American minstrel music, as well as musical forms from live performances and recordings by black and black-faced American performers. Scholars such as Rainer E. Lotz have collected and published evidence of American minstrel troupes in Germany and throughout Europe and their popularity there. For example, the Black Troubadors, originally associated with Fisk University and Fisk’s Jubilee Singers, were based in Germany; Lotz traces their history from 1890 through 1905, during which time they performed in Germany dozens of times, including several performances in Berlin.¹³² Elsewhere Lotz has argued that despite the lack of phonographic evidence of jazz or blues in Europe before World War I, there was

¹³¹ Alan Lareau, “The German Cabaret Movement During the Weimar Republic,” in *Theatre Journal* 43 (1991): 481.

¹³² Rainer E. Lotz, “The Black Troubadors: Black Entertainers in Europe, 1896-1915,” *Black Music Research Journal* 10/2 (Autumn 1990): 253 – 273.

a significant amount of black music being performed in Germany. To prove this, Lotz relies on sources other than sound recordings, such as print materials and iconographic materials (i.e. picture postcards and photographs), to show that Germans were exposed to such musical forms as the cakewalk and ragtime well before the 1920s. In particular, Lotz makes the case that the cakewalk, coon songs, Southern “sentimental” songs, and other songs out of the American black-face minstrel tradition were common in Germany.¹³³

The melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic activity throughout *The Seven Deadly Sins* contains signs of “Americanism” that are particularly characteristic of Weill’s style. The sentiment, though not so much the sound, of the Prologue to *The Seven Deadly Sins* is borrowed from the tradition of Southern sentimental songs, not unlike “Moon of Alabama” from *Mahagonny*. The Prologue sets the tone for the entire piece, especially the music that comes to characterize the two Annas, in contrast with the music of their family. Nils Grosch points out that the opening gesture of *The Seven Deadly Sins* contains characteristics that signify blues music, which in turn signifies Americanism and a host of related concepts. Grosch notes that these signs, which include plucked strings (plus banjo), double woodwinds in the melodic line, and alternation between major and minor modes, are also present in other of Weill’s works in which they also represent

¹³³ Lotz, “Black Music Prior to the First World War: American Origins and German Perspectives,” in *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe*, ed. Neil A. Wynn (Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 66 – 88.

“Americanism,” including *Lindburgflugh* and *Die Silbersee*.¹³⁴ See Example 4.6 for the opening phrases of *The Seven Deadly Sins*.

This suggestion of the blues and America is also rife with tension: on the one hand, America was perceived in Weimar Germany as new and technologically advanced; but on the other, it represented rampant, unfeeling modernism that was blasted by the public and critics. Part of that negative perception of America, may have been the idea that America, and American cities in particular, were host to denizens of unnatural sexual activity, including prostitution and homosexuality.¹³⁵ It is interesting to note that with the exception of Memphis, all the locales named in *The Seven Deadly Sins* were (and are still) major metropolitan centers, and it is there in these cities—not in idyllic Louisiana—that Anna engages in the seven deadly sins.

¹³⁴ Nils Grosch, “Facetten des Amerikanismus in *Die Sieben Todsünden*,” in *Amerikanismus/Americanism Weill*. eds. Hermann Danuser and Hermann Gottschewski (Argus: Berlin, 2001).

¹³⁵ Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 87 – 97.

Andante sostenuto

Prologue

2 clar.
 f Bjo., str. pizz.
 pk.
 + 2 fl.
 Ob., Hr.
 Bsn.

9
 Curtin up
 Clar. ①
 Hr.
 p
 Viol.
 Bjo.

15
 Mein - e Schwest - er und ich stam - men aus Loui - sia - na, wo die Was - ser des Mis - sis - sip - pi un - term Mon - de

19
 ②
 flie - ssen, wie Sie aus den Lied - er - nern - fah - ren kün - nen. Dort - hin wol - len wir zu - rück keh - ren, lie - ber heu - te als mor - gen.
 Anna II speaks:
 Lieber heut als morgen

24
 Wir sind auf - ge - bro - chen vor vier Wo - chen nach den gro - ssen Städ - ten, un - ser Glück zu ver - su - chen. In sie - ben Jah - ren ha - ben wir's ge
 Fl., Ob.
 Fl., Clar.
 Str. (pizz.)

29
 ③
 schafft, dann keh - ren wir zu - rück.
 Anna II: Aber lieber schon in sechs.
 Clar., Tpt. p
 mf
 p
 Vc., Cb.. (pizz.)

Example 4.6 The opening phrases of the Prologue of *Seven Deadly Sins*

Weill and James sketched the scenario for *The Seven Deadly Sins* together before they had hired anyone to write the book. When their first choice (Jean Cocteau) turned

them down, Weill approached Brecht, despite their having had a major falling out toward the end of producing *Mahagonny*. Although Brecht was opposed to the type of Freudian plot that had been outlined,¹³⁶ he was not in a financial position to refuse the job. Apparently, Weill must have taken care to convince Brecht that Anna's split personality could also serve to teach the audience about the evils of capitalism. Despite his reservations, Brecht took on the job, presenting Anna as a victim of the hypocritical morals of the petite bourgeoisie.¹³⁷

The Seven Deadly Sins *and Cabaret*

Percival Pollard's 1911 monograph on German cabaret culture provides snapshots of entertainment in Berlin and other German cities in the early 1900s. It documents his travels and leisure in Germany, making broad statements about the state of theatre throughout Germany, supported by evidence of his own evenings and letters from friends. According to his account, there was a movement to improve theatrical entertainment in Germany in the very early 1900s—a movement called *Überbrettl*.¹³⁸ Notably, the *Überbrettl* movement did not take off in Berlin; rather, Berlin's audiences tended toward lower forms of entertainment, though this was not always the fault of the audience's proclivities, per se. Pollard quotes his friend and a "rash young poet,"¹³⁹ Otto Julius Bierbaum:

¹³⁶ Foster Hirsch, *Kurt Weill On Stage: From Berlin to Broadway* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2002) 110; Ronald K. Shull, "The Genesis of *Die Sieben Todsünden*" in *The New Orpheus*, ed. Kim Kowalke, 203 – 216 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) 207.

¹³⁷ Shull, "The Genesis of *Die Sieben Todsünden*," 207.

¹³⁸ Percival Pollard, *Masks and Minstrels of New Germany* (Boston: John W. Luce and Company, 1911), 12 – 13.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

In Berlin the *Überbrettel* began as a joke, and went to pieces when the joke grew stale. Every effort seriously to realize the truly fine idea of the lyric theatre in music-hall form was bound to fail there, because the notion of a literary hoax was too closely allied to it. In Munich the idea succeeded, because there the artistic definitely prevailed over the joke of the thing; because a really businesslike management was at the head; and because, more than any town in Germany, Munich enjoys a wise and liberal censor. [Bierbaum was writing in Munich in 1902]¹⁴⁰

Cabaret as an art form originated at the famous Le Chat Noir in Paris in 1881.

When cabaret came to Germany in the early twentieth century, it was a part of a larger art movement called *Kleinkunst*, or “small art.” The driving idea behind *Kleinkunst* was the production of art, music, and theatre for intimate spaces, where cultured and self-aware audiences could partake of and learn from the experience. The form of the cabaret, with its short and various acts, was also intended to bring together performers and artists in a setting that would stimulate their creativity and allow for collaboration. Pollard reports:

It was a place wherein talent was to improvise itself for the public appreciation. It was for the Minnesingers of our period what a baronial courtyard once was. There were such coffee houses as Will’s; you may trace the idea in the François Premier, in Pousset’s, and in the Chat Noir. In one country coffee, in another absinthe, in another beer was the tap; the names and externals might change, but the central idea was the same. Whatever in songs, poems, stories, in ballads, in melody or in color, had, in this or that smoke-dimmed corner, the odor of the spontaneous—that was the thing!¹⁴¹

After World War I cabaret in Berlin was a satirical, cynical forum of political protest; it was an anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, anti-commodification mode of entertainment designed to educate and incite its select, intellectual audience. As it turns out, this idealism did not really bear out in Weimar Republic Germany, due in no small

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

part to the role that government censorship played in the development of cabaret: specifically, since political satire and dissent were heavily censored, but smut and nudity were not,¹⁴² cabaret was and has remained “unequivocally associated with vice and debauchery.”¹⁴³ Lareau evaluates the situation thus: “While resisting the artistic establishment, the cabaret has also hoped to subvert the commodification of the entertainment industry, but often merely toyed with it—and sometimes succumbed to it.”¹⁴⁴ This seems to have been especially true in Berlin, a city with a reputation for having particularly decadent entertainments. To distinguish between the ideals of French cabaret and what it had become in Berlin, a new word was invented: *Kabaret*, the Germanized pronunciation of *cabaret* (the final T pronounced).

Weill and Brecht have long been associated with Weimar era cabaret, despite the fact that none of their collaborations was designed for cabaret. Indeed, Weill never composed any music specifically for the cabaret; rather, their Berlin works were “part of a wider culture of satirical, mildly critical, often cynical songwriting which found its best expression on cabaret stages...[Brecht and Weill] were on the boundaries of cabaret. And those boundaries were very fluid.”¹⁴⁵ In many ways, Weill’s unique sound has come to represent the sound of German cabaret, at least in the American popular imagination, but that is the result of cabaret performers using songs from Weill’s popular *Zeitoper*, including *Die Dreigroschenoper* and *Mahagonny*.

¹⁴² Lareau, 473.

¹⁴³ Klaus Wachsmann and Patrick O’Connor, “Cabaret” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 10 February 2007) <www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁴⁴ Lareau, 490.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1 – 2.

Brecht and Weill's collaboration is characterized by *Die Dreigroschenoper* and *Mahagonny*, premiered in 1928 and 1930 respectively. These *Zeitoper*n are some of their best known works, and they feature songs that were frequently performed in cabaret, including "Die moritat vom Mackie Messer" ("Mack the Knife") from *Die Dreigroschenoper*; and from *Mahagonny* was culled "Alabama Song," the lyrics are:

VERSE 1:

Oh, show us the way to the next whiskey bar
Oh, don't ask why
Oh, don't ask why
For we must find the next whiskey bar
Or if we don't find the next whiskey bar
I tell you we must die
I tell you we must die
I tell you, I tell you, I tell you we must die

CHORUS:

Oh, Moon of Alabama,
It's time to say good-bye
We've lost our good ol' mama
And must have whiskey,
Oh, you know why...

Notice the reference to Alabama, an American state about which Weill, Brecht and the star of *Mahagonny*, Lotte Lenya, certainly knew almost nothing. The song's lyrics are almost nonsensical and sung in English even though the largest part of the *Zeitoper* is in German. Brecht and Weill's choice to set this song in English demonstrates their abiding interest in American culture and its music. The song also references a southern American state in a sentimental way, which is a parody of the sentimental southern songs of minstrelsy (e.g., "Dixie"). This sentimental reference is a trope to which Weill and Brecht will return in the Prologue to *The Seven Deadly Sins* three years later.

In his contemporaneous writing and interviews, Brecht often refers to American-style music by using the English word “song,” rather than the German “Lied.” For Brecht, the style of music was a key element of his conception of *epic theater*. He writes of Weill’s music before *Die Dreigroschenoper*, “Up to that time Weill had written relatively complicated music of a mainly psychological sort, and when he agreed to set a series of more or less banal *song* texts he was making a courageous break with a prejudice which the solid bulk of serious composers stubbornly held.”¹⁴⁶

Brecht’s Epic Theater

Both *Die Dreigroschenoper* and *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* were politically charged and socially critical works that examined the nature of a society that was driven by commerce. Each work is an example of Brecht’s concept of epic theatre, a term that existed before Brecht started using it, but that now is closely associated with his style of writing.¹⁴⁷ One of the most important aspects of epic theater for Brecht was what he regarded as its ability to teach audiences. Brecht was interested in engaging audiences in current political and social issues, and in forcing them to think not only about the nature of the world, but also their role in maintaining the status quo.

Brecht summarized the difference between dramatic theatre and epic theatre this way:

The dramatic theater's spectator says: Yes, I have felt like that too-- Just like me—It's only natural—It'll never change—The sufferings of this man appall me, because they are inescapable—That's great art; it all seems the most

¹⁴⁶ Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. John Willett, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 86.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; the term epic theater was first associated with the work of director Erwin Piscator: Erwin Piscator, *The Political Theater* [1929], trans. and edit. Hugh Rorrison (London: Methuen, 1980).

obvious thing in the world—I weep when they weep, I laugh when they laugh. The epic theater's spectator says: I'd never have thought it—That's not the way—That's extraordinary, hardly believable—It's got to stop—The sufferings of this man appall me, because they are unnecessary—That's great art; nothing obvious in it—I laugh when they weep, I weep when they laugh.¹⁴⁸

In his advocacy of epic theater, Brecht perceived himself as fighting against established theater traditions that in his estimation pandered to audiences. Not only did contemporary theater not challenge audiences intellectually, Brecht was very concerned that it actually numbed and sedated people. For Brecht, music was a particularly dangerous sedative, as is apparent in this scathing evaluation of the music scene:

Most 'advanced' music nowadays is still written for the concert hall. A single glance at the audiences who attend concerts is enough to show how impossible it is to make any political or philosophical use of music that produces such effect. We see entire rows of human beings transported into a peculiar doped state, wholly passive, sunk without trace, seemingly in the grip of a severe poisoning attack. Their tense, concealed gaze shows that these people are the helpless and involuntary victims of the unchecked lurchings of their emotions...Music is cast in the role of Fate.¹⁴⁹

This last sentiment—Music is cast in the role of Fate—is of paramount importance to understanding the tension between Brecht's vision of epic theater and what he thought of as “psychologizing” in the theater. If music is “Fate,” then the humans listening to concert music become automatons—they have no control over their personal, economic, or social situations. This is the exact opposite effect from what Brecht wished for theater to do. Rather, he wanted theater to serve as a vehicle for social change.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

In the case of music in theater—specifically opera—Brecht was opposed to the music acting as “fate,” or as a window to the character’s inner feelings. Instead, he contrasted dramatic opera with his idea for epic opera—such as *Mahagonny* and *Dreigroschenoper*—in the following chart in an essay titled “On the Use of Music in Epic Theater.”¹⁵⁰

DRAMATIC OPERA	EPIC OPERA
The music dishes up	The music communicates
music which heightens the text	music which sets forth the text
music which proclaims the text	music which takes the text for granted
music which illustrates	which takes up a position
music which paints the	which gives the attitude
psychological situation	

This chart is followed by the statement “Music plays the chief part in our thesis,” to which is appended this footnote: “The large number of craftsmen in the average opera orchestra allows of nothing but associative music (one barrage of sound breeding another); and so the orchestral apparatus needs to be cut down to thirty specialists or less. The singer becomes a reporter, whose private feelings must remain a private affair.”¹⁵¹

While *The Seven Deadly Sins* resembles Brecht’s and Weill’s earlier collaborations in many ways, it does not meet Brecht’s definition of epic theater. The reasons why *The Seven Deadly Sins* does not meet Brecht’s definition are subtle and they offer a way to parse the ballet as a Freudian work. *The Seven Deadly Sins*, at first listen, may evoke many of the characteristics of Brecht and Weill’s earlier works that are characterized as epic theater, including a tendency toward cabaret-like music and musical forms, songs, references to American geography, and a moralizing tale; however the main reason that *The Seven Deadly Sins* is not epic theater is that Anna does not function

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

merely as “a reporter.” The music is functional, as Brecht would have wished, but it is also a window into Anna’s emotional state. I will return to this point after discussion the ways in which *The Seven Deadly Sins* resembles the epic theater model.

The overall structure of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, with its nine discrete sections that are only loosely connected by a plotline, is reminiscent of the small, unrelated acts of a cabaret show. These sections can be referred to as “songs,” in English, with all the connotation that Brecht intended with the use of that word. In addition to the musical, political and contextual connections of *The Seven Deadly Sins* to the genre of cabaret, some of the sexual and smutty content of cabaret also finds its way into *The Seven Deadly Sins*. For example, in each scene, in each city of her tour, Anna engages in a money-making scheme that essentially uses her body a tool. In the first scene (“Sloth”), for example, Anna forces herself upon men in the park, and has her picture taken with them in compromising positions in order to blackmail them. In “Pride” Anna works in a cabaret, and Anna II has a fight with Anna I because, although she wants to make “art,” that is not what “sells.” This scene is also a critique of the German cabaret scene itself and of the failure of the *Überbrettel* movement. I will return to this particular movement below. Other careers Anna tries include acting (still a disreputable enterprise in 1933), performing with a circus, and being the kept woman of a wealthy, older man.

Freudian Discourse Versus Behaviorism and Marxism

While Weill was not exceptionally enthusiastic about Freudian thought in and of itself, he was attuned to popular notions of his time. Freudian theories dominated much of the “scientific” discourse about human psychology in the late 1920s and 1930s, even after Berlin came under Nazi control. Brecht, however, was deeply resistant to such

theories, preferring Marxism and behaviorism to explain human behavior and the actions of his characters.¹⁵² Despite his efforts to avoid “psychologizing” Anna, the story outline that Brecht inherited contained a main character who could be labeled schizophrenic—a term from psychoanalytical discourse of the early twentieth century. Brecht tried to write song lyrics that resisted psychologizing Anna, and he offered up his own explanation for the split personality. For Brecht, Anna was a victim of what Marxist thought describes as “alienation” or “self-alienation.”

Behaviorism and Marxism in Brecht’s Work

Brecht studied Marxist writings and he believed that the pressure of social expectations on human beings caused a personality fissure, which Marx called alienation. Indeed, this Marxist notion is the basis of much of his oeuvre and his earlier collaborations with Weill. Brecht began to study Marxism in 1926, and from these studies he came to believe in Marx’s theory that under industrialized capitalism the worker is alienated from the product he creates in the factory, and furthermore that the very nature of the system requires him to act in contradiction to his own human needs. This negotiation “[forces] the worker to adopt a societally induced ‘split personality.’”¹⁵³ The worker creates a part of a product in a factory, and is not a part of the creation process from start to finish; he then takes home money, rather than a product, and he must purchase the same product he was creating in the factory. This unnatural relationship to goods and production causes a split in people—the manufacturer is pitted against the consumer, but all workers are both manufacturers and consumers.

¹⁵² Werner Hecht, “The Development of Brecht's Theory of the Epic Theatre, 1918-1933” in *The Tulane Drama Review* 6/1 (September 1961): 92.

¹⁵³ Shull, 210.

The theme of capitalism-induced schizophrenia is clearly present in the libretto of *The Seven Deadly Sins*. In each movement we witness Anna at war with herself, torn between social expectations—represented onstage by her pseudo-pious family—and her own desires: to produce art, to sleep, to eat, to protect helpless animals, to have a lover whom she loves versus one who pays her well. It is possible that Weill was able to convince Brecht to write the libretto for this piece by playing on Brecht’s interest in the concept of alienation. But in the end, I believe (and it seems likely that even Brecht believed) that *The Seven Deadly Sins* suggests more clearly Freudian (and sexualized) schizophrenia than Marxist self-alienation. Weill’s music portrays Anna as a sexual being, and a person whose fate is not in her own hands and is subject to the will of others.

The other scientific paradigm that Brecht found useful was behaviorism.¹⁵⁴ If humans can be conditioned by their environment, then they can also make a decision to change their environment and therefore their behavior. Brecht’s faith in behaviorism as a guiding principle is apparent a 1934 interview with Luth Otto, given in Copenhagen:

Our time has seen amazing developments in all the sciences. We have acquired an entirely new psychology: viz. the American Dr. Watson’s Behaviourism. While other psychologists were proposing introspective investigations of the psyche in depth, twisting and bending human nature, this philosophy based itself solely on the human psyche’s outward effects: on people’s behaviour.¹⁵⁵

With behaviorism, humans are in control of human fate, a circumstance that to which Brecht aspired.

¹⁵⁴ Brecht, *Brecht on Theater*, 67.

¹⁵⁵ Brecht, 67.

Schizophrenia, Narcissism, and Homosexuality

It is in the production and performance of *The Seven Deadly Sins* that Weill's vision of a psychologized Anna drowns out Brecht's Marxist version of the story. In 1933 Freud's *On Narcissism* (published in 1917), and many of his other writings about schizophrenia and homosexuality, were still relatively new and groundbreaking.¹⁵⁶ Even today, American and European culture—especially the humanities—is still steeped in Freudian thought, despite the facts that some of its usefulness has been disavowed by the psychiatric community and that many of Freud's ideas have been criticized as misogynist and deeply biased.¹⁵⁷ Still, Freud's theories have indelibly marked thought about psychic health, and I believe that Anna's representation is colored by his ideas of narcissism and homosexuality. According to the popular and scientific definition of schizophrenia at the time *The Seven Deadly Sins* was created, Anna's behavior is schizophrenic; a question that remains as to what extent that “diagnosis” could lead one to regard her as lesbian also.

For Freud, schizophrenia was characterized in large part by the subject withdrawing her or his libido from external objects and directing them instead at the self. In other words, instead of sexually desiring people of the opposite sex, the schizophrenic becomes a narcissist: he or she is the primary object of her or his own affection. Freud's

¹⁵⁶ Joseph Sandler, Ethel Spector Person, and Peter Fonagy, eds. *Freud's "On Narcissism: An Introduction"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

¹⁵⁷ Ludwig Binswanger, “Freud and the Magna Charta of Clinical Psychology” in *Being in the World: Selected Papers of Ludwig Binswanger*, 182 – 205, trans. Jacob Needleman (New York: Harper Torch Books, 1963); Teresa De Lauretis, “Freud, Sexuality, and Perversion,” in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS*, Editor Domna C. Stanton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

explanation of these personality and sexual fissures strikes me as particularly poetic. He writes in *On Narcissism* that humans are

mortal vehicles of a (possibly) immortal substance—like the inheritor of an entailed property, who is only the temporary holder of an estate which survives him. The separation of sexual instincts from the ego instincts [i.e., self-preservative instincts] would simply reflect this two-fold function of the individual.¹⁵⁸

One way that Freud’s narcissism plays itself out in social behavior is in homosexual relationships. Indeed, Freud attributed many homosexual relationships to the subject’s regression to an infantile phase of narcissism, one of many phases that all children experience, but that healthy children who do not experience psycho-social trauma would naturally move past as they mature emotionally. For people who “regress” to the narcissistic phase, Freud theorized that the same-sex lover is a substitute for the self as a sexual object choice.¹⁵⁹ In *On Narcissism*, then, Freud draws a clear connection between three illnesses: schizophrenia, narcissism, and homosexuality. While one does not necessarily equate to another, an individual suffering from the symptoms of one of these pathologies likely exhibits symptoms of the others as well.

As Ralph Hexter reminds us in his study of Verdi’s *Un Ballo*, only the present moment can offer us a framework for a queer interpretation of a work of art from the past.¹⁶⁰ It most likely never occurred to Weill or anyone in *Les Ballets 1933* that they were making a “lesbian” work of art. I like to think that the homoeroticism that I read into *The Seven Deadly Sins* is there by design, and that it symbolizes a kind of sex that

¹⁵⁸ Sigmund Freud, *On Narcissism: An Introduction*. Ed. Joseph Sandler, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 78.

¹⁵⁹ Terry, 60.

¹⁶⁰ Ralph Hexter, “Masked Balls,” in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 14/1 & 2 (2002): 94. See also the Introduction to this dissertation for more on Hexter.

occurs outside of Nazi proscriptions for procreative sex. However, I find that my ideas of Anna as a narcissist and lesbian are borne out in aspects of the libretto and score, the first production by *Les Ballets 1933*, and a more recent video production by Peter Sellars.

The very premise of the plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins* runs counter to gender roles in the 1930s in Europe and the U.S. Anna has two (apparently) healthy and able brothers whom we see onstage in the family quartet, and yet it is she who is sent away from home to earn money. That Anna would be the most suitable person in her family for the job tips off the audience about the topsy-turvy world she inhabits; it also brings to mind some stereotypes about women who leave the family home without supervision. This is not to say that this did not happen, but it surely is meant to imply that the family knows that Anna is available for a certain type of job, namely various types of sex work. As the plot progresses we do indeed see her taking jobs that are progressively more involved with selling her body. Also, the text indicates that the longer she is out working in American cities, the more comfortable she becomes with these manners of making money. In the Prologue Anna is sad to be leaving home and anxious about the future (see the lyrics above); by section six, “Covetousness,” she so revels in her position “at the top,” that her family is concerned she is “overdoing it.” Anna is “grabbing all she can get,” and not even leaving her poor suitors “a shirt or two” when she discards them.¹⁶¹

For the 1933 production of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Tilly Losch and Lotte Lenya were dressed alike and made up to resemble one another as closely as possible. In Example 4.5 above Lenya and Losch are shown in a photograph from a poster for the ballet. The two women not only have similar hair-dos, make-up, and outfits, but they are

¹⁶¹ From the score: Kurt Weill, *Die Sieben Todsünden: Original Version (with version for low voice in the appendix)* (New York: Schott, no date).

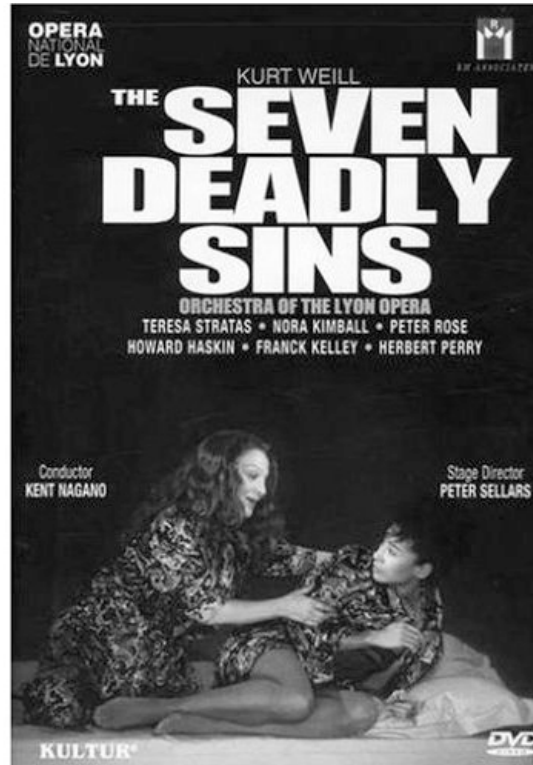
also clinging tightly to one another, perhaps with the intimacy of sisters or of lovers. As Balanchine's choreography for *The Seven Deadly Sins* is not available, this photo is one of a few clues that might point to homoeroticism in the original production.

More recently, Peter Sellars produced *The Seven Deadly Sins* with Teresa Stratas and Nora Kimball as Anna I and Anna II. As with many of his productions, in his production of *The Seven Deadly Sins* Sellars makes controversial and exciting directorial decisions that alienate some viewers and draw in others.¹⁶² In his 1993 video recording of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, recorded with the Lyons Orchestra, he intersperses short clips of footage taken in the United States to illustrate the themes of the ballet. For example, before Anna's judgmental and overly religious family sings, there is footage showing the exteriors of several different rural Christian churches. This footage is completely anachronistic and geographically vague, though it was reportedly shot in the United States. Other controversial directorial choices include different matching costumes for the Annas in each segment, considerably more action choreographed for the family than is usual in other productions, and—of course—this production in classic Sellars mode is extremely sexual. Not unlike his famous video recording of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, in which he places the action in New York City's Trump Tower and directs Susan Larson as hormone-addled teenage boy in a football jersey, Sellars takes the sexual undertones and emphatically underscores them with the singers' acting.

Any description of the "Pride" section ("Year Two") as directed by Sellars will necessarily start to sound a bit like soft-core lesbian porn. Stratas (Anna I) and scantily clad Kimball (Anna II) are in disagreement about whether Anna II will dance in the

¹⁶² *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Dir. Peter Sellars, Cond. Kent Nagano, Perfs. Teresa Stratas, Nora Kimball. DVD. Kultur, 2003.

Kabaret. They argue and even physically grapple, but eventually Anna II gives in to Anna I and dances provocatively. While she mimics the moves that one might expect to see in a bawdy strip joint, the camera focuses closely on her legs, lingerie, and various titillating bits of her anatomy. When Anna II collapses in frustration and anger, Anna I holds her in her arms and exhorts her to “do as you are asked and not what you want, for that isn't what is wanted.” The embrace between the two women is somewhat warmer than could be described as sisterly, and is pushed over the familial boundary completely by a passionate kiss on the lips. Sellars pulls no punches in directing a sexy scene, and though Anna II is ostensibly dancing for “them,” the male customers of the *Kabaret*, it appears here that she is dancing only for Anna I's gaze. A screen shot from this scene graces the cover of the DVD release of Sellars's production, shown in Example 4.7 below.



Example 4.7: The cover of Sellars’s video production featuring Theresa Stratas and Nora Kimball in the scene “Pride”

Conclusion

The Seven Deadly Sins is the product of a volatile time in European history, and it embodies the vestiges of Berlin decadence in both the history of its genesis and in the substance of its score and libretto. It also represents a particularly German intellectual perception of American music and the contemporary discourse around psychoanalytic and other explanations of human behavior. Whether it occurred to Weill, Brecht, Balanchine, Losch, or Lenya in the creative process, the fact remains that for me, *The Seven Deadly Sins* undermines heteronormative standards, allowing for a reading that includes a lesbian sub-narrative.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPECTRAL PRESENCE OF HOMOSEXUALITY IN *THE RAKE'S PROGRESS*

The Rake's Progress (1951) is a neo-classical opera by Igor Stravinsky.

Stravinsky originated the idea of creating an opera based on the William Hogarth's eight oil paintings of the same name, which he saw in an exhibit at the Chicago Art Institute in May 1947. Hogarth's oil paintings were produced between 1732 and 1733, following a series titled *The Harlot's Progress*. Hogarth's detailed paintings depict a young man who has just inherited a large fortune as he spurns his fiancée, moves to London, and wastes his fortune on the trappings of a hedonistic lifestyle, including fancy clothing, prostitutes, and gambling. Hogarth's rake is a "country bumpkin" from a lower economic class who wastes his life and his inherited fortune, and cruelly spurns the love of his virtuous fiancée.

Hogarth's series is a rather conventional morality tale, warning viewers not to be lascivious, frivolous, or greedy, as is the rake depicted in the paintings. Stravinsky's opera is often interpreted in a similar vein: many readings of the opera overwhelmingly focus on Anne Truelove and Nick Shadow as opposing forces battling for the soul of Tom Rakewell, the aptly named protagonist of the opera.¹⁶³ In these analyses, which draw on Freudian, Jungian and medical analyses, among other approaches, *The Rake's*

¹⁶³ Joseph Straus, "The Progress of a Motive in Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*," *Journal of Musicology* 9/2 (1991): 165 – 185; Chandler Carter, "*The Rake's* (and Stravinsky's) *Progress*." *The American Journal of Semiotics* 13/1-4 (Fall 1996 [1998]): 183 – 225; Geoffrey Chew, "Pastoral and Neoclassicism: A Reinterpretation of Auden's and Stravinsky's *Rake's Progress*." In *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5/3 (November 1993): 239 – 263; Ken Healey, "The Little Understood Morality That Made Its Debut on 9/11/51," *Opera-Opera: Australia's Independent Monthly Newspaper of the Musical Theatre* 338 (February 2006): 10 – 12; Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, MD, "The Pox Revisited: The 'Pale Spirochete' in Twentieth-Century Opera," in *Opera: Desire, Disease, and Death* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

Progress points toward a straight and narrow path in which moral and socially acceptable behavior leads to happiness, while the type of behavior displayed by Tom is punished by madness.

I argue that differences between the narrative in Hogarth's paintings and the libretto of the opera indicate the possibility of a reading of *The Rake's Progress* that celebrates queerness. For example, in Hogarth's series, the rake marries an ugly but wealthy old maid to shore up his finances; however, in W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman's libretto, the old maid is replaced by Baba the Turk, and Tom's marriage to Baba is not financially motivated, but rather a cure for Tom's ennui. Baba is the invention of librettists Auden and Kallman: not even Stravinsky knew that Tom's wife was going to be a bearded lady until he received the libretto from Auden in 1948. Stravinsky's lawyer advised him at the time that Baba was a "homosexual joke," and he ought to cancel his contract with Auden.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, Auden and Kallman's membership in and engagement with the homosexual communities of both the United States and Europe is key to this reading of *The Rake's Progress* as a homosexual sub-narrative.

Because Baba the Turk was created specially for this opera, and has no precedent in Hogarth's paintings, I focus on Tom Rakewell and Baba the Turk, rather than the usual triumvirate of Tom Rakewell, Anne Truelove, and Nick Shadow. In the first part of this chapter, I suggest that the conventional reading of the opera can be expanded to include an interpretation that Tom's madness is punishment not only for avarice and hedonism, but also for being unable to live up to a masculine standard for straight men in a capitalist

¹⁶⁴ Richard Taruskin, "*The Rake's Progress*" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 10 February 2007) <www.grovemusic.com>.

society. In the second part, I turn to Baba's progress, suggesting that *The Rake's Progress* can also be parsed in a way that redeems homosexuality, or at least, variant sexuality, and that it does this primarily through the character of Baba the Turk. Baba's story has the happiest ending of any of the characters when she triumphantly returns to her career after her brief marriage to Tom.

Jennifer Terry writes about the United States in the 1930s and 1940s:

across the fields of endocrinology, cultural anthropology, and psychology, the subject of *homosexuality had a spectral presence* and functioned as a means for positing what constituted *proper manhood and womanhood* in advanced societies [my emphases].¹⁶⁵

I suggest that both Tom Rakewell and Baba the Turk are marked by the spectral presence of homosexuality. The dominant narrative of United States culture in the decade preceding and the one following *The Rake's Progress* premiere was overwhelming heterosexual. Yet, despite all the focus on (supposedly) biological differences between men and women, and on the importance of appropriate gender behavior, a homosexual sub-narrative haunted scientific and public discourse at that time. George Chauncey has published an extensive study of New York City's male homosexual subcultures before World War II, and Richard Johnson has traced a parallel development of a homosexual subculture in Chicago.¹⁶⁶ These studies, and Jennifer Terry's work on the entangled relationship between psychiatry and homosexuality in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, show that if homosexuals knew where to congregate in relative

¹⁶⁵ Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1999), 159.

¹⁶⁶ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890 – 1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994); Richard Johnson, "Contested Borders, Contingent Lives: An Introduction," in Deborah Lynn Steinberg, Debbie Epstein, and Richard Johnson, Eds., *Border Patrol: Policing the Borders of Heterosexuality* (London: Cassell, 1997).

safety and meet one another, then the dominant culture must also be aware on some level of the existence of these subcultures. Additionally, the general population in the U.S. in the 1940s and 1950s was for the most part aware of and fearful about homosexuality. The enforcement of gender and sexual behavior before and after World War II was in part a reaction against the growing homosexual communities that were developing in U.S. cities.¹⁶⁷

Librettists Auden and Kallman were living as homosexuals in New York City at a time of intense political scrutiny and panic over sexual perversion in the United States. Their relationship began in 1939 when Auden was visiting Brooklyn College as a guest speaker with novelist Christopher Isherwood. By this time, Auden was already an established poet and was greeted by students and faculty as a celebrity. Kallman was an attractive, confident, and somewhat arrogant sophomore at Brooklyn College, and he convinced Auden to agree to an interview for the school's newspaper. Thus began a relationship that would last the rest of Auden's life, and which would haunt Kallman for the fifteen months that he survived Auden.

While Auden regarded himself as married to Kallman, Kallman was uninterested in a sexually monogamous relationship. He broke off sexual relations with Auden after about two years, but was his life partner in every other sense: they lived together and were intellectual and spiritual companions for thirty-four years until Auden died in 1973. Auden also provided for Kallman financially all his life, as Kallman never proved

¹⁶⁷ Terry, *An American Obsession*.

capable of earning money or holding onto money that did come his way through work or inheritance.¹⁶⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century in the United States, perhaps because of the overall tenor of hostility toward homosexuality in the United States, homosexuals built communities in cities such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Auden and Kallman, like many homosexuals, surrounded themselves with like-minded people who were either homosexual or tolerant of homosexuality.

There were differences between the U.S. and European homosexual communities: in Europe, there was a large section of the medical and psychoanalytic communities which viewed homosexuality either as a benign difference or if not benign, at least an incurable illness. Thus, in Europe homosexuals were more likely to be treated with pity or forbearance; whereas in the United States, homosexuality was considered an individual choice and a therefore a prosecutable criminal act.¹⁶⁹ In their examination of homosexuality and its presence in United States cities, Verta Taylor, Elizabeth Kaminski, and Kimberly Dugan note that

the gay communities that first emerged consisted of submerged networks of individuals who constructed a positive collective identity—sometimes in a complex relationship with emerging medical discourse on ‘homosexuality’—and created boundaries between themselves and the larger mainstream heterosexist society.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Richard Davenport-Hines, *Auden* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); Dorothy J. Farnan chronicles both men’s lives and their relationship in her memoir, *Auden in Love* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984).

¹⁶⁹ Terry, 79.

¹⁷⁰ Verta Taylor, Elizabeth Kaminski, and Kimberly Dugan, “From the Bowery to the Castro: Communities, Identities and Movements,” in Diane Richardson and Steven Seidman, Eds., *A Handbook of Lesbian and Gay Studies* (Newcastle, UK: Sage Publications, Ltd., 2002), 101.

Auden and Kallman were typical participants in the development of communities of homosexuals that were forming in metropolitan areas in Europe and the United States.

The migration of homosexuals to major urban centers in the United States and the creation of communities of homosexuals in which they could be relatively open about their sexual object choice created much public anxiety for the general public in the United States. In both the United States and European media, U.S. cities were vilified by the medical community and politicians as hotbeds of all kinds of activities that were perceived of as sexual perversions, including miscegenation, hypersexuality, sex commerce, masturbation, homosexuality, inversion (inappropriate gender behavior and characteristics), and female independence (related to fear about the New Woman as I have discussed above in Chapter Three). U.S. citizens linked their concerns about homosexuality to the lower economic classes as well as to the decadence of the extremely wealthy, both groups which were found in U.S. cities.¹⁷¹

Although *The Rake's Progress* is set in England in the middle of the eighteenth century, the debauchery that Tom encounters in the city reflects the stereotype about U.S. cities in the middle of the twentieth century that Auden and Kallman were aware of and to some extent saw themselves as participating in. Stravinsky, like Auden and Kallman, was also an inhabitant of a major U.S. city (Los Angeles) at the height of a major backlash against sexual freedom, a backlash that was brought on in part by social anxiety about the end of World War II, the start of the Cold War, and economic uncertainty. As a friend of Auden and Kallman, he also engaged with the homosexual subculture, and obviously, in the end he consented to include Baba in his opera, homosexual joke or not.

¹⁷¹ Terry, 74 – 82.

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman were aware that prostitution was not the only sexual vice associated with cities, and that homosexuality was also deeply connected to urban existence in the U.S. in the public consciousness in both Europe and the United States. When *The Rake's Progress* made its U.S. debut at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City in 1953, the many homosexuals who were undoubtedly in the audience would not have been able to help but see that the whole of *The Rake's Progress* was haunted by the specter of homosexuality.

In this chapter, I first trace the Rake's progress through the opera, showing that his ultimate madness is the result of his inability to live up to the ideal of straight masculinity that was prevalent in the United States at the time of the composition of the opera. In the second part of this chapter I will examine Baba's progress, as she leaves the sphere of performance and the circus for married life with Tom, then returns to the world of professional entertaining.

Tom's Progress

Tom Rakewell's progress is most frequently written about as a straightforwardly heterosexual tale. For example, in their book *Opera: Desire, Disease and Death*, Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon argue that Tom dies of insanity brought on by syphilis.¹⁷² They draw a direct line from the Brothel to Bedlam in Hogarth's paintings of the Rake, showing the visual evidence of infection as it takes over the Rake's life. Although in the eighteenth century, when Hogarth was painting, the medical terms of syphilitic infection and its outcomes had not yet been demonstrated as medical facts, Hutcheon and Hutcheon argue that those with skills of observation clearly marked the

¹⁷² Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, MD, *Opera: Desire, Disease, and Death*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

progression from sexual transgression in the brothel to *dementia paralytica*.¹⁷³ They go on to show that Tom's madness is effectively a trip from brothel to bedlam—he is being punished for engaging in immoral behavior—but this is not the only possible reading of the opera. There are other subtexts also suggested by the cultural climate in which Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman lived.

Tom speaks three wishes throughout the opera: for money (in Act I, scene 1); for happiness (Act II, scene 1); and for his dream to come true—that he has invented a machine that will turn broken dishes into bread, thus ensuring that he will be both popular and wealthy (Act II, scene 3). Each of these wishes articulates an aspect of the post-World War II vision of success prevalent in the United States: Tom Rakewell is articulating a desire to be a player in the larger economy and to have the things that define success in terms of the fabled “American Dream.” Tom wants both wealth and acclaim.

David Schiff has suggested that Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman are making fun of English and American post-war societies and their respective tendencies toward socialism and get-rich-quick schemes,¹⁷⁴ while Edward Said has suggested that *The Rake's Progress* is about modern capitalist fraud in the U.S.¹⁷⁵ Said points out that many people living in the U.S. right after World War II were tricked into pursuing the “American Dream,” and convinced that with hard work and gender-appropriate behavior, anyone could achieve wealth and power. Jennifer Terry also comments on this aspect of

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁷⁴ David Schiff, “Redeeming the Rake,” in *The Atlantic Monthly* 208/5 (November 1997): 137.

¹⁷⁵ Edward Said, “Music and Spectacle: *La Centerentola* and *The Rake's Progress*,” in *Music at the Limits* pp. 242 – 246 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 244.

post-World War II American culture: “Virile masculinity was associated with national fortitude, moral strength, and military might. Faithful and obedient wives symbolized ideal femininity.”¹⁷⁶

Auden and Kallman could not have been insensitive to this aspect of U.S. culture, despite the fact that Auden had only recently immigrated to the U.S., because this theme of masculinity equating productivity was prevalent in the entertainment media and through government propaganda. Indeed, Auden and Kallman—especially Kallman—were odds with the prevalent culture not just because they were homosexuals, but also because they did not conform to the industriousness compelled by American patriotism at the time. One of Kallman’s biographers—his father’s third wife and his longtime friend Dorothy J. Farnan—makes an observation about Kallman that draws attention to his attitudes toward the prevailing American sentiment toward productivity and industrious individual behavior. Farnan notes that while Auden supported Kallman almost completely during the thirty-four years of their companionship,

Chester never in his life planned to use anybody. In fact, he had no plans of any kind. He drifted into life with Wystan [Auden] as he drifted into everything else. He allowed things to happen to him; he did not make them happen. He was the proverbial ship without a rudder. He belonged in another, more pampered culture—perhaps in the corridors of Versailles. *His nature was not in tune with the hustle and bustle of the century in which he found himself* [my emphasis].¹⁷⁷

Farnan’s description of Kallman is reminiscent of Tom Rakewell in his lack of ambition and his inclination to follow aimlessly whatever direction was offered him. If hard work and individual productivity are one side of the coin that is the American

¹⁷⁶ Terry, 332.

¹⁷⁷Farnan, 64.

Dream, then the other is laziness and failure. The century in which both Auden and Kallman found themselves writing their libretto for *The Rake's Progress* was an era of sexual witchhunts in the name of national security and public anxiety around “appropriate” sexual behavior. Public thought about national security and economic stability in the U.S. was entangled with fears of sexual perversion, including homosexuality.¹⁷⁸ As World War II ended and the Cold War started, marriage became a popular and celebrated choice, and it was seen as both a patriotic act and defense against communism. In the period right after World War II, people married younger, had more children, and were divorced less frequently than in the decades preceding the war.¹⁷⁹

This political and scientific discourse around sexuality reflected social anxiety at the time about the Cold War and communism. Homosexuality was seen as a character flaw that made one too weak to serve the country and would lead to association with the Communist Party.¹⁸⁰ Between 1947 and 1950 the House Un-American Activities Committee investigated 574 civilians employed by the federal government on charges of sexual perversion. Many resigned out of shame and fear, others were found guilty; only a small percentage of the accused was cleared of charges.¹⁸¹ During this time it became imperative for everyone—regardless of their sexual preferences—to behave in a manner fitting the dominant narrative about gender-appropriate behavior. Women who seemed too masculine and men who behaved in any way as feminine risked losing their jobs and being publicly humiliated. Terry notes the importance of gender performance right after

¹⁷⁸ Terry, 324 – 5.

¹⁷⁹ Harry C. Boyte and Nancy N. Kari, *Building America: The Democratic Promise of Public Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 117.

¹⁸⁰ Terry, 333 – 338.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 331.

World War II because of the importance it played in a conservative vision of the family: “anyone who disturbed the foundations of the family and the gender roles that underpinned it came to be regarded as a threat to the nation’s security.”¹⁸²

Much of the entertainment media available via radio and the earliest years of television attempted to enforce the strict boundaries of appropriate gender and sexual behavior. Radio shows such as *Amos and Andy* and *The Whistler*, and later, television shows such as *Leave It To Beaver*, focused on gender-appropriate behavior, patriotism, and hard work as desirable traits. For example, the popular murder mystery radio show *The Whistler* portrayed how weak-willed men and promiscuous women not only ruined their own lives, but also led to the ruin of those around them, including unwitting and innocent victims, such as spouses, children, friends, and business partners.¹⁸³

In this context, Tom can be read as a character who serves not only as a warning against rakishness, but who also represents the public’s worst fears about sexual degeneracy and the morality of weak-willed men. Hutcheon and Hutcheon’s reading addresses one aspect of sexual degeneracy that the public was concerned about—the spread of sexually transmitted diseases—but Auden and Kallman’s creation of Baba speaks to another kind of degeneracy. The rake in Hogarth’s series of paintings also enters into a loveless marriage, but to a wealthy duchess—see Example 5.1 for Hogarth’s depiction of the wedding. In replacing Hogarth’s wealthy but rather plain-looking, older Duchess with Baba—a circus sideshow character with no apparent assets—Auden and Kallman remove the obvious reasons for a marriage of convenience (i.e., greater wealth

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁸³ *The Whistler* aired weekly from May 1942 to September 1955. Seventy-nine episodes are archived in the OTR.Network Library, <<http://www.otr.net/?p=whis>>.

or the status symbol of an attractive wife). Tom's marriage to Baba could serve as disguise for Tom's homosexual tendencies. Such marriages of convenience were and are not uncommon; they offer a way for male homosexuals and lesbians to escape the scrutiny that family and society can inflict on those who choose not to marry.¹⁸⁴

Baba's beard calls to mind the slang term for a woman who appears in public as the date of a gay man in order to help him conceal his homosexuality—his *beard*. While the Oxford English Dictionary dates this usage of the word “beard” to 1972,¹⁸⁵ Cassell's Dictionary of Slang suggests that this usage came into use in the 1960s.¹⁸⁶ The term has been linked to the practice of gay men growing facial hair in order to appear less effeminate, or the origin of its use may be connected to the verb “to beard” referring to action taken in order to conceal the identity of someone making an illegal bet. The latter usage dates from the early 1950s.¹⁸⁷ The connection between Baba and the slang term “beard” is speculative, but the association is nevertheless rich.

¹⁸⁴ Dorothy J. Farnan noted that while the administration at the University of Michigan was probably well aware of Auden's homosexuality, they may have been taken aback when he mentioned it openly in an introductory meeting: “When Wystan gleefully told the story later to friends in New York, one had the impression that if the Ann Arbor [administrators'] faces fell it was not because they did not know their prospective resident poet was homosexual. They just did not expect him to say it out loud”: Farnan, 70.

¹⁸⁵ “beard, n. Draft additions, slang U.S.” *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) accessed 10 September 2010. <<http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/cgi/entry/50018849>>

¹⁸⁶ Jonathon Green, editor, *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang, new edition* (London: The Orion Publishing Group, 2005), 83.

¹⁸⁷ Both the *OED* and *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang* confirm this usage from the 1950s.



Example 5.1: *A Rake's Progress V: The Marriage* (1795)
by William Hogarth, oil on canvas

While there is little evidence in the libretto to suggest that Tom is homosexual, I suggest that it is not entirely outside the realm of possibility. Tom is eager to leave Anne for London, and he quickly departs. In his duet with Anne, Tom indicates that he is anxious to be gone from their idyllic life together:

My life lies before me,
the world is so wide:
come, wishes, be horses
this beggar shall ride.

Has he been hoping to escape into the wide world, and Shadow's appearance is as good an excuse as any? Tom is apparently initiated into the sexual mysteries by Mother

Goose, but on this topic he is silent. If ever he chooses to return to the brothel after that initial visit, the audience does not witness it. Furthermore, Tom seems to tire relatively quickly of the brothel, as it is only approximately a year later that we see him bemoaning how bored and unfulfilled he feels living in the city. Finally, if this is ultimately a love story then why does Tom's love for Anne seem so tenuous? He never sends for her to join him in the city. While it may be that he does not want to be tied down to a single woman, it is not true that Tom becomes a lady's man. His only infidelities—Mother Goose and Baba the Turk—must be forced upon him by Shadow. In a heteronormative reading of the opera, the plot can seem unwieldy, and even more unbelievable than operas often are. In a reading in which Tom is “queered,” however, the uncomfortable fit Tom feels with the world around him can be easily explained as his discomfiture with the role of a performing straight manhood.

Most scholars and critics believe that there is no good reason for the marriage to Baba. One way to parse Tom's decision to marry Baba is that it parodies mid-twentieth-century existentialism, and the existentialist concept of the *acte gratuit*.¹⁸⁸ Nick persuades Tom that marrying Baba will bring him happiness because he will have conquered his sense of duty and his desire, acting with the ultimate freedom from both:

Come, master, observe the host of mankind. How are they?
Wretched. Why? Because they are not free. Why?
Because the giddy multitude are driven by the
unpredictable Must of their pleasures and the sober few are
bound by the inflexible Ought of their duty, between which
slaveries there is nothing to choose. Would you be happy?
Then learn to act freely. Would you act freely? Then learn
to ignore the twin tyrants of appetite and conscience.
Therefore I counsel you, Master—take Baba the Turk to

¹⁸⁸ David Hamilton, “The Rake Decoded,” in *Opera News* 62/9 (17 May 1998), 14; Schiff: 137.

wife. Consider her picture once more, and as you do so reflect upon my words.

Baba is presented by Shadow as an *acte gratuit*, which is defined as “a gratuitous or inconsequent action performed on an impulse.”¹⁸⁹

While it may be true that Auden and Kallman are mocking existential thought, scholars are so intent on this reading that they have neglected the fact that the disadvantageous marriage to Baba resembles the sham marriages that some homosexuals have entered into in order to hide their sexual proclivities. Notably, Tom’s marriage to Baba is both loveless and childless, and we can presume that Tom and Baba never share physical intimacy. In the context of public fear about homosexuality as pervasive, seductive, and dangerous to the nation, the marriage of Baba and Tom could easily take on this meaning as well as the more popularly received interpretation.

In each of his three wishes, Tom fails. He is not industrious, clever, or talented, and therefore, he does not achieve the benchmarks of masculinity in a capitalist society: wealth, happiness, home, or business. Tom finds that he cannot perform as a man in the city, and his final madness is the result of his crumbling emotionally under the demands of manhood in a capitalist society.

¹⁸⁹ Farnan, 185; “Acte Gratuit,” *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 31 July 2009 <<http://dictionary.oed.com>>.

Baba's Progress

The most extensive and detailed analyses of *The Rake's Progress* do not deal with Baba as anything more than a peripheral character; perhaps because she is regarded as representing the *acte gratuit*, she is seen as unimportant in any other respect. I suspect that Baba is considered of little consequence in part because her music is “light”: Baba is the only character with a patter song. Her role also relies heavily on physical humor. In Baba's first scene she sings from behind the carriage curtains, carefully shielding her face with them, as well as her veils, which are worn in imitation of an exotic, faux Eastern style until the crowd clamors for her. She reveals her beard to the crowd and the audience dramatically (one might even say campily). It is also possible that critics avoid dealing with Baba simply because she is a difficult character to characterize with regard to her role in the opera. David Schiff notes “there has always been some confusion about whether Baba is supposed to be a woman or a man.”¹⁹⁰

Richard Taruskin dismisses Baba as a “catty joke” played by Auden and Kallman—whom he regards as petty and mean—on Stravinsky. He also suggests that Baba is an outdated character, irrelevant to modern opera-goers—something that they must overcome in order to enjoy the opera:

[Baba], a madcap gay inversion of the conventional “trouser role” (especially when played, as it sometimes used to be, by John Ferrante, a countertenor), was Auden and Kallman's catty little joke at the expense of the elderly, conventionally homophobic and decidedly unhip composer. Stravinsky's lawyer saw right through it and advised him to pull out. Nowadays, post-Stonewall and post-closet, it's

¹⁹⁰ Schiff: 138.

merely embarrassing, another hurdle for the opera to scale.¹⁹¹

Taruskin is one of a few critics to acknowledge that Baba is a queer character; however, his assessment of her relevance is misguided in a number of ways, not the least of which is his implicit assumption that post-Stonewall U.S. is free of homophobia and bigotry against gays and lesbians.¹⁹² More important is Taruskin's failure to recognize the power and depth of the critique of heteronormativity and traditional gender roles that Baba embodies. Baba was a subversive character in 1951, and she continues to be so today.

Gay male fascination with opera is a long-standing stereotype—one that is based at least in part on a real phenomenon. Literature critic Wayne Koestenbaum explains an aspect of gay male fascination with opera in first part of his encomium to opera and its divas, *The Queen's Throat*. Citing the public's fascination in the 1930s, 40s, 50s, and 60s with crippled, blind, lame, and bed-ridden opera listeners as evidenced in the magazine *Opera News*, Koestenbaum explains that during this same time period gay men and lesbians were also conceived of as disease-ridden.¹⁹³ He suggests that when the Metropolitan Opera targeted its Saturday afternoon broadcasts to the "sick community," those who could not leave their homes to attend the Met in person, that it was also

¹⁹¹ Taruskin, "In *The Rake's Progress*, Love Conquers (Almost) All," in *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 110 – 111.

¹⁹² Homophobia and discriminatory policies continue to be rampant in the U.S. For example, as of January 2010 the United States federal government upholds several discriminatory policies, including the Defense of Marriage Act and the military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy. There is no federal law that protects lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) people from discrimination in employment or access to services. In addition to discrimination from state and federal law, LGBT people are still subject to violence and harassment from institutions of authority, such as police departments, and from the civilian population.

¹⁹³ Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 76 – 77.

implicitly targeting gays and lesbians. Alternatively, it is possible that gays and lesbians perceived of themselves as sick and therefore, an appropriate audience for these broadcasts.¹⁹⁴

Kallman was obsessed with opera from a very young age, especially Verdi's operas: "[Kallman] would play all the records from *Aida*, from *Rigoletto*, from *Traviata*, from *Falstaff*; he would pore over Verdi's biography and study Verdi's photograph."¹⁹⁵ Throughout his time in New York City—from his childhood until he became an ex-pat in Greece toward the end of his life—Kallman attended the Met's productions frequently and often dragged his friends along, willing and not. Auden had escaped any predilection for opera, but after he began seeing Kallman he was soon converted to loving opera, too.¹⁹⁶

Following Tom's story—which we must because the opera presents his story—we see that breaking out of ideal gender roles is not tolerated; in fact, the punishment for failing to live up to his manhood is madness. However, if we allow our imaginations to follow the progress of Baba the Turk into her world, we see a confident, vibrant, and humane woman who pursues her passion and talent. But the ambiguously gendered Baba returns to performance triumphantly. One can imagine that the performing world to which she is returning is a community in which Baba has a role as an empowered, independent, productive artist. Because her sphere is the circus, which she euphemistically refers to as her stage, we know that this is nowhere close to the real world. And yet, that Baba—even with her mixed-up sex characteristics and her

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁹⁵ Farnan, 100.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 – 28.

decidedly unfeminine streak of independence—has her own personal happy ending could be read as a hopeful sign for those who live outside society’s norms.

I believe that the circus world—St. Giles Fair and the stages that welcome Baba—represents the communities and networks of homosexuals that were developing in cities at this time. Indeed, as much of homosexual male social culture in Auden, Kallman, and Stravinsky’s time (and still today) revolved around theater and performance, it seems likely to me that Baba is returning to this community, which she left only briefly for her experiment in straight marriage to Tom.

For Baba the Turk—and I would argue for homosexual opera-goers watching *The Rake’s Progress* in the 1950s—the circus represented a community of insiders. Robert Bogdan, in the volume *Freakery*, edited by disability studies scholar Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, writes about the social construction of “freaks,” in the U.S. from 1840 to 1940, the era in which the freak show achieved the height of its popularity and acceptability in U.S. culture. Bogdan notes that actual circus performers regarded their community as one of insiders who have contempt for the uninitiated, i.e., the audience:

As freaks sat on the platform, most looked down on the audience with contempt—not because they felt angry at being gawked at or at being called freaks, but simply because the amusement world looked down on ‘rubes’ in general. Their contempt was that of insiders toward the uninitiated.¹⁹⁷

This type of insider versus outsider paradigm—and its attendant contempt—can be applied to many kinds of communities, including communities of homosexuals both before and after the Stonewall Riots. Auden and Kallman gathered a coterie of like-

¹⁹⁷Robert Bogdan, “The Social Construction of Freaks,” in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, Ed. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 35.

minded people to them, and they could both be merciless in their evaluations of people whom they did not like. In the many homes they had together—in Michigan, New York City, in Foria, Italy, and in Vienna—they developed insider communities of sympathetic people, usually other male homosexuals and straight women who accepted their sexuality. I believe the circus in *The Rake's Progress* is to Baba what their coterie of companions, lovers and friends was to Auden and Kallman.

David Gerber's chapter in *Freakery* brings up concerns about freak shows that apply directly to my interpretation of *The Rake's Progress*: is Baba's career in show business—in the circus, really—a *career*, or is she returning to her own exploitation because she has no other choices now that Tom has abandoned her? For Gerber performing as a freak in a freak show was not a choice of career; rather, it was a network of unequal social relations between people with more or less extreme physical differences, the entrepreneurs who managed the shows and served as agents, and the audiences that paid to see freaks exhibited. For the real people who were exhibited at freak shows in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, life in the freak show may have been exploitative and difficult.¹⁹⁸ However, Baba the Turk is not a real person, but a character, and I argue that what Baba, or rather, what the circus to which she returns, represents is more important than the harsh realities of life for actual performers in the circuses and freak shows of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Despite her brief marriage to Tom and the dubious nature of the circus, Baba herself never doubts that she is a professional entertainer, and this is demonstrated in part

¹⁹⁸ David A. Gerber, "The 'Careers' of People Exhibited in Freak Shows: The Problem of Volition and Valorization," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, pp. 38 – 54, Ed. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

by her performance during the Epilogue. After the curtain closes after Act III, the principal singers deliver an Epilogue in front of the curtain, in the manner of *Don Giovanni*. Unlike *Don Giovanni*, however, the house lights are on, and *The Rake's Progress* principals appear partially out of costume: the men remove their wigs and Baba her beard. Anne, Baba, Tom, Father Truelove, and Shadow each deliver a moral to the story. Anne's, her father's, and Tom's messages are rather standard warnings to young men not to be lazy or proud, and not to count on true love to save them from their plights. They each step out of character for the Epilogue.

In contrast, both Baba and Shadow's lyrics are self-referential and imply that they are still in character as they sing the Epilogue. Chandler Carter's Jungian analysis of *The Rake's Progress* relies heavily on his belief that

Auden's Nick Shadow is the *only* character who directly addresses the audience during the course of the story and who retains his character in the Epilogue, proclaiming: 'Many insist I do not exist. At times I wish I didn't (the other characters refer to their characters in the third person).'¹⁹⁹

It is indeed true that Baba refers to herself in the third person in the Epilogue:

Let Baba warn the ladies;
You will find out soon or
Later that, good or bad,
All men are mad;
All they say or do is theatre.

However, throughout the opera Baba refers to herself in the third person: she sings in the Act II, scene 2 trio:

Who is it pray,
He prefers to his Baba
On their wedding day?

¹⁹⁹ Carter, "*The Rake's (and Stravinsky's) Progress*," 198.

And:

Enough is enough!
Baba is not used
To be so abused,
She is not amused.

In the finale of the same scene she sings:

Baba is still waiting patiently for her gallant.

In “Baba’s Song,” Act II, scene 3 she sings to Tom:

Come, sweet, come,
Why so glum?
Smile at Baba who
Loving smiles at you.

And to Anne in the auction scene, Act III, scene 1, she sings,

My dear!
His jest,
No matter now.
Come here,
My child, to Baba.

I suggest that Baba’s frequent reference to herself in the third person is a tic of the character. Thus, when she refers to herself in the third person in the Epilogue, as Carter notes, she is no more out of character than Shadow is. She is without her beard, and he is without his wig. Nevertheless, they are *both* actors—and professionals.

Carter sees Shadow’s being ever the actor thus:

Nick is at once the personified dark side of Tom’s personality—that is, without an identity of his own—and, from a purely theatrical standpoint, the most real character onstage. His character is, in fact, an *actor*—just as Auden proposes—and as such transcends the theatrical space occupied by the other characters.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Baba gives the viewer an alternate view of the actor—for her performance is a positive space of empowerment, and it is in the circus where she most has an identity of her own. Baba willingly chooses to return to a life of performance. After she breaks up the auction she tells Anne:

My dear,
A gifted lady need never have fear.
I shall go back and grace the stage,
Where manner rules and wealth attends.
Can I deny my time its rage?
My self-indulgent intermezzo ends.

Thus, Baba gracefully returns to the world of the theater and the circus, where she had been adored before her “intermezzo” of a marriage to Tom. She is returning to a career and lifestyle with which she is more comfortable than married life. Baba is undoubtedly a farcical character. She provides comic relief, and her music is light. However, Baba arguably is the only character who really grows and changes throughout the course of the opera. When Baba was married to Tom, she was at her worst. She was self-absorbed, chattering on endlessly about her curios, which seemed to have little personal value, but only gave her a sense of worth because she had so many. We also see that she was demanding, nagging, and jealous during the duration of her first two scenes in the opera. It is when she—freed from marriage to Tom—returns to her performing and her art that she becomes the humane person that counsels Anne kindly.

Bogdan notes that all freaks were misrepresented to some extent in order to attract more audiences, and he outlines two primary modes of representation of freaks in the advertising of shows: the exotic mode and the aggrandized status.²⁰¹ The exotic mode of advertising included the presentation of freaks in terms of colonialism and imperialism.

²⁰¹ Bogdan, 28 – 29.

The stated goal of these shows was to educate the viewer about a different culture—usually that of a distant undeveloped country. The implicit goal was to demonstrate the inferiority of this culture. The presentation of a freak’s aggrandized status aimed to show how a visibly and usually severely disabled person functioned not only normally, but superiorly to normal people. This was often done through claims that the freak in question was of royalty, friends with royalty or celebrities, or somehow a member of the highest social circles.

The presentation of bearded ladies in freak shows could be in either mode. If she were presented in the aggrandized status mode, the bearded lady would be advertised as hailing from a normal family, being extremely intelligent, and sometimes even as having started her own middle-class family with a husband and children. Alternatively, a bearded lady might have been presented as a part-animal “missing link” between apes and humans.²⁰²

Auden and Kallman borrowed from both the exotic and the aggrandized status mode in their creation of the character of Baba the Turk. Like freaks advertised in the exotic mode, Baba hails from a distant country, Turkey, that is presumed to be less developed than western countries; however, she is also accorded celebrity status and relatively substantial social privilege. Baba’s Turkish descent is portrayed not only in her name, but also through her faux Eastern-style dress, which is both exotic and risqué. Her aggrandized status is apparent in the fancy quality of her garments and in that she is apparently quite accustomed to being carried about in a sedan like royalty and waited

²⁰² Bearded ladies still serve as circus attractions in the twenty-first century: Jennifer Miller is a female performance artist who naturally has a thick beard. Miller performs with Circus Amok, an entertainment show in Brooklyn’s Coney Island, which she founded and directs.

upon hand and foot. In her patter-song aria, Baba also indicates that she is on close terms with a number of wealthy and powerful people who send her gifts and baubles from around the world:

As I was saying both brothers wore moustaches,
but Sir John was taller; they gave me the musical glasses
in Vienna, no, it must have been Milan.
Because of the donkeys.
Vienna was the Chinese fan.
Or was it the bottle of water from the river Jordan?
I'm certain, at least, it was Vienna and Lord Gordon.
I get so confused about all my travels.
The snuff boxes came from Paris and the fulminous gravels
from a cardinal who admired me vastly in Rome.
You're not eating, my love.
Count Moldau gave me the gnome and Prince Obolovsky
the little statues of the twelve apostles,
which I like best of my treasures except my fossils.

Example 5.2 below shows Blanche Thebom in the role of Baba in the 1953 Metropolitan Opera production of *The Rake's Progress*. Note that she is very conventionally attractive with the exception of her long thick beard, of course, and provocatively dressed in faux Oriental apparel.



Example 5.2: Blanche Thebom created the role of Baba the Turk in the 1953 U.S. premiere of *The Rake's Progress*.

Taruskin speaks about the singing of Baba by a male countertenor as though it was a practice that occurred for a brief period long ago; however, there continues to be interest in the role as a countertenor part. This is due in part to the growing numbers of countertenors graduating from conservatories in the last decade or so who want to sing more roles than are traditionally available to them. Although Baba was cast as a mezzo-soprano and played by Jennie Tourel in the first production (Blanche Thebom in the U.S. premiere two years later), the role has been performed by a number of established and up-and-coming countertenors, including John Ferrante (first and famously), Brian Asawa, Artur Stefanowicz, and Nicholas Tamagna, among others. (Octavian and Cherubino,

roles that are traditionally women's territory, have also been performed by countertenors, both in recital and in staged productions.)²⁰³

The role of Baba might be particularly suited to this kind of counter-operatic-culture drag, as I believe she was created as a symbol of homosexual male subcultures in the 1940s. The gender and sexuality dynamic when a man plays the role must certainly be different than when a female mezzo-soprano performs it. I suspect that using a countertenor would make the "spectral presence" of homosexuality far less spectral and maybe a little too obvious. I do not think that it would be a choice that Auden would support, given that Auden eventually became so prudish about what was and was not appropriate behavior on stage that he walked out of a performance because it involved farting on stage.²⁰⁴

Even today, Baba still has lessons to teach to scholars and opera-goers. She is an exaggerated and dramatic representation of the fact that people can—and often do—embody both masculine *and* feminine traits. She also demonstrates that being too obviously outside the category of femininity if one is a woman will serve to earn one the label "circus freak." Baba's presence in the opera is unique and special, and she should not be lightly dismissed as an inconsequential, incomprehensible, or outdated character, as she sometimes is. Auden and Kallman created her especially for *The Rake's Progress*: Baba is not a part of the eight Hogarth paintings on which the libretto is based. Although some critics have argued that Baba is not that important because Stravinsky himself did not understand who she was or what she represented, I would argue that the point is

²⁰³ Eric Skelly, "Countertenor Leads," *KHUF Radio Online* (published 17 August 2006; accessed 5 July 2009) <http://app1.kuhf.org/houston_public_radio-news-display.php?articles_id=17458>

²⁰⁴ Davenport-Hines, 31.

moot. The composer is not the only creator of this work. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Stravinsky was so provincial that he did not recognize the nature of Auden and Kallman's relationship.

Conclusion

There is a wide range of human behavior, but a very narrow range for what is considered "sane." Because Tom is punished by madness and death for his inability to live up to an acceptable model of maleness, one might conclude that Auden and Kallman had absorbed the anti-homophobic, pro-virility messages that were mixed up with ideas of American patriotism, the pursuit of wealth in a capitalist society, and distinctly separate gender roles. However, I suggest that the librettists have not only mocked these ideas with the irony in *The Rake's Progress*, they also provided a means of escape for the trap of modern masculinity through the character Baba, who is neither totally male nor female. By the end of the opera, Baba is the only character who fulfills her dreams. Tom finds neither wealth, nor happiness, nor self-fulfillment; Anne Truelove loses Tom to madness and returns to her father's garden resolute, but sad. Even the devil does not get his way, when he loses the card game to Tom and must give up Tom's soul. But Baba achieves much personal success. Beyond the money and acclaim that she insinuates are awaiting her once she returns to show business, she also departs Tom with her soul intact. Baba has no doubts about who she is or where she belongs. Unlike Tom, she need not utter any foolish wishes for happiness.

Tom transgresses gender and sexuality boundaries and is punished with madness. Baba transgresses gender and sexuality boundaries and is rewarded. Because Baba is skilled at carving out a community for herself, she is able to survive and thrive. She

knows where to find a community that will support her. Tom, on the other hand, goes mad because he never learns to accept himself for who he is or to build an alternate community. Throughout the entire opera he wishes for something that cannot be and idolizes a vision of manhood that he cannot achieve. *The Rake's Progress* may indeed be a morality tale, but the moral of the story is not so common as one ought to live a life that is upright, righteous, and productive. Rather, if we learn from Baba and Tom's examples, the moral is to know your strengths and find the community where you are accepted for who you are.

APPENDIX: ERWARTUNG LIBRETTO

I. Scene

Am Rande eines Waldes. Mondhelle Straßen und Felder; der Wald hoch und dunkel. Nur die ersten Stämme und der Anfang des breiten Weges noch hell. Eine Frau kommt; zart, weiß gekleidet. Teilweise entblätterte rote Rosen am Kleid. Schmuck.

(Zögernd) Hier hinein? ... Man sieht den Weg nicht ... Wie silbern die Stämme schimmern ... wie Birken
(Vertieft zu Boden schauend) Oh! Unser Garten ... Die Blumen für ihn sind sicher verwelkt ... Die Nacht ist so warm.
(In plötzlicher Angst) Ich fürchte mich ...
(Hört in den Wald, beklommen) Was für schwere Luft herausschlägt ... wie ein Sturm, der steht ...
(Ringt die Hände, sieht zurück) So grauenvoll ruhig und leer ... Aber hier ist es wenigstens hell ...
(Sieht hinauf) Der Mond war früher so hell ...
(Kauert nieder, lauscht, sieht vor sich hin) Oh! Noch immer die Grille mit ihrem Liebeslied ... Nicht sprechen ... es ist so süß bei dir ... Der Mond ist in der Dämmerung ...
(Auffahrend. Wendet sich gegen den Wald, zögert wieder, dann heftig) Feig bist du ... willst ihn nicht suchen? So stirb doch hier
(Leise) Wie drohend die Stille ist ...
(Sieht sich scheu um) Der Mond ist voll Entsetzen ... Sieht der hinein?
(Angstvoll) Ich allein ... in den dumpfen Schatten
(Mut fassend, geht rasch in den Wald hinein) Ich will singen, dann hört er mich ...

Scene 1

The edge of a forest. Roads and fields are lit by the moon; the forest is tall and dark. Only the first tree trunks and the beginning of a broad path are lit. A woman approaches; a slight figure, clothed in white. There are red roses on her dress; some have already lost their petals. She is wearing jewelry.

(Hesitantly) Go in there?...I can't see the path... How silvery the tree trunks gleam...like birches!
(Gazing upon the ground, absorbed) Oh, our garden...The flowers meant for him are sure to have withered...how warm the night is...
(In sudden anxiety) I'm frightened...
(She listens into the wood, uneasy) The oppressive air coming out of there...like a motionless storm...
(Wrings her hands, looks back) So awfully quiet and empty...At least it's bright here...
(Looks up) The moon was so bright earlier on...
(Crouches down, listens, looks blankly) Oh, the cricket is still singing its love song...Don't speak...it is so lovely near you...The moon is rising...
(Starting up. Turning towards the forest, she hesitates again, then intensely) Coward...aren't you going to look for him? All right, die here...
(Softly) How menacing the silence is...
(Looks around timidly) The moon is aghast...Can it see in there?
(Fearfully) On my own...into the stifling darkness...
(She gathers courage, enters the forest briskly) I'll sing, then he will hear me.

II. Scene

Tiefstes Dunkel, breiter Weg, hohe, dichte Bäume. Sie tastet vorwärts.

(Noch hinter der Szene) Ist das noch der Weg?

(Bückt sich, greift mit den Händen) Hier ist es eben ...

(Aufschreiend) Was? ... Laß los!

(Zitternd auf, versucht ihre Hand zu betrachten) Eingeklemmt? ... Nein, es ist was gekrochen ...

(Wild, greift sich ins Gesicht) Und hier auch ... Wer rührt mich an? ... Fort ...

(Schlägt mit den Händen um sich) Fort, nur weiter ... um Gotteswillen ...

(Geht weiter, mit vorgestreckten Armen)

So, der Weg ist breit ...

(Ruhig, nachdenklich) Es war so still hinter den Mauern des Gartens ...

(Sehr ruhig) Keine Sensen mehr ... kein Rufen und Gehn ... Und die Stadt in hellem Nebel ... so sehnsüchtig schaute ich hinüber ... Und der Himmel so unermeßlich tief über dem Weg, den du immer zu mir gehst ... noch durchsichtiger und ferner ... die Abendfarben.

(Traurig) Aber du bist nicht gekommen.

(Stehenbleibend) Wer weint da?

(Rufend, sehr ängstlich) Ist hier jemand?

(Wartet. Lauter) Ist hier jemand?

(Wieder lauschend) Nichts ... aber das war doch ...

(Hört wieder) Jetzt rauscht es oben ... Es schlägt von Ast zu Ast ...

(Voll Entsetzen seitwärts flüchtend) Es kommt auf mich zu ...

(Schrei des Nachtvogels) *(Tobend)* Nicht her! Laß mich ... Herrgott, hilf mir ...

(Stille. Hastig) Es war nichts ... Nur schnell, nur schnell ...

(Beginnt zu laufen, fällt nieder. Schon hinter der Szene) Oh, oh, was ist das? ... Ein Körper ... Nein, nur ein Stamm ...

Scene 2

Inky blackness, broad path, tall trees close together. She cautiously gropes her way forward.

(Still offstage) Am I still on the path?

(She stoops, groping with her hands) It is level here ...

(Crying out) What's that?...Let go!

(Trembling, she rises and tries to look at her hand) Caught? ... No, something crawled ...

(She clutches her face) And here too ... Who is it touching me? ... Away ...

(She lashes out with her hands in all directions) Away, just keep going ... for heaven's sake.

(She proceeds with arms outstretched)

There, the path is broad ...

(Quietly, thoughtfully) It was so peaceful beyond the walls of the garden ...

(Very calm) No more scythes ... No noise or movement ... And the town in the luminous mist ... how longingly I gazed over there ... And the unfathomable sky above the path that you always take when you come to me ... more translucent and distant still ... the hues of evening.

(Sadly) But you did not come.

(Motionless) Who is crying there?...

(Calling, very softly, anxiously) Is someone there?

(Waits. More loudly) Is someone there?

(Again listening) Nothing ... but surely that was ...

(Listens again) Now the rustling above me ... Moving through the branches ...

(Fleeing sideways, full of terror) It is coming upon me ...

(Screech of a night bird) *(Raving)* Don't come here! Leave me alone ... Lord, help me ...

(Stillness. Hastily) It was nothing ... Quickly, quickly ...

(She starts to run, falls to the ground.)

(Already off stage) Oh, oh...what is that? ...

A corpse ... No, just a tree trunk.

III. Scene

Weg noch immer im Dunkel. Seitlich vom Wege ein breiter heller Streifen. Das Mondlicht fällt auf eine Baumlichtung. Dort hohe Gräser, Farne, große gelbe Pilze. Die Frau kommt aus dem Dunkel.

Da kommt ein Licht!

(Atmet auf) Ach! nur der Mond ... Wie gut ...

(Wieder halb ängstlich) Dort tanzt etwas Schwarzes ... hundert Hände ...

(Sofort beherrscht) Sei nicht dumm ... es ist der Schatten ...

(Zärtlich nachdenkend) Oh! wie dein Schatten auf die weißen Wände fällt ... Aber so bald mußt du fort.

(Rauschen. Sie hält an, sieht um sich und lauscht einen Augenblick) Rufst du? ...

(Wieder träumend) Und bis zum Abend ist es so lang ...

(Leichter Windstoß. Sie sieht wieder hin) Aber der Schatten kriecht doch! ... Gelbe, breite Augen ...

(Laut des Schauderns) So vorquellend ... wie an Stielen ... Wie es glotzt ...

(Knarren im Gras. Entsetzt) Kein Tier, lieber Gott, kein Tier ... Ich habe solche Angst ... Liebster, mein Liebster, hilf mir ...

(Sie läuft weiter)

IV. Scene

Mondbeschienene, breite Straße, rechts aus dem Walde kommend. Wiesen und Felder gelbe und grüne Streifen abwechselnd. Etwas nach links verliert sich die Straße wieder im Dunkel hoher Baumgruppen. Erst ganz links sieht man die Straße frei liegen. Dort mündet auch ein Weg, der von einem Hause herunterführt. In diesem alle Fenster mit dunklen Läden geschlossen. Ein Balkon aus weißem Stein. (Die Frau kommt langsam, erschöpft. Das Gewand ist zerrissen, die Haare verwirrt. Blutige Risse an Gesicht und Händen. Umschauend.

Scene 3

The path still in the dark. Next to it a broad band of light; the moon lights up a clearing in the forest, with long grass, ferns, large yellow mushrooms. The woman approaches from the darkness.

There's a light!

(Breathes with relief) Oh, just the moon ... Lovely ...

(Again half anxiously) Something black dancing there ... hundred hands ...

(Instantly takes hold of herself) Don't be silly ... it's my shadow.

(Tenderly meditating) Oh, how your shadow fell upon the white walls ... But then you have to leave so soon.

(A rustling sound. She stops, looks around and listens a moment) Are you calling? ...

(Again dreaming) And it won't be evening for ages ...

(A light gust of wind. Again she peers) But the shadow is crawling! ... Wide yellow eyes ...

(Sound of shuddering) Protruding ... like stalks ... How it goggles ...

(Creaking in the grass. Terrified) No beast, dear God, no beast ... I'm so frightened ... Darling, my darling, help me ...

(She runs further)

Scene 4

A broad, moonlit road leads from the right out of the forest. Meadows and pastures alternating yellow and green strips. The road disappears again into the darkness of tall trees somewhat to the left. On the very left the road comes into the open again, and is joined by a path leading to a house. All the windows of the house are covered by dark shutters. A white stone balcony. The woman enters slowly, exhausted. Her dress is torn, her hair is in disarray. Bloody lacerations on her face and hands. She looks around.

Er ist auch nicht da ... Auf der ganzen, langen Straße nichts Lebendiges ... und kein Laut ... (*Schauer; lauschend*) Die weiten blassen Felder sind ohne Atem, wie erstorben ... kein Halm rührt sich ... (*Sieht die Straße entlang*) Noch immer die Stadt ... Und dieser fahle Mond ... Keine Wolke, nicht der Flügelschatten eines Nachtvogels am Himmel ... diese grenzenlose Totenblässe ... (*Sie bleibt schwankend stehen*) Ich kann kaum weiter ... Und dort läßt man mich nicht ein ... Die fremde Frau wird mich fort jagen! ... Wenn er krank ist ... (*Sie hat sich in die Nähe der Baumgruppen geschleppt, unter denen es vollständig dunkel ist*) Eine Bank ... ich muß ausruhen ...

(*Müde, unentschlossen, sehnsüchtig*) Aber so lang hab ich ihn nicht gesehen ... (*Sie kommt unter die Bäume, stößt mit den Füßen an etwas*) Nein, das ist nicht der Schatten der Bank (*Mit dem Fuß tastend, erschrocken*) Da ist jemand ... (*Beugt sich nieder, horcht*) Er atmet nicht ...

(*Sie tastet hinunter*) Feucht ... hier fließt etwas ... (*Sie tritt aus dem Schatten ins Mondlicht*) Es glänzt rot ... Ach, meine Hände sind wund gerissen ... Nein, es ist noch naß, es ist von dort ... (*Versucht mit entsetzlicher Anstrengung den Gegenstand hervorzuzerren*) Ich kann nicht. (*Bückt sich. Mit furchtbarem Schrei*) Das ist er ...

(*Sie sinkt nieder. Nach einigen Augenblicken erhebt sie sich halb, so daß ihr Gesicht den Bäumen zugewendet ist. Verwirrt*) Das Mondlicht ... nein dort ... Da ist der schreckliche Kopf ... das Gespenst ... (*Sieht unverwandt hin*) Wenn es nur endlich

He's not here either ... Nothing alive on the whole long road ... and not a sound ... (*Shuddering; listening*) Not a breath in the broad, pale fields, they seem dead ... not a blade of grass is moving ... (*She looks down the road*) There is the town ... and this pale moon ... Not a cloud, no shadow of a night bird's wing in the sky ... this boundless, deadly pallor ...

(*Totteringly she stops*) I can hardly go on ... And they won't let me in there ... The unknown woman will drive me away ... And with him so ill ... (*She has dragged herself to the clumps of trees, below which it is completely dark*) A bench ... I must have a rest ...

(*Tired, undecided, longingly*) It is so long since I last saw him ... (*She goes under the trees and touches something with her foot*) No, that isn't the shadow of the bench ... (*Feeling with her foot, frightened*) Someone is there ... (*She stoops and listens*) He isn't breathing ...

(*She gropes downward feeling about*) Moist ... something is flowing here ... (*She steps out of the shadow into the moonlight*) It shines red ... Oh, it's my hands, they are torn and bleeding ... No, it's still wet, it's from there ... (*Tries with terrible exertion to drag the object forward*) I can't do it.

(*She stoops. With a frightful cry*) It's him ...

(*She sinks to the ground. A few moments later she raises herself, turning her face towards the trees. Confused*) The moonlight ... no, there ... That terrible head ... that spectre ...

(*Gazes persistently*) If only it would

verschwände ... wie das im Wald ... Ein
Baumschatten, ein lächerlicher Zweig ...
Der Mond ist tückisch ... weil er blutleer
ist, malt er rotes Blut ...

*(Mit ausgestreckten Fingern hinweisend,
flüsternd)* Aber es wird gleich zerfließen ...
Nicht hinsehen ... Nicht darauf achten ...
Es zergeht sicher ... wie das im Wald ...

*(Sie wendet sich mit gezwungener Ruhe ab,
gegen die Straße zu)* Ich will fort ... ich
muß ihn finden ... Es muß schon spät sein

...
*(Schweigen. Unbeweglichkeit. Sie wendet
sich jäh um, aber nicht vollständig. Fast
jauchzend)* Es ist nicht mehr da ... Ich
wußte ...

*(Sie hat sich weiter gewendet, erblickt
plötzlich wieder den Gegenstand)* Es ist
noch da ... Herrgott im Himmel ...

*(Ihr Oberkörper fällt nach vorne, sie
scheint zusammenzusinken. Aber sie kriecht
mit gesenktem Haupt hin)* Es ist lebendig
(tastet) Es hat Haut ... Augen ... Haar ...
*(Sie beugt sich ganz zur Seite, als wollte sie
ihm ins Gesicht sehen)* Seine Augen ... es
hat seinen Mund ... Du ... du ... bist du es
... Ich habe dich so lang gesucht ... Im
Wald und ... *(an ihm zerrend)* Hörst du?
Sprich doch ... Sieh mich an ...

(Entsetzt, beugt sich ganz. Atemlos)
Herrgott, was ist ...

(Schreiend, rennt ein Stück fort) Hilfe ...
(Von ferne zum Hause hinauf) Um
Gotteswillen! ... rasch! ... hört mich denn
niemand? ... er liegt da ...

*(Schaut verzweifelt um sich. Eilig zurück
unter die Bäume)* Wach auf ... wach doch
auf ... Nicht tot sein ... mein Liebster ...
Nur nicht tot sein ... ich liebe dich so.
(Zärtlich, eindringlich) Unser Zimmer ist
halbhell ... alles wartet ... die Blumen
duften so stark ...

(Die Hände faltend, verzweifeln) Was soll
ich tun ... Was soll ich nur tun, daß er

disappear ... like the one in the forest ... the
shadow of a tree, an absurd branch ... The
moon is deceitful ... because it is bloodless
it paints red blood ...

*(Pointing to the spot with extended fingers,
whispering)* But it will dissolve immediately
... Don't look at it ... Take no notice ... It
will vanish, for sure ... like that in the forest
...

*(Determined to remain calm, she turns in the
direction of the road)* I must go ... I must
find him ... It must be so late already ...

*(Silence. Motionlessness. She turns around
suddenly, but not completely. Almost
shouting with joy)* It's gone ... I knew it
would ...

*(She turns a little more and suddenly sees
the object again)* It's still there ... Oh my
God ...

*(She lunges forward, and seems to collapse.
But she crawls forward with bended head)*
It's alive ... *(feels about)* It has skin ... eyes
... hair ...

*(She bends entirely to one side close to him,
as though trying to look into his face)* His
eyes ... it has his mouth ... You ... you ... is
it you ... I've been searching for you such a
long time ... In the forest and ... *(tugging at
him)* Can you hear me? Say something ...
Look at me ...

(Frightened, bends entirely. Breathless)
Lord, what is ...

(Shrieking, runs off a bit) Help ...
(She calls in the direction of the house) For
God's sake ... quickly ... doesn't anybody
hear me? ... he is lying there ...

*(Looks around her in despair. Hurriedly,
back under the trees)* Wake up ... Do wake
up ... Please don't be dead ... my dearest ...
You can't be dead ... I love you so ...
(Tenderly, urgently) Our room lies in the
half-light ... everything is ready ... the
flowers smell so sweet and strong ...

(Folding her hands, despairing) What can I
do ... what on earth can I do to make him

aufwacht? ...

(Sie greift ins Dunkel hinein, faßt seine Hand) Deine liebe Hand ...

(zusammenzuckend, fragend) So kalt? ...

(Sie zieht die Hand an sich, küßt sie.

Schüchtern schmeichelnd) Wird sie nicht warm an meiner Brust?

(Sie öffnet das Gewand) Mein Herz ist so heiß vom Warten ...

(Flehend, leise) Die Nacht ist bald vorbei ... Du wolltest doch bei mir sein diese Nacht.

(Ausbrechend) Oh! es ist heller Tag ...

Bleibst du am Tage bei mir? ... Die Sonne glüht auf uns ... deine Hände liegen auf mir

... deine Küsse ... mein bist du ... du ...

Sieh mich doch an, Liebster, ich liege neben dir ... So sieh mich doch an ...

(Sie erhebt sich, sieht ihn an, erwachend)

Ah! wie starr ... Wie fürchterlich deine Augen sind ...

(Laut aufweinend) Drei Tage warst du nicht bei mir ... Aber heute ... so sicher ... Der Abend war so voll Frieden ... Ich schaute und wartete ...

(ganz versunken) Über die Gartenmauer dir entgegen ... So niedrig ist sie ... Und dann winken wir beide ...

(Aufschreiend) Nein, nein ... es ist nicht wahr ... Wie kannst du tot sein? ... Überall lebstest du ... Eben noch im Wald ... deine Stimme so nah an meinem Ohr ... immer, immer warst du bei mir ... dein Hauch auf meiner Wange ... deine Hand auf meinem Haar ...

(Angstvoll) Nicht wahr ... es ist nicht wahr? Dein Mund bog sich doch eben noch unter meinen Küssen ... Dein Blut tropft noch jetzt mit leisem Schlag ... Dein Blut ist noch lebendig ...

(Sie beugt sich tief über ihn) Oh! der breite rote Streif ... Das Herz haben sie getroffen ...

(Fast unhörbar) Ich will es küssen ... mit dem letzten Atem ... dich nie mehr loslassen ...

wake up? ...

(She gropes in the darkness and takes his hand) Your dear hand ...

(convulsively, questioning) so cold? ...

(She draws the hand towards her and kisses it. Timidly caressing) Won't it get warm, clasped to my breast?

(She opens her dress) My heart is so hot from waiting ...

(Imploring, softly) The night is nearly over ... You were going to spend tonight with me.

(Bursting out) Oh, it is broad daylight ...

Are you going to spend the day with me? ...

The sun glows down upon us ... your hands are upon me ... your kisses ... you are mine

... you ... Do look at me, dearest, I am lying beside you ... so just look at me.

(She rises, looks at him, awakening) Ah, how rigid ... How frightful your eyes are ...

(Bursting loudly into tears) It is three days since you came to me ... But today ... I was certain ... The evening was so peaceful ... I kept looking and waiting ...

(wholly absorbed) Across the garden wall, towards you ... It's quite low ... And then we both wave ...

(Crying out) No, no ... it isn't true ... How can you be dead? ... Your life was everywhere ... Just now, in the forest ... your voice right by my ear ... Always, always you were near me ... your breath on my cheek ... your hand upon my hair ...

(Fearful) Tell me ... it isn't true? Just now your mouth yielded to my kisses ... Your blood still drips with a gentle pulse ... Your blood is still alive ...

(She bends deeply over him) Oh, the broad red stripe ... They have struck you to the heart ...

(Nearly inaudible) I want to kiss it ... with my last breath ... I'll never let you go again ...

(richtet sich halb auf) In deine Augen sehn
... Alles Licht kam ja aus deinen Augen ...
mir schwindelte, wenn ich dich ansah ...

*(In der Erinnerung lächelnd, geheimnisvoll,
zärtlich)* Nun küss ich mich an dir zu Tode.

*(Tiefes Schweigen. Sie sieht ihn unverwandt
an. Nach einer Pause plötzlich)* Aber so
seltsam ist dein Auge ...

(verwundert) Wohin schaust du?

(Heftiger) Was suchst du denn?

(Sieht sich um; nach dem Balkon) Steht
dort jemand?

(Wieder zurück, die Hand an der Stirn) Wie
war das nur das letzte Mal? ...

(immer vertiefter) War das damals nicht
auch in deinem Blick?

(Angestrengt in der Erinnerung suchend)
Nein, nur so zerstreut ... oder ... und
plötzlich bezwangst du dich ...

(Immer klarer werdend) Und drei Tage
warst du nicht bei mir ... keine Zeit ... So
oft hast du keine Zeit gehabt in diesen
letzten Monaten ...

(Jammernd, wie abwehrend) Nein, das ist
doch nicht möglich ... das ist doch ...

(in blitzartiger Erinnerung) Ah, jetzt
erinnere ich mich ... der Seufzer im
Halbschlaf ... wie ein Name ... du hast mir
die Frage von den Lippen geküßt ...

(Grübelnd) Aber warum versprach er mir,
heute zu kommen? ...

(In rasender Angst) Ich will das nicht ...
nein ich will nicht ...

(Aufspringend, sich umwendend) Warum
hat man dich getötet? ... Hier vor dem
Hause ... Hat dich jemand entdeckt? ...

(Aufschreiend, wie sich anklammernd)
Nein, nein ... mein einzig Geliebter ... das
nicht ...

(Zitternd) Oh, der Mond schwankt ... ich
kann nicht sehen ... Schau mich doch an ...

(rast plötzlich) Du siehst wieder dort hin?
...

(half raises herself) I'll look into your eyes
... You know that your eyes were the source
of all my light ... whenever I looked at you I
grew dizzy ...

*(In reminiscence smiling, mysteriously,
tenderly)* Now I shall kiss you until I die of
it.

*(Deep silence. She looks at him persistently.
Suddenly after a pause)* But your eyes are so
strange ...

(astonished) Where are you looking?

(More intensely) What are you searching
for? *(She looks towards the balcony)* Is
someone standing there?

(Back again, her hand on her forehead) But
how was it, the last time? ...

(more and more absorbed) Wasn't there also
something that time, the way you looked at
me?

(Strenuously searching her memory) No, just
so distracted ... or ... and suddenly you
checked yourself ...

(Becoming more and more clear) And you
did not come to me for three days ... too
busy ... How often you have been too busy
these last months ...

(Wailing, as if warding off something) No,
that really isn't possible ... that really is ...

(in lightning recollection) Ah, now I re-
member ... that sigh, when you were half
asleep ... like a name ... you kissed the
question away from my lips ...

(Pondering) But why did he promise to
come today?

(In mad anguish) I won't have it ... no, I
won't ...

(Springing up, turning around) Why did
they kill you? ... Here, in front of the house
... Did someone discover you? ...

(Crying out, as if clinging) No, no ... my
only love ... not that.

(Trembling) Oh, the moon is swaying ... I
can't see ... Just look at me ...

(rages suddenly) Are you glancing over
there again? ...

(*Nach dem Balkon*) Wo ist sie denn ... die Hexe, die Dirne ... die Frau mit den weißen Armen ...

(*höhnisch*) Oh, du liebst sie ja die weißen Arme ... wie du sie rot küßt ...

(*Mit geballten Fäusten*) Oh, du ... du ... du Elender, du Lügner ... du ... Wie deine Augen mir ausweichen! ... Krümmst du dich vor Scham? ...

(*Stößt mit dem Fuß gegen ihn*) Hast sie umarmt ... Ja? ...

(*von Ekel geschüttelt*) so zärtlich und gierig ... und ich wartete ... Wo ist sie hingelaufen, als du im Blut lagst? ... Ich will sie an den weißen Armen herschleifen ... so

(*Gebärde; zusammenbrechend*) Für mich ist kein Platz da ...

(*schluchzt auf*) Oh! nicht einmal die Gnade, mit dir sterben zu dürfen ...

(*Sinkt nieder, weinend*) Wie lieb, wie lieb ich dich gehabt hab' ... Allen Dingen ferne lebte ich ... allem fremd ...

(*in Träumerei versinkend*) Ich wußte nichts als dich ... dieses ganze Jahr ... seit du zum ersten Mal meine Hand nahmst ... oh, so warm ... nie früher liebte ich jemanden so ... Dein Lächeln und dein Reden ... ich hatte dich so lieb ...

(*Stille und Schluchzen. Dann leise, sich aufrichtend*) Mein Lieber ... mein einziger Liebling ... hast du sie oft geküßt? ... während ich vor Sehnsucht verging ...

(*Flüsternd*) Hast du sie sehr geliebt?

(*Flehend*) Sag nicht: ja ... Du lächelst schmerzlich ... Vielleicht hast du auch gelitten ... vielleicht rief dein Herz nach ihr ...

(*Stiller, warm*) Was kannst du dafür? ... Oh, ich fluchte dir ... Aber dein Mitleid machte mich glücklich ... Ich glaubte, war im Glück ...

(*Stille. Dämmerung links im Osten. Tief am Himmel Wolken, von schwachem Schein*

(*Towards the balcony*) Where is she, then ... the witch, the whore ... the woman with the white arms ...

(*scornfully*) Oh, you love them, don't you, those white arms ... you redden them with your kisses ...

(*With clenched fists*) Oh you ... you ... you wretch, you liar ... you ... How your eyes avoid me! ... Are you cringing for shame? ...

(*She kicks him*) Have you embraced her? ... Yes? ...

(*shaking with disgust*) so tenderly and greedily ... and I waited ... Where did she run to, while you were lying in your own blood? ... I'll drag her here by her white arms ... like this (*gesture; breaking down*) ... There is no

place for me ...

(*bursts into sobs*) Oh, not even to be allowed to die with you ...

(*She sinks to the ground, weeping*) How dearly, how dearly I loved you ... I lived far from everything ... A stranger to everyone ...

(*sinking into a reverie*) I knew nothing but you ... all this year ... since that first time that you took me by the hand ... oh, so warm ... never did I love anyone like that before ... Your smile and your speech ... I loved you so ...

(*Silence and sobbing. The softly, she raises herself*) My dear ... my only darling ... did you kiss her often? ... while I was dying with longing.

(*Whispering*) Did you love her very much?

(*Imploring*) Don't say yes ... You smile pain- fully ... Maybe you too have suffered ... maybe your heart called out for her ...

(*More calmly, warmly*) Is it your fault? ... Oh, I cursed you ... but your compassion made me happy ... I believed ... I was happy ...

(*Stillness. Dawn breaks in the east. Low clouds in the sky, illuminated by the pale*

durchleuchtet, gelblich schimmernd wie Kerzenlicht. Sie steht auf) Liebster, Liebster, der Morgen kommt ... Was soll ich allein hier tun? ... In diesem endlosen Leben ... in diesem Traum ohne Grenzen und Farben ... denn meine Grenze war der Ort, an dem du warst ... und alle Farben der Welt brachen aus deinen Augen ... Das Licht wird für alle kommen ... aber ich allein in meiner Nacht? ... Der Morgen trennt uns ... immer der Morgen ... So schwer küßt du zum Abschied ... wieder ein ewiger Tag des Wartens ... Oh du erwachst ja nicht mehr ... Tausend Menschen ziehn vorüber ... ich erkenne dich nicht ... Alle leben, ihre Augen flammen ... Wo bist du? ...

(Leiser) Es ist dunkel ... dein Kuß wie ein Flammenzeichen in meiner Nacht ... meine Lippen brennen und leuchten ... dir entgegen ...

(in Entzücken aufschreiend) Oh, bist du da

...

(irgend etwas entgegen) ich suchte ...

yellow glow, shimmering like candlelight. She gets up) Beloved, beloved, day is breaking ... What am I to do here, all alone? ... In this endless life ... in this dream without limits and colors ... since the limit of my existence was wherever you were ... and all the colors of the world shone only from your eyes ... Light will dawn for all others ... but I, all alone in my darkness? ... Morning separates us ... always morning ... How heavy your farewell kiss ... another interminable day of waiting ... oh, but you will never awaken again ... A thousand people pass by ... I cannot see you among them ... All are alive, their eyes aflame ... Where are you?

(More softly) It is dark ... your kiss, like a beacon in my darkness ... my lips burn and gleam ... towards you ...

(crying out in delight) Oh, you are here ...

(towards something) I was looking.

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