Brigham Young University
BYU ScholarsArchive

Theses and Dissertations

2012-04-17

German Nationalism and the Allegorical Female in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *The Hall of Stars*

Allison Slingting
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd

Part of the Art Practice Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Slingting, Allison, "German Nationalism and the Allegorical Female in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *The Hall of Stars*" (2012). *Theses and Dissertations*. 3170.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/3170

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

German Nationalism and the Allegorical Female in

Karl Friedrich Schinkel's

The Hall of Stars

Allison Sligting Mays

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Heather Belnap Jensen, Chair
Robert B. McFarland
Martha Moffitt Peacock

Department of Visual Arts

Brigham Young University

August 2012

Copyright © 2012 Allison Sligting Mays

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

German Nationalism and the Allegorical Female in
Karl Friedrich Schinkel's
The Hall of Stars

Allison Sligting Mays
Department of Visual Arts, BYU
Master of Arts

In this thesis I consider Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *The Hall of Stars in the Palace of the Queen of the Night* (1813), a set design of *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute*), in relation to female audiences during a time of Germanic nationalism. Although Schinkel is customarily known as the great modern architect of Germany, his work as a set designer is exceedingly telling of his feelings toward the political and geographical unification of the Germanic regions. Through his set designs, Schinkel successfully used the influential space of the theatre to articulate not only nationalism, but positive female empowerment in his allegorical depiction of woman. However, the popularity of the theatre as an educational tool for women during the early nineteenth-century has remained largely overlooked. Additionally, the evil nature of the Queen of the Night in Emanuel Schikaneder's libretto has made the differentiation of Schinkel's positive figural interpretation essentially unnoticed.

Though scholars have addressed Schinkel's aesthetic in terms of nationalism, the incorporation of allegorical women into his work and their responsibilities within this movement remains understudied. This thesis discusses the vision of nationalism as not necessarily an ideology of politics, but rather an ideology of religion and a unified culture. Through the German Romantic notion of the Eternal Feminine and the expanding study of maternal feminism, this thesis discusses the acknowledgement of the encouraging roles of women morally, spiritually, and nationalistically during a significant political time in Germany's history. Additionally, discussion of the theatre as a popular nationalistic institution for education allowed Schinkel's design for *Die Zauberflöte* to specifically engage and connect female viewers with nationalism. I attempt to show how all of these contextual ideologies were expressed through the allegorical female. Furthermore, in recognition of female viewers through allegory, Schinkel's *The Hall of Stars* expressed an empowerment of the feminine role within the drive for national unification.

Keywords: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Die Zauberflöte*, German Romanticism, nationalism, women spectators, theatre

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been incredibly grateful for the personal growth and academic development I have experienced while working on this thesis and throughout my academic career thus far, which would not have been possible without the support and assistance of numerous individuals. I would like to thank the faculty of the Department of Art History for their guidance and passion and for instilling in me a strong desire and love for the subject of Art History. Many thanks to Mark Magleby, James Swenson, and Mark Johnson. I express particular gratitude to Heather Belnap Jensen, Martha Moffit Peacock, and Robert B. McFarland for their encouragement and support in accomplishing this personal and academic undertaking.

I would like to express the utmost gratitude to my parents, Henry and Janet Sligting, and my brother, Matthew, for their unconditional love and encouragement. I could not have accomplished this goal without you and cannot begin to express my love and appreciation for you and everything you have helped me achieve. You are three of my greatest strengths and advocates. Most of all, I would like to express my deepest love and gratitude to my husband, Matt, whose friendship and companionship I could not live without. I am forever grateful for your love and support and cannot articulate how much your encouragement has meant. I admire and love you with all of my heart.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures v

Introduction 1

Female Allegory and the Eternal Feminine 7

The Divinity of Woman and the Eternal Feminine 11

Romantic Aesthetics and Natural Manifestations of the Divine Feminine 16

Woman as Mother, Hope, and Unification 21

Imagery of Women in the Public Sphere and on Stage 25

The Theatrical Sphere and German Nationalism 33

Conclusion 45

Images 47

Bibliography 57

List of Figures

Figure 1. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *The Hall of Stars in the Palace of the Queen of the Night*, 1813, gouache, Staatliche Mussen, Berlin.

Figure 2. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Monument to the Wars of Liberation, commissioned 1814, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989).

Figure 3. *Mariensäule*, 1638, Munich.

Figure 4. Peter Overadt's publishing house, *Ehren=Taffel*, 1659, single-leaf print, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg.

Figure 5. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmic…historia*, 1637, print, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Figure 6. Raphael, *Sistine Madonna*, 1512-1513, oil on canvas, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

Figure 7. Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia und Germania*, 1828, oil on canvas, Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

Figure 8. Philipp Otto Runge, *Tageszeiten*, 1808, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Figure 9. Caspar David Friedrich, *Woman Before the Setting Sun*, 1818, oil on canvas, Museum Folkwang, Essen.

Figure 10. Caspar David Friedrich, *Tetschen Altar*, 1807, oil on canvas, Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden.

Figure 11. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Susanne*, 1810-1813, pencil and black and grey wash, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

Figure 12. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Schlossbrücke*, 1820-1824, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

Figure 13. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Tempel der Vesta*, 1818, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Figure 14. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *St. Elizabeth*, 1832-1835, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

Figure 15. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *St. Johannes*, 1832-1835, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

Figure 16. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Diana vor Tempel*, 1820, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Figure 17. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Hain des Isistempels*, 1813, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Figure 18. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Monument to the Wars of Liberation*, 1821, Berlin.

Introduction

On January 18, 1816, Karl Friedrich Schinkel premiered twelve designs for the German opera *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute)* at the Schauspielhaus in Berlin, receiving instant acclaim.[1] Their debut played a part in the staging of one of Prussia's grandest celebrations in which Berlin commemorated the belated centennial of the coronation of Prussia's first king, King Frederic I, and the recent Prussian victory over Napoleon. *Die Zauberflöte* was one of the main events of this centennial celebration.[2] With the libretto by Emanuel Schikaneder, and music by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, this operatic design was celebrated as Schinkel's greatest triumph and was honored by both the *Dramaturgischen Wochenblatt* (Dramatic Weekly Report) and the *Vossischen Zeitung* (Voss Newspaper), which described the twelve designs in detail--a rare occurrence for papers of the time to publish.[3] E.T.A. Hoffman who wrote of the premier in the *Wochenblatt* in 1816 stated: "All was grasped with one glance in a great impression together, and time and attention were saved for the undisturbed progress of the play."[4] Schinkel's first fully designed dramatic production was a success on all accounts and at

[1] The Schauspielhaus in which *Die Zauberflöte* premiered, was originally built by Friedrich Gilly, who was one of Schinkel's most influential aesthetic and ideological mentors. Although Schinkel was a great architect in his own right, Schinkel's entire architectural career can be linked to Friedrich Gilly, whose architectural designs were involved in both neoclassical, as well as a romantic aesthetic. The original Schauspielhaus burned and was rebuilt by Schinkel at the Gendarmenmarkt in 1821. For more information on the Schinkel's relationship with Gilly, see Fritz Neumeyer, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture* (The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities: Santa Monica, CA, 1994.

[2] *Die Zauberflöte* first premiered in Vienna in 1791 and was well received. The premier of this beloved opera in 1816 with Schinkel's stage designs is considered by some to be one of the most influential aesthetic experiences of the opera for the viewing public. See Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Bühnenentwürfe/Stage Designs vol. 1* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1990).

[3] Mozart was also praised for his musical compositions. For a more detailed discussion of how the designs were received, see Rebecca J. Hilliker PhD Dissertation, "The Classical-Romantic Scenic Designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel," (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981).

[4] Qtd. in Rebecca Hilliker, 219-220.

the center of acclaim was Schinkel's design for *The Hall of Stars in the Palace of the Queen of the Night* (*Palast der Königen der Nacht*) (1815) (Fig. 1).[5]

Knowing of Schinkel's design and painting talent, Count Brühl, director of the Royal Berlin Theatre, asked him to be the chief designer for *Die Zauberflöte* in 1815.[6] Schinkel's aesthetic skills were vast and acknowledged by many. His artistic oeuvre encompassed painting, theatrical design, industrial design, transparency painting, and architectural design, which scholars of today typically focus on in discussions of Schinkel.[7] At the time of the premier of *Die Zauberflöte* in 1816, Schinkel's theatrical designs were his most recognized and praised aesthetic form, largely because they indicated significant modifications to the existing Baroque theatrical tradition in set design.[8] *The Hall of Stars* has been recognized for its creative execution since its conception yet it has remained within a social historical context since its debut. Thus, the cultural narrative concerning this particular set design merits a deeper exploration into the political and societal spheres it occupied. Continued examination of this design will reveal a stronger concern for the political well being of nationalism and the role of the female sex within the supporting movement than has yet been acknowledged. Scholarly discussions have not taken into account

---

[5] In future reference, this set design will be identified as *The Hall of Stars.*

[6] Although Schinkel is predominantly known as an architect, his career as a painter is widely recognized by scholars of German Romanticism. For some key sources of Schinkel's paintings, see William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Michael Snodin, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); and John Zukowsky, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1781-1841: The Drama of Architecture* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994).

[7] Rather than focusing their research on a particular aspect of Schinkel's aesthetic career, scholarship concerning Schinkel, particularly English scholarship, typically offers a compilation or survey of the highlights from the various arts in which he participated. This method of scholarship is helpful for contextualizing Schinkel within art history, since he is not as widely recognized by American audiences as such contemporaries as Caspar David Friedrich. See Snodin and Zukowsky.

[8] For further discussion of Schinkel's technical innovations to transform the tradition of set designing set forth by Baroque artists, see Kurt. W. Forster, "Only Things that Stir the Imagination: Schinkel as a Scenographer," in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841: the Drama of Architecture,* ed. John Zukowsky (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994)

the theoretical implications of Schinkel's female figure in *The Hall of Stars* and how her position within the composition ignites strong nationalist sentiment, particularly in recognition of female audiences viewing this opera. Nor has it attended to how the popular attendance of the theatre facilitated the institution as a public and politically educational tool. In this thesis I will argue that *The Hall of Stars* persuasively participated in early nineteenth-century discourse concerning imagery of woman and her role within Germanic nationalism. Furthermore, I argue Schinkel accomplished this through his figural representation of the Queen of the Night as an allegorical catalyst of nationalism as the maternal and Eternal Feminine.

To achieve this I will first examine the allegorical female in both her historical representation, as well as her strong presence among prominent artists and literary figures in early nineteenth-century Germany as the "Eternal Feminine."[9] This discussion will further elaborate on the nationalistic discourse concerning women, particularly through the aesthetics of Romanticism. Additionally, I will discuss the religious symbolism and Marian iconology in the creation of this ideal. Finally, I will discuss the role of the theatre, particularly in Schinkel's work as a set designer, to promote nationalism and its influence in not only how it empowered the female sex, but also as an educational tool for women participating in the public realm.[10] Women's participation within the public realm through maternal feminism will also be a key

[9] For discussion of the Eternal Feminine, see Harold Jantz, "The Place of the 'Eternal Womanly' in Goethe's Faust Drama" *PMLA* 68.4 (September 1953): 791-805; Heather Belnap Jensen, "The Eternal Feminine and Beyond: Women in the Painting of Caspar David Friedrich," Unpublished paper, 1997; Kathryn Rott, "Unveiling the Eternal Feminine: Vision and Blindess in Goethe's Faust," Master's Thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2008; Susan L. Cocalls & Kay Goodman, eds. *Beyond the Eternal Feminine: Critical Essays on Women and German Literature*, (Stuttgart: Akademishcer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1982); and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Frederick Ungar ed. *The Eternal Feminine: Selected Poems of Goethe* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 1980).

[10] For discussion of German theatre and Schinkel's participation in the theatrical realm, see Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1986); Ronald Hayman, *The German Theatre: A Symposium* (London: Wolff; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975); Rebecca J. Hilliker, "The Classical-Romantic Scenic Designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel" PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984; Michael Snodin, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); and John Zukowsky, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1781-1841: The Drama of Architecture* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994).

argument in my discussion of the theatrical sphere. This type of feminism, as described by Ann Taylor Allen, means the roles of discourses based on motherhood in feminist movements. As opposed to traditional interpretations of feminism, Allen argues a kind of feminism based upon the maternal nature of women, which imbued the female sex with a greater sense of responsibility and influence within a social context.[11] Although investigated by some scholars, the public involvement of women in the early nineteenth-century, particularly within the nationalistic movement in Germany, has been undervalued. The female engagement with the nationalist sentiment was a unique experience among the Germanic principalities, which caused individuals, such as Schinkel, to use aesthetics and incorporate the feminine into the nationalistic drive for unification.[12] His work became part of a social imaginary that developed among the principalities towards a positive feminine discourse within Germanic aesthetics. This allowed Schinkel to further develop a feminine philosophy through the use of allegory. Consequently, female allegory participated in the creation of a unified way of living and representing Germanic culture collectively.[13] Therefore, women acquired a greater positive ideological portrayal, particularly within their role for unification. I will argue women did not participate in the public sphere as far as traditional politics; however, through the social imaginary and maternal feminism with its cultural manifestations, women asserted the improvement of their status.[14]

---

[11] Maternal feminism is a theoretical concept developed by Ann Taylor Allen and will be discussed in relation to this thesis further on, see "Feminism and Motherhood in Germany and in International Perspective 1800-1914," *Gender and Germanness* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997).

[12] For a discussion of women within the public sphere, see Eve Rosenhaft, "Gender" in *Germany 1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Patricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller, eds., *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997).

[13] For further discussion of social imaginary, see John B. Thompson, *Studies in The Theory of Ideology* (California: University of California Press, 1984), 6 and Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. Polity Press, (Polity Press, 1987).

[14] Allen, 113.

The Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars* exemplifies the Eternal Feminine and maternal figure, to which women aspired. However, female viewers could not holistically embody every characteristic of these two roles, thus the Queen of the Night enhanced the perspective of the feminine viewing audience toward obtaining aspects of these admired ideological representations. Therefore, the figural representation of the Queen is closely connected with the ideals associated with these roles as depicted by well-known artists and writers of the period. Their expression participated in the social imaginary that amplified the visual impact of the Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars*. A single female figure within the scene, the Queen of the Night is placed atop a radiantly white crescent moon. Wearing seemingly regal dress, which reflects the firmament above in the dappling of luminescent white markings, the Queen's position is reminiscent of Nature herself; she is connected to the earth with her left hand facing downward and her right hand turning upward in connection to the heavens. The impressively large crown upon her head, which appears as one of the stars above, as well as the deep blue of her clothing, again emphasizes her royal status and reflects the lustrous sky and her connection to the heavens. Filling the sky are luminous stars aligning symmetrically, which highlight the vastness of the atmosphere and realm over which the Queen rules. Emphasizing a spherical shape, they lead the eye upward and create an overall balanced composition. Below the stars and the crescent moon dramatic clouds gather concealing a feverish red glow. Framing the entire lower half of the scene these clouds seem to magnetically rise towards the Queen, directing the viewer where to rest their gaze.

Schinkel's portrayal of the Queen of the Night, as well as the musical characterization of the Queen in Mozart's score, are in stark contrast to the narrative character of the Queen within the libretto. Although she is believed to be good during the first half of the opera, her nature is

revealed to be evil during the second half of the narrative.[15] Nevertheless, Mozart composes several glorious arias for this character, and Schinkel's portrayal of her figure in *The Hall of Stars* problematizes her evil nature.[16] Moreover, at the time of the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte* in 1816, Romantic ideology further substantiated a positive reception of the Queen's visual personification.[17] This, in essence, called for a recasting of her foundational character at the beginning of the nineteenth century and offered a more complex context for her having a positive reception by female audiences. This positive perception is particularly significant in light of the drive towards nationalism.[18] Additionally, I would argue that the figure of the Queen of the

---

[15] The Queen of the Night's character, particularly in terms of gendered attributes, is continually ambiguous throughout the opera given her shift to an evil nature during the latter half of the libretto. However, even with the negativity associated with her character, she is imbued with motherly characteristics in the desire for her daughter: "Zum Leiden bin ich auserkoren,/ Denn meine Tochter fehlet mir;/ Durch sie ging all mein Glück verloren" (I have been selected to suffer,/ For my daughter has been taken from me;/ Through her I have lost all of my fortune) (Act 1 Scene 4) translation by Burton D. Fisher *Mozart's The Magic Flute* (Florida: Opera Journeys Publishing, 2001),16. And in the sacred gifts she gives Tamino to act as a spiritual guides when she cannot be with him: "Dies sendet unsre Fürstin dir./ Die Zauberflöte wird dich schützen…Drei Knäbchen, jung, schön, und weise/ Umschweben euch auf eurer Reise,/ Sie werden eure Führer sein" (This our Queen sends to you./ The magic flute will protect you./ … Three boys, young, beautiful, and wise/ will guide you on your journey/ they will be your guides.) (Act 1 Scene 5) Fisher, 18-19.

[16] The libretto for *Die Zauberflöte* in general is ambiguous in terms of gender. Although the Queen of the Night and Sorastro at times represent polar opposites in terms of genderend characteristics, woman is permitted into an inner spiritual realm through the Queen's daughter, Pamina in her marriage to Tamino. Pamina's marriage, in essence heals the gendered severence and restores balance: "Triumph! Triumph! Du edles Paar!/ Besiegst hast du die Gefahr!/ Der Isis Weihe ist nun dein!/ Kommt, tretet in den Tempel ein!" (Triumph! Triumph! You noble pair!/ You have overcome the danger!/ You are now consecrated to Isis!/ Come, enter the temple!) (Act 2 Scene 7), Fisher, 69.

[17] *Die Zauberflöte's* original premier was in 1791, during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. At its premier the opera was inscribed with male empowerment. The libretto in particular reflected Freemasonry and Enlightenment ideology concerning the triumph of men through intellect and reason, while women and their actions were seen as the antithesis of man's power. See, 16. However, a more progressive view of women coincided with the development of German Romanticism in the nineteenth century. A rehabilitated view of women was propagated, however it should be made clear this positive restoration, particularly through the use of allegory, held an iconic and symbolic view. Allegorical representations were not holistic examples that real women could become. For a discussion of that supports the view of Schinkel's interpretation of *The Hall of Stars* in a positive manner because of nineteenth-century Romanic philosohpy, see Elizabeth Millán-Zaibert, *Friedrich Schlegel and the Emergence of Romantic Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); Sara Friedrichsmeyer, *The Androgyne in Early German Romanticism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1983); and Lisa C. Roetzel, "Feminizing Philosophy," in *Theory as Practice, A Critical Anthology of Early German Romantic Writings*, ed. and trans. Jochen Schulte-Sasse et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[18] The use of allegory for political power was widespread across Europe, particularly at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. In particular, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a German art historian,

Night reveals Schinkel's sentiment for not only nationalism, but for his personal relationships with the women in his life. His allegiance to unification and to women, through allegorical representations, presents Schinkel's use of the allegorical female as maternal and Eternal Feminine. In particular, through the use of the theatre as an educational tool, the Queen of the Night in the *Hall of Stars* can be viewed as a significant aesthetic piece promoting Germanic unification.

Female Allegory and the Eternal Feminine

Allegory, representing authoritative and societal goals, has traditionally facilitated the unification of nation-states.[19] Furthermore, the practice of using the female figure as a metaphor or allegory to convey meaning was an integral ingredient towards the progression of those goals. As precedent, Germania, Germany's most recognized female allegorical figure, began as a representation of art, music, and poetry dating back to the Romans.[20] Her allegorical role came to be identified as a liberator and mother of Germany for geographic locations, state political

---

propagated the use of allegory as an ideal form of morality and beauty among the Germanic principalities. While in France the use of female allegory was especially prominent as means for a more radical political progression during the French Revolution. Although French messages were often revolutionary, their use to propagate values was clearly part of visual culture in Germany as well. For a greater discussion of the allegorical tradition in France and Germany, see Antoine De Baecque, "The Allegorical Image of France, 1750-1800: A Political Crisis of Representation," *Representations* 47 (Summer, 1994): 111-143. Yet by the nineteenth century, after the French Revolution had ended and considering the Napoleonic occupation of Germany, the Germanic principalities obviously wanted to distance themselves from France. To do this, Germanic artists sought to drain the revolutionary associations with allegory to instead handle them carefully as means for refinement and non-riotous propaganda, see John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and the Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 126. Schinkel's representation of the Queen of the Night is one such example of this careful representation. Although the Queen has strong associations with nationalism, she is not an allegorical figure promoting radical political ideals. Much of this view is facilitated through his emphasis on Marian iconography, which will be discussed later in this thesis. However, it must be mentioned that although Schinkel sought to refine the Queen's figure, the negativity associated with revolutionary and Enlightenment associations from the eighteenth century cannot be completely drained.

[19] See Karen M. Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[20] Herminghouse and Mueller, 2.

systems, or even specific ideals such as motherhood and the virginal young woman.[21] Moreover, Germania became a comprehensive symbol for all the Germanic principalities. She reflected the aesthetic goals of nationalism by personifying ideals to which all German people could relate. Schinkel himself imagined a Germania-type for a monument to the Wars of Liberation (1814). The structure was never built but still allegorically associated a female figure as a liberator of Germanic culture and geography (Fig. 2). Additionally, numerous writers and artists have depicted Germania's evolution through literature and visual representation, yet her portrayal is just one example of an aesthetic nationalistic female figure as an allegorical representation of pure, merciful, and maternal values.[22]

Similarly, Schinkel's interpretation of the Queen of the Night proposes a promotion for cultural unity between the principalities through an allegorical female figure. Although the opera was originally composed in Austria, Schinkel successfully translated Mozart's composition and Schikaneder's libretto within a Prussian cultural framework, therefore transcribing the opera into a pan-Germanic social and cultural experience. Part of Schinkel's success resulted from his relationship to German Romantic philosophy. Within the larger visual context of German Romanticism, the use of female allegory is readily evident, which demonstrates the prominent role she played in political and social culture. Particularly within the role of the Eternal Feminine, the German Romantic woman embodied the qualities of a mother, a creative power, and a spiritual force.

---

[21] For further development of the allegorical relationships to Germania, see Kerstin Wilhelms, "Michel und Germania – ein deutsches Geschlechterverhältnis." *Der weibliche multikulturelle Blick*. Ed. Hannelore Scholz and Brita Baume (Berlin, 1995). See especially pages 36-51.

[22] Although Germania is often represented as a female warrior, her core values remained largely maternal. For painted examples of Germania, see Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia und Germania*, 1828; Philipp Veit, *Germania*, 1834; and Philipp Veit, *Germania*, 1848 offer iconic aesthetic examples of Germania.

As an allegorical concept of woman, the Eternal Feminine is realized in Goethe's *Faust I* and *II* (1808 and 1832). Here Goethe empowers a female representation towards a powerfully divine realm. Identified as a figure embodying the divine characteristics of love and grace, traditionally recognized in the Virgin Mary, the Eternal Feminine also personifies the woman as an influentially imaginative and creative power. Harold Jantz asserts that Goethe's use of the "Eternal-Womanly" also symbolizes motherhood, which additionally includes the characteristics of love and grace. Jantz maintains that these qualities, as they describe motherhood, are emblematically associated with nature.[23] Moreover, the Eternal Feminine is often associated with the creative forces of Mother Nature, which also offers the concept to be represented in a visual reference of a female figure.[24]

Contemporary with Goethe's *Faust I* and *II*, several other German authors privileged the role of women and their relationships to nature, creative power, and the spiritually divine. As an example, Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* (1799) describes a female protagonist who takes on the roles of powerful priestess and creative artist. Lucinde seeks to save her lover Julius from disastrous consequences of a divine nature and in her quest to do so becomes anointed and beautified as an embodiment of powerful female positivity.[25] Lucinde, whose name is derived from the Latin *lux*, meaning light, is a light to spiritual enlightenment for Julius. However,

[23] Jantz, 803-4.

[24] For a discussion of the Eternal Feminine as Mother Nature, see Kathryn Rott, who offers an in depth perspective of the Eternal Feminine in her masters thesis titled: "Unveiling the Eternal Feminine: Vision and blindness in Goethe's Faust" (Colorado: University of Colorado at Boulder, 2008).

[25] In the process to save Julius, who is introduced to the reader as a painter, Schlegel also introduces Lucinde as a creative artist. She demonstrates to Julius the creation of true art, thus embodying the female image with creative forces. Julius studies Lucinde's paintings of landscapes, which exemplify quality execution in both theoretical vision and implementation of formal elements, in an effort to educate himself. For further discussion of the relationship of the female figure and creative power in Schlegel's *Lucinde*, see Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticsm and Its Institutions* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1990).

incongruous with the typical representation of light, meaning the light of the day, Lucinde's light is the illumination of the night seen in a pale moon and stars, which blanket a darkened sky; she is the priestess of the night. Nicholas V. Riasanovsky likens Lucinde to the goddess Diana, whose symbol of the moon signifies her as a priestess of the night. The moon is her illumination, which reflects the light of the sun.[26]

Just as the moon and stars represent power given to Lucinde, Schinkel similarly characterizes the Queen of the Night as a priestess of the night whose power is suggested by the moon and stars in *The Hall of Stars*. Symmetrically arranged, the firmament obeys the priestess who rules the heavenly sphere. Likewise, the Queen of the Night's part as a priestess within the narrative of *Die Zauberflöte* is a reflection and contrast to another leading figure of the opera, Sorastro, who maintains a representation of daylight.[27] As with Lucinde, the Queen of the Night's illumination is a reflection of light that emanates during the day. Although the Queen's light is a reflection, it does not diminish the significance or power behind its symbolism.[28] The magnitude of the Queen of the Night's figure within the scenery justifies the importance of her light and what it signifies. Schinkel does not visually represent the figure of Sorastro in any of the set designs. The Queen of the Night is the only character from the opera whose figure and

---

[26] Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *The Emergence of Romanticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 60-61.

[27] Sorastro is the male counterpart to the Queen of the Night and is symbolically represented by light in the opera and is seen as a fatherly figure by Tamino and Pamina, the Queen's daughter. For further discussion of the relationship between gender and *Die Zauberflöte*, see Jacques Chailley, *The Magic Flute, Masonic Opera* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982); and Priscilla Stuckey, "Light Dispels Darkness: Gender, Ritual, and Society in Mozart's 'The Magic Flute,'" *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 11 (Spring 1995), 5-39. The thesis of my argument does not necessarily agree with all the negative connotations associated with the Queen of the Night made by Stuckey. However, in terms of scholarship, these authors provide convincing read of *Die Zauberflöte* in terms of gendered ideology.

[28] The moon as a representation of woman and the sun as a representation of man was discussed in Johann Fischart's 1578 *Ehzuchtbüchlein* (*Book of Marital Discipline*) in which he describes the equality between the man and woman, just as the sun and moon are in harmony. See Heide Wunder *He is the Sun, She is the Moon* (Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

purpose is clearly expressed for the audience, thus maintaining the consequence of her physical and visual presence within the overall design of the opera scenes.

The Divinity of Woman and the Eternal Feminine

Additionally, Schinkel's use of the moon and stars become symbolic of the Queen of the Night and further associate her female figure with the Madonna-like attributes of the Eternal Feminine. Imagery of the Virgin Mary standing atop a crescent moon dates back to the fourteenth century, yet the image of the moon had been connected to figures of deity many years prior. Mary was often portrayed as the "Queen of Heaven," which title associated her figure with the symbolism of the moon as perfect and eternal. The moon, filled with light from the sun, reflects the soft glow upon the darkness of night and becomes a natural representation for the Virgin's role as mediator between the worshipper and Christ.[29] Moreover, the ideology and visual representation of the Virgin Mary had a prominent role in German society; Marian imagery became particularly strong within the Christian tradition beginning in the sixteenth century. Numerous German artists depicted Mary in her role as Virgin of the Apocalypse, whose figure contains symbolism also emblematic in the Queen of the Night.[30]

Just as in representations of the Queen of Heaven, the Queen of the Night stands atop a crescent moon and wears a starry crown upon her head. The reference to the cult of the Virgin was strongly promoted and was part of the fervent emphasis on Christianity, which attempted to unify the principalities during the nineteenth century. Images of the Virgin were increasingly displayed before the public, allowing both men and women to become individually acquainted

[29] Jules Cashford, *The Moon: Myth and Image* (London: Cassell Illustrated, 2002) 164.

[30] The specific symbols of the crescent moon and starry crown are associated with the Virgin Mary and the apocalypse can be read in the New Testament, Revelations 12:1.

with the symbolic imagery associated with Mary's figure.[31] In 1638, the *Mariensäule* (*Marian Column*) was erected on the Marienplatz in Munich to celebrate the end of Swedish occupation during the Thirty Years' War (Fig. 3).[32] In this instance, the female figure of the Virgin was created in direct correlation with a kind of nationalistic celebration of freedom from foreign oppression as the Queen of Heaven.

Additional public representations of the Virgin Mary were dispersed through print. In 1659 a single sheet Marian print was published illustrating Mary as the Woman of the Apocalypse, also known as the Queen of Heaven (Fig. 4).[33] She stands atop a crescent moon that rests upon a group of clouds hovering above the earth. Her appearance is regal, as demonstrated by the scepter of power in her hand and crown upon her head, which significantly emits a spherical group of stars—just as a spherical grouping of stars surrounds the Queen of the Night. This Apocalyptic Mary also conveys her role as the mother of Christ, whom she holds in her arm offering a blessing upon the viewer. Yet it is Mary's glory, which is emphasized above the figure of Christ in this visual representation, while the importance of religious devotion to the Virgin is further accentuated in the accompanying text.[34] Emphasis on feminine divinity also permeated

[31] Although many images of the Virgin Mary were commissioned and displayed by members of the Catholic faith, Marian iconography maintained a strong presence with Protestants as well. Schinkel himself was Protestant, yet was knowledgeable of the visual tradition of the Virgin through his many travels. He, as with many other German artists, facilitated religious imagery of Mary in order to propagate the ideals of Christianity. For a greater discussion on the prominence of the Virgin among Protestants, see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[32] Lynne Tatlock, *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 297.

[33] The popularity of prints depicting the Apocalyptic Virgin can also be viewed in the work of Albrecht Dürer, whose work inspired many artists both in and outside of the Germanic geographical boundaries. See *Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with a Diadem*, 1514 and *Virgin on a Crescent with a Starry Crown*, 1508.

[34] Heal, 241. Additional representations of the Virgin Mary with the German tradition can be viewed in Heal's book. See also Melissa R. Katz & Robert A Orsi *Divine Mirrors: The Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

broader European culture and was likewise portrayed through woman's spiritual relationship with nature.

The divine relationship of the female figure with nature is argued by scholar Jane Brown, who has described a strong visual connection between Mother Nature and the Eternal Feminine. A drawing published in 1617 by Robert Fludd (1547-1637), an English Paracelsian physician and cosmologist offers an early example of a type of Eternal Feminine represented as Mother Nature. Fludd illustrates his sign of the macrocosm, in which the sphere of the earth is encompassed by the elements of the planets, the stars, and by a triple sphere of fire (Fig. 5).[35] An ape sits in the center looking into a mirror, perhaps symbolic of man and his vain reflection upon himself. While Nature, represented as a woman, stands on the spherical earth, acting as an intercessor between the various heavenly spheres of the air and making her head reach into the divinely separate sphere of fire where cherubic angels are placed. Her right hand is connected to a divine cloud through a chain held by what seems to be the hand of God, while her left hand is chained to the ape that rests upon the earth. Light emanates from her breast as if to further highlight the life-giving elements of her body. The various signs associated with the main figures illustrate, according to Brown, "the Neoplatonic dialectic of spirit and nature (or world), with Nature as the mediating term."[36]

Schinkel, in his portrayal of the Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars*, suggests a comparable representation to the Eternal Feminine represented by Fludd's illustration of Mother

---

[35] Jane K. Brown facilitates the use of this image to explain Goethe's *Faust* in the character's desire to seek truth and transcendence through his immersion in nature. In addition, Brown recognizes the Paracelsan concept of nature as a spirit realm in Faust's experiences, making them a case for the sign of the macrocosm, or diagram of the arrangement of the four elements, the planets, and the relationship of human with natural and divine spheres. Brown uses Fludd's image to illustrate this concept. Her discussion of Faust's experiences with the divinity of nature and Fludd's drawing make the image pertinent for this thesis discussion of Fludd's drawing and the Eternal Feminine found in Mother Nature, see *Goethe's Faust: The German Tragedy* (Cornell University Press: Ithica, 1986), 53-57.

[36] Brown, 55.

Nature. Apart from the chains, which are the connecting force for Mother Nature to the heavenly and earthly spheres, the Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars* situates herself in a strikingly similar position. With her right hand reaching heavenward, the Queen of the Night signifies her connection to the numerous stars and the divine nature with which they are associated. The heavenly environment of stars in *The Hall of Stars* is organized with exact symmetry, alignment, and strict organization. Schinkel surrounds the Queen of the Night within a composition harmoniously connected to the natural elements of the sky and yet also the realm of the infinite that was associated with her creative control of the divine realm in which she carries dominion. Just as her right hand stretches upward, her left hand reaches downward, palm open toward the red glow beneath the clouds and crescent moon on which she stands. She extends down to acknowledge and connect herself with the earth below.

Schinkel's adoption of woman's divinity associated with nature, in addition to her iconographical connection to the Queen of Heaven enhanced his understanding and participation within the social imaginary discourse on women during the nineteenth century. The religious iconography associated with depictions of women from the seventeenth century, such as Marian imagery and symbolic portrayals of Mother Nature, developed into more open representations and allegorical messages at the time Schinkel created *The Hall of Stars*. In 1753 the Dresden picture gallery acquired Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (Fig. 6). Although the subject of this painting was a religious depiction of the Virgin, the *Sistine Madonna* became revered for its artistic qualities. Its place in the Dresden picture gallery developed into an aesthetic pilgrimage site, which made this Madonna arguably the most well known female portrait in Germany well into the nineteenth-century. Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote of its ideal beauty and poet Johann Gottfried Herder wrote of the transcendent experience when viewing the work, for the

Sistine Madonna was viewed as more than just a painting of a beautiful woman; rather, this image of the Virgin came to symbolize divine femininity.[37] Consequently, the aesthetic beauty of the work rather than its subject matter became the religious experience. The *Sistine Madonna* was an aesthetic jewel and as a visual icon, was most certainly visited by Schinkel.

It is very likely that the influence of Marian symbolism found in the Queen of the Night is a partial result of Schinkel's experiences with Raphael's iconic image. Although there are additional figures within Raphael's composition, historical descriptions usually focus on the figure of Mary, at times excluding all others figures to center on her characteristics as the epitome of artistic beauty.[38] The Queen of the Night's figure calls attention to these same iconographical symbols to suggest part of her role within the composition as reminiscent of the Apocalyptic Virgin through her stance upon a crescent moon and relation to the firmament. Additionally, the Queen reflects the *Sistine Madonna* as she rests upon billowing clouds to identify her figure as an aesthetic icon of the feminine. The transcendent femininity of the *Sistine Madonna* was propagated by German Romantic ideology, which allowed Schinkel to combine the aesthetic portrayals of the Madonna with the Romantic philosophy of the Eternal Feminine to more successfully convey a specific message for female audiences viewing *Die Zauberflöte*. Furthermore, the religiosity and sacredness associated with these symbols became increasingly naturalistic, aligning itself to German Romantic thought in not only the literary tradition, as discussed previously, but also through the visual arts. Philosophers of German Romanticism sought to incorporate the divine into their work through the familiarities of nature. In associating

[37] Cindy Patey Brewer, "An Allegorical Romance between the Beautiful and the Sublime: Raphael's 'Sistine Madonna' and Nahl's Gravestone-Monument to Maria Langhans in the Context of Sophie Mereu's Novel 'Amanda und Eduard' *Sonderdruck aus Sophie Mereau: Verbindungslinien in Zeit und Raum*, (Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 2008), 358.

[38] Ibid., 356.

heaven with nature, Romantic ideology further elevated the significance associated with the Eternal Feminine.

Romantic Aesthetics and Natural Manifestations of the Divine Feminine

Emphasis on religious symbolism within German Romantic philosophy and aesthetics was part of the broader pietistic expansion, or religious "awakening" that developed across Europe.[39] Specifically within the principalities, Christianity formed a religious Germanic culture. Not in the historical expression related to a particular religion, but as a universal "religion of humanity."[40] Thus, Romantic artists and writers developed a kind of obsession with the symbolic representation of Christianity, with nature, allegory, and the Gothic as expression of the elements of this Christian ideal. In particular, the Nazarenes, a group of religious artists, sought to consistently use symbolism and allegory to express this modern form of Christianity.[41]

Johann Friedrich Overbeck's *Italia und Germania* (1828) is a specific example of the Nazarene's use of allegory to convey a Germanic cultural message (Fig. 7). While the painting of this piece was completed in 1828, the idea and allegory behind the work began as early as 1808. The two female figures came to symbolize ideal brides, allegories of friendship, and personifications of national styles.[42] However, they are typically most associated with their religious symbolism as the characters of Sulamith and Maria, figures meant to encourage one's

---

[39] Toews, 54.

[40] Ibid., 67.

[41] For an in-depth discussion of the Nazarenes and their religious aesthetic movement, see Cordula Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009) and Mitchell Benjamin Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene tradition and the narratives of Romanticism* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2001).

[42] Grewe, 67-68.

spiritual path towards Christ.[43] The blonde Germania, or Maria, allegorizes missionary fervor to convert Sulamith, her Italianate friend. With a tender clasp of hands and gentle touch of Sulamith's head, Maria fervently pleads with her friend to turn to Christ. This allegory engages the viewer to not only proselytize the German-Christian effort and but to furthermore become personally converted in this Germanic ideal.[44]

Philipp Otto Runge's *Tageszeiten* (1808) is another example of the use of allegory to symbolically express a spiritual relationship. Furthermore, Runge's painting is an additional illustration of the German discourse of womanhood. Runge's work depicts highly ornate representations of women as four different times of the day (Fig. 8).[45] His allegorically dramatic depictions reflect the Romantic belief in the connection between a divine or religious awareness and that of nature. Runge largely developed this philosophy due to the influence of Ludwig Gotthard Kosegarten, a German poet and Lutheran preacher.[46] This German Romantic connection between the divine and the natural is perhaps best expressed by F.W.J. Schelling in his *Ideas for a Philosophy of Nature* (1797) in which he describes the united disposition of God and nature. In this text, he states that manifestations of the natural are the visible aspects of God's divinity and spirit,[47] just as representations of Mother Nature have taken on the physical

---

[43] Ibid., 299.

[44] Grewe, 300.

[45] Runge also completed four outline drawings of this same subject in 1803 entitled *Morgen, Abend, Tag,* and *Nacht*. Although he aspired to translate all four from the series into paintings, only one came to fruition before his death in 1810, which is the example used in this thesis. For further discussion of Runge's *Tageszeiten*, see Richard Littlejohns, "Philipp Otto Runge's 'Tageszeiten' and Their Relationship to Romantic Nature Philosophy," *Studies in Romanticism* 42 (Spring, 2003): 55-74.

[46] See Lewis Holmes, *Kosegarten: the Turbulent Life & Time of a Northern German Poet* (New York: Peter Lange Publishing, Inc, 2004) for a more in depth discussion of Kosegarten's writings.

[47] Heather Belnap Jensen, "The Eternal Feminine and Beyond: Women in the Painting of Caspar David Friedrich," (Unpublished paper, 1997).

depiction of the Eternal Feminine. In addition, Schelling claims it is the artist who reveals this connection and visually reproduces its spiritual effects.[48] Runge's *Tageszeiten* draws the viewer's attention to the female figure as an allegorical representation of religious and natural symbolism within an intricate aesthetic design.

While Runge represented this philosophy as a complex system of metaphor and symbol, artist Caspar David Friedrich, arguably the most well-known German artist of the nineteenth century, used allegory within a more realistic representation of the female figure in a landscape setting. Moreover, Friedrich offers an example of a German Romantic artist representing an allegorical female symbolic of the Eternal Feminine in his *Woman Before the Setting Sun* (*Frau vor untergehender Sonne*) (1818) (Fig. 9).[49] Friedrich's use of a *Rückenfigur* imbues his female subjects with divinity and in *Woman Before the Setting Sun,* the sole female figure seems to absorb a spiritual force through her outstretched arms and open hands towards the setting sun, a representation of God.[50] The vast expanse of the sky is reminiscent of *The Hall of Stars* and further demonstrates the connection of nature to the divine in Schinkel's design.[51]

---

[48] Further discussion of Schelling's philosophy is discussed by Timothy F. Mitchell in relation to German Romantic landscape painting in *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting 1770-1840* (Oxford: Clrendon Press, 1993).

[49] Jensen.

[50] For a discussion of the *Rückenfigur* as a symbol of spirituality, see Joseph Leo Koener, *Casper David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 235. For further discussion of religious symbolism found in *Woman Before the Setting Sun*, see Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Caspar David Friedrich* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

[51] Wolfgang Büchel has also discussed Schinkel's work in relation to Caspar David Friedrich by comparing *The Hall of Stars* with Friedrich's *Zwei Männer am Meer*, 1817. Friedrich's composition, in its symmetric arrangement and emphasis on the divinity of nature creates a transcendent sphere of imagined reality in the same sense that Schinkel's ingenuity testifies to an imagined reality and the power behind this Romantic ideology. Schinkel's composition, however, is far more complex, as it is also articulated with a musical composition. See Wolfgang Büchel, "Schinkel, Goethe und die Königin der Nacht," Goethe Zeitportal, http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/PDF/wissen/leserbeitraege/buechel_schinkel.pdf, 2012.

The sacred nature of the sky, particularly with a setting sun, also offers *The Hall of Stars* cultural valiancy within the social imaginary of early nineteenth-century Germany. Luminous skies permeated German Romantic imagery, as well as Schinkel's aesthetics with spiritual ichnography. For example, Friedrich's *Tetschen Altar* (1807) also known as *The Cross in the Mountains* predominantly emphasizes its sky, creating a silhouette of the cross near the center of the composition (Fig. 10). As a result, the painting's sky contains strong religious associations, which are further emphasized by the Christian symbolism within the surrounding frame.[52] Additionally, the importance of the sky as a compositional and symbolic element developed early on in Schinkel's career with transparency painting.[53] In his transparency images, the sky played an integral role as it illuminated the scene and emphasized the subject and narrative of the work. Therefore, the sky accentuated the organization of the entire composition and became essential to fully understand the scene.

An emphasis on the highlighted sky in Friedrich's *Woman Before the Setting Sun* creates an exact form of balance and organization as it surrounds the figure. As she opens her arms to the environment before her, she blends with the natural element and is connected to the divine

---

[52] For more discussion of the *Tetschen Altar*, see William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) and William Vaughan, *Friedrich* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2004).

[53] Schinkel first became involved in the theatrical realm through transparency painting, which work he showcased to much acclaim at the Wilhelm Ernst Gropius theatre. These works became increasingly popular and captured attention through three main factors. First was the use of real light, which could dramatically make the image appear and disappear, as if it created the scene instantly before the eyes of the viewer. Additionally, these displays were accompanied by music to create a greater theatrical setting, while third, creating a social atmosphere while viewing the works. Unfortunately, all of Schinkel's transparency paintings have been destroyed, however for reproductions and a discussion of Schinkel's career as a transparency painter, see see Birgit Verwiebe, "Schinkel's Perspective Optical Views: Art Between Painting and Theater." In *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841: the Drama of Architecture,* ed. John Zukowsky, (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994) and Rebecca Hilliker, "The Classical-Romantic Scenic Designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. PhD Dissertation, (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984).

representation of God.[54] It has been argued that the light within the composition radiated from the womb of the female figure, thereby bringing attention to the creative power within a maternal role.[55] Woman's creative characteristics in relation to nature and her portrayal as Mother Nature further solidify the woman as a creative force within the Eternal Feminine. Friedrich, like Schinkel, instills the Eternal Feminine within his female figures through their connection to the divine and their relationship with nature as a force for her creative strengths.[56] Furthermore, as will be discussed with Schinkel's Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars*, Friedrich associates his female figures with Germanic nationalism, presenting them as significant figures of political progression.[57]

All at once, the Queen of the Night is emblematic of the Eternal Feminine. An anointed priestess, the Queen of the Night is imbued with divine power, symbolized by the host of stars and associations of the crescent moon; she is powerful, yet full of grace by her relationship to the Virgin Mary atop a hemi-spherical moon. Schinkel additionally depicted the Queen of the Night as a combination of Romantic ideology. She is connected to both the abstract, yet idealized formation of the heavens and spirituality. Likewise, she is connected to the natural as her figure rests upon naturalistic cloud formations. Moreover, her creative forces lie not only in the

---

[54] While some scholars claim this painting to portray a sunrise, Helmut Borsch-Supan convincingly argues the light to be that of a setting sun, which the allegorical use of the Eternal Feminine further substantiates, see *Caspar David Friedrich* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

[55] Jensen, 17.

[56] Likewise, Friedrich's *Sisters on the Harbor Promenade* (1820) displays a strong spiritual environment through the tall Gothic spires and ships masts, representing the religious journey towards heaven. The position of the women within a night scene further connotes the associations discussed within Schlegel's philosophy of women in *Lucinde* and the female relationship with the night.

[57] Jensen discusses this in relation to the medieval clothing worn by the women in Friedrich's paintings. Their garb represents an aspect of Germanic nationalism associated with medieval Germany. See Heather Belnap Jensen, "The Eternal Feminine and Beyond: Women in the Paintings of Caspar David Friedrich," Unpublished paper, 1997.

controlled organization of the heavens, but also in her contextual role as a mother within the narrative of the opera, hence endowing her figure with powerful creativity.

Woman as Mother, Hope, and Unification

Maternal and motherly roles had a significant influence on Schinkel in not only his professional career, but also in his personal and familial development. Following the early death of his father, Schinkel's mother, Dorthea Rose Schinkel, raised her children alone and consistently created an orderly and loving environment for her family to grow.[58] Furthermore, Schinkel associated the creative and sacred nature of motherhood with his wife in an allegorical portrait entitled *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Susanne* (1810-1813) (Fig. 11). In 1809 Schinkel married Susanne Berger to whom he consistently expressed his love through letters whenever they were apart.[59] In this painting, which was completed while Susanne was supposedly pregnant with their third child,[60] Schinkel paints a full-length view of his wife in front of an open balcony. She stands in a long, dark dress looking downward, with her head tilted to the side, her hand resting underneath her breast. Vines of ivy, which softly climb upon the balcony and balustrade behind, frame her figure, and beyond these architectural features one can view a landscape and the façade of a Gothic cathedral abundantly surrounded by trees. The composition is orderly and suggests symmetry within a logical organization, yet Schinkel incorporates imaginative symbolism within the portrait to convey deeper meaning. Hope is strongly suggested by the

---

[58] Hilliker maintains Schinkel grew up in a loving environment and came from a large family. His home was filled with art, music, and the theatre from an early age. See Rebecca J. Hilliker PhD Dissertation, "The Classical-Romantic Scenic Designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel," (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981) for a more in depth biographical outline of Schinkel's early life and the early influence of art, opera, theatre, and music for Schinkel's future aesthetic career.

[59] For a reading of Schinkel's letters to his wife Susanne, see Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *The English Journey: Journal of a Visit to France and Britain in 1826*, ed. David Beindman and Gottfried Riemann, trans. F. Gayna Walls (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[60] Snodin, 102.

position and demeanor of Susanne's body, exemplifying the faith and anticipation of her role as a mother about to give birth to a child. This notion is significant in understanding Schinkel on a personal level. Through the compassionate character and sentiment represented in this portrait, Schinkel conveys the positive feelings he had toward his wife and her female responsibilities.[61] His use of symbols creates an allegorical context, which conveys associations to the role of the mother and, in turn, her relationship within a greater national framework. Furthermore, all symbolic elements within the composition build upon one another to culminate in the figure of Susanne. Her eyes are lowered and she appears thoughtful and absorbed in a dream-like contemplation, reflecting calmly on the contentment she feels in her circumstance and situation.

Furthermore*,* Susanne symbolizes a much larger and allegorically political message of hope through her relationships to the additional elements in the composition.[62] This painting was completed in 1813, which was the year Susanne gave birth to their third child, but was also the same year the Prussian army defeated Napoleon in the *Freiheitskrieg* (War of Liberation). This success was recognized as not only a momentous victory for Prussia, but also for nationalism and Germanic unification. Schinkel symbolizes this noteworthy achievement in *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Susanne,* most notably through the Gothic cathedral to which Susanne's figure is faced. For Schinkel, the Gothic cathedral led the idea of *Dom der deutschen Freiheit* (Cathedral

---

[61] Schinkel incorporated additional features, which connote sentimental affection for the portrait and its subject by including 'S' shapes in the balcony to either side of Susanne. Perhaps signifying her initials. Additionally, Schinkel incorporated heart-shaped ornamentation further toward the border of the painting, which frames Susanne. See Snodin for a more detailed discussion.

[62] The natural framing of Susanna's figure also recalls a Baldachin-type construction so familiar in Gothic Madonna representations. This reference further heightens a religious and nationalistic context within the composition, as Gothic medievalism was one of the major cultural facilitators for Germanic unification. For examples of the Gothic Madonna and the Baldachin, see Rainer Kahsnitz, *Carved Splendor: Late Gothic Altarpieces in Southern Germany, Austria, and South Tirol* (Getty Publication, 2006).

of German Freedom) and this was a powerful spiritual, as well as national symbol.[63] The Gothic cathedral came to represent nationalism, as it was seen as a unifying sign of Christianity for all the Germanic principalities and Schinkel embraced this religious emblem as a signal of unification. Significantly, Schinkel is relating an image of this beloved woman, his wife and mother of his children, with that of political hope and nationalistic unity, connoting a positive female representation with public political interests.

Susanne radiates the qualities of stillness and confidence similar to those made by Gothic Madonna figures and therefore connotes an embodiment of hope.[64] The hope she allegorizes represents a multifaceted organization of personal as well as nationalistic symbols. Unification, allegorized by a female figure of hope, was becoming a recognized nationalistic symbol at the time Schinkel painted Susanne. Goethe, in his *Des Epimenidies Erwachen* (*Epimenides' Awakening*) is an example of the symbolic use of hope to support political and cultural unification. An allegorical festival play commissioned in 1814 to celebrate the defeat of Napoleon, *Des Epimenidies Erwachen*'s opening performance was to be staged at the triumphal return and entry of King Friedrich Wilhelm III into Berlin; however due to several unforeseen occurrences the play was not performed until the following year. This was one such performance, which specifically propagated nationalistic values through visual and audible aesthetics within the theatrical sphere. As a festival play, *Des Epimenidies Erwachen* was

---

[63] To read more on Schinkel's thoughts of the power of Gothic architecture, see Hugh Honor, *Romanticism* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979).

[64] Snodin, 102. Francoise Forster-Hahn further discusses the idea of the Gothic cathedral as a signal of political hope, See Francoise Forster-Hahn, "Art without a National Center: German Painting in the Nineteenth Century" in *Spirit of an Age: Nineteenth-Century Paintings from the Nationalgalerie, Berlin,* Claude Keisch and others (Great Britain: National Gallery Company, 2001).

prompted by the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, which was a significant triumph for Prussia and nationalism as a whole.[65]

In Goethe's *Des Epimenidies Erwachen* this nationalistic nature is emphasized through the development of allegorical figures who promoted unification. He allegorized gender-specific characteristics within his main characters and this is seen in particular in the three main female representations of Love, Faith, and Hope. These three figures are sisters who contend with the leading male figure of Oppression during the entire play. While Love and Faith, for a time, succumb to the temptations of Oppression and are driven apart, Hope is stalwart throughout and comes to allegorize the hope of unification for a German nation. Scholar Patricia Anne Simpson emphasizes that the femininity of Hope is an assertion of German identity.[66] Both Schinkel and Goethe's representations of Hope offered a kind of nationalism and instilled a sense of empowerment within the female figure.[67]

As with the allegorical examples of female representation in *Lucinde* and *Woman Before the Setting Sun*, as well as the Queen of the Night in *The Hall of Stars*, Schinkel infuses Susanne with the creative power of a mother in addition to the spiritual qualities of love and grace seen in the Virgin Mary and called to the viewer's attention by the Gothic cathedral. She, then, becomes an allegory of the Eternal Feminine, in addition to a symbol of national unification. It may thus be concluded that the ideology of religion and religious symbolism associated with Susanne and the Queen of the Night procured female, as opposed to male, representation. Furthermore, due to

---

[65] For further discussion of German festival plays, see Peter Sprengel, *Die inszenierte Nation: Deutsche Festspiele 1813-1913* (Tübingen: Francke, 1991).

[66] Patricia Anne Simpson, *The Erotics of War in German Romanticism* (Associated University Presses: New Jersey, 2006), 184.

[67] Goethe, in his correspondence, suggested a few possible historical representations of Hope, as well. Queen Luise, the now deceased wife of Friedrich Wilhelm III, who had gained a favorable reputation for patriotism before her passing, while Goethe also suggests Minerva as a model for Hope. See Simpson, 183.

the prominent feminine religiosity of these examples, it is extremely likely that Schinkel was aware of these symbols as broader cultural depictions having an emphasis on the feminine. In addition, Schinkel's association of Gothic architecture with religion and its connotations furthers the point that the portrait of his wife Susanne specifically incorporates Gothic architecture in the background to allegorize the idea of hope through Christianity *and* a national illustration of Germany. Moreover, Schinkel purposefully chose Gothic architecture to frame and highlight his wife's figure to make a clear connection between the connotations of Gothic architecture and woman, and this served as the culmination for the composition. Schinkel was not only promoting these concepts within private paintings, such as his portrait of his wife, but was also incorporating positive imagery of women within the public sphere. Connections to the Eternal Feminine, religion, and a nationalist sentiment within a female figure are clearly evident in examples of Schinkel's architectural and sculptural endeavors, which incorporate allegorical representations, as well as his theatrical set designs for not only *Die Zauberflöte* but also *Die Vestalin* and *Olympia*.

Imagery of Women in the Public Sphere and on Stage

The Eternal Feminine, as readily evident in Schinkel's personal work and *The Hall of Stars*, is also consistently noticeable throughout his career. Although Schinkel's close relationships to his mother, his wife Susanne, and his daughters were positive associations with the feminine and may have contributed to the empowering symbolism Schinkel attached to his female figures within the public sphere, they cannot entirely account for these positive manifestations. Analysis of the female figures in Schinkel's architectural renderings, in addition to his scenic designs, reveal how Schinkel incorporated Romantic philosophies and ultimately substantiated the feminine and female role within nationalism.

Around 1820, construction began for a new bridge, the *Schlossbrücke,* which Schinkel considered a monumental construction and representation of Prussia at the center of the state (Fig. 12). Upon its first conception, Schinkel's drawings illustrated the bridge lined with eight enormous allegorical sculptures. The sculptural figures were to be classically rendered and to consist of Greek nude youth and a clothed winged female goddess, most likely representing Nike.[68] Her role was to function as a "genius" or "spirit," which was to guide the nude youth through various stages associated with battle, namely recovery after defeat, preparation for renewed battle through a historical education, self-sacrifice, and elevation into a spiritually transcendent realm.[69] John Edward Toews has argued that Schinkel's conceptual design is a representation of cultural regeneration through the recognition of historical identity and cultural responsibility. According to Toews, through this allegorical female, the suffering associated with battle was transformed through the goddess's beauty and the historical associations of her character, which motivated one's ability to sacrifice for the welfare of the nation.[70] The *Schlossbrücke* was placed in a public location that Schinkel felt was most prominent and central within the Prussian state. Through its symbolic representation he defined an allegorical female with power and persuasion on both a maternal and nationalistic level. Additionally, the characteristics of the female "genius" encompassed a spiritual guide through the creative powers of regeneration. The Queen of the Night does not occupy this same kind of "genius, however she

---

[68] Nike, the goddess of victory, is also the sculptural subject matter for Johann Gottfried Schadow's *Quadriga* on top of the *Brandenburg Gate* (1793). The *Schlossbrücke,* along with the *Brandenburg Gate* form the two ends of a *via triumphalis* (Roman triumph) in Berlin, directing one along *Unter den Linden* to reach the *Charlottenburg Palace* (1695-1699), a crowning achievement for the Prussian state. The representations of victory on the *Brandenburg Gate* and the *Schlossbrücke*, therefore come to allegorize political message of Prussian victory and cultural triumph. See Martin Steffens, *K.F. Schinkel 1781-1841: An Architect in the Service of Beauty* (London: Taschen, 2003) and John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and the Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[69] Toews, 156.

[70] Ibid., 156.

does personify a similar role as spiritual guide, which is readily evident in the allegorical makeup of her figure.

Schinkel's *Schlossbrücke* maintains a direct association with the female figure and nationalistic allegory. This political ideology and aesthetic philosophy of positive female imagery can also be recognized in a number of Schinkel's scenic designs for the stage. The narrative and compositional elements of Schinkel's additional set designs, both formal and theoretical, further my argument for the ascending role of women within a nationalistic and social context, with the culmination of these qualities finding articulation in the composition of the *Hall of Stars*. Numerous examples of Schinkel's artistry demonstrate specific and positive signals of femininity within his allegorical woman, and this is accomplished principally through the representation of the female as a goddess from antiquity. This treatment of femininity is particularly evident within Schinkel's set designs for *Die Vestalin* and *Olympia* whose examples are critical in order to understand the consistent positive manner in which Schinkel portrayed female figures within an allegorical framework. Schinkel reliably conveyed feminine allegory through the characteristics of courage, virtue, and spirituality. Furthermore, he made these representations accessible to the viewing female audience. Indeed, these characteristics were being broadly propagated throughout the Germanic principalities, calling all individuals, both male and female, to embody moral and civic virtues in order to unite a politically divided culture.

Die Vestalin (The Vestal Virgin) holds significant value for analysis of Schinkel's allegorical female figures, demonstrating powerful female positivity. Composed by Gaspare Spontini, this opera was a long-time favorite in Berlin, premiering as early as 1811.[71] Schinkel

---

[71] Die Vestalin first premiered in Paris as *La* Vestale in 1809. It was successful during its time in both Paris and Berlin and although Spontini's personality was not well admired, his operas, La Vestale and Olympia, were very popular in both Paris and Berlin. Spontini would later become the General Music Director for Prussia. For further discussion of La Vestale and Gaspare Spontini, see Dennis Libby, "Gaspare Spontini and His French and German

designed all three sets for this new operatic production and his aesthetic invention for the *Tempel der Vesta* (*Temple of Vesta*) has been noted as one of his most impressive interior designs for the stage.[72] In addition to the extraordinary composition, Schinkel depicted a positive feminine sphere, which valorizes both a woman's role as vestal virgin and wife. The opera's female protagonist, Julia, plays these dual roles, which both represent a kind of goddess of the hearth and home throughout the course of the opera's narrative.[73] Anciently and historically, a vestal virgin has been connected to the hearth in addition to ideas of power and position.[74] She occupied a prominent public role within Roman society, yet maintained duel functions as guardian of both domestic and public realms. Her protection and guardianship over the sacred flame symbolized both the continuity of family and community. Moreover, a vestal virgin was freed from male power once they took their sacred position and were even allowed front seats at public entertainment where other women were not.[75] Consequently Schinkel appropriately portrays Julia in the *Tempel der Vesta* with a great amount of prominence and distinction (Fig. 13). Julia is elevated within the composition, being located above the sacred flame and

---

Operas," Princeton University, PhD dissertation, 1969 and Henry Scott Holland; W.S. Rockstro; & Otto Goldschmidt, *Memior of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt: Her Early Art-life and Dramatic Career, 1820-1851* (London: J.Murray, 1891).

[72] Börsch-Supan, 99.

[73] Julia is transformed into a vestal virgin at the beginning of the opera. As a goddess of the hearth her duty was to keep watch and care over the sacred fire of Vesta. Julia, as a vestal virgin, swore herself to live a virginal life, however she was deeply in love with Licinious who comes to proclaim his love to her in the temple, causing the sacred flame to extinguished while Julia turns her attention away from the flame towards her love. For this disobedience, Julia is to be put to death, yet just as she is about to receive her final judgment, the gods intervene by sending a lightening bolt from the sky to reignite the sacred flame. It is proclaimed as a sign for her vindication and the exoneration of both her role as a vestal virgin, as well as the role she now takes on as a wife.

[74] Anciently, a vestal virgin held a considerable amount of public power for a woman. She was allowed to own property, vote, etc. For a greater discussion of this, see Beryl Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986); Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975); and Elaine Fantham, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[75] Rawson, 25.

centralized within the Classical rotunda, making an obvious indication of her valuable station. Scaled larger than life, she holds a scepter of power in one hand, while in the other she holds, what seems to be, a statue of a female warrior, indicated by the feminine garb and battle helmet. Perhaps Julia holds a figure of the goddess Athena, who is most famously known as the goddess of war, but who also embodies the characteristics of wisdom and courage – both are qualities Julia employs within the opera and which offer a positive rendering of her character.

Furthermore, Julia's position within a religious environment provides a spiritual dimension to the viewer's perception as the light found within the composition floods over her and highlights her sacred role. It could be assumed that audiences viewing this scene would have likened the pagan religion associated with the ancient vestal virgin to their contemporary Christian beliefs, further investing a greater spirituality in the contemporary observation of women.[76] In any case, the viewer is invited to focus on Julia's noble qualities of virtue and spirituality through her allegorical representation in *Tempel der Vesta*. Additionally, the *Tempel der Vesta*'s classical composition and Julia's position within that space offer an important comparison to the *Hall of Stars*. Similarly, both female figures occupy a spiritualized temple-like rotunda signifying powerful spiritual associations in both figures. Although Julia's position within a temple construction is more overtly represented, the Queen of the Night is also positioned within a temple, described symbolically by the numerous organized stars. The firmament very much creates the shape of a classical rotunda with the stars arching upward to create a kind of oculus that is centralized at the highest point in the composition. However, the composition of the *Hall of Stars* offers an additional eternal element, which *The Tempel der*

[76] Germanic women were said to have outdone men in everyday piety and made up the majority of participants in Catholic pilgrimages, which was another opportunity for the female sex to participate with men in the public realm. For further discussion, see Herminghouse and Mueller; and Rosenhaft.

Vesta does not, allowing perhaps, an even greater spirituality in the figure of the Queen of the Night.

Moreover, the sacredness with which Schinkel viewed his design for *The Hall of Stars* is evident in two church apses he designed in Berlin in 1832, which are reminiscent of the hemispherical rotunda of *The Hall of Stars*. The altar space of *St. Elizabeth* in Berlin consisted of an apse, which contained a gradated blue background with a heavenly host of two rows of both male and female angels. Each angel had an individual star above its head, which directed attention to oculus-like rays of light (Fig. 14).[77] Additionally, in Schinkel's design for the apse of *St. Johannes* in Berlin, he portrayed a noticeably similar firmament of stars against a blue background (Fig. 15). Symmetrically arranged, the stars gather as they reach the apex of the apse just as in *The Hall of Stars*. Additionally, these apse designs are almost reminiscent of stage designs, particularly in their aesthetic likeness to *The Hall of Stars.* Furthermore, the aesthetic connection to these sacred spaces accentuates the prominence and divine power of the Queen's figure in the composition. In a way the apses emphasize a type of stage where a sacred play takes place before the altar. The altar's location within the space of the apse emphasizes the clerical roles performed therein and importance of the Eucharist. Consequently, the apse design, as a kind of scenic backdrop to the sacred event of the Eucharist, significantly heightens the viewer's spiritual experience. Thus, the likeness of these church apses accentuates the positive spiritual prominence of *The Hall of Stars* composition, as well as the figure of the Queen of the Night.

Sacred space is also included in another of Schinkel's positive portrayals of women on stage in *Olympia*, which premiered in Berlin in 1821. These new set designs for another opera

[77] *St. Elizabeth* was destroyed during World War II and only black and white photographs remain of this church. However, descriptions of the church, the colors, and figures are still in existence. See, Kathleen Curran *The Romanesque Revival* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

composed by Spontini largely contributed to the success of the opera.[78] In *Olympia*, Schinkel once again employs an allegorical woman seen in the goddess Diana in the design for *Diana vor Tempel* (*Diana Before the Temple*) (Fig. 16). Diana, whose associations to the moon as a priestess of the night, which have already been discussed, stands prominently before her sacred temple with a crescent moon atop her head. Her additional role as goddess of the hunt is made manifest through the bow she carries to her side, as well as by two stags, which flank either side of her figure. The sun appears to be setting, casting strong shadows across the composition, yet also accentuating Diana's impressive stature. Although Diana does have an operatic part within the narrative, she conveys a deeply spiritual role as her temple is symbolized as a house of worship as well as a house of marriage. The figure of Diana, therefore, is imbued with a strong spirituality as a priestess of her temple whose power comes from the emblematic crescent moon and descending sun into night. Schinkel's *Diana vor Tempel* acknowledges a positive female figure and again associates her character with the spiritually divine.

As mentioned previously, nature had a strong spiritual correlation with Romantic philosophy and the use of allegory was seen as the most powerful means of expressing this ideology. Friedrich Schlegel contested that the idea of eternity and the utmost portrayal of beauty could only be articulated through allegory.[79] Furthermore, Schinkel correlated this ideal allegory found in the divinity of nature within *Woman Before the Setting Sun* and *The Hall of Stars.* Yet, he not only expressed this parallel in his figural representations, but within his landscapes as well. Nature was an important compositional element to Schinkel, particularly in *Die Zauberflöte*

---

[78] *Olympia* originally premiered in Paris in 1819. For a slightly deeper insight into the success of Schinkel's designs for this opera, see Börsch-Supan, 105.

[79] Qtd. In Linda Siegel, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Age of German Romanticism* (Boston: Branden Press, 1978), 28.

and more specifically in *Hain des Isistempels* (*Grove of the Temple of Isis*). In this design Schinkel incorporated the spiritual in nature found in Romantic ideology, as well as in female identity (Fig. 17).

In *Hain des Isistempels* Schinkel creates a lush and flourishing oasis, which connotes a significant recognition of a female audience. Once again, the artist establishes the scene with clear organization in an architectonic arrangement of the natural. The exotic palms create a clear view and shape of the valley in the distance, parting the way for the viewer to catch a glimpse of the Temple of Isis, as it seems to float atop the reflective water. The inclusion and reference to Isis is significant in understanding the allegorical nature of this particular piece, for it highlights the connection between the divine found in nature and spirituality established within the feminine.[80] In addition, the Egyptian goddess Isis was symbolic of mother and wife, matron of nature and magic, which are also emblematic roles of the Queen of the Night.[81] Furthermore, her concentrated relationship to the natural in this scene further strengthens the association of the feminine with that of nature.[82] Although the temple complex is small in comparison to the rest of the composition, it emphasizes an additional strictly feminine rendering within *Die Zauberflöte* and connotes an encouraging female sphere found in nature through the divine.

Significantly, *Die Zauberflöte* stands apart from Schinkel's career as a set designer and offers a particular view of the allegorical female figure as not only a positive representation, but also as an emblem of nationalism. While all of the operatic examples of Schinkel's work were

---

[80] Audiences would have been aware of this connection between the Egyptian goddess Isis and her spiritual roles within nature as a mother through popular literature at the time by such authors as Novalis. See Andrew Cusack, *Wanderer in 19th-century German Literature* (New York: Camden House, 1998).

[81] Cashford, 164.

[82] Contemporary scholarship has also made the assertion of female representation found in nature. Sherry Ortner explains this theory and additionally associates women with the creative power of motherhood and giving birth. See Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1 (Autumn 1972): 5-31.

well admired and offered positive manifestations of women, *Die Vestalin* and *Olympia* were not originally German operas. Rather, these popular performances were adapted into Germanic culture. *Die Zauberflöte*, however was a Germanic opera and therefore indicated nationalistic pride from its conception and tradition among the principalities. Consequently, the re-emergence of *Die Zauberflöte* in 1813 at one of Prussia's most impressive political commemorations is a crucial recognition for nationalism within the design for the opera and the structure in which it was viewed. Indeed, the theatre became one of the most fashionable public realms for both men and women during the nineteenth century. Moreover, this public sphere came to represent national unification across the principalities, being viewed as a unifying cultural symbol for political progression.

The Theatrical Sphere and German Nationalism

By the time of the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte* Schinkel was well aware of the theatrical sphere and its social and cultural implications through his work with transparency paintings. Undeniably, the theatre was an extremely influential aesthetic institution and was increasingly seen as one of the most popular arenas for education and entertainment. Scholar Helmut Bösch-Supan has stated that when almost nothing else was under construction, due to the Napoleonic threat, the most significant architectural endeavor was the general building of a new theatre. This enterprise was proof of the importance attributed to the theatre, besides the belief in its powerful ability to influence public opinion.[83] Berlin held a particular passion for the theatre as evident in the length and breadth of its discussion in key newspapers devoted to news of the stage. Advertisements, reviews and counter-reviews for operas and plays, and poems expressed the

---

[83] Helmut Bösch-Supan, *Karl Frierdrich Schinkel: Bühnenentwürfe/Stage Designs*, (Ernst & Sohn: Berlin, 1990), 7.

public's favorite performances, which suggested that the theatrical sphere could assert the same significance as the prominent world of politics.[84]

The theater in general became progressively more popular as the demand increased from a gradually larger audience. Moreover, the prominence of this cultural aesthetic, as well as the entertainment and educational value placed upon it, garnered as much esteem as the political sphere. Therefore, the theatre was a particularly influential realm to educate viewing audiences. As Schinkel's view of all art was to be used for reforming life and intellectually stimulating the public, the theatre was the perfect sphere to produce his work.[85] Furthermore, scholar Joan B. Landes, in her dialogue of the public sphere, cites Hannah Arendt's argument for the theatre as the supreme form of political art and that it was the location in which the political realm could be transformed into a comprehensible aesthetic.[86]

Viewing audiences of the theatre were comprised of both male and female spectators as evident in contemporary scholarship, as well as cultural works of the period. Sanna Iitti has argued that nineteenth-century composers took female audiences into particular consideration when creating a musical composition by creating works that would specifically appeal to women. Among the many composers discussed, Iitti particularly highlights this ideology in the work of Liszt.[87] Additionally, Sarah Colvin discusses the idea of the female audience repeatedly in her

---

[84] Ibid. On the popularity of German Theatre at this time see also Hayman; and William Grange *Historical Dictionary of German Theater* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

[85] Schinkel believed in the power of the aesthetic to instill emotion as well as motivation within the viewer. See Abigial Harrison-Moore, *Architecture and Design in Europe and America, 1750-2000* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2006) and Peter Betthausen, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man," in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,* ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[86] Joan B. Landes, "Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: A Feminist Inquiry," in *Praxis International* 12 (April 1992): 115.

[87] Sanna Iitti, *The Feminine in German Song* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 128-130.

argument of women and German drama.[88] Women attended the theatre, which was part of the public realm, and therefore felt the effects and popularity of the institution's various educational and entertaining performances through the aesthetic. In addition, scholar Marie-Hélène Huet has argued of the political role of the theatre in terms of the spectator, which is particularly relevant to both male and female audiences. Drawing on Diderot's observations in *Jacques le fataliste* (*Jacques the Fatalist*), Huet asserts that it is essentially the spectacle of the theatre that interests the spectator above the narrative message of the event. Likewise, Huet recognizes the possibility of the spectator receiving the spectacle to transform from a passive into an active role.[89] This sense may affectively be applied to the female spectator viewing *The Hall of Stars* and to acknowledge this possibility significantly speaks of the female spectator-receiver.

This idea of spectacle also further substantiates my argument that although the Queen of the Night was viewed as evil within the libretto, women viewing the opera within the context of nineteenth-century Germany and Romantic ideology would have gained a positive and powerful opinion of the Queen's visual and musical personification. Viewing the aesthetic spectacle through the painted set designs and powerful music as a kind of practical rehearsal, the female audience could find justification for action and empowerment. In spite of this, however, cultural historical scholarship concerning the recognition of the female spectator within this theatrical space in terms of nationalism is limited.[90] Yet, additional study of the theatre as a nationalistic institution will validate the connection between nationalism and the acknowledgement of the

---

[88] See Sarah Colvin, *Women and German Drama: Playwrights and their Texts, 1860-1945* (New York: Camden House, 2003).

[89] Qtd. in Landes.

[90] Scholar Betsy Bolton has written on the subject of nationalism and women's roles within the theatre in Britain, however no such scholarship has been comprised for Germany. See Betsy Bolton, *Women, Nationalism and the Romantic Stage: Theatre and Politics in Britain, 1780-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

female spectator as part of the social imaginary. Through this discourse, particularly in relation to the theatre, women took on the role as the maternal feminine within the public sphere.

Friedrich Schiller, a nineteenth-century German dramatist, argued that the theater, as a school for practical wisdom, had the potential to form and represent a single nation.[91] Therefore, music, and opera in particular, was seen as an important method for nationalistic expression. The innovations within operatic productions, which blended music, acting, and visual art, were seen as possibly the foremost art form of the nineteenth century and the theatre in general was viewed as one of the best means for mass communication. As the institution began to obtain a greater hold on the Germanic states, the devices of plot, actors, and scenic backgrounds were seen as means of refinement and consequently, the theatre held a large appeal to nationalists as a resource for representing the progression towards the nation's future unification. This venue also provided an avenue for structuring an aesthetic national language. The opera, as an internationally valorized genre, could propagate nationalist values through the work viewed and performed therein, thereby elevating both the genre and the visual aesthetic.[92] A pan-Germanic nationalism, as well as that for Prussia occupied a significant amount of inspiration for Schinkel's work, evident in both the literal subject matter and his fervent nationalist sentiment through symbolism and allegory.[93] Consequently, Schinkel's aesthetic often times paralleled his political philosophies.

---

[91] Qtd in Stephen Wilmer, "Nationalism and its effects on the German theatre, 1790-2000," in *A History of German Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 226.

[92] Ben Curtis, "Nationalism and Music" in *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview Volume 1,* Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan, eds (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 80.

[93] For examples of Schinkel's artistry, which further demonstrate nationalist sentiment in his work, see *Battle Near Leipzig* (1813), *A Gothic Church Behind Trees* (1810), *Cathedral* (1811), and *Gothic Cathedral by the Water* (1813). For a discussion of these works, see John Zukowsky, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1941: The Drama of Architecture* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994)

The contemporary writings of J.G. Fichte, a German philosopher and political nationalist, were a significant source of inspiration for Schinkel in the development of his nationalist ideology, which he frequently transferred to his artistry. Schinkel often studied Fichte's work, particularly on his first Italian journey from 1803-1804 on which he took Fichte's writings as his only literature. Fichte's concept of a moral component within one's professional life influenced Schinkel's ideals in the aesthetic as a public responsibility.[94] Additionally, Fichte's *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808) or *Addresses to the German Nation*, was an extremely influential publication among the principalities, in that it awakened a national consciousness for the establishment of a united nation. The address stimulated patriotism within Berlin and generated the sense for a united Prussian cultural identity as well.[95] It has been argued that Fichte's writings instilled in Schinkel a sense of duty, which largely governed his career and artistic goals as his writings can be found throughout Schinkel's *Nachlass* (Collected Papers), a collection of papers written by Schinkel over the course of his life. Passages from Fichte's work indicate that Schinkel was influenced by Fichte's philosophies throughout his lifetime and only further entrenched his personal philosophy with that of nationalism.[96]

At the time of Fichte's *Addresses to the German Nation*, the motivation for national unification was incredibly high, however, the drive toward this geographical and cultural integration developed very subtly throughout the Germanic regions. It was not until the

---

[94] Barry Bergdoll discusses this influence in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1994) and Petra Lohmann discusses the relationship in greater lengths in *Architektur als "Symbol des Lebens": zur Wirkung der Philosophie Johann Gottlieb Fichtes auf die Architekturtheorie Karl Friedrich Schinkels von 1803 bis 1815* (Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl, 2010).

[95] For further elaboration on Fichte's ideas concerning *Reden an die Deutsche Nation*, see David James, *Fichte's Social and Political Philosophy: Property and Virtue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[96] Hilliker, 23.

nineteenth century that the need for unity was more dynamically identified.[97] This disorientation of political, as well as cultural well-being spurred a progression towards a national unification, and both men and women came to signify the driving force for this political and cultural transformation. The middle classes in particular appreciated the ideas of unification to benefit the state of the Germanic regions, for as one constant cultural, political, and social body, the German nation could define and protect itself from foreign invaders. Furthermore, the obligations of both men and women were more specifically defined and through various cultural and familial realms, women in particular came to have a greater role within the public sphere.

Within the years between 1800 and 1870 the roles and responsibilities of men and women contained more equality than the majority of previous scholarship has discussed. Scholar Eve Rosenhaft has stated that recent histories of public and private life in the Germanic principalities have demonstrated that although men and women accepted their roles within separate public and private spheres, their motivation for a national identity was united in a shared expression of values and not through a polarized vision of dividing the sexes. The roles of both sexes, in public and private life, experienced an overlapping and interdependency upon one another, claiming the household as more of a meeting place of the masculine and feminine, rather than a point of divergence. [98] Johann Fischart described this idea of marital dependence in 1578 in which he compared a husband to the sun and a wife to the moon: "Let man be like the sun; And woman like the moon. The sun does have a brighter shine, But the moon has its shine, too. And just as the sun does not destroy; The radiance of the moon, but magnifies it: An upright man should

---

[97] For greater discussion on the political and cultural development of German nationalism in the nineteenth century, see Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (Harper & Row, Publishers: New York, 1979); Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany: 1648-1914* (Methuen and Co Ltd., 1977); and Hans A. Pohlsander, *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany* (Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2008).

[98] Eve Rosenhaft, "Gender" in *Germany 1800-1870* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004).

honor his woman, For honor, after all, is shared."[99] Again, the symbolism of sunlight and moonlight is facilitated to understand the overlapping roles of men and women. And as this idea was already established within Germanic ideology, the militancy of the early nineteenth century prompted a more dynamic identification and implementation of this duality.

As in other countries during the nineteenth century, wartime provided greater freedoms for women in the public realm. During the Wars of Liberation, or the effort to liberate the principalities from Napoleonic influence, women took their roles outside of the home, in association with their husbands, by participating in public meetings and political festivals. Women were also closely associated with religious life and the social affiliations those roles created, such as within patriotic charity associations.[100] Women were described as "preservers of morality and religiosity," "priestesses in the temple of Vesta" and 'nurturers of all things great and good that the state can ever expect of its citizens.'[101] The characteristics associated with a priestess in the temple of Vesta have already been discussed in relation to Schinkel's set design of the same subject. His allegorical valorization of women in that scene connotes similar qualities of religiosity. These characteristics described women as patriotically and allegorically assisting in the Wars of Liberation and the nationalist sentiment associated therein.

Furthermore, Schinkel aesthetically represented symbolic depictions of women on the *Monument to the Wars of Liberation* (1821): Prussia's official monument to their victory over

---

[99] Qtd. in Wunder, 206.

[100] Women were allowed and even called upon to participate publically in the war efforts at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic wars. Karen Hagemann has conducted extensive research concerning the role of women as political patriots during this time and how their efforts were celebrated for their devotion to the fatherland. See Karen Hagemann, "Female Patriots: Women, War and the Nation in the Period of the Prussian-German Anti-Napoleonic Wars" *Gender & History* Vol. 16, August 2004, pp. 397-424.

[101] Hagemann, 10. See also Karen Hagemman, "Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute and Amazonen: Entwürfe 'patriotischer' Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskreige," in Ute Frevert ed. *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), pp. 174-200.

Napoleon (Fig. 18).[102] The tribute rose over sixty feet and contained a cast-iron Gothic steeple with four tiers of spires atop a cruciform pedestal with a prominent Iron Cross crowning the structure. Schinkel prominently applied Gothic architectural features surrounding these figures because it was considered a nationalistic style.[103] The structure was meant to elicit memories of medieval Germany, therefore uniting the ideals of nationalism and religiosity with their medieval past. Additionally, twelve figures allegorically represent decisive military victories between 1813 and 1815. Each figure became an embodiment of the nation, which was made clear by the Gothic style of the monument. To female figures, in particular, demonstrate Schinkel's conscious application of the feminine with national unification as they represent key battles in the Wars of Liberation, namely the "Belle Alliance" in 1815 and "Paris" in 1814. These two allegorical figures stand in almost identical poses with one arm reaching upward while the other arm is bent at the elbow and extended outward, similar to the Queen of the Night's gestures in the *Hall of Stars*. They are both clothed in classical garb, which further connotes a patriotic personification of state while their Gothic surroundings recall their nationalistic associations as part of this monument.[104]

Apart from their intermittent public presence and allegorical manifestations during the Wars of Liberation, however, women most often maintained their role within the domestic sphere. Nevertheless, their efforts in the home came to be identified as filling the gap often associated with their (lack of) political affiliations. This idea concerning the roles and discourses

---

[102] The Kreuzberg was a geographical location dedicated in 1821, but Schinkel's first conception of this architectural monument was completed as early as sketch in 1813. See, Toews, 137.

[103] Toews, 137-139.

[104] Their classical dress was also most likely an aesthetic compromise made by Schinkel who had originally intended the monument to have a greater classical style. However, there seems to have always been an element of the Gothic as well, see Toews, 139.

based on motherhood can be defined as feminist maternalism. Through maternal feminism women demanded the improvement of their status through claims specifically related to their feminine character and motherly role.[105] This notion was a more revolutionary idea and one, which allowed German women to participate within the public sphere through raising their children and supporting their family morally and spiritually. *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Susanne* strongly indicates Schinkel's connection to this view of feminism through the manner in which he depicted his wife as a mother whose role extends beyond just the balcony on which she stands. Her position could be interpreted as a representation of the domestic yet continues to include religious and nationalistic affiliations represented by the Gothic Cathedral. These symbols unite to identify the role of the mother having much more far reaching consequences within the public sphere through her responsibility in the domestic realm.

The concept of maternalism as an ideology of feminism has often come to be identified as a conservative reaction. In other words, a disappointment in the hope for a more radical response of female activists, as was brought about by women participating in the French Revolution. However, feminist maternalism was not a conservative retreat, but rather an exploration into the relatively new idea of mothers as having the role of raising children, which was a new thought developing in the nineteenth century.[106] According to eighteenth-century child-rearing laws, moral and religious education were delegated to the father.[107] This new assertion of a mother-child relationship as a powerful source for knowledge, morality, and authority, defied a purely patriarchal organization of the family. Additionally, the role of

---

[105] Allen, 113.

[106] See Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," *The Art Bulletin* 55 (Dec. 1973): 570-583.

[107] Allen, 115.

maternalism was not unique to Germany at this time; rather the trend was also enforced in France following the French Revolution. However, it has been argued that women in France were not given the same source of empowerment within their domestic sphere. The biological function of breast-feeding, ceaselessly promoted by physicians and moralists who were influenced by Rousseau, was emphasized as a mother's only significance within her maternal role, thus the Germanic notion of a mother having a moral and ethical responsibility was noticeably in disagreement to this dominant philosophy.[108]

The difference between women of the French Revolution and women of German unification was the significant relationship of intellectual power given to women of Germany to continue a national movement. The Germanic female population has been thought of as conservative because women were not involved in the political sphere publically, but that does not mean they were not involved. It does not have to be public to be political, and women do not have to be radical to be revolutionary. This idea is emphasized repeatedly in Schinkel's female figures who embody a sense of morality and intellect to govern not only themselves, but also to positively affect those around them. Such is the case with Julia in the *Tempel der Vesta,* who exudes ideology of the maternal feminine as a preserver of morality and a nurturer of the sacred flame. Additionally, the Queen of the Night is given a great deal of intellectual power within the narrative of *Die Zauberflöte*, which is then combined with her role as mother to embody the intelligence associated with the maternal feminine. Marian iconography further solidifies the maternal nature of the Queen of the Night and offers her figure a kind of spiritual empowerment.

Germaine de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (*On Germany*) of 1810 attests to this intellectual perspective of women where she writes that the Germans "consulted their women as

---

[108] Ibid, 116.

oracles…[and] looked to women's impressions as their moral compass."[109] Additionally, in a letter she wrote from Germany in 1804, Staël expressed a positive atmosphere and appreciation for her place as a woman in Germany as opposed to her experiences in France. She stated: "I have acquired [in Germany] perhaps a rather bad trait: it is the confidence to acknowledge my singularities…. There is more eccentricity here than in France and on account of this my pleasure in the country is all the greater. It also greatly pleases me that they sense a thousandfold more what I may be worth."[110] A large portion of Staël's commentary was the result of her great intellectual status, in addition to German Romantic philosophy, which offered greater possibilities for meaning among women. Romantic thought attempted to emphasize the spiritual nature of humankind, both male and female, rather than focusing on the polarity of the sexes.[111] This ideology was also expressed through Schlegel's *Lucinde* and the Romantic attention and empowerment given to the ideal of the Eternal Feminine, as discussed previously.

The role of women in establishing German identity continued in the writings of Louise von François, whose work and life can be seen as a product of the patriotic years during the early nineteenth century. François, who was born in 1817, wrote extensively on the Wars of Liberation, which took place between 1813 and 1815.[112] Although very young at *Die Zauberflöte*'s premiere, François captured the nationalistic ideals of the moment and offered a realist portrayal of Germanic history. Furthermore, François facilitated the use of allegory and

---

[109] Qtd. in Heather Belnap Jensen, *Vision and Voice: Aesthetics and Art Criticism in Germaine de Staël's "Corinne, or Italy"* (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1997), 43.

[110] Ibid., 43-44. Also, see Beatrice Guenther, "Rewriting the National Paradigm: Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1810) and the German Defense of Sociability," in *Women Against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy*, Waltraud Maierhofer, and others, eds.,(New York: Campus Verlag, 2007).

[111] See Ute Frevert, *Women in German History from Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans (New York: St. Martin's, 1989) and Ernst Behler, *German Romantic Literary Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[112] The unifying victory at the Battle of Leipzig was just one battle fought during these formidable years.

the female figure to convey a sense of nationalism as seen in one of her female protagonists, Erdmuthe who becomes a personification of Saxony.[113] This relationship creates a significant connection to the tradition of using women to allegorize a nation, as in Germania and Schinkel's representation of the allegorical woman. Erdmuthe also embodies the characteristics of courage, morality, and an innate motherliness, which were frequently ascribed qualities to German women by contemporaries during the Wars of Liberation.[114] Furthermore these qualities also personified Erdmuthe, as well as German women of the early nineteenth century with qualities of the maternal feminine.

This notion is readily evident in Schinkel's visual interpretation of *The Hall of Stars*. The symbolic qualities associated with the figure of the Queen of the Night are exemplary of the concepts behind maternal feminism, for the Queen of the Night is a mother. As expressed previously through the Romantic belief in the Eternal Feminine, it is her role as a mother, which grants her creative power and it is her responsibility as priestess of the night that bestows a religious and spiritual authority to her maternal station. Thus, it is clearly evident that Schinkel aligned himself with the contemporary notions and characteristics of feminist maternalism, giving *The Hall of Stars* nationalistic connotations, and thereby communicating a specific ideology to the masses. Particularly in acknowledgement of female audiences, Schinkel communicated both the eternal and maternal feminine. In doing so, he facilitated the nationalistic realm of the theatre for the promotion of women and his allegorical use of the eternal and

---

[113] Caroline Bland, "The Triumph of Moderation? The 'Wars of Liberation' in the Writings of Louise von François," in *Women Against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy*, Waltraud Maierhofer, and others, eds.,(New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 239.

[114] See Karen Hagemann, "A Valorous *Volk* Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806-15" in *Gendered Nations. Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, eds. (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

maternal feminine. This not only expressed the positive associations of a motherly role, but more significantly the role of woman as a catalyst for the promotion of nationalism.

Conclusion

To summarize, the theatre was an extremely influential aesthetic sphere during the nineteenth century and was widely acknowledged as an important space for entertaining, as well as educating attending audiences, particularly for the instruction of nationalist ideologies. The theatre as an educational tool for nationalism has been understudied, and even less discussion has been given on the subject of women who participated within the audience and who were additionally educated nationalistically within the institution. Karl Friedrich Schinkel utilized the theatrical sphere to reinforce positive views of women as mother and spiritual guide within the roles of the Eternal Feminine and the maternal figure. There has been little work conducted on this allegorical female relationship to nationalism and the role women played within that political arena. This thesis discusses how *The Hall of Stars* was a conceptual allegory specifically that acknowledged the female audience within the social imaginary in order to valorize and promote their position as a catalyst for Germanic nationalism. Parallels between the Romantic ideology of the Eternal Feminine and the cultural notion of the maternal feminine reveals how Schinkel's *The Hall of Stars* was a nationalistic emblem of female empowerment through the use of allegory. Through viewing the composition, women were encouraged to consider the relationship between the allegorical concepts portrayed in the Queen of the Night and themselves, in so doing their relationship and understanding of the scenic design was fortified. Although Schinkel's design has been lauded since its creation and premiere, *The Hall of Stars in the Palace of the Queen of the Night*, suggests previously unnoticed political and social interactions for female viewers. Through the allegorical representation of woman, the Romantic notion of the Eternal

Feminine, the nationalistic realm of the theatre, and the nationalistic ideals of the maternal feminine, the female audience of *Die Zauberflöte* was offered a unique and empowering viewing experience in which to consider themselves as participants in the unification of a Germanic nation.

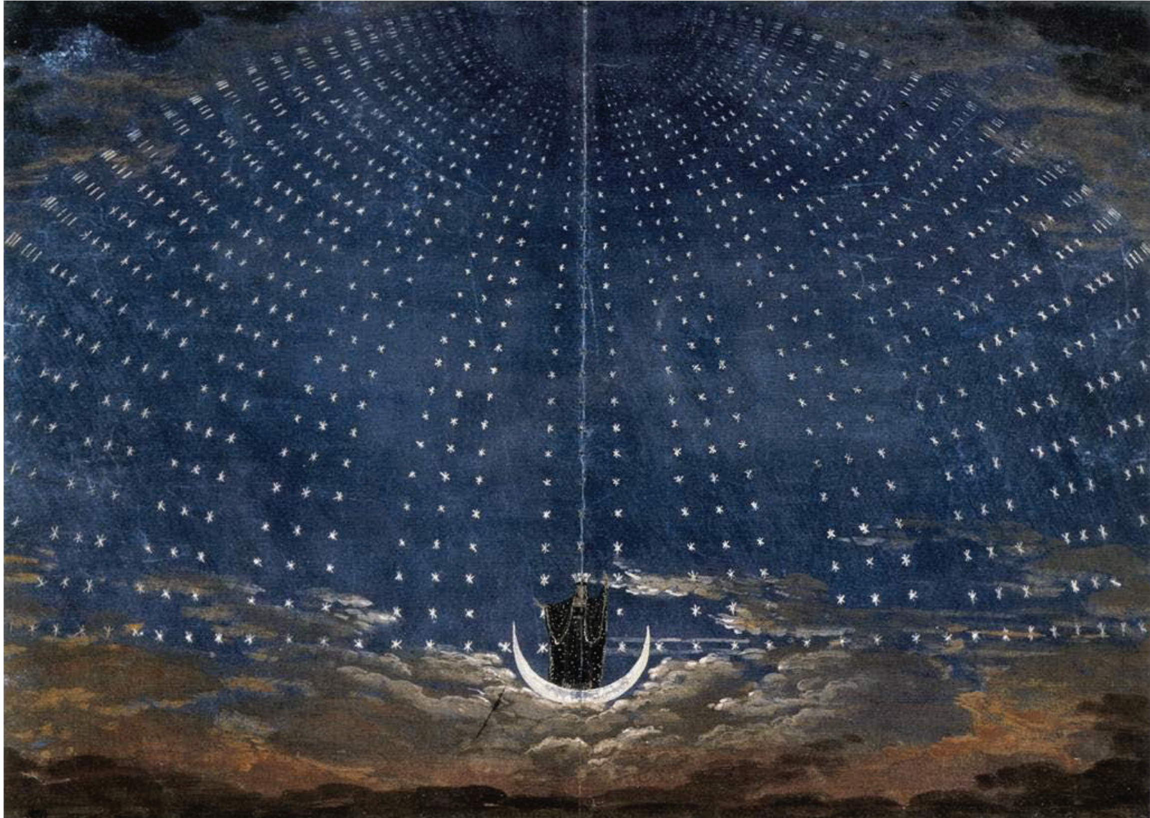

Fig. 1, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *The Hall of Stars in the Palace of the Queen of the Night*, 1813, gouache, Staatliche Mussen, Berlin.

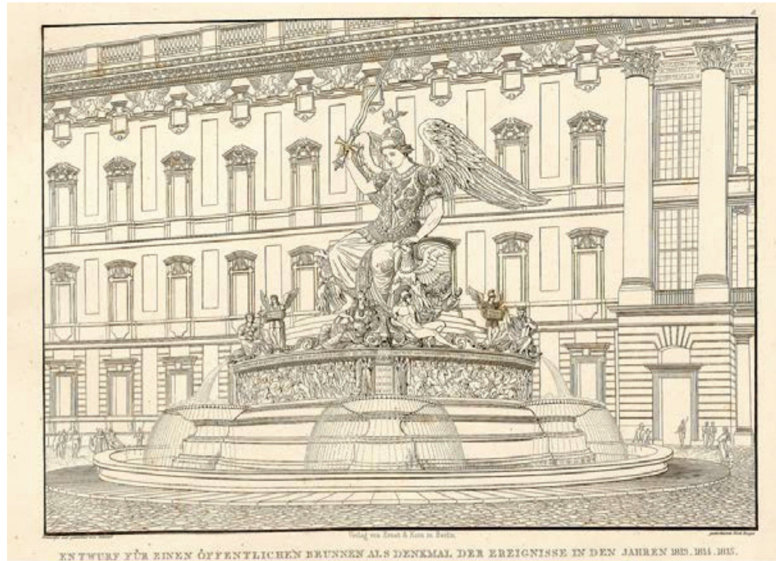

Fig. 2, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Monument to the Wars of Liberation, commissioned 1814, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989).

Fig. 3, *Mariensäule*, 1638, Munich.

Fig. 4, Peter Overadt’s publishing house, *Ehren=Taffel*, 1659, single-leaf print, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg.

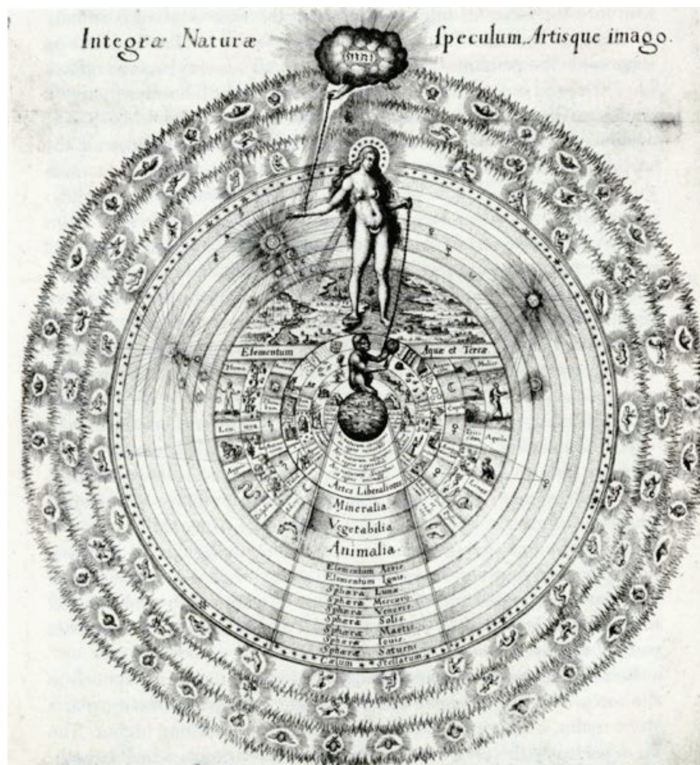

Fig. 5, Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmic…historia*, 1637, print, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Fig. 6, Raphael, *Sistine Madonna*, 1512-1513, oil on canvas, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

Fig. 7, Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia und Germania*, 1828, oil on canvas, Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

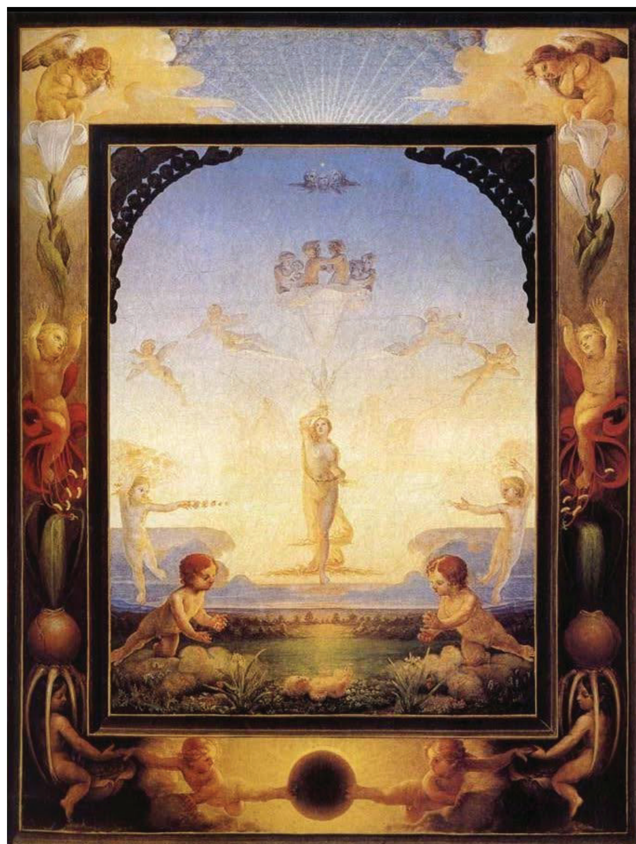
Fig. 8, Philipp Otto Runge, *Tageszeiten*, 1808, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Fig. 9, Caspar David Friedrich, *Woman Before the Setting Sun*, 1818, oil on canvas, Museum Folkwang, Essen.

Fig. 10, Caspar David Friedrich, *Tetschen Altar*, 1807, oil on canvas, Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden.

Fig. 11, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Susanne*, 1810-1813, pencil and black and grey wash, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

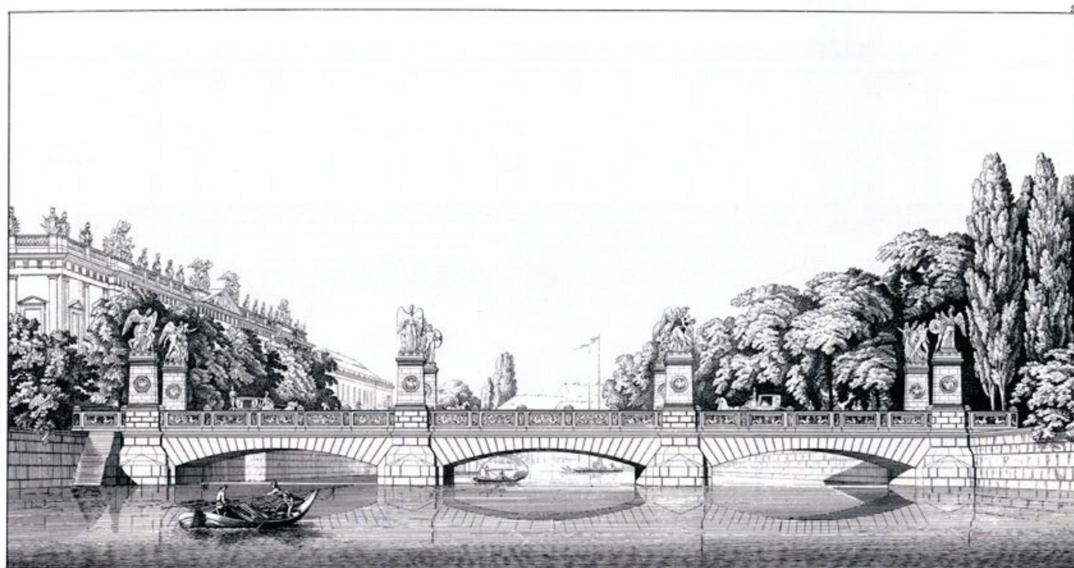

Fig. 12, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Schlossbrücke*, 1820-1824, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

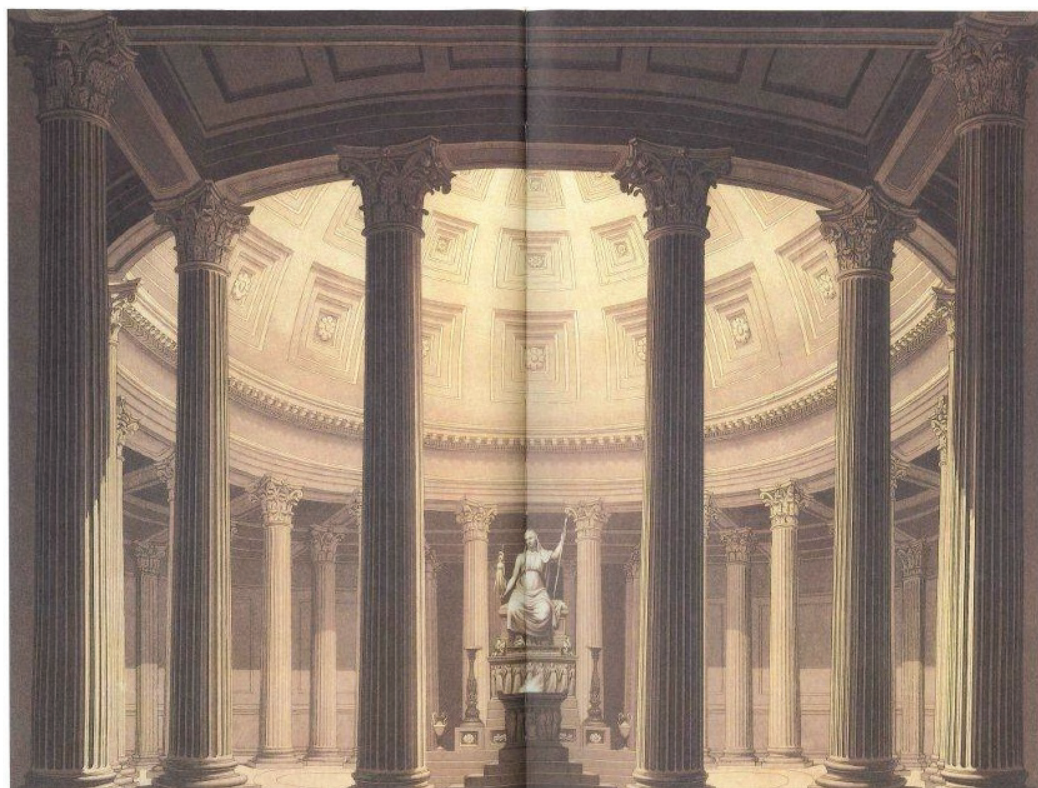

Fig. 13, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Tempel der Vesta*, 1818, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 14, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *St. Elizabeth*, 1832-1835, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

Fig. 15, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *St. Johannes*, 1832-1835, reproduced from facsimile in Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Collection of Architectural Designs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), Berlin.

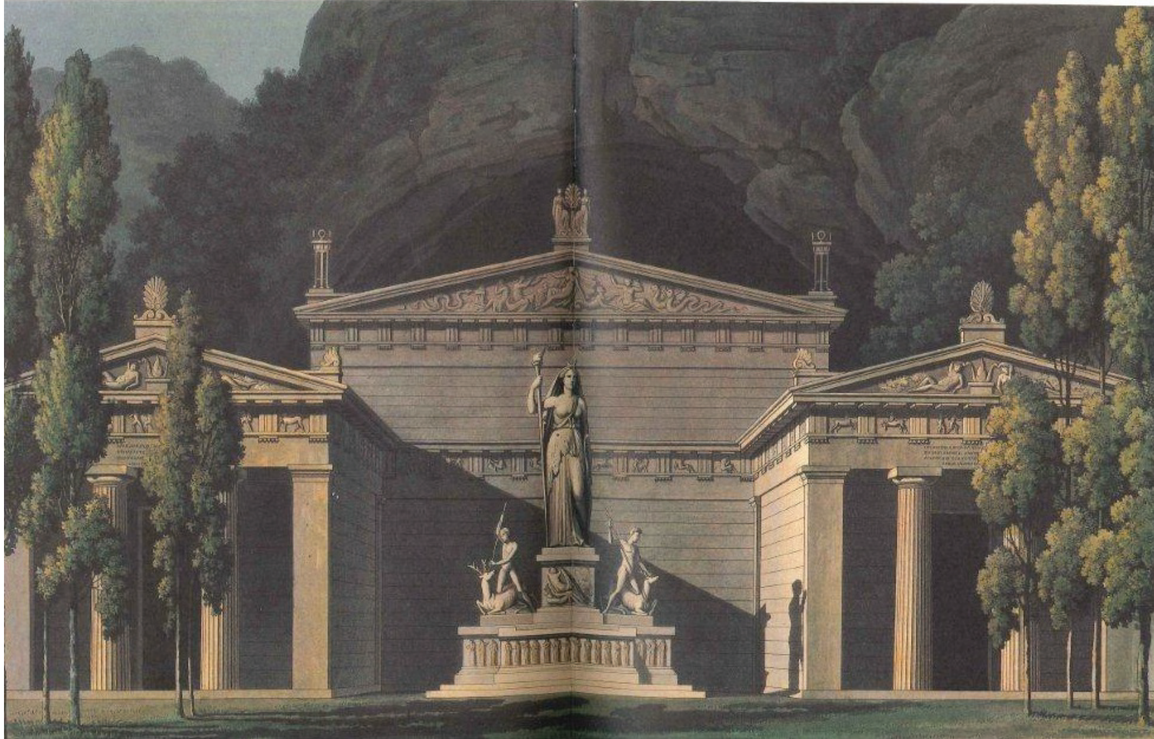

Fig. 16, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Diana vor Tempel*, 1820, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 17, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Hain des Isistempels*, 1813, gouache, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 18, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Monument to the Wars of Liberation*, 1821, Berlin.

Bibliography

Allen, Ann Taylor. Feminism and Motherhood in Germany and in International Perspective 1800-1914," in *Gender and Germanness* Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997.

Anderson, Christy. "A Gravity in Public Places," in *Gender and Architecture* eds. Louise Duming & Richard Wigely. John Wiley & Sons, Ldt.: New York, 2000.

Behler, Ernst. *German Romantic Literary Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Bennett, Benjamin. *Goethe as Woman: the undoing of literature.* Detroit: Wayne State University, 2001.

Bergdoll, Barry. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia.* New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc, 1994.

Betthausen, Peter. "Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man," in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,* ed. Michael Snodin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Blackbourn, David. *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

________, Richard J. Evans, eds. *The German Bourgeoisie.* New York: Routledge, 1991.

Bland, Caroline. "The Triumph of Moderation? The 'Wars of Liberation' in the Writings of Louise von François," in *Women Against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy*, Waltraud Maierhofer, and others, eds. New York: Campus Verlag, 2007.

Bolton, Betsy. *Women, Nationalism and the Romantic Stage: Theatre and Politics in Britain, 1780-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Börsh-Supan, Helmut. *Caspar David Friedrich*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974.

________. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Bühnenentwürfe/Stage Designs*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1990.

Brewer, Cindy Patey. "An Allegorical Romance between the Beautiful and the Sublime: Raphael's 'Sistine Madonna' and Nahl's Gravestone-Monument to Maria Langhans in the Context of Sophie Mereu's Novel 'Amanda und Eduard' *Sonderdruck aus Sophie Mereau: Verbindungslinien in Zeit und Raum*, (Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 2008): 351-376.

Brockett, Oscar G. *History of the Theatre.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999.

Brown, Jane K. *Goethe's Faust: The German Tragedy.* Cornell University Press, 1986.

Büchel, Wolfgang. "Schinkel, Goethe und die Königin der Nacht," Goethe Zeitportal, http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/PDF/wissen/leserbeitraege/buechel_schinkel.pdf, 2012.

Byrd, Vance. "Ausblick und Einblick: German Literary Reponses to Early Panoramas (1878-1844). PhD Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 2008.

Carter, Rand. "Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 'The Last Great Architect,' in *Collection of Architectural Designs* eds. Kenneth S. Hazlett, Stephen O'Malley & Christopher Rudolph. Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1989.

Cashford, Jules. *The Moon: myth and image.* New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. Polity Press. Polity Press, 1987.

Cocalls, Susan L. & Kay Goodman, eds. *Beyond the Eternal Feminine: Critical Essays on Women and German Literature*. Stuttgart: Akademishcer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1982.

Colvin, Sarah. *Women and German Drama: Playwrights and their Texts, 1860-1945*. New York: Camden House, 2003.

Curran, Kathleen. *The Romanesque Revival*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Curtis, Ben. "Nationalism and Music" in *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview Volume 1,* Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan, eds. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2008.

Cusack, Andrew. *Wanderer in 19th-century German Literature*. New York: Camden House, 1998.

Daverio, John. *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology.* New York: Schirmer Books, 1993.

De Baecque, Antoine. "The Allegorical Image of France, 1750-1800: A Political Crisis of Representation," *Representations* 47 (Summer, 1994): 111-143.

Del Caro, Adrian. *Hölderlin, the poetics of being.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1991.

Duncan, Carol. "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," *The Art Bulletin* 55 (Dec. 1973): 570-583.

Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Fantham, Elaine. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Fisher, Burton D. *Mozart's The Magic Flute*. Florida: Opera Journeys Publishing, 2001.

Forster, Kurt W. "Only Things that Stir the Imagination: Schinkel as a Scenographer," in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841: the Drama of Architecture,* ed. John Zukowsky (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994.

Forster-Hahn, Francoise. "Art without a National Center: German Painting in the Nineteenth Century" in *Spirit of an Age: Nineteenth-Century Paintings from the Nationalgalerie, Berlin,* Claude Keisch and others. Great Britain: National Gallery Company, 2001.

Frank, Benjamin Mitchell. *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene tradition and the narratives of Romanticism*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2001.

Freytag, Gustav. *Freytag's Technique of the Drama,* trans. Elian J. MacEwan. New York: Benjamin Bloom, Inc., 1968.

Frevert, Ute. *Women in German History from Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans. New York: St. Martin's, 1989.

Friedrichsmeyer, Sara. *The Androgyne in Early German Romanticism*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1983.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. Frederick Ungar ed. *The Eternal Feminine: Selected Poems of Goethe*. Continuum International Publishing Group, 1980.

Grange, William. *Historical Dictionary of German Theater*. Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2006.

Grewe, Cordula. *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009.

Guenther, Beatrice. "Rewriting the National Paradigm: Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1810) and the German Defense of Sociability," in *Women Against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy*, Waltraud Maierhofer, and others, eds., New York: Campus Verlag, 2007.

Haggemann, Karen. "A Valorous *Volk* Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806-15" in *Gendered Nations. Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, eds. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

________. "Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute and Amazonen: Entwürfe 'patriotischer' Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskreige," in Ute Frevert ed. *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997.

Harrison-Moore, Abigail. *Architecture and Design in Europe and America, 1750-2000*. Blackwell Publishing: Massachusetts, 2006.

Hayman, Ronald. *The German Theatre: A Symposium*. London: Wolff; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975.

Hazlett, Kenneth S., Stephen O'Malley and Christopher Rudolph, eds. *Collection of Architectural Designs*. New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1989.

Heal, Bridget. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Herminghouse, Patricia and Magda Mueller, eds. *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997.

Hilliker, Rebecca J. "The Classical-Romantic Scenic Designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. PhD Dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984.

Holmes, Lewis. *Kosegarten: The Turbulent Life & Time of a Northern German Poet.* New York: Peter Lange Publishing, Inc., 2004.

Holland, Henry Scott and others, eds. *Memior of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt: Her Early Art-life and Dramatic Career, 1820-1851*. London: J.Murray, 1891.

Honour, Hugh. *Romanticism.* Harper & Row, Publishers: New York, 1979.

Iitti, Sanna. *The Feminine in German Song*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006.

James, David. *Fichte's Social and Political Philosophy: Property and Virtue.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Jantz, Harold. "The Place of the 'Eternal Womanly' in Goethe's Faust Drama" *PMLA* 68.4 (September 1953): 791-805.

Jensen, Heather Belnap. *Portraitistes à la plume: Women Art Critics in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.* Ph.D diss., University of Kansas, 2007.

________. "The Eternal Feminine and Beyond: Women in the Painting of Caspar David Friedrich." Unpublished paper, 1997.

________. "Vision and Voice: Aesthetics and Art Criticism in Germaine de Staël's 'Corinne, or Italy.'" Master's Thesis. Brigham Young University, 1997.

Kahsnitz, Rainer. *Carved Splendor: Late Gothic Altarpieces in Southern Germany, Austria, and South Tirol*. Getty Publication, 2006.

Katz, Melissa R. and Robert A. Orsi. *Divine Mirrors: The Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Koener, Joseph Leo. *Casper David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Landes, Joan B. "Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: A Feminist Inquiry," in *Praxis International* 12 (April 1992): 106-126.

Libby, Dennis. Gaspare Spontinti and His French and German Operas." PhD Dissertation. Princeton University, 1969.

Littlejohns, Richard. "Philipp Otto Runge's 'Tageszeiten' and Their Relationship to Romantic Nature Philosophy," in *Studies in Romanticism* 42 (Spring, 2003): 55-74.

Lohmann, Petra. *Architektur als "Symbol des Lebens": zur Wirkung der Philosophie Johann Gottlieb Fichtes auf die Architekturtheorie Karl Friedrich Schinkels von 1803 bis 1815*. Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl, 2010.

McFarland, Robert B. "Mann und Weib, and Baby Makes Two." *BYU Studies* 43 (2004), 206-217.

Millán-Zaibert, Elizabeth. *Friedrich Schlegel and the Emergence of Romantic Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

Mitchell, Timothy F. *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting 1770-1840.* Oxford: Clrendon Press, 1993.

Neumeyer, Fritz. *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture*. The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities: Santa Monica, CA, 1994.

Offen, Karen M. *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Ortner, Sherry. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1 (Autumn 1972): 5-31.

Peik, Susan M., ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Aspects of His Work*. Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 2001.

Poeter, E. "Gender, Religion, and Medicine in Enlightenment Germany: Dorothea Christiane Leporin's Treatise on the Education of Women." 20 (Spring 2008), 99-119.

Pohlsander, Hans A. *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany*. Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2008.

Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Schocken Books, 1975.

Rawson, Beryl. *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives.* New York: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *The Emergence of Romanticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Roetzel, Lisa C. "Feminizing Philosophy," in *Theory as Practice, A Critical Anthology of Early German Romantic Writings*, ed. and trans. Jochen Schulte-Sasse et al. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Rosenhaft, Eve. "Gender" in *Germany 1800-1870.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004.

Rott, Kathryn. "Unveiling the Eternal Feminine: Vision and Blindness in Geothe's Faust. Master's Thesis. University of Colorado at Boulder, 2008.

Rubin, Miri. *Mother of God: a history of the Virgin Mary.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Sagarra, Eda. *A Social History of Germany, 1648-1914.* London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1977.

Salmi, Hannu. *Imagined Germany: Richard Wagner's National Utopia.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1999.

Schiller, Friedrich. *On the Aesthetic Education of Man,* ed. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby. Oxford: Carendon Press, 1982.

Schinkel, Karl Friedrich. *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*, trans. Dr. Karin Cramer. Princeton Architectural Press: New York, 1989.

________. *The English Journey: Journal of a Visit to France and Britain in 1826*, ed. David Beindman and Gottfried Riemann, trans. F. Gayna Walls. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Schlegel, August Wilhelm. 1808. *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature,* Translated by John Black. London: George Bell and Sons, 1902.

Sheehan, James J. *German History 1770-1866.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Siegel, Linda. *Caspar David Friedrich and the Age of German Romanticism*. Boston: Branden Press, 1978.

Simpson, Patricia Anne. *The Erotics of War in German Romanticism*. Lewisburg: Bucknesll University Press, 2006.

Snodin, Michael, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Sprengel, Peter. *Die inszenierte Nation: Deutsche Festspiele 1813-1913*. Tübingen: Francke, 1991.

Steffens, Martin. *K.F. Schinkel: 1781-1841*. London: Taschen, 2003.

Stuckey, Priscilla. "Light Dispels Darkness: Gender, Ritual, and Society in Mozart's 'The Magic Flute." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 11 (Spring 1995), 5-39.

Tatlock, Lynne. *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010.

Thompson, John B. *Studies in The Theory of Ideology*. California: University of California Press, 1984.

Toews, John Edward. *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and the Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin.* London: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Vaughan, William. *Friedrich*. New York: Phaidon Press, 2004.

________. *German Romantic Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Verwiebe, Birgit. "Schinkel's Perspective Optical Views: Art Between Painting and Theater." In *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841: the Drama of Architecture,* ed. John Zukowsky. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994.

Wilhelms, Kerstin. "Michel und Germania – ein deutsches Geschlechterverhältnis," in *Der weibliche multikulturelle Blick*. Ed. Hannelore Scholz and Brita Baume. Berlin, 1995.

Williams, John, R. *The Life of Goethe: A Critical Biography.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998.

Wilmer, Stephen. "Nationalism and its effects on the German theatre, 1790-2000," in *A History of German Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Wunder, Heide. *He is the Sun, She is the Moon*. Massachusettes: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Ziolkowski, Theodore. "Schinkel's Museum: The Romantic Temple of Art." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 131 (Dec., 1987): 367-377.

Zukowsky, John, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1781-1841: The Drama of Architecture.* Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994.