The Philosophic Game: Eighteenth-Century Masquerade in German and Danish Literature and Culture

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Anne Beryl Wallen

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Rembert Hüser, Poul Houe

May 2012

Acknowledgements

My studies, research and dissertation writing have been supported by several institutions, for which I must express my most sincere appreciation: the University of Minnesota, particularly for the Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship and the Graduate School Fellowship; the Department of German, Scandinavian & Dutch, particularly for the Hella Lindemeyer Mears Fellowship, the Gerhard and Janet Weiss award, and to Hella Mears and Gerhard Weiss themselves for their support; the U.S.-Denmark Fulbright Comission; the American Scandinavian Foundation; and the P.E.O. Scholars Award. I am also grateful to the University of Copenhagen Institute of Nordic Studies and Linguistics for hosting me during my Fulbright year in Copenhagen. Thanks to Lisbet Hein of Hørsholm Museum and to Ida Poulsen of the Theatre Museum in the Court Theater for generously sharing materials and knowledge with me.

At the individual level, my thanks go first to my co-advisors, Rembert Hüser and Poul Houe, for sharing their experience and providing guidance over the past several years. The size of my dissertation committee has raised eyebrows, but I could not imagine having gone forward with my project without the invaluable input each of my committee members has provided. Ruth-Ellen Joeres and Richard Leppert both also served on my Master's committee, and so deserve special thanks for their support throughout my graduate studies. Thanks to Jim Parente for encouraging my dual Scandinavian and German interests. Thanks to Charlotte Melin for her careful reading of many chapter drafts as well as for her patient mentoring.

Thanks are also due my advisor at the Master's Level, Jack Zipes, whose scholarship has continued to inform my thinking, and to many other teachers and professors in Minnesota, Kansas, and abroad who have encouraged and influenced me over the years. My most heartfelt thanks on this count go especially to Mary Klayder and Leonie Marx at the University of Kansas, and my high school German teacher Margarete Dorsch, whose dedication and enthusiasm continue to inspire me.

Throughout this process I have benefited tremendously from the encouragement and sympathy of other dissertation writers. For their in-person and on-line presence in my life I thank: Carrie Collenberg-Gonzalez, Amanda Doxtater, Christine Isakson, Laura

Ishiguro, Lindsay Lawton, Hilde Norrgrén, Ashley Olstad, Amanda Petersen, Anja Shepela, Roger Skarsten, and my office mates in Folwell Hall, on Amager and on Christianshavn. In the final stages especially my work colleagues Sally Taylor Lieberman and Ginny Steinhagen were understanding and generous with their advice. Thank you all.

I feel extremely fortunate to have such a supportive extended family. Thank you especially to my parents, Rose Marie and Mike Wallen, and my sister Miriam Wallen, for always believing in me. *Tusind tak* to my in-laws Bodil and Michael Holm, Anne Mette Holm, and Thomas Heron. I do not know if I could ever adequately express my gratitude to my husband, Carsten Holm, who has been the best possible friend and companion for this process. Thank you for making coffee in the morning and reading me bedtime stories at night, proofreading, debating, and always cheering me on. Thank you to our son Nicolai Michael Holm for making me laugh and helping keep things in perspective.

Dedication

For Carsten

Abstract

My dissertation is titled "The Philosophic Game: Eighteenth-Century Masquerade in German and Danish Literature and Culture." Masked balls were one of the most popular forms of entertainment in eighteenth-century Europe, and appears frequently as a motif in the period's literature and arts. Analyzing court journals, newspaper reports, and works of art in combination with literary and philosophic texts, I present a picture of masquerade as experienced and as imagined by eighteenth-century participants and observers in Danish and German lands. I argue that the apparent triviality of masked balls belies the complicated rule systems that governed them, and that the motivations for its performance are tied to many of the era's concerns, raising questions about the individual's place in society, and the individual's relationship to sex, class, and nationality. In the first chapter, "The Rules of the Game," I trace the origins and influences of masquerade in Northern Europe, and explore the complex systems of conventions and publicized rules that governed this reputedly carnivalesque practice. I analyze how masquerades are organized and discussed by writers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and consider participants' motivations in light of philosophic texts by Ludvig Holberg and others. The second chapter looks at the masquerade's reputation as a "Wunder-Land" (Carl Gustav Heräus), especially as it appears in comedies by Holberg, Johann Elias Schlegel, and Theodor Körner. Here the masquerade appears as a kind of Foucauldian heterotopia, where everyday norms are suspended and personal liberty can be expressed. The third chapter, on the other hand, tackles the masquerade as a site of "Misfortune" in terms of potential moral and sexual danger, particularly for women. I focus on two longer prose works by Sophie von La Roche and Charlotte Dorothea Biehl that contain pivotal scenes of masquerade. In the final chapter, I analyze the "afterlife" of the masquerade in nineteenth- through twenty-first-century historical fiction. In each chapter I follow case studies of masquerades held during the Struensee period at the court of Danish King Christian VII. Throughout the dissertation, I consider how masquerade and the discourse surrounding it relate to contemporary notions of metaphorical "masquerade."

The Philosophic Game: Eighteenth-Century Masquerade in German and Danish Literature and Culture

Doctoral Dissertation by Anne B. Wallen

Table of Contents

Introduction

> "Dansen hade slutat vid tvåtiden.
>
> Alla var efteråt eniga om att betrakta maskeraden som fullständigt händelselös.
>
> Det var det märkliga, med tanke på att denna maskerad skulle bli så omtalad, och så viktig, att alla var eniga om att ingenting hänt. Ingenting. Alla hade varit normala, dansat, och väntat på ingenting." (Enquist 309)[1]

This scene from Per Olov Enquist's 1999 historical novel *Livläkarens besök* is dated 16 January 1772, and comes at the end of the tale based on a brief period during the reign of Danish King Christian VII when the German physician Johann Friedrich Struensee held complete control over the mentally unstable king and, therefore, the kingdom; Struensee was a self-styled Enlightenment reformer and also Queen Caroline Mathilde's lover. In the early morning hours of 17 January, Struensee, Caroline Mathilde and a dozen of their supporters were arrested. As Enquist notes, the masked ball that preceded these arrests would later be "so discussed and so important," but in the moment itself, it was "completely uneventful"(Enquist ibid/Nunnally 250); all of its portent was attributed to it in hindsight, and grew in the subsequent centuries.

As an event in the course of life at the eighteenth-century Danish court, the masked ball of 16 January 1772 barely registered attention; masquerades were an enormously popular form of entertainment throughout Europe, and were held as often as

[1] Translation by Tiina Nunnally:
"The ball ended around two.
Everyone agreed afterward to regard the masked ball as completely uneventful. That was the strange thing, considering that this masked ball would be so discussed and so important, but everyone agreed that nothing had happened. Nothing. Everyone seemed normal and danced and waited for nothing" (250).

every week at Christian VII's court and many other sites throughout Northern Europe. The majority of masquerades were thus uneventful events, but their excess still produced a lasting effect in cultural representations from and about the eighteenth century. The use of masquerade as a metaphor for Struensee and Caroline Mathilde's misadventures and eventual downfall is symptomatic of the ways it was portrayed in political discourse, historiography, literature and arts of the era. Masquerade came to take on a nearly ubiquitous status in any depiction of the "Struensee period," whether sympathetic or antagonistic. The first literary treatment of this material came as early as Daniel Bornschein's 1793 *Friedrich Graf von Struensee, oder das dänische Blutgerüst,* and Bornschein attaches considerable metaphoric weight to the masquerade: in his version of the 16 January masquerade, Struensee and the king play chess "um den Staat" as conspirators in black masks repeatedly curse Struensee and the queen with the words "In der Hölle, niemals in Dänemark!" (144). The appearance of the masquerade in a late twentieth-century Swedish novel speaks to the longeivity and international scope of the phenomenon. Though Enquist acknowledges that the masquerade itself was uneventful, he programmatically gives the title "Masquerade" to the calamity-filled final part of his novel. Thus, even as he tells us that "nothing" happened on 16 January, he employs the metaphor of masquerade to refer to the gap between appearance and reality, to call attention to the acts of pretense being performed by the novel's characters.

This paired usage of the term "masquerade" is characteristic of the term's complex and ambiguous role in today's consciousness. Our perception of eighteenth-century masquerades tends to be that they were frivolous diversions for the privileged

upper classes, events at which "nothing" of significance was likely to happen – and this is certainly an accurate summation of the vast majority of these events. Yet plenty does happen in their counterparts in cultural products from the period, in which masquerades are often sites of exciting departures from everyday life. The continued potency of masquerade as a metaphor for more serious concerns testifies to our continued fascination with this practice. We use the notion of masquerade to discuss such fundamental concerns as the relationship between the individual and society, though our knowledge of the practice itself is limited.

Just as masquerade's reputation today vacillates between seriousness and frivolity, so too did eighteenth-century attitudes towards it vacillate between approval and disapproval. In 1749 the Danish Enlightenment scholar and dramatist Ludvig Holberg wrote an epistle "In Defense of Masquerades," arguing against the ban in place against them. Holberg calls the practice itself "en *philosoph*isk Leeg," a philosophic game, because of its ability to playfully remind participants both of their natural, God-given equality and of the artificiality of society's conventions (*Forsvar for Maskerader* 124).[2] Most supporters of the masquerade did not make as bold claims for it as Holberg did, seeing in it mainly a harmless, if foolish, pastime. However, for its detractors, the masquerade was a site of serious transgressions, particularly in terms of sex, gender, social roles and national identity, as popular costumes involved cross-dressing, mixing up of social roles, and exotic "foreign" costumes. Their fear was that the very act of playing at being something other than what one "really" was might inspire transgressions in every

[2] Throughout the study I follow the original italicization or underlining practices of primary sources.

day life, outside of the confines of the game. The epistle counters, however:

> Man kand i saa Maade sige, at den sædvanlige Stand, som vi leve udi, er en bestandig *Mascarade,* efterdi Regiering, Moder og Sædvaner paalegge os Masker, hvilke vi ved saadan Leeg ligesom nedlegge, og at vi egentligen ikke ere ret maskerede, uden naar vi gaae med blotte Ansigter (124).[3]

This project joins Holberg in taking this apparently trivial form of entertainment more seriously, and explores the ways that masquerade "giver Anledning til *philosophis*ke Betragtninger" (ibid).[4] While it is unlikely that most typical participants made serious philosophic considerations a part of their masquerade experience, the practice did inspire charged responses that were reflected in cultural products, and these likely did inform the participants' perceptions. Thus masquerade left its traces in a variety of literary and philosophic texts, visual culture, and historical materials such as ceremonial guides, costume descriptions, and ephemera such as tickets and posters. I take all of these forms into consideration as I analyze the competing perspectives on the charged topic to illustrate for the modern reader the elements of masquerade that made it so alternately appealing and disturbing for 18th-century participants and observers, those aspects that made it an exciting component of fiction, and the relationship between the fictional and historical balls and ball-goers.

In what follows I uncover the complexities of the masked ball in eighteenth century German and Danish contexts, suggesting reasons for its popularity and

---

[3] Translation: "One can in this case say, that the usual state in which we live is a constant masquerade, because government, mores and traditions impose masks on us, which we in such a game similarly set aside, and that we are really not truly masked, except when we go with bare faces".

[4] Translation: "Gives occasion to philosophic considerations."

highlighting its role in these regions in the eighteenth century, while also considering the implications of the metaphorical masquerade hinted at above. My focus on German and Danish contexts is motivated by the shared cultural aspects of these regions in that period, though my project should not be understood as a traditionally comparative one.[5] Eighteenth-century masquerade's broad transnational appeal and the many variations in its execution at different locations and at different times make it impossible to characterize either "German" or "Danish" masquerade of the era as monoloithic entities, and to attempt to do so would be deny the complexity and hybridity of the many masquerade organizational systems that developed throughout the German and Danish lands. Indeed, I see the transcultural aspect of masquerade as making it ideally suited to a project that takes into consideration multiple traditions, particularly given that it was at the end of this era that "scholars in Europe began losing their trans-European connectedness, and increasingly withdrew into national discourses" (Hoerner "Revising" 2). By including both German and Danish sources, I emphasize the transcultrual aspects of masquerade, while still honing the project's focus within a broader European context.[6]

At the same time, it must be noted that masquerade itself was regarded in both German and Danish contexts, as in the English one, as something imported from Italy or

[5] Strong linguistic ties between these contexts are also significant at this time. Not only was German the main language of the royal family, but German was also the native language of some 20% of the population of Copenhagen in 1700; most of these were from "Deutschland," though 4% of came from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (Slesvig-Holsten), where the majority language was German; and German was widely spoken by all educated members of society (Winge 46-59).

[6] Future work on this topic would include incorporating the Swedish tradition, for example. Indeed, with the exception of Terry Castle's important *Masquerade and Civlization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction,* very little work is available in English on the masquerade in 18th-century Western Culture.

France, and a distinction between local and foreign mores is common to many discussions of the masquerade. Indeed, because national motifs were common in masquerade costumes, the question of national identity arises as a matter of course, as participants acknowledged in their costumes an interest in the strengthening codifications of national groups. In this way my project will participate in discussions about the relationship between the German lands and their linguistic and cultural neighbors, and about the Danish Kingdom's relationship with its German-majority duchies and German neighbors. I also explore the growing political tension between Danish and German elements via an historical moment at which masquerade and politics interact, the case of the German-coded Struensee's arrest in Copenhagen in 1772.

In addition to its transnational aspects, masquerade was also a hybrid form of entertainment in that it incorporated both courtly traditions and folk custom. Though it carries some of what Mikhail M. Bakhtin called "carnivalesque flavor" onto the highly regulated stage of the court's *theatrum mundi*, the tensions between these realms are always evident (218). I see the object of the "philosophic game" as being to master the rules that negotiated between these aspects. There was no single set of rules that governed the practice, but rather myriad sets of rules that varied from location to location and occasion to occasion. Participants therefore had to be savvy about learning and following these rules. Paradoxically, the successful performance of the game meant that the event was uneventful; the joy of the continuous repetition of the uneventful arose from pride in ones' own ability to play the game, and in observing and interacting with others attempting to do the same. In terms of performance theory, each participant thus

vacillates constantly between roles as observer and observed, actor and audience in a thrilling feedback loop that ensures that each performance is unique and unpredictable (Fischer-Lichte *Semiotik Band 1* 132; *Ästhetik* 59). The masquerade as metaphor for society points out that this condition can be present in other social situations, but in the practice of masquerade the process is intensified and becomes the focus of the individual's participation. The always present possibility that some rule might be broken heightens the suspense of the situation.

Chapter Breakdown

To help recapture for us the attraction masquerades held for eighteenth-century participants, it may be instructive to return attention to the masked ball at the Danish Court Theater on 16 January 1772, and in particular to three of its participants: Christian VII, Struensee, and Caroline Mathilde. This trio, and particularly Caroline Mathilde, has become central figures in contemporary Danish consciousness. A measure of Caroline Mathilde's position is seen in the fact that it is possible to go on a tour of Christiansborg, the former royal residence and current house of parliament, "in Caroline Mathilde's footsteps" – this despite the fact that she lived in the palace only a few short years, and that it has burned to the ground twice since her death. One of the stops on this tour is, of course, the Court Theater, which is now home to a Theater Museum devoted to the exhibition of artifacts from the history of Danish-language theater. One lodge, however, is set aside for a display on the story of Caroline Mathilde and Struensee, and includes a ticket to that final, famous masquerade. Of course the story of this episode in Northern European history includes many other instances of masquerade, and I would like to

suggest that following in her footsteps and revisiting the historical and fictional accounts of her experience of masquerade might be a useful way to broach the topic's complexities. Given that scant records were kept of masquerades were kept at most sites, it is particularly useful to take case studies from this particular court, which was very richly documented. The specific masquerades discussed here are snap shots of the different ways masquerade could be practiced by real people, and I believe that they serve well as entry points into the discourse surrounding masquerade.

Enquist is right when he writes that the masquerade of January 16, 1772 was completely uneventful, and its participants' behavior completely normal. Masquerades were a very regular occurrence at the Copenhagen court and throughout eighteenth-century Europe. But the fact of their frequency and popularity does not tell us much about them. What exactly was an uneventful masquerade like? What did participants normally do? What, in other words, would Caroline Mathilde have seen and done at a typical masquerade? In the first chapter, "The Rules of the Game," I answer these questions by tracing the origins and development of masquerades as a form of entertainment in German and Danish contexts, and explore the complex system of conventions and publicized rules that governed this reputedly chaotic, carnivalesque practice. From the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century there were a variety of courtly costumed entertainments, which, combined with strong influences from both local and foreign carnival traditions, lead to the emergence of the masked ball as one of the most popular forms of elite entertainment. I analyze how masquerades are organized and discussed by writers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and consider participants' motivations in light of philosophic texts by Holberg, Immanuel Kant, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Among the

key sources of information on the practice are dance manuals and ceremonial guides, particularly those of Julius Bernhard von Rohr, and historical materials that detail the rules of the game as they applied to individual masked balls. I also speculate about the appeal of and cultural impetus behind the masquerade, and its relation to the metaphor. I will bring these considerations into dialogue with scenes of masquerade in historical and literary texts in the subsequent chapters.

As already suggested above, attitudes towards masquerade are often highly ambivalent. Without denying the messy gray area of ambiguity between extreme positions on masquerade, I will work to untangle this ambivalence by focusing on generally negative and positive attitudes for one chapter each. In a way, this means looking out the masked ball from the perspectives of willing participants and non-participants – from the perspective of the person looking about from behind the mask, enjoying the protection it offers, and of the person who sees the mask from the outside, and is threatened by it as a representative of the unknown Other. Enquist repeats an old bit of courtly gossip when he writes that the Caroline Mathilde gave Struensee "den första signalen" that she was romantically interested in him at a masquerade (308).[7] This moment hints at the ways that masquerade could be a liberating experience for some participants, allowing individuals to express desires that are not permitted under normal circumstances. Of course for the masquerade's detractors, it was precisely this type of behavior that they feared.

Thus in my second chapter I consider the favorable, positive connotations of masquerade and its reputation as a kind of "Wunder-Land." Caroline Mathilde's birthday

[7] Translation: "the first signal" (Nunnally 249).

celebration in July 1769 serves as an entry point here, as it broke with the restrictive courtly models and was opened up for a broader range of participants. In this chapter, masquerade will be analyzed as an example of the special category of places that Michel Foucault has called a "heterotopia" (22-27). Whereas utopias are "sites with no real place," heterotopias are "real places…. which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (24). The masked ball specifically represents a heterotopia of deviation, particularly when understood as linked to "slices in time," given the transience of each individual masked ball. But the masked ball also especially functions as "a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory" (26-27). This point is echoed in Holberg's insistence that the masked ball is a game that can reveal the ways that everyday life is a kind of "masquerade." A special focus in this chapter will be on scenes of masquerade in comedies by Holberg and by German writers J. E. Schlegel and Theodor Körner. Each of the comedies deals with the issue of freedom of choice in love, and I will explore to what extent freedom of choice in love might serve as triggers for discussions of deviance from sexual or gender norms. Masquerade's rumored ability to disrupt social norms spills out of the scene of the masquerade in these comedies, and has consequences for daily life.

On the other end of the spectrum, in the third chapter, I examine the portrayals of masquerade that characterize it as a site of "Misfortune" in terms of potential moral and sexual danger, particularly for women. The masquerades examined here correspond more

strongly to the issues of disguise and deception. Masked balls had been banned during the reign of Christian VII's grandfather, the "pietist King" Christian VI, and fell out of favor again after the fall of Caroline Mathilde and Struensee. Caroline Mathilde's rumored confession of love to Struensee at a masked ball in 1770, and the pair's subsequent arrest two years later following another masked ball, will be addressed in this chapter. In political and literary texts from the period, the liberties associated with the masked ball are here seen as threats to propriety, and the practice itself therefore falls under suspicion. Two prose works by women will receive special attention here; these texts by the German Sophie von La Roche and the Dane Charlotte Dorothea Biehl both include depictions of masked balls that are closely tied to abduction, abuse and trickery. Ill intent is brought into masked balls in these texts, and the liberties of the masquerade are abused with devastating consequences. In this chapter I will also devote more attention to the way the terms mask and masquerade have become most commonly used as metaphors for deceptive behavior, and in particular the notion of the removal of the mask as a metaphor for exposing villainy.

In the fourth chapter, "The End of the Masquerade," I follow the Struensee and Caroline Mathilde story into the nineteenth, twentieth, and finally twenty-first centuries to explore the afterlife of the eighteenth-century masquerade. The Struensee affair was a European-wide scandal that has inspired responses and retellings in the form of both scholarly and popular histories, false memoirs, plays, films, novels and even an opera; when Enquist wrote that the masquerade of 16 January 1772 would later be "so discussed," he was not exaggerating. This particular masked ball is endlessly resurrected,

and each resurrection, not surprisingly, reveals more about the new cultural moment and its perspective on the masked ball than about masquerade or about Struensee and Caroline Mathilde as historical personages. Though there are several perspectives from which this diverse material can be analyzed, I use Peter Brooks' concept of the "melodramatic imagination" in novelistic fiction as a model for analyzing the permutations of the masked ball in a variety of popular literary texts. I briefly discuss the changes in the practice itself as well as its increasing importance as a metaphor since its heyday in the eighteenth-century.

Masquerade seems very familiar to us. One need only look to the enormous popularity of a performer like the pop singer Lady Gaga to see that masks and costumes continue to fascinate and inspire. But Lady Gaga's appearance, both on-stage (or on-camera) and off, is a carefully orchestrated masquerade that highlights the gap between our contemporary understanding of masquerade and masquerade as it was understood and practiced in the eighteenth century (Trebay).[8] For Lady Gaga's masquerade emphasizes that her performance is unusual and individual; she is the only one in the crowd wearing a mask, and rather than inviting a dissolution of borders between actors and spectators, her masquerade builds it up again. Yet her mask may still serve to remind us, as Holberg suggested, that "vi egentligen ikke ere ret maskerede, uden naar vi gaae med blotte Ansigter" (*Forsvar for Maskerader* 124).[9] Despite our sense of familiarity with masquerade, Lady Gaga's and other contemporary forms of masquerade are quite distinct from the masked balls of the eighteenth century. In this study, I will scroll back from

[8] Lady Gaga actually employs a team of stylists known as the Haus of Gaga. See Trebay.
[9] Translation: "We are not really masked, except for when we go about with bare faces."

masquerade as we know it today to illustrate it as it was practiced in eighteenth-century Danish and German contexts. I will explore the distinctions and regulations that governed between the masked and unmasked, between physical and metaphorical masquerade, and their complex relationships with each other.

Chapter One:

The Rules of the Game

> "…saa maa man tilstaae… at det er en *philosophis*k Leeg, eller at den i det ringeste giver Anledning til *philosophis*ke Betragtninger, efterdi alle derved erindres om den Tilstand, Mennesket ved første Skabning af GUD er satt udi, og fra hvilken det formedelst Synden er faldet."
>
> -Ludvig Holberg, *Forsvar for Maskerader* (124)[10]

> The significance of the experimental game derives from its reproductive decoherence: from being articulated horizontally and vertically, synchronically and diachronically, in space and in time, as a generator of surprises.
>
> -Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, *Towards a History of Epistemic Things* (229)

In late November 1766, broadsheet posters began to appear in Copenhagen announcing that it pleased His Majesty the King to let a masquerade be held in the Great Hall at Christiansborg Castle on 4 December 1766 (Rigsarkivet *Overhofmarskallatet 1672-1897 O. Diverse sager*). As this was officially the first masquerade to be held in the kingdom since a ban had been enacted some forty years prior, the news caused quite a stir. The French Ambassador in Copenhagen, the Marquis de Blosset, wrote in a letter that December: "Un bal masqué à cette cour est un phénomène là où la secte des piétistes avait depuis quarante ans maintenu une si grande austérité de réforme des moeurs extérieurs" (Barthélemy 267). While the Marquis came from a background with a rich and active masquerade tradition, many of the prospective participants of this masquerade

[10] Translation: "one must admit…that it is a *philosophic* game, or that it at least gives occasion to *philosophic* considerations, because in it all are reminded of the condition in which man is originally made by GOD, and from which he has fallen through sin."

were utter novices, like visitors to a foreign country. Arriving in Copenhagen, a traveler - a familiar motif in the eighteenth century, from fictional Gulliver to historical personages like Carsten Niebuhr - would be impressed by its size and by the mass of ink filling the page, which conveys the sense that no detail has been left to chance. Below the large print of the announcement was a list of eight points in a smaller print that filled most of the remainder of the broadsheet. In over five hundred words, these points explained in great detail who could participate, how they should acquire tickets, how they should arrive at the castle, how they should enter the Great Hall, when or if they should remove their masks, before whom and where they should do so, and where their servants should wait. The regulations anticipate and respond to criticisms from opponents of the masquerade, who saw the masquerade as a site of moral danger. Yet the poster provides almost no information about what will actually go on at the masquerade once the controls were passed. If a person managed to navigate the rules and gain entry to the masquerade, what did he or she actually do? Many at the Copenhagen court, including King Christian VII and Queen Caroline Mathilde, had no personal experience of the practice of masquerade, and this question was no doubt upon their minds as well.

The rules enumerated on this poster were reused for subsequent masquerades in Copenhagen – the first date merely scratched out and the new one added – and are typical of those formulated for masquerade sites throughout Northern Europe at this time. A visitor to Stuttgart at about the same time would be met by a similar list of rules published in the name of Carl Eugen, Herzog von Würtemburg; in his *Teutsches Hof-Recht* of 1761, Carl Friedrich von Moser reproduces the entire list and declares that it is

evidence that such events "werden insgemein als die Freystätte der Ausschweissungen gehalten," but that such regulations ensured these events would be "nicht christlich, jedoch keusch, ordentlich und ehrbar" (580). Such organized systems of rules were deemed necessary from a practical standpoint, and provided a basic framework within which masquerades could take place. Yet it is not only the rules enumerated on the Copenhagen poster that say very little about what would happen within the frame they established, about what a "normal" masquerade was like. How would novice participants of a masquerade anywhere know what to expect or how to behave, let alone in Copenhagen, where masquerades were an unusual "phenomenon"? In fact, this aspect of surprise and the unknown in relation to the eighteenth-century masquerade is in keeping with its character as a site of experimentation that was repeatedly recreated at innumerable sites throughout the era. Though the Copenhagen poster gives the impression of a strict and orderly sequence of events with no room for compromise, much was left to chance for the participants who could navigate the rules and demonstrate their command of them. The masquerade was a hybrid of other forms of entertainment: traditional balls, theater, courtly *Verkleidungsbanketten,* but also impulses from local folk traditions and from French and Italian - and especially Venetian - carnival. On a metaphoric level, the masquerade thus negotiated between the highly structured *theatrum mundi,* world as stage, and the carnivalesque world turned upside down. Given this hybridity, it is not surprising that the individual elements of masquerade were also highly variable, and could differ widely from site to site, occasion to occasion.

Each iteration of masquerade was a new experiment in which different

combinations of different types of elements were explored and tested by the participants, who positioned themselves and their actions in relation to the rules at hand. Gunhild Berg writes, "das Experiment bedingt einen sukzessiven zeitlichen Ablauf von Anfangs- und Endzustand, von Ursache und Wirkungen, die durch den Experimentator auf diese künstliche Weise (re)konstruiert werden" (73). The masquerade participants acted simultaneously as the object of the experiments and as the experimentors who wondered what might happen when a particular rule was tightened or slackened. For example, the masquerade served as an opportunity for exploring a range of different types and categories of identity through the element of costume choice. National types, class-based or occupational categories, and gender roles were common motifs in masquerade costumes, and the sheer number of costumes catalogued testifies moreover to the way this practice also appealed to the era's encyclopedic interests. What happened, though, when certain kinds of costumes were encouraged or forbidden? When different types of people were themselves excluded or invited? Both persistently controversial and amazingly mundane, the eighteenth-century masked ball brought together some of the era's most pressing concerns in the guise of entertainment. In the following I will explore some of the key elements of masquerade, illuminating the rules of the game as they were officially decreed and as they could be gleaned from cultural references, and suggesting some of the results of the experiments.

Standing in front of the 1766 poster from Copenhagen, the stranger to masquerades would initially have to determine eligibility for attending this particular event. Though the introductory statement making the event known is inclusive ("til alle

og enhvers Efterretning"), the first point makes it clear that the event itself will be exclusive: only members of the first six ranks will be admitted, plus foreign ministers and naval and army officers and – it is implied in point two – their wives ("Mands-Personer og Fruentimmer"). [11] Once these criteria are established, much of the poster details an elaborate ritual that must be completed to be admitted to the masquerade. The third and longest point takes some 200 words to describe how one member of each party of up to ten people will be required to unmask upon arrival, have his or her identity confirmed and cross-checked by the guards with the ticket number and the previously written list of names, and finally be asked to vouch for the other members of the party, who were not required to unmask. Details about time and place, which today would be of primary concern on such an advertisement, are contained within the text of this point: the masquerade will begin at 9 in the evening and everything will be over by 3 in the morning. That such basic information is embedded within the long description of the process of identification and verification to be performed upon entering the site of the masquerade indicates a matter of great concern to the hosts: the control exercised upon the participants. On the entire broadsheet, only a few lines give information about something other than the mechanisms for controlling the participants' admission to and movements within the site of the masquerade. Point seven requires that servants be dressed in livery and wait well outside, but only point eight address the participants'

[11] Translation: "to everyone's notice"; "men and women." A unique rank stystem was introduced in Denmark eleven years after the absolute monarchy was established in 1660. In this system, service to the state was rewarded with higher ranks, and the rank system officialy superceded the old *stand* or estate system. Thus a particularly high-ranking burgher could have higher status and enjoy greater privileges than members of the nobility or clergy. The old estate system still had relevance in terms of a more general break-down of society, however. See Henningsen 313-344.

costumes: participants are admonished not to "forklæde sig i noget Dyrs Lignelse eller usømmelig Forestillelse."[12]

With these basic guidelines established, novice masquerade participants could draw on a number of sources to help prepare for what would happen next. Like our imagined traveler, they would likely have garnered some idea of the reputation of the place about to be visited, might have read letters, essays, or literary renditions by previous travelers, and possibly seen artistic depictions of its famous sights. Fortunately for the uninitiated, the publication of guides and handbooks that explained courtly ceremonial and addressed almost every aspect of social interaction had been flourishing since the sixteenth century,[13] and by the eighteenth century, many of these texts began to include more information on court festivals, including maquerades. Among these, Julius Bernhard von Rohr's (1688-1742) two-volume *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*[14] stands out in three ways: for being the first to claim to organize the rules of protocol and behavior into the "*forme* einer Wissenschaft" (vii); for its status-based division into volumes, one on the *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (1728) and one on the *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen Herren* (1733); and for his emphasis on court festivals as entertainment for a group of active participants, rather than only as opportunities for the prince "to demonstrate his princeliness to his people and to manifest it to them in displays of public magnificence" or to exercise his "duty to give them access

[12] Translation: "dress in any animal's guise or indecent representation."
[13] See Watanabe-O'Kelly. The audience is primarily young men of some financial means.
[14] Both volumes were reprinted with scholarly commentary in 1990. Italics in all citations indicate the use of Roman script within the text, which is otherwise printed in Blackletter. Original spelling and punctuation retained. The dates here are fairly inconsistent—the reprints show one date on the title page but other dates are mentioned by the editors and other scholars. In parenthetical citations I will refer to the texts as *Privat-Personen* and *Grossen Herren*.

to his person and to show them that he is no tyrant" (Watanabe-O'Kelly 217-218).

These points are also relevant with regard to Rohr's discussion of masquerades. The status distinctions exemplified by the split of his *Wissenschaft* into two volumes are of great concern for masquerade organizers and participants, since the masquerade represents what Claudia Schnitzer calls "die Fiktion des zeremoniellen Freiraums" (254). While many forms of entertainment might have brought the ruler and his subjects in closer contact, the carnivalesque environment of masquerade ostensibly eliminates such distinctions entirely, though only temporarily. On the purportedly scientific level of the *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen Herren,* Rohr outlines not only the entire range of forms of entertainment ("*Divertissemens"*), from "Aufzügen" to "*Oper*n" to "Schlittenfahrten," but also makes distinctions between different forms of costumed entertainments that went under the broadly understood name of "*Masquerade.*"

> Bey den *Masquerad*en wird entweder eine gewisse *Invention* durchgeführet, darnach sich ein iedweder bey seiner Verkleidung zu richten hat, als wie bey einer *Masquerade* der *Nation*en, oder bey einem Götter-Aufzuge, oder es wird einen iedweder die Freyeheit verstattet, sich nach eigenen Gefallen zu kleiden, wie es einer am besten *inventiren* oder nach seinem Beutel ausführen kan, dafern er nur hiebey nicht etwan denen deßfalls *publicirt*en Landes-Herrlichen Verordnungen zuwider handelt, oder wider die Regeln der Klugheit verstößt, die ein iedweder bey dergleichen Fällen in Obdacht zu nehmen hat" (Rohr *Grossen-Herren* 819).

The first type of "*Masquerade*" falls under the rubric Schnitzer dubs

"Verkleidungsbanketten,"[15] which are otherwise commonly known as "Wirtschaften."[16] Essentially themed role-playing dinners, the scripted character of these events necessarily limited the number of participants, thus ensuring that the event remained small and elite. This type is therefore completely absent from the *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen,* whose audience is of a lower social stratum, and Rohr instead focuses on the second type of "*Masquerade,"* which corresponds to the masked ball, though the terms Redoutte and Carneval (in various spellings) were also common (506-510). In each volume, Rohr emphasizes the individual's freedom to choose or create a costume or mask, in contrast to the *Wirtschaften,* where roles were assigned in advance and limited in scope to the particular event's theme. He allows for personal preference and creativity as well as the individual's financial concerns on this point, further suggesting the broader spectrum of possible participants here.

Most significant, though, are the exhortations to follow the rules: both the local regulations as well as the "Regeln der Klugheit" as compiled by Rohr and in the other handbooks of the genre. Rohr acknowledges that the regulations vary enough across regions that he cannot present them all in his own text, but it is up to the masquerade participants to acquaint themselves with the local practices and decide how to position themselves in relation to the other participants and the activities at each site and each

[15] In her richly documented study of *Höfische Maskaraden* from 1500-1800, Schnitzer distinguishes between four main types of costumed entertainment, in order of appearance: *Mummereien, Ritterspiele, Verkleidungsbankette,* and *Maskenbälle*. The *Mummereien* disappeared by the late 16th century, while the second two were practiced well into the 18th century. Of masked balls she writes: "Die *Maskenbälle* mit den Sonderformen der Redouten und Dominobälle, die seit dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts das gesamte 18. Jahrhundert hindurch das beliebteste höfische Verkleidungsdivertissement darstellten" (Schnitzer 61).

[16] I will primarily use the term "Wirtschaften," as it appears most commonly in the texts I work with, and the term is also used in Danish.

occasion. The rules of prudence however, are implied to be both more universal and to be especially pertinent for the situation presented by masquerades. In *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* Rohr introduces masquerades almost as a kind of necessary evil that social politics dictate participation in, but which he warns should be approached with caution:

> Ein junger *Cavalier* muß, bißweilen an fremden und einheimischen Orten, theils aus *Curiosit*ät, theils des Wohlstandes wegen, die *Carnevals, Redout*en und *Masquerad*en mit besuchen. Je seltner er dieselben besucht, je besser ists vor seine Seele, indem bey diesen wollüstigen Gesellschaften und Oertern der Seele trefflich nachgestellet wird (506-507).

Beyond the adjective *wollüstig,* Rohr does not offer any detailed explanation of what exactly might be so dangerous about the masquerade; the reputation of the masquerade as a site of debauchery and sin was sufficiently well-established to make such exposition superfluous, though the concern continues to run as an undercurrent to much of his advice. More explicitly, Rohr does offer a great deal of information in both volumes of his *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft* about practical details and pragmatic concerns for masquerade participants. In each case, he begins with advice about the choice of mask and costume. Given that these are central components of the masquerade, this is a logical point to begin preparations for the masquerade.

Maskenfreiheit

The mask was — and continues to be — an object invested with meaning, and that meaning extended to the entire practice of masquerade. Indeed, the wearing of masks

seems to be a primary rule of masquerade; it is what most obviously distinguishes a masquerade from other festive gatherings, and it features prominently in attempts to establish its guidelines or explanations of it. Zedler's *Universal-Lexikon* (1731-1754) defines "Mascarade, Maschkerade" as "eine Gesellschaft, da alle, so dazu gehören, in ungewöhnlichen Kleidern, und mit Maschen vor dem Gesicht erscheinen müssen" (1899). Participants of masquerades were moreover known synedochically as "masks." It is therefore surprising to learn that even this aspect of the masquerade, which would presumably be a requisite for an event to even qualify as such, was also sometimes optional, and occasionally even forbidden. This paradox of the maskless masquerade illustrates both the enormous spectrum of variation possible even for one of its characteristic elements and the extent to which a given element could be debated by organizers and opponents of the masquerade.

Masks themselves are defined in the Zedler as objects used both to protect the face, as from the weather, and for the purpose of entertainment ("Masche, Maschle, Larve *Larva, Persona*" 1906); they were associated both with traditional folk practices, such as carnival, and with the theater, from classical antiquity through *commedia dell'arte.* Though as the eighteenth century progressed masks became increasingly rare on the stages of theaters, especially court theaters, they were still intimately associated with acting and performance. At the same time however, negative perspectives on theater were also carried over to masks: Zedler's entry on masks goes on to note that *"*Gleichnißweise bedeutet dieses Wort List, Betrug, und Verstellung," indicating the importance of the metaphorical component of this object ("Masche, Maschle, Larve

Larva, Persona" 1906). While the *Privatpolitik* as explicated by a ceremonial theoretician like Rohr encouraged adherence to the roles of *theatrum mundi*, there was a growing concern about the moral implications of this type of calculated performance. According to Ursula Geitner, the metaphor of the mask became an *idée fixe* for moral criticism that aimed to "unmask" the falseness of this older tradition: "Aufgabe der Moral ist es demzufolge, die Bestimmung des Menschen *hinter* jener Maske, mit welcher die Vergangenheit sie ver- und entstellte, ans Licht der Wahrheit zu befördern" (32). The opposite side of this coin is the extent to which an individual mask wearer, whether actor or masquerade participant, could experience the mask as a physical sign of what Richard Weihe calls "das Bewusstsein des Trägers, anders zu sein, als er dem Betrachter erscheint"(14). This perspective reflects an assumption that there is a distinction between the exterior, social identity of a person and an inner, private self that also figures in Baroque renditions of *theatrum mundi* that focus on the contrast between *Sein* and *Schein,* as well as the fact that the word *person* itself derives from the Latin word for mask – *persona* (28-29). Today our understanding of persona is tied to C. G. Jung's use of the term *persona* to suggest "die Identität, die eine Person nur vorgibt oder sich wünscht, die aber nicht den Tatsachen entspricht" (Weihe 343). In the case of the *persona* and the normative role assignments of *theatrum mundi*, the fact that a person was cast in a particular role did not necessarily correspond to intrinsic qualities, for better or worse.

In the context of masquerade, this means that the mask's use as an object related to its ability to protect the individual from being identified and subsequently criticized for

deviating from his or her usual role. A convention of anonymity was key to the masquerade, and the related concept of "Maskenfreiheit" was considered to be incontrovertible. Rohr's codification of behavior for masquerade participants layers on top of the everyday rules. He writes:

> Man sey nicht so einfältig, und *demasqui*re sich also fort auf Verlangen einer *Masque*, sondern bediene sich der gewöhlichen *Masquen*-Freyheit; man sey aber auch nicht so naseweise, und verberge dieses von einer andern, unter dem Schein, als ob man eine hohe Standes-Person wäre. Weil man nicht weiß, wen man vor sich hat, so sey man sittsam in der *Masque*, und richte seine Worte und Geberden mit eben der Bescheidenheit, ja noch mit größerer ein, als ob man nicht *masqui*rt wäre. Man nehme sich in Acht, daß man nicht jemand vorseztlicher Weise stoße, oder sonst *insulti*re, weil die *Masqu*en allenthalben vor *inviolabel* gehalten werden. (Rohr *Privat-Personen* 507-508).

This conventional rule of the inviolability of the mask required a constant balancing act between protecting individual identities and guarding against the possibility of the abuse of the convention. For the individual masquerade participant, Rohr's advice is full of contradictions and expectations that make the difficulty of this performance evident. At one point in the *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen-Herren,* he cautions against wearing the same mask or costume as someone of a higher status, suggesting the ability to see through these disguises (820); yet a few pages later, he makes the rather incredible statement that at the banquets at some masquerades, "da führet denn ein ieder *Cavalier* seine *Dame* zur Tafel, ohngeachtet sie nicht wissen, wer sie sind" (824). Given the usual

regulations on how men and women and people of different ranks and backgrounds are expected to interact with one another, this lack of certainty, even if it is only a performance, constitutes a destabilization of usual operating procedures.

This is in fact what was so worrying about the masquerade: with the usual rules about roles and rank ostensibly removed from the equation, not only must participants treat others as potential equals, but their own everyday roles are called into question. On the whole, Rohr's text shows that a confusing, disorienting mix of attitudes and behaviors are at work at the masquerade, sometimes requiring participants to act as if they don't know who other people are even if they do, sometimes leaving them actually unaware of whom they are interacting with, and (almost) always asking them to avoid identifying themselves directly. Schnitzer writes that "der Reiz der Veranstaltung bestand darin, möglichst nicht sofort erkannt zu werden, während man gleichzeitig versuchte, die anderen Maskierten zu identifizieren" (257). Different strategies could be employed to attempt to maintain anonymity, such as switching costumes, speaking in foreign languages, or disguising one's voice (cf. Langen 162-163). The rules of ceremonial were at least temporarily minimized, if not truly suspended, as long as there was doubt about who was behind the mask. As Richard Weihe says, "der Identität stellt die Gesellschaftsmaske die Ambiguität entgegen" (167); the individual's assigned role within the *theatrum mundi* of courtly life was replaced by the blank slate of the mask. The "loss of face" here had the potential to be a liberating rather than a humiliating experience.

The preservation of *Maskenfreiheit* was a matter of concern not only for the individual participants, but also for masquerade organizers. Johann Wolfgang von

Goethe's responsibilities at Weimar included organizing the masquerades at the Weimarische Redouten- und Comödienhaus, and the regulations he and his co-workers Franz Kirms and Georg Lebrecht von Luck laid out for the 1798/1799 winter season, which were published as an "Ankündigung der ersten Redoute" in the "Weimarischen Wochenblatt," survive. At such a relatively late date in the history of masquerade, many sets of such rules already existed and could serve as templates for their work, but Goethe and Kirmss nonetheless debated the points in multiple drafts, indicating the continued relevance of such rule systems. Bruno Satori-Neumann has exhaustively detailed the process of writing and revising the regulations and claims that the extent of Goethe's involvement with such seemingly trivial issues can be explained by the fact that "[d]ie Redouten brachten der Hoftheaterkasse so viel ein, daß – ohne andere Mittel in Anspruch zu nehmen – das aufgenommene Kapital für den Umbau des Redouten- und Comödien=Hauses amortisiert werden konnte" (59). Though the economic considerations certainly indicate masquerade's importance to Goethe and Weimar society and are in evidence in the many points related to local ticketing and subscription policies, Satori-Neumann's research also reveals that many of the details debated in the revisions of these regulations have more to do with questions of masquerade etiquette than finance.

In early drafts of the Weimar regulations there was discussion about the permissibility of "Drahtaugen," which the *Goethe-Wörterbuch* explains are "wohl kleine, nur die Augenumgebung verdeckende (mit Drahtklemme befestigte?) Larve, auf Redouten verwendet." The ninth point in Goethe's earliest draft states "Drahtaugen werden nicht geduldet," and a note explains, "Die Anordnung wegen der Drahtaugen

wird man wohl nur erst künftige Redoute in Ausübung bringen können weil die Handelsleute mit schwarzen Masken wohl schwerlich versehen sind" (Satori-Neumann 52). Kirms replied that the coming ban on *Drahtaugen* should be advertised, noting: "Sollte man auch das unerlaubte Demaskiren beym Tanz nicht urgiren" (ibid 54). The discussion reveals a relatively conservative stance on the use of masks, with traditional black masks that cover a larger portion of the face prefered to the smaller, and presumably less expensive *Drahtaugen*; even these, however, are better than nothing, they argue. In the final version, Point 9 simply states: "In dem Tanz-Saal darf sich niemand demaskiren" (59). By enforcing a rule that required masks for all participants, the organizers also ensured a greater possibility of anonymity and *Maskenfreiheit* for each individual participant. The fact that this issue needed to be addressed at all, however, implies that some potential participants either did not have access to the preferred black masks or did not share the desire for anonymity that was one of the masquerade's driving forces.

Anonymity could, however, also represent a danger to the individual; the metaphoric understanding of the mask as an agent of betrayal and falsity translated, in the context of masquerade, to a fear that *Maskenfreiheit* could be misused to deceive or commit sinful or criminal acts.[17] While one's own mask offered protection from criticism after the masquerade, another mask could conceal a threat if worn by someone with ill intent. Gottfried Taubert's treatise *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister* (Leipzig, 1717), which was itself in large part a justification and defense of dance in light of pietistic criticism of

[17] This can be seen in the common prohibition of weapons, though the fatal shooting of Gustav III of Sweden at a masked ball at the Stockholm opera in 1792 was an exceptional occurrence. Cf Schnitzer 263.

it, includes a section on the wearing of masks and masquerades. Under the heading, "Ob es einem Christen sich zu masquiern erlaubt sey, oder nicht?", Taubert enumerates the reasons frequently given against the practice, starting with the argument that "der ledige Teuffel der *Autor* von der *Masque* wäre, als welcher sich im Paradieß in eine Schlange verstellet, und durch diese Larve den Menschen aus dem Stand der Unschuld in einem erbärmlichen Zustand gesetzt hätte" (89). Taubert argues that it depends on the intention of the wearer of the mask, though he allows that it can be done not only for the pleasure of other Christians, but also for the enjoyment of the masker him- or herself. A Christian person can wear a mask, he argues, as long as the person does not intend to emulate the devil by harming his neighbor ("Nechsten"), but "ihn nur eine mäßige Verwunderung zu ziehen," that is, to have a moderately entertaining costume that was not frightening or offensive to his neighbor (ibid). For those concerned with their moral welfare, then, making sure to attend the masquerade with good intentions was just as important a requisite as an attractive costume.

In some circumstances, the rule of the mask was varied for certain kinds of participants. For example, at some sites the mask requirement was limited to local participants;[18] most strangers enjoyed a *de facto* kind of *incognito* status anyway, and their behavior was also less likely to have long-lasting repercussions. At other sites, the local rulers, the most prominent members of the local social order, would appear without mask, thus disrupting the fiction of the masquerade's anonymity by removing the doubt about the identity of these specific participants. Yet there were also masquerade models

[18] Leopold Mozart wrote to his son about not being required to wear a mask "als fremde" while in Brussels (Fink "Tanzveranstaltungen" 40).

that completely removed the mask from the equation. In his *Tagebuch einer Spazierfarth durch die Hessische in die Braunschweig-Lüenburgischen Lande* from 1728, Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach describes his experience as a traveler visiting the Redoute in Braunschweig. He reports on security measures, such as being required to leave his *Degen* with the guards, and on seeing the usual mix of costumes, but notes with some surprise "…niemand aber hatte eine Masque vor dem Gesichte, als welches hier nicht erlaubt ist" (12). He repeats this observation after two subsequent visits, underscoring the impression that this was an exception to the rule of the mask. Still, at *Wirtschaften* or *Verkleidungsbanketten,* the earlier courtly predecessors of the 18th-century masked ball, it had been standard practice that participants wore elaborate costumes, but usually not masks. The role-playing element at these events was strong, and the participants' ability to perform their allotted roles was compared to their usual adherence to the roles of the courtly *theatrum mundi*.[19] In the absence of masks, *incognito* principles governed interactions and questions of etiquette, but a more liberal *Maskenfreiheit* was not possible. Masquerades where masks were forbidden or optional bridged a gap between the common variations at either end of the spectrum; participants still had the freedom to choose their own costumes, but both the thematic element of the *Verkleidungsbanketten* and the elements of liberty and danger represented by the mask were softened. These elements also related to a great extent to the rules dealing with questions of the identification of participants, and eligibility for participation.

[19] cf Schnitzer 44.

Who Can Play

Beyond determining an individual masquerade's relative degree of *Maskenfreiheit*, masks could also be used as a tool in the rituals of identification that were enacted at the points of entry to the masquerade. In the regulations for the masquerades at Weimar, Goethe and his co-organizers focused on harmonizing ticketing procedures to take into account subscription holders as well as those who would buy single tickets. Tickets for subscribers could not be transferred to others, and the second point of the *Ankündigung* warns that those presenting a subscription ticket or *Freybillet* will "sich zu demaskiren nicht weigern" (Satori-Neumann 57). This act of identification, which relied on the ability of the (unnamed) theater workers to match a name with a face, was a common practice that was also used for Christian VII's masquerades. However, while the reason for this ritual of identification at Christian VII's court was to ensure that the participants belonged to the eligible ranks — or rather, to keep the dangerous ineligibles out — the emphasis at Weimar is on the masquerade as a business enterprise; no mention is made of identifying participants with individually purchased tickets.

This is not to say that the Weimar masquerades under Goethe's direction were a free-for-all in terms of access. The individual tickets followed the pattern of the subscription packages in being assigned to different sections of the theater, with the traffic between different sections being tightly controlled. Tickets for the dance floor (the theater's *Parterre* with the benches removed) and the *Logen* cost 12 Groschen, which Goethe felt was "billig, für die Zuschauer aber zu hoch" (Satori-Neumann 58, 53). Goethe's arguments about the price of *Gallerie* tickets suggest an interest in opening the

event to a larger range of people, despite the restrictions against servants participating, and these cheapest tickets were ultimately set at 4 Groschen. Despite the interest in financial gain, it was agreed that actors would be granted free entry; servants, however, were forbidden not only from wearing masks but from accompanying their employers at all, and Goethe and the other organizers worried about how to let the officers in but keep the "gemeinen Soldaten" out (ibid 51ff). While the Weimar masquerade organizers looked at the masquerade as a commercial enterprise, there were still architecturally-enforced divisions within the theater based on the individual participants' purchasing power and a clear desire to keep the assembly free from the most undesirable figures. After all, while for most people the *Redoute* began at 7, the court arrived at 9, and then "kann…also die Redoute gleichsam zum zweytenmale anfangen" (ibid 50).

Though the models of participation in the rules for masquerades in Copenhagen in 1766 and in Weimar in 1798 had different motivations, they have in common that they facilitate the assembling of a large but controlled crowd of motivated, eligible participants. However, it is clear from archival documents that such formalities were relatively short lived, in Copenhagen, for example, and that the number of participants swelled exponentially in the first months after the first masquerade on December 4, 1766. The Protocol for that masquerade lists the names and "Caractair," and ticket numbers of 272 participants (Rigsarkivet *Overhofmarskallatet 1672-1897 O. Diverse sager*); one hundred more tickets were issued two weeks later, and the last such protocol, from 1770, lists 2403 tickets.[20] Richard Semmens notes that for the similarly large balls at the Paris

[20] The archive does not contain protocols for most of the masquerades held between 1767 and 1769, and there are no such protocols for masquerades in the court theater; the latest available

Opéra around the same time, "it seems unlikely that anything approaching organized dancing could have occurred," and I suspect that it is equally unlikely that the elabroate controls outlined in so many sets of rules could have been very thorough as the number of participants rose (83). A case in point comes from February 1767, when Christian VII, just two months after reviving masquerades in Denmark, hosted a masquerade that was open to anyone in a mask, eliminating all pretense of protocols and the rituals of identification. As is clear from Goethe's concerns about *Drahtaugen,* acquiring a mask could still be a financial burden for some potential participants, but the perception of Christian VII's open invitation was that it was a gesture of inclusiveness. The noblewoman Luise Juel wrote in a gossipy letter to her nephew Fritz, "…og har Kongen været så nådig og tilladt alle og enhver, som ville maskere dem, at måtte komme på maskerade, skrædder og skomager enfin fra den nedre stand til den højeste uden forskel, som er meget nådigt af Kongen"[21] (84).

Juel's enthusiasm for the king's graciousness echoes Ludvig Holberg's arguments in his Epistle 347, *Forsvar for Maskerader* (Defense of Masquerades), in which he celebrates masquerade's carnivalesque ability to facilitate contact between people "uden Frygt og Undseelse, saa at en Undersaat kand *familiarisere* sig med sin Konge, og en Tiener med sin Herre, hvilket ikke kand andet end være behageligt baade for Høye og

---

protocol, a "Designation over udgivne Masquerade Billetter"[20] and dated 29 Januar 1771 (the King's birthday), lists 2403 tickets. Even for the earlier lists, it is clear that as attendance increased, record keeping decreased: while the first protocol carefully lists names for almost every ticket distributed, as early as January 1770 many of the lists simply allocate the tickets in bulk, for example, the 150 tickets for the masquerade on the 31st went to General Gr. Ahlefelt.

[21] Translation: "…and the King has been so gracious to allow each and every person who wants to wear a mask to come to the masquerade, tailors and shoemakers indeed from the lower class to the highest without distinction, which is very gracious of the king."

Lave" (Holberg *Forsvar* 123-124).[22] Perhaps partially inspired by his memories of the financial windfall that commercial masquerades had meant for the Lille Grønnegade theater before the reign of the pietist King Christian VI, Holberg wrote this defense in 1749, while masquerades were still banned in Denmark. His defense, however, centers on turning the usual arguments about masks and masquerading on their heads, in particular the one Taubert references about Satan using disguise to bring about the Fall. As noted in the Introduction, Holberg argues instead that masquerade is a "*philosophi*sk Leeg" (philosophic game) that can remind participants of the state *before* the Fall, and that daily life is "en bestandig *Mascarade*, efterdi Regiering, Moder og Sædvaner paalegge os Masker, hvilke vi ved saadan Leeg ligesom nedlegge, og at vi egentligen ikke ere ret maskerede, uden naar vi gaae med blotte Ansigter" (125).[23] Holberg here not only argues for the masquerade's potential moral-philosophical benefits, but also offers some insight into part of the motivation for participating in masquerades. He was not alone in making such arguments; for example, a "Büchelgen" published anonymously in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1785 contains a similar line of reasoning. The author of this text likewise believes in the "Rechtmäßigkeit dieser Spiele," and argues that the use of masks is intended to give "Personen vom ersten Rang" the opportunity to take part in "den unschuldigen Vergnügungen ihrer Untergebenen" (iii-iv). The masquerade – in addition to a regular ball's attractions of music and dancing – offers participants the opportunity to escape from their daily roles and to interact with people outside of their usual social

[22] Translation: "…without fear and shame, so that a subject can familiarize himself with his king, and a servant with his master, which cannot but be pleasant for both high and low…"
[23] Translation: "a constant masquerade, because because government, fashion and custom require us to put on masks that we can, in a sense, lay aside in this game, and we are not truly masked except for when we go about with bare faces."

circles. The mask was only one component of the tactics used to facilitate this experience of an alternate reality.

"Hier gilt kein Unterscheid..."

The question of who could participate was relevant for most festive gatherings and forms of entertainment, but the masquerade drew more attention to these issues by proclaiming that, once inside, they were irrelevant. The well-guarded convention of anonymity meant that masquerade participants were given the unusual opportunity to make an active choice about who to be, if only for the duration of the event. Midway through his discussion of masquerades, Rohr pauses to cite a section of "eine kurze *poët*ische Beschreibung der *Masquerade*n" from the poems of the "berühmten Gustavi Heræi," Carl Gustav Heräus:

> Hier gilt kein Unterscheid, wer erst kommt, gehet vor,
> Beym *Doctor* geht ein Narr, beym Herrn sitzt ein Bauer,
> Die Christin führt ein Türck, das schönste Bild ein Mohr,
> Es wird den Schlaven nichts, dem Bettler auch nichts sauer,
> Offt spielt die Frau den Mann, offt wird der Mann ein Weib,
> Verwandlung geht im Schwang, als zu der Tichter Zeiten,
> Sie macht zur Fledermauß den allerzärtsten Leib.[24]

Rohr does not comment on his reasons for including these lines of poetry in his book on the ceremonial regulations which, Schnitzer argues, obviously contradict the "verklärtem

[24] Cited in Rohr *Grossen-Herren* 820; The poem in its entirety is found in: Heräus, Carl Gustav. *Gedichte und Lateinische Inschriften.* Nürnberg: Peter Conrad Monath, 1721. 226-229. A footnote by Heräus explains that a "Fledermauß" is "eine Art Wienerischen Masken"; in fact it is a variation on the domino costume that will be discussed below. NB that the idiosyncratic spelling is from the original.

Bild" of equality at masquerades the poem puts forth (Schnitzer 255). What these lines do, however, is make reference to this wide-spread perception of the masquerade as a site of equality and sanctioned role play. The accuracy of this perception notwithstanding, it was enshrined as one of masquerade's purposes and ultimate goals, "die Ursache und die Absicht," as Johann Heinrich Kattfuß described it in his guide to dances, *Choregraphie* (165). Kattfuß emphasizes the importance of making sure that not only the mask, but also that the clothing of the participants serve this goal. This could mean either choosing costumes that allowed participants to deviate from their everyday roles, including experimenting with class-based or racially-coded clothing, or cross-dressing, or else clothes that were utterly undistinguished, as exemplified by the *domino* or *Fledermaus.*

The popularity of Venetian-style capes known primarily by the name *domino,* though also variously called *Taborro* and *Fledermaus*, points directly to the 18th-century masquerade's Italian inspirations. Rohr notes that the carnival traditions from "dem wollüstigen Italien" exerted a strong influence on the practices of other Europeans (*Grossen Herren* 816). But it was the Venetian carnival that was the greatest draw on the Grand Tour, an absolutely necessary stop. In fact, Birgit Weichmann writes that by the early eighteenth century, Venetian carnival had developed "zu einer echten Attraktion des vorindustriellen Tourismus…Der Karneval in Venedig wurde dann auch eine Etappe der Grand Tour" (95).[25] In Venice, only the nobility were allowed to wear dominos, but they wore them year-round in a variety of public and private settings;[26] while *incognito* travel

[25] Weichmann goes on to give "Konkrete Zahlen: 1701 wurden bei etwa 140.000 Einwohnern, die Venedig damals zählte, während des Karnevals gut 30.000 Fremde beherbergt." ibid.
[26] Ignazio Toscani's dissertation on the Venetian tradition of "Gesellschaftsmasken" explains the highly-regulated system of mask and domino wearing in Venice. The domino worn in

was common for elite members of society, the visitors from the north were fascinated by the Venetians' ability to act *incognito* in their own city, and adapted the costume and carnival traditions when they returned home.[27] The novelty of the *domino's* use at masquerades in Northern Europe is that the costume was not usually legally restricted to those of elite ranks or status, as it was in Venice, but could in principle be bought or rented by anyone.[28]

Belying their simplicity, dominos were actually extremely versatile as masquerade dress. Unlike other types of masquerade costume, as will be discussed below, the domino was not a sign of the assumption of some other role, but rather freedom from roles. The domino itself, as Schnitzer describes it, "signalisierte durch die Verhüllung die Annahme des Status eines Kostümierten bzw. inkognito Auftretenden" (304). Dominos could facilitate the playful practice of changing appearance multiple times during an event, helping guard anonymity; but they could also be worn open, allowing socially-marked ball clothing beneath to be visible, thus undermining the fictional equality of the masquerade – except for when the clothing beneath it was yet another costume, as was often the case. When worn closed and combined with a mask,

---

combination with a mask called a *volto* constituted a *bauta,* often also worn with a tricorn hat and a mantilla of lace. (Toscani 52-53 and passim.) Apparently, the term "domino" was also used in the French context to refer to a halfmask, while the term 'chauve-souris" was used for the robe (cf Semmens 98).

[27] In these contexts, *incognito* means traveling under an assumed name and status, and did not imply the use of a mask. This was a common stategy that allowed especially the nobility to move more freely and interact with other members of nobility without concerns about protocol. Cf the note below about Frederik IV hosting grand public masquerades after his trips to Italy.

[28] Fleischbauer writes that the use of the domino was restricted in the *Karnevalsordnung* under Herzog Eberhard Ludwig (1676-1733) to "Cavaliers und Dames" for the masquerades held in Stuttgart, but this seems to be one case of an exception that verifies the rule for German contexts (5)

though, the domino ensured that "the shape and sex of the person beneath were virtually obscured" (Castle 59). The domino was a physical representation of the individual freed from his or her usual role, even if all traces of that role were not entirely eliminated.

On the other side of the masquerade spectrum from the blank slate of the domino stand the amazing variety of fancy-dress costumes available, such as those mentioned by Heräus.[29] Images such as the pair of paintings by François Rousseau that depict a "Maskenball im Bonner Hoftheater" (ca. 1754) show colorful crowds in a wide variety of costumes that may be difficult for contemporary eyes to decipher.[30] An occasional *commedia dell'arte* figure or a priest costume might be picked out, but the majority of the costumes require specialist knowledge. While the eighteenth-century participants would have been able to decode the different types of costumes and their connotations, to us they often appear to blend into a kaleidoscopic mass of fancy dress. The emphasis on the masquerade as a site of visual chaos persisted well into subsequent centuries; Walter Salmen observes that even as an 81-year-old, Goethe "reizte am 'flüchtigen Rausch' der Maskenbälle das Inkognito und die Lust am 'Entdecken' des Gegenübers" (*Goethe* 67). Salmen refers to the opening lines of Goethe's 1829 poem "An Sie":

> "Ist das Chaos doch, beim Himmel!
> Wie ein Maskenball zu achten;
> Welch ein wunderlich Getümmel!
> Allerlei verschiedne Trachten!" (37)

[29] Evidence about costumes come from texts and images rather than on the costumes or masks themselves, which generally have not survived.
[30] The paintings have been reproduced in many texts, including Salmen's *Tanz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* as Abb. 149 and Abb. 150.

The poem was anonymously published in Goethe's daughter-in-law Ottilie von Goethe's small journal *Chaos*. In the Poem, Goethe uses the metaphor of masquerade to refer to the journal's broad range of anonymously and pseudonymously published, multi-lingual entries (Henckman and Hölscher-Lohmeyer 448-9). This link between the opacity of these anonymous or pseudonymous writers to masquerade participants and the opacity of the mask reflects a broader interest in the masquerade's promise of freedom from the confines of names and social roles. The comparison of the journal's motley assortment of contributors to the many costumes of a masquerade suggests both a celebratory, festive attitude towards the journal, and the possibility of masquerade costumes to allow for an individual's creative expression.

Salmen writes that, at the actual masked balls, Goethe favored the peasant-like "Verkleidung aus dem Thüringerlande" (ibid); but meanwhile, Werner Fleischbauer's discussion of the 1757 inventory of the effects of the Herzogin Maria Augusta demonstrates the extensive range of costumes employed by just one person:

> Das Inventar nennt hier die Kostüme einer Chinesin, einer Türkin, einer Amerikanerin, worunter man in der Zeit eine Indianerin verstand, einer Jüdin, einer Sultanin, einer Moskowiterin und einer Mohrin. Es folgen die einer Ungarin, einer Engländerin, einer Bohémienne, einer Moldauerin, daß heißt Rumänin, einer Irländerin, einer Egerländerin, ferner reichststädtische Trachten aus Straßburg und Augsburg und endlich das Kostüm einer Européenne. Nur ein Kostüm allegorischer Art ist vorhanden, die "Nacht". Weiterhin werden malerische Berufs und Standestrachten genannt, "Schifferin, Matellote", daß heiß Matrosin,

> Comédienne, Schnitterin, Müllerin und Stiftsdame und endlich eine alte Teutschin und Altteutsche Fürstin. Das Kostüm einer Wirtin leitet über zu einer Anzahl bäuerlicher Trachten, die uns besonders interessieren müssen: "Bäuerin, Breisgauerin, Hanauerin, Tyrolerin, bayerische Bäuerin, schwäbische Bäuerin, Schwarzwälderin und Perouserin." Nebenbei sei bemerkt, daß man sich auch am kursächsichen Hof gelegentlich als schwäbische Bauern maskiert hat (5).

Many of the costumes in this inventory reveal a connection to the categories and themes of the *Verkleidungsbankette*. The latter costumes listed here also reflect masquerade's references to local folk practices, both in terms of the costumes meant to imitate peasant dress and in terms of the costumes with occupational and class-based themes, all of which would by default have implied a carnivalesque inversion of the high-low order when on the body of the Herzogin. The foreign costumes that start the list, meanwhile, reflect the era's widespread interest in exploring more exotic categories, and also hint at some of the foreign sources of inspiration for the development of the eighteenth-century masquerade. The overwhelming variety of costumes, often based on the very specific categories of identity (such as a *Moskowiterin*), are also evidence of the era's interest in identifying, cataloging and classifying. In the excessivenes of the types of costumes, we see the Herzogin's political interest in impressing the regular masquerade attendees as well as the drive to experiment with as many types of costumes as possible. In trying on the physical trappings of different types of people, the Herzogin could demonstrate and indulge in her interest in these categories.

Given the broad cultural interest in categories, however, it is not surprising that

masquerade costumes also participated in the carnivalesque tradition of inverting and transgressing the borders of such categories. Cross-dressing masqueraders transgressed standard gender boundaries that were understood as fixed by God. Holberg mentions this type of masking as one of three specific arguments commonly made against masquerade, noting that clerics criticized masquerades because "Mænd iføre sig Qvinde- og Qvinder igien Mænds-Dragt" (125).[31] Men dressed as women and women dressed as men reversed their usual positions in the existing hierarchy of the sexes in one of the most common expressions of the World Upside Down. Prominently, Queen Caroline Mathilde became known for her preference for wearing men's clothing and dominos to masquerades.[32] The regulations for the first masquerade at Christian VII's court only address the issue of costumes in terms of a type that is not allowed, namely animal costumes or anything that might be considered "usømmelig," indecent. This restriction is maddeningly vague, given that the masquerade itself was considered indecent by so many, but such restrictions are certainly aimed at costumes with carnivalesque undertones. Dror Wahrmann, like Castle writing about the English context, sees "the distinction between humans and animals" as one of the "key categories of identity" for what he calls the "*ancien régime* of identity" that, during the course of the eighteenth century, gave way to a more modern notion of the self (xii-xiii).[33] A human dressed as an animal, monster or devil blurred the distinction between categories, and also committed a more serious violation of one of the criticisms of masks Taubert mentioned, of marring the human being's special status amongst God's creatures as his "Ebenbild" (89). Taubert

[31] Translation: "Men wear women's – and women again men's clothing."
[32] cf. Langen 304. Dominos could be gender-neutral or gender-specific in style.
[33] emphasis in the original

advises that the masks should represent "keine abscheuliche Wunder-Geburth; sondern die Gestalt und das Gesichte eines wolgebildeten Menschen" (89-90). Certain categories thus remained taboo, including not only animals, but humans with physical ailments or disabilities.

Of course it was also possible to eschew both dominos and character costumes, and instead attend masquerades in regular ball dress. In such cases, the lesson Katfuß sought to impart his readers was that "es nicht auf prächtige Kleidungen ankomme, sondern auch der simpelste Anzug den allgemeinen Respect erheische, den eine Maske der andern schuldig ist" (167). Kattfuß relates a tale of a Baron being snubbed by a young woman who mistook his simple clothing for a sign of a man of low status, and while either fanciful costumes or unremarkable clothing could be used to disguise participants and contribute to the relative success of the convention of anonymity, it is once again a question of degree. At his first masquerade, the court journal accounts that Christian VII arrived "i *domino* med hatt paa; omklædte sig derefter i en *Torbahn* eller Tyrkisk Dragt, og derefter igen til sidst i *Domino*" (Rigsarkivet *Overhofmarskallatet 1761-1899 Q. Dagjournaler.*).[34] Despite his newness to masquerades, the young king seems to have quickly grasped some of its possible forms of play; he takes on the effacing habit of the domino, trades it for that of an exotic Other, and then returns to the domino – yet the entire time, it is clear that he is still the king. The very fact that these transformations were recorded matter-of-factly in the court journal demonstrates that the costume changes only signified a break from his usual role, rather than actually fooling any of his

[34] Translation: "in *domino* with a hat on; changed thereafter into a *torbahn* [sic] or Turkish Costume, and thereafter again finally into a *domino."*

subjects.[35] So what did he actually do when dressed up this way?

Sensual and Sensory Overload

The many activities that took place at masquerades allowed the participants to experience different kinds of stimuli that would engage all of their senses, often to the point of sensory overload. One of the criticisms of masquerade that Holberg explicitly countered in his *Forsvar for Maskerader* was that "at Nat derved giøres til Dag, og Dag til Nat" — especially in the case of the gamblers— as masquerade participants let themselves lose track of time as they engaged in a host of activities (124-135).[36] Dancing occupied a prime position amongst these, as the term "masked ball" reminds us. Goethe set the order for dances at Weimar, starting with Menuets at seven o'clock, followed by *Dreher* and finally "ein Englischer," "welcher Herr von Fritsch vortanzen will" (Satori-Neumann 50); after the court arrived, another *Dreher* would start (ibid). Dancing was of course a common enough activity, and though it, too, was certainly subject to criticism, it was the least of the worries for opponents of masquerade. The extensive formal considerations outlined above relating to choice of costumes and masks and to navigating the eligibility and entrance procedures are evidence of the belief that the principle of *Maskenfreiheit* encouraged the types of controversial behaviors that led to the criticism, and in some cases banning, of masquerades. Very often critical texts seem unwilling, or

[35] Langen relates that Christian VII later was able to more successfully disguise himself at a masquerade in Hamburg: "Kort efter sin ankomst til maskeraden forsvandt Christian i mængden. I lang tid havde man ikke bemærket kongen. Tre gang skiftede Christian maske for at holde anonymiteten ved lige. En af gangene havde han byttet maske med en af sine kammerherrer for at forvirre omgivelserne" (199). Translation: "Shortly after his arrival at the masquerade, Christian disappeared into the crowd. For a long time the king was not noticed. Three times he changed his mask to maintain anonymity. One time he exchanged masks with one of his lords in waiting to confuse the surroundings."

[36] Translation: "that night is turned to day, and day to night."

perhaps just too decorous, to be explicit about the deeds, leaving much to the imagination. In Denmark, Christian VII's great-grandfather Frederik IV had banned them in 1724, after having heavily favored and promoted the practice in the preceding decades following visits to Italy. Meanwhile, Frederik IV's brother, Prince Carl, was amongst those who wondered whether "man für Gott mit einem guten Gewissen auf die Masqveraden gehen können oder nicht," and wrote to his personal confessor Peter Jesperson with his worries, noting in a "PS": "Zur Nachricht dienet, daß die Masqueraden auf den Fuß findet, daß ein jedweder wer will aufkommen darf, wann sie nur keine verbottene Masquen an haben" ("Om mand…" 113-114).[37] This postscript underlines the primary concern of what will happen at the masquerade: there will be mixing of different social groups.

The priest's response draws out the meaning of this suggestion: the older forms of masquerade, where only the court itself participated, were clearly permissible. Of these new masquerades, however, "hvor enhver uden distinction maae komme, gemene Canaille, som ikke burde tillades at være iblandt høje førstelige Personer, løber tilsammen, dricher sig fulde, med uhøviske Ord, letferdige Miner, og i andre Maader gifver Forargelse… da var det at ynske, de aldrig var til, og at vi ikke vidste af dem at sige"[38] (115). This description of the seamy side of masquerade makes clear both what

[37] The prince's use of German and the priest's response in Danish are typical of the Danish court, at which these two languages alternated in importance, with French taking an important third place. The spelling of the names I use here follow the usage in the commentary to this article; however, the prince himself sometimes his name "Charles" rather than Carl, and the priest's name is sometimes spelled "Jespersen" by other scholars. (Cf. also Holm "Det civiliserede kaos.")
[38] Translation: "where everyone may come without distinction, riffraff that should not be permitted to mix with the most royal persons, come together, get drunk, with impolite words,

could attract some people to them as well as why they could worry a religious man like Prince Carl. Given that the king was set upon hosting these public masquerades, however, Jesperson was clearly not comfortable telling the prince to stay away. He ultimately opines: "Den som gaar der, for at søge Lejlighed til Utugt og andre Synder, drager vist nok Guds Straf og Vrede over sig; men at gaae der, allene for at giøre sin Konge en Fornøjelse, kand meget vel passere*"* (116).[39] Jesperson also uses the traditional defense that great men are permitted much for their entertainment, but when even the king's own brother is only supposed to participate in these masquerades as a favor and not for his own enjoyment, it is clear that he believes that the lower classes are not capable of mustering the necessary moral distaste for the event, and that contact with them is what makes participation dubious for the elite.

Zedler similarly records that a "Continuator Speidelli" answered a similar inquiry by not directly forbidding participation by princes and courtiers, but recommending "daß alle, die dahin nicht gehören, sonderlich gemeinen Standes, sich dessen enthalten sollen" ("Mascarade, Maschkerade"). These recommendations read almost like an admonition to look but not touch. Holberg's *Forsvar for Maskerader* was based on turning this position on its head; for both high and low, Holberg argues, part of the point of the masquerade was the experiment of bringing them into playful contact with each other. Of course this contact could also serve more serious purposes, allowing masked individuals to eavesdrop on people they would normally not associate with, or to make strategic

---

wanton gestures, and in other ways cause irritation... it would be desired, that they never existed, and that we did not know to speak of them."

[39] Translation: He who goes there to seek opportunity for fornication and other sins certainly will draw God's punishment and Anger upon himself; but to go there only in order to be pleasing for the king can very well be permitted.

comments within earshot of those they hoped to influence. Christian VII's tutor and later secretary, Elie Salomon François Reverdil, describes in his memoirs an occasion when Count Conrad Holck changed costumes several times in order to make slanderous comments about Reverdil within the king's earshot, resulting in the tutor's temporary removal from court (66-67). This episode is indicative some of the ways that masquerade could be used to confuse or intentionally deceive the senses – accoustic as well as visual.

The masquerade's presentation of sensory indulgences is in evidence in many of the lengthy descriptions of the settings. Many of these indulgences were not so unusual on their own, but were combined at masquerades in a way that contributed to its reputation for carnivalesque excess. Rohr describes the *Redoutenhäuser* as being "mit den schönsten silbernen oder crystallenen Cronen-Leuchtern und viel tausend weissen Wachs-Fackeln gezieret, welche denn durch die um und um befindliche grossen Spiegel, silbernen Tische und andrer Silberwerck ihren Schein verdoppeln, und alles erleuchten" (*Grossen Herren* 821). Beyond the visual appeal of the physical setting and the motley costumes of the masquerade, there were also rooms devoted to "mancherley Arten des Zeitvertriebs, an Bretspielen, Schachspielen, *Biliard*-Tafeln und andern Spielen" (ibid). All the while the ears were also entertained: "Man höret dabey zu Vergnügung der Ohren mancherley *Concerte* von *Violin*en, Waldhörnnern, *Hautbois* und andern *Instrument*en, welche stets *Menuets,* Teutsche, Englische, auch wohl Polnische und Ungarische Tänze ausstreichen" (ibid). And one could of course not engage in all of these activities without refreshments; there were purveyors of "*Caffé, The, Chocolade, Limonade, Liqueurs, Rosolis, Confitur*en, Obst, Pasteten, *Biscuite,"* as well as

"mancherley Tafeln mit *delicat*en Speisen besetzt, von denen die *Cavaliers* und *Dames* nach Gefallen etwas nehmen und zulangen können" (ibid). Sometimes there were even entire markets set up, often in a nearby square, with shops that contained

> allerhand artige Sachen und *Galanterien* in sich, die auf eine angenehme Art in die Augen fallen. In dieser *Boutique* zeigen sich allerhand Silber-Geschirre und andere Juvelirer-Waaren, in der andern mancherley Chinesisches, Japanisches und Indianisches *Porcelain*, und noch in einer andern, Leute, die mit unterschiedenen *opti*schen Bildern handeln, die, wenn man sie umkehrt, stets etwas neues vorstellen (823).

Rohr's description primarily applies to the celebrations of *der grossen Herren*, and this abundance of stimuli was meant not only to delight the participant's senses but also, as was common of courtly entertainments, to make a good impression of the host. Similar levels of entertainment and decoration were also attempted at more public masquerades; Goethe's correspondence with the Kirms, for example, includes considerations about arranging enough candles to ensure that there would be "keine dunkle Ecken" in the theater, as well as discussions of the expanded number of performances for which the musical director would be compensated (Satori-Neumann 53ff). Given this atmosphere of sensory stimulation and the allure of the exotic and unknown present in the masks and costumes, it is not surprising that the remaining point of criticism of masquerades that Holberg's Epistle responds to is that they "giver Anledning til ublue Elskovs *Intriguer*" (125).[40]

[40] Translation: "give rise to immodest love intrigues."

The Expansion of Time

Though it might seem so self-evident as to render additional discussion unnecessary, especially since I have already mentioned Holberg's comment on the masquerade turning night to day, reflection on the timing and scheduling of masquerades does point to some revealing aspects of it. Yes, the masquerades were held in the evenings, but their duration on an individual evening could in fact outstrip normal evening entertainment by a great deal.[41] Exactly how long a masquerade could be drawn out was a variable factor; Christian VII's first masquerade began at nine o'clock in the evening, and already in the printed regulations it was suggested that it would be over at three in the morning. Yet before long even this relatively late stopping point, compared to other balls, was early for the new standards of Copenhagen masquerade (Langen 161). Langen and Svend Cedergreen Bech relate an anecdote from the era of a letter writer whose wife "stadig lå og sov, selv om klokken var et. Men hun var da også først gået i seng kl. 7 om morgenen, hvor hun kom hjem fra en maskerade, mens beskriveren selv var ved at stå op, fortæller han – i øvrigt uden at anfægte konens ret til at more sig" (Langen 161).[42]

The length of the individual masquerades is only one indication of their popularity; the amazing frequency of masquerades must not go unmentioned. In Copenhagen, the masquerade soon became a weekly affair from late autumn to late spring, and this was typical of many sites throughout the German lands as well. At some cities and courts the

[41] cf Fink, 40.
[42] Translation: "still lay and slept, though it was already one o'clock. But she was also only gone to bed at seven in the morning, when she came home from a masquerade, while the writer was himself getting up, he tells - incidentally without questioning the wife's right to amuse herself."

Redoutenhäuser were open several nights a week. For example, in Uffenbach's description of his visit to Braunschweig, he visits the same Redoutenhaus two nights in a row (12-13). The Herzog von Würtemburg's regulations for the masked balls in Stuttgart indicate that they would be held every Monday and Thursday during the winter, starting with Epiphany (Moser 581). The constant repetition of masquerade after masquerade suggests an attempt to make up for the fact that each occasion did have a beginning and an end, an antidote to the masquerade's fleetingness, and the fact that its liberties were only temporary. Yet this repetition may, over time, also have had the effect of lessening its novel impact, so that its excesses risked becoming "normal", to echo P. O. Enquist's 1999 description of the masked ball at the Copenhagen Court Theater of 16 January 1772. Still, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between repetition and replication; each masquerade was still a unique event that fostered the "strange and fragile presence" of "the possible" (Rheinberger 76).

As has already become evident, the seasonal placement of masquerades occurred mainly in the winter, and the masquerade's roots in the traditional carnival season that began around Christmas and lasted until Lent are visible in its many carnivalesque elements. Eighteenth-century German and Danish writers often point to the masquerade's foreign origins in Italy, but also refer to them as part of a continuum of traditions that stretch back to antiquity and such festivals as Roman Saturnalia. Indeed, Rohr writes of "*Carneval*" as the overarching term for the various masquerade activities (*Privat-Personen* 509). The fact that traditional Shrovetide traditions were relatively "weak" in Northern Europe compared to Italy and France enabled importation of carnival influences

from more mild climates of Mediterranean Europe (Burke 192). The relative unimportance of Lent in Protestant regions also plays a part here; where Lent was less strictly observed, especially in Scandinavia, the religious seasonality of "Carnival" was more easy to ignore, and masquerades could be held "out of season." The masquerade rules Goethe and his collaborators composed were for a masquerade held in late October; similarly, masquerades could be held long after Ash Wednesday, and even in summer. Often, masquerades were associated with birthdays, weddings, and other times of transition and change, showing that, despite the disassociation with religious seasonal rhythms, masquerade still had affinities with the carnival traditions. As understood by Mikhail M. Bakhtin, carnival, and especially the mask, were related to the "joy of change and reincarnation…transition, metamorphoses, the violation of natural boundaries" (39-40). In discussions of Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque, carnival is frequently interpreted as a kind of safety-valve for pent up frustrations about society, such as articulated by Terry Eagleton that it is "a *licensed* affair in every sense, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual as a revolutionary work of art" (148). Bakhtin believed that though the spirit of carnival had been "narrowed and weakened" after the Renaissance, it still continued to "fertilize various areas of life and culture" (33-34).

Goethe offers an example of the conjuncture of folk carnival traditions and their elite adaptations. His famous description of the "unübersehlich, ungenießbar" Roman carnival in 1787 and 1788 emphasizes its chaos and unpredictability (485); he writes that "Freiheit und Gleichheit nur in dem Taumel des Wahnsinns genossen werden können"

(ibid). Though these phrases seem pessimistic, Goethe concludes by hoping that the readers, and carnival participants, "durch diese unbekümmerte Maskengesellschaft an die Wichtigkeit jedes Augenblickchen, oft gering scheinenden Lebensgenusses erinnert werden möge" (ibid). Meanwhile, between 1781 and 1818, both before and after the *Italienische Reise,* Goethe composed over a dozen pieces of occasional poetry that he ultimately dubbed "Maskenzüge." These compositions were not just poems, but multi-genre pieces with costumes and choreographed movements, performed by members of the court. The fortuitous timing of the Herzogin Luise von Darmstadt-Hessen's birthday (January 30) in carnival season made the Redoute a well-suited opportunity to celebrate her birthday .[43] The *Maskenzüge* drew upon earlier forms such as courtly masques and were clearly a representative, and thus inherently conservative form of entertainment, which inserted into the masquerade's purported sphere of equality a clear message of the legitimacy of the social hierarchy, rather than a carnivalesque undermining of it.

Sites of Performance

As the most frequent site of masquerades, theaters and opera houses seem to act as a point of transition between these different forms of entertainment in a way that often highlights the close relationship between theater and masquerade. Many theaters and opera houses, including Christian VII's Court Theater at Christiansborg, were actually engineered so that the floor of the audience section could be raised to become level with the stage, giving the room a more uniform appearance and creating a more spacious dance floor. Moreover, this architectural gesture eliminated the physical distance that

[43] Cf. Stockhorst 169-180. Maskenzüge were also composed for other special occasions, such as for Grand Duchess Maria Pawlowna in 1810.

normally existed between the realms of "actors" and "spectators." Schnitzer relates the following anecdote that illustrates this venture:

> Friedrich II. von Preußen veranstaltete im Oktober 1743 im Anschluß an eine Opernaufführung eine Redoute im Opernhaus. Er ordnete an, daß alle Zuschauer schon während der Oper in Masken erscheinen und sich dann im großen Vorsaal des Opernhauses aufhalten sollten, bis das Podium des Parterres für den Tanz hochgeschraubt war. Die Sänger und Tänzer der Vorstellung blieben in ihren Bühnenkleidern und mischten sich unter das Publikum, so daß dieses Fest auf reizvolle Weise zwischen der Maskenfiktion des Publikums und der Bühnenfiktion vermittelte. Von den Logen aus konnten die hochrangigen Teilnehmer den Tänzen im Parterre zuschauen… (Schnitzer 272).

This type of interaction between professional entertainers and masquerade participants was not an isolated event. Goethe suggests in his correspondence to Kirms about tickets to the Weimar masquerades that "den Schauspielern wird man sie wohl gönnen" (Satori-Neumann 52). In Copenhagen, actors themselves were sometimes responsible for the organization of masquerades at the Teater i Lille Grønnegade, which was the site of both the first vernacular theater in Scandinavia and also of the region's first commercial masquerades - the ones Holberg remembered and wrote about in his *Forsvar for Maskerader*.[44] Portraits of some of these actors were included in a the *di sotto in su* ("seen from below") ceiling painting (ca. 1704) commissioned by Frederik IV for the

[44] cf for example Marker and Marker 42. The actor Johannes Ulsøe's printed advertisement of a masquerade held in 1723 is reprinted in Werlauff 228-229.

Rosen room at Frederiksberg castle outside Copenhagen (Holm 11).[45] The painting by Benoît Le Coffre depicts a masquerade in progress in a room that was itself frequently the site of masquerades, with a series of balconies above the dance floor in a scene that "fordobler salens aktiviteter, hæver sig over dem," as Bent Holm writes (ibid).[46] In addition to the actors, the painting shows musicians at their instruments, people drinking, a couple that seems to be about to kiss. At the same time as they engage in these activities, the participants play with their assumed roles, removing and replacing masks, but also looking down at the dancers on the floor of the hall, who are looking up at them. This vacillation between roles of observer and observed would have been enacted dynamically at any masked ball; even as the participants fled the assigned roles of the *theatrum mundi,* they cast themselves in new roles. Moreover, the masked ball fulfills the criteria for "performance" as outlined by Erika Fischer-Lichte*:* given the physical co-presence of actors and spectators at a specific time and place, a performance results from "ihrer Begegnung – aus ihrer Konfrontation, aus ihrer Interaktion" (*Ästhetik* 58). But at the masked ball, the carnivalesque "absence of footlights" was radically true, for all present were simultaneously performers and spectators (Bakhtin 7). Fischer-Lichte writes that the interaction between performers and spectators in any theatrical setting results in a "von einer selbstbezüglichen und sich permanent verändernden *feedback*-Schleife" that creates and governs the performance; consequently, each performance is different and not completely predictable (*Ästhetik* 59). While this indeterminacy can be perceived as an irritation that should be overcome in traditional theater productions, in modern

[45] High quality reproductions of the painting can be found in Langen (124-125) and Helleberg ("Lyst" 142).
[46] Translation: "doubles the hall's activities, raises itself above them."

performance arts and, I argue, in the performance of masked balls, it is part of the thrill. In the case of the eighteenth-century masquerade, this feedback-loop stimulated the sensation of escaping everyday roles by opening new modes of perception of the self and the other.

Theaters, purpose-built Redoutenhäuser and the Great Halls of castles and residences were of course well-suited in terms of spacial requirements to hosting the winter masquerades. Out of season, though, it was also possible for masquerades to be held out of doors, opening up the space and suggesting a dissolution of the efforts of formal containment. In England, public pleasure gardens facilitated masquerades that were open to "all classes of society," and were more celebrated than any of the court entertainments there; their fame influenced similar enterprises on the continent, also building in Denmark and the German lands on the traditions of the *Wirtschaften,* which were likewise often held outdoors (Ribeiro *Dress* 253-257). Jakob Friedrich Freiherr von Bielfeld, describing in a letter an outdoor masquerade held in Herrenhausen in October 1740, wrote that most members of the court were dressed in white dominos, and "as they walked through the alleys by the light of the lamps, they gave the gardens the appearance of the Elisian fields" (III, 236).[47] This expansion of the masquerade into an alternate space demonstrates the intersection of the masquerade with another eighteenth-century phenomenon, the rise of the garden, including the public park.

At the same time as these alternate spaces challenged the confined spaces of the Northern European masquerade's earliest manifestations in courts and theaters, however, there were also restrictions on physical movement within the locales of many

[47] I have been unable to locate the original German version of this text.

masquerades, as well as efforts to contain the masquerade within specific physical boundaries. This could be accomplished by ticket checks, such as those described above for the Weimar masquerades, but also based on other criteria. In Herzog Carl Eugen von Württemberg's *Reglement* for the masquerades in Stuttgart*,* for example, two main categories of participants are established and instructed to stay on the corresponding side of the hall. Interestingly, these categories are not merely based on class:

> So sollen auch alle diejenige Masquen, so ordentlich und gut gekleidet seyn, sie mögen von *Condition* seyn oder nicht, auf diejenige Seite, wo gnädigste Herrschafft sich befindet, gelassen werden, nur mit disem Unterscheid, daß diejenige, so nicht von *Condition* oder *Honoratiores* seynd, die Masquen vorbehalten sollen; Diejene aber, so schlecht masquirt und gekleidet seynd, gehen auf die andere Seite des Redouten-Saals (Moser 583).

In other words, what matters here is not who you are under the mask, but rather the respectability of the mask itself. The *Reglement* also takes into consideration the behavior of masquerade participants outside of the *Redouten-Saal,* from the perspective of participants and non-participants alike*;* the second point addresses non-participants, informing them that the masks are to be promised "*Securit*ät und Schutz wider ungebührliche Anfälle," while the third point warns participants against attacking people on the street or entering houses "unter dem *Prætext* der Carnevals-Freyheit, einige *Insolent*ien zu verüben" (582-583). Many sets of rules thus seek to limit contact between masquerade and non-masquerade spheres, as well contain the masquerade to a pre-defined space, settings that are deemed fitting for this purpose. The consequences of

these boundaries being breeched are one of the main preoccupations of literary treatments of masquerade, as will be observed in subsequent chapters.

Whole in the Mask

Any of the many potential settings for the masquerade - a palace's Great Hall, the public garden, a rearranged theater - offer hints about some of these motivations for organizing and participating in masquerades, but just as there is an overwhelming number of variations on the basic themes of masquerade rules, there are multiple causes or sources of the masquerade's popularity. Beyond the host's interests, whether they were based on financial gain or developing influence, the individual participants could also benefit from masquerade participation. As Holberg claimed, masquerade presented an opportunity to turn the world of the courtly *theatrum mundi* on its head in a public, carnivalesque fashion, and invited reflection on the performance of everyday roles. Certainly, initiating such reflections was not necessarily a conscious effort by organizers or participants, but there can be little doubt that it did happen. As Rheinberger writes about scientific experimentation:

> Unprecedented events are about things and concatenations not sought for. They come as a surprise but nevertheless do not just so happen. They are made to happen through the inner workings of the experimental machinery for making the future. And yet they may commit experimenters to completely changing the direction of their research activities (134).

The rules and organization of the masquerades provided a safe framework for experimentation and exploration of alternate, sometimes even deviant, modes of behavior

and social interaction. The experimental, philosophical game of the masquerade was not something that could be "won" or lost," but rather a project with unforeseen and unforeseeable results. Each game was different, each player's participation and understanding of each game was of course also different, but the enormous sum of all of the various iterations points to an underlying social interest in allowing individuals to engage in this sort of experimentation within certain limitations.

Mastery of the regulations at a specific masquerade could itself be a source of pleasure for the individual participant, demonstrating a person's ability both to follow formal codes and to adapt to less formal praxes. In terms of the activities engaged in at the masquerade, the excess of sensory stimuli combined with the convention of anonymity allowed individuals to relax their inhibitions, and in turn contribute to the atmosphere of exuberant indulgence and intoxication. For the individual, the opportunity to perform as a completely anonymous actor (in a domino) or in the guise of another character, gender, or nationality entirely was unique to the masquerade. The extent to which the masquerade was sanctioned as a form of reflection upon the individual's everyday role and identity can be gleaned from the many portraits of the era that feature masks or masquerade costumes. The Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne portrayed many figures from Friederich II's court in masquerade dress. In a portrait of Anna Elisabeth von der Schulenburg, he depicts his subject in three-quarter view, dressed in a low-cut black ball gown with pink trim, staring directly out at the viewer.[48] In the hand

[48] The painting is in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, Sweden (NMGrh 1367). At the time of writing a digital image of it can be found at: <http://emp-web-22.zetcom.ch/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=16036&viewType=detailView>

furthest from the viewer, she holds a mask, as if she has just removed it to face someone. The mask itself is a kind of doubled mask: it gives the appearance of a woman's face, with the lower half exposed and the upper half covered by a black mask. The lips and cheeks of the mask are as lifelike as those of the face that is presented as the real one, but the doubling of the masks calls into question the accuracy of this assumption. This type of mask appears in numerous portraits, invariably of women, and though the subjects faces are unobscured, the portraits give the distinct impression that something is being hidden. Meanwhile, the subject's self-confident gaze challenges the viewer, further suggesting that the external appearance does not necessarily tell us the whole story.

Other portraits also featured fancy-dress costumes, such as when Empress Maria Theresia was painted in 1741 by Martin van Meytens in a Turkish costume, standing regally and holding a doubled mask.[49] Aileen Ribeiro has documented how "exotic" or "Oriental" costumes were used to suggest the sitter's worldliness and sophistication, but they could convey much more.[50] Louise Augusta of Denmark, Herzogin von Augustenburg, who was officially recognized as the daughter of Christian VII and Caroline Mathilde, though Struensee was widely believed to be her natural father, was painted by Jens Juel in 1790, holding a mask and dressed in a *Circassienne.*[51] This westernized version of the clothes of the famed "Circassian beauties" became popular

[49] The painting is the collection of Schloß Schönbrunn. At the time of writing, a digital image of it can be found at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MariaTheresia_Maske.jpg>
[50] cf. *The Dress Worn at Masquerade in England 1730-1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture.*
[51] The painting "Porträt der Herzogin Louisa von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg in türkischer Tracht" is in the collection of the Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum. At the time of writing, a digital image of it can be found at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jens_Juel_001.jpg> It is also reproduced in the Andersen text cited above.

both as negligees and as masquerade costumes, and were considered both becoming and comfortable (Andersen 196-198). Unlike the portraits of Maria Theresia and from the Prussian court, the teen-aged Louise Augusta is portrayed in an almost relaxed pose, sitting comfortably amongst tapestries and soft cushions. The mask held casually in her hand signals that she is a masquerade participant, but it is still essentially a portrait of the king's putative daughter dressed as a concubine.

These paintings draw upon the cultural potency of the masquerade's message of the disunion of appearance and self at a time when the modern notion of an individual, truly private self was only emerging. The irony of a posed portrait of a masquerade participant, someone officially regarded at the event itself as anonymous, comments on the conventions and rules of the masquerade, but also on the social structures that set store in portraits of privileged individuals. The mask attributes in these images call to mind again Holberg's previously mentioned argument that the masquerade can remind participants of the artificiality of these forms: "den sædvanlige Stand, som vi leve udi, er en bestandig Mascarade, efterdi Regiering, Moder og Sædvaner paalegge os Masker, hvilke vi ved saadan Leeg ligesom nedlegge, og at vi egentligen ikke ere ret maskerede, uden naar vi gaae med blotte Ansigter" (124).[52] Each masquerade participant could experiment with her or his social identity, taking on the blank slate of the domino or a character that was otherwise unapproachable. The paintings give us insight into this process, and into the ways that masquerade transitioned from practice to metaphor.

Holberg's paradoxical argument that we are most masked when we go about with

[52] Translation: "the usual condition that we live in is a constant *masquerade,* because government, fashions and mores put masks on us, which we in such a game, in a sense, put aside, and we are not really masked, except for when we go about with bare faces."

bare faces is above all a comment on the degree to which the individual in society must conform to the assigned roles and rules of everyday life. With this claim he acknowledges a divide between a person's outward, social identity and an inner, private one. While Holberg laments that this is the case, and connects it to the Fall, he does not argue for a rebellion against this status quo. Other writers of the time, meanwhile, focused on the morally problematic emphasis in the *theatrum mundi* on external conformity. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, in his contrast between the natural man and the man of the world, wrote disapprovingly that the latter "is whole in his mask. Almost never being in himself, he is always alien and ill at ease when forced to go back there. What he is, is nothing: what he appears to be is everything for him" (*Emile* 320). Rousseau employs the metaphor of the mask many times in *Emile,* his treatise on education, as when he describes the young Emile being shown progressively more frightening masks in an attempt, as Richard Weihe puts it, to immunize the child against masks, so that they will not have an effect on him (335, cf Rousseau 63). John Jervis summarizes Rousseau's concern as being related to the capacity of the "self" to be real in a world of others, implying that "self-knowledge and self-identity may be bound up with the theatrical incorporation of the other through imagination, just as this, in turn, makes possible the only knowledge of the other that is consistent with this emergent world of social appearances and market relations between actors on the social stage" (*Exploring* 27). Rousseau is adamant that "the mask is not the man," and wants to ensure that "his varnish will not seduce" young people, and therefore recommends educating them about the divide between the natural and artificial (*Emile* 236). Yet as Ursula Geitner notes,

"Die Hoffnung, daß die Dinge und Personen wieder so erscheinen könnten, wie sie wirklich sind, gibt Rousseau jedenfalls nicht auf" (216).

The pessimistic stance on masks seems to stem on the one hand from the perspective of people who might be deceived by the masks, and on the other from the fear that individuals might themselves be influenced by the masks they put on, allowing the external form they had adopted steer them away from their usual inner convictions. These notions are also always present in the old *theatrum mundi* topos and in the *Klugheitslehren* and ceremonial texts, which see their task in helping the honest, well-intentioned person learn to recognize the masks as temporary earthly roles. Geitner points out, "daß eine Person Freund und Feind in sich vereinigt, daß beide Möglichkeiten (zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten) vergegenwärtigt und realisiert werden können, wie es die Klugheit stets zu bedenken gab, wird im Kontext redlicher Moral zum eindeutigen Hinweis auf den Makel der Charakterlosigkeit" (152). At the same time, though, there is also a train of thought that was sustained up to Immanuel Kant that social masks could have a positive influence upon the wearer, that taking on a moral appearance could encourage moral behavior (42-44). Weihe summarizes Kant's position as being one in which "das Individuum passe sich allmählich seinem positiveren Vor-Bild an, um schließlich zu dem zu werden, was es zunächst nur zu sein vorgab" (83). Kant claimed, moreover, "die Menschen sind insgesamt, je zivilisierter, desto mehr Schauspieler" (42). If you play the role long enough, the gap between inner and outer disappears, and you become the role. In the context of masquerade, the regulations and conventions kept participants constantly aware of the gap between the temporary role of the mask, while

also leaving open the possibility of reflection upon and experimentation with the roles and the rules of the game.

Chapter Two:

The Masquerade as "Wunder-Land"

Da siehet man ein Land, dem Umfang nach zwar klein;
Doch groß an Glück und Ruh, an Freud und
Seltsamkeiten.
Es liegt an einem Ort, der Göttern sonst gemein
Wenn sie nicht selbst zur Lust diß Wunder-Land bereiten.
-Carl Gustav Heräus (226)

The masquerade was a paradoxical practice that outwardly claimed to celebrate the suspension of social norms while at the same time still relying on complex systems of rules to ensure that serious transgressions would not occur. Yet despite these measures of control, the rumors about what was possible at masquerades persisted; indeed, the masquerade's reputation as a site of and source of inspiration for unusual liberties is an essential part of the game itself. In Carl Gustav Heräus' poem on masquerades in "den Kaiserl. Zimmern," he describes the Viennese court's masquerades as a "Wunder-Land" where the "Kummer jener Welt" is not known, where distinctions do not matter (226-227). Julius Bernhard von Rohr's citation of the poem indicates that this perception was widespread, though Rohr's own descriptions of the measures of control and of the limited access to many masquerades indicate that its carnivalesque wonders were generally overestimated. Even if the rules of masquerade were not exactly made to be broken, they did inspire circumvention, and historical and fictional examples of this "Wunder-land" aspect of masquerade helped keep its reputation as a site of escape from everyday life.

The fantasy of masquerade as a "Wunder-Land" where ruptures in the façade of ceremonial were possible might have been seldom realized in actuality, but the power of this fantasy helped feed the practice's popularity throughout the eighteenth century. This aspect of the masquerade is particularly evident in comedies, such as those examined in this chapter by Ludvig Holberg, Johann Elias Schlegel and Theodor Körner. In these fantasies, the masquerade appears as an example of what Michel Foucault has called "heterotopias," as initially discussed in the Introduction. The masquerade demonstrates the heterotopic characteristics of being complexly structured and distributed in society, particularly in regard to the way each masquerade has a "system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" (26). Heterotopias like the masqeurade are moreover linked "to time in its most fleeting, transitory, precarious asepct, to time in the mode of the festival," and although each masked balls lasted a considerable amount of time as an individual event, each one also usually was assigned precise starting and ending times (26); the participants were always aware that the experience was impermanent and precarious, and that the flight from reality was only made possible by conventions agreed upon in advance in that same everyday reality. The frequency with which the masked balls were held may be seen as the indication of a desire to extend or expand this festival time, or at least to relive it repeatedly. Yet at the same time, the world upside down of the comedies is always righted; the danger of social disruption is neutralized by the happy ending, complete with marriages and affirmations of predetermined social roles. The comedies thus tacitly acknowledge the dangerous side of masquerade through their reassuring conservatism.

Though examples of deviation from the guiding norms of masquerades are indeed relatively rare, masquerade hosts could take advantage of the event's potential to create new scenarios for social interaction that broke, however briefly and tenuously, with those norms. A few weeks before Caroline Mathilde's 18th birthday in July of 1769, her brother, Prince William the Duke of Gloucester, arrived in Denmark on a kind of mission to check up on his sister's situation, which was rumored to be quite poor (Langen 293-296). The Danish court did its best to impress the visitor and convince him of his sister's importance to the country by organizing a series of impressive events, from tournaments to troop reviews, culminating —of course— with a masquerade. While on the one hand it was common to celebrate birthdays with a masquerade, it was the first time such a large masquerade would be held at the Danish court outside of the usual wintertime carnival season, and this timing was not the only way in which this celebration distinguished itself. The court was residing at Frederiksberg Castle for the summer, the site of the Benoît Le Coffre masquerade painting discussed in chapter one, but rather than limiting the masquerade to Frederiksberg's *Rosen* or Great Hall, the masquerade was taken quite literally out of its usual frame of a royal castle or theater. In one of the Copenhagen newspapers, the upcoming masquerade was announced simply under the heading of "Adskillige Nyt" (Various News):

> Paa førstkommende Tirsdag Aften den 25. Julii, bliver i Friedrichsbergs Hauge allernaadigst tilladt Masquerade, hvortil Haugen om Aftenen Klokken 8te

oplukkes, og kiøre Masqverne ved Madame Oberkampffs om paa venstre Haand op ad til Bakkehuuset ned til Ridebanen; hvor Indgangen bliver.[53]

It is telling that this masquerade takes up very little space in the court journal, which instead devotes pages to descriptions of the fireworks. Masquerades were common enough at court in general that perhaps they no longer needed special explanation, but it could also be that the broader socio-cultural aspects of the large, egalitarian, mixed-class crowd did not seem appropriate fodder for the court journal, especially compared to the more traditionally representative displays of modern power and technology that the fireworks represented. Neither the newspaper advertisement nor civil servant Bolle Willum Luxdorph's diary entry for this day, which mentions being "ordered" to appear in mask for the event, give any hint of how this masquerade would go on to be characterized in public imagination as a particularly remarkable event, one of the few specific masquerades from that period that were deemed to warrant the attention of history (Luxdorph 373-374).

Elie Salmon François Reverdil, the king's tutor and later cabinet secretary, recorded in his memoirs that on this occasion Frederiksberg Garden was "pragtfuldt oplyst og udsmykket, og der var Adgang for maskerede tre Nætter i Træk" (145).[54] This reference to the "three nights" is not made in any of the official sources, neither in the court journal nor even in the newspapers, and thus is evidence of the masquerade's

[53] Translation: "On the next Tuesday evening the 25th of July, there will be graciously permitted masquerade in Frederiksberg Garden, to which the garden will be opened at 8 o'clock in the evening, and masks drive by Madame Oberkampff on the left hand side up to Bakkehuuset down to the riding grounds, where the entrance will be." The upcoming masquerade was also mentioned in the edition of 19. Julii 1769, though even more minimally.

[54] Translation: "was brilliantly illuminated and decorated, and masked people were admitted three nights in a row."

extraordinary proportions in cultural memory. Archivist and historian Louis Bobé refers to the masquerade in the context of "*Folkefester*" in the Struensee period, and claims that over 2000 tickets were issued (53-180).

Fortunately, one contemporary witness, naval officer Peter Schiønning (1732-1813), recorded a more detailed impression of the masquerade:

> Den 25. juli 1769 (…) Tog i land om aftenen og kl. 8 gik til Friederichsberg for at se en maskerade og bal der i haugen som nu til sidst var givet hertugen af Glocester til ære. Hele haugen var herlig illumineret med lamper, som iblandt de grønne og dunkle træer gav et herligt syn, da det blev mørkere. Jeg mødte strax i gangene hele grupper af masker, hvoraf adskillige kendte mig, nævnede mit navn og tog mig i haand, men da de forvendte deres stemme, kendte jeg dem i almindelighed ikke, heller ikke altid gav sig til kende, som kom mig artig for, da jeg ikke tilforn havde været paa nogen maskerade. Jeg havde ikke kunnet faa tid til at leje nogen masque, som og vare meget vanskelige at faa, hvorfor jeg blot havde taget min blaa ridingot, stærkt besat med guldgaloner tilknappet hen ned om mig og gik uden maske, som der var mangfoldige og nok de fleste, der ligeledes var uden maske. Min broder, v. Aphelens etc. var der ligeledes uden. Foruden herskabet og de fornemste som især dansede i det store lysthus i midten af haugen, var der og opbygget lange huse til at danse i, alle lyse og illuminerede.

> Maskerede og umaskerede dansede iblandt hinanden, de fleste med domino. Et skiønt fyrværkeri blev og afbrændt. Jeg gik ind igien om morgenen kl. 3 (Schiønning http://www.orlogsmuseet.dk/sch/start1769.htm).[55]

Schiønning's narrative is valuable because this is his very first experience of a masquerade (though as an officer he would have had admission to most masquerades), and it is full of details that show just what an unusual masquerade it was. His claim that masks were hard to come by conjures the image of a public eagerly looking to participate, and suggests that this masquerade exceeded the usual masquerades in number of participants, in which case Bobé's figure of 2000 tickets would seem even to be low.[56] What Schiønning does not describe is any form of ticket control, nor does the newspaper advertisement suggest that tickets are necessary, so perhaps 2000 refers only to the number of participants with admission to the "royal" pavilion. Bobé's source is unclear, but the conflicting reports suggest that controls and record-keeping for this masquerade

---

[55] Translation: "The 25th July 1769 (…) went ashore in the evening and at 8 o'clock went to Frederiksberg to se a masquerade and ball in the garden which lately was given in honor of the Duke of Glocester. The entire garden was wonderfully illuminated with lamps, which gave a wonderful sight amidst the green and dark trees, when it got darker. I met right away in the passages whole groups of masks, of whom several knew me, named my name and took me by the hand, but since they distorted their voices I generally didn't recognize them, nor did they always make themselves known, which seemed stimulating to me, as I had never before been to a masquerade. I hadn't been able to get time to rent a mask, which were also very difficult to get, so I had simply put on my blue redingote, covered with gold braid buttoned down over me and went without a mask, as there were many and even most, who similarly were without mask. My brother, v. Aphelens etc. was also without. Besides the court members and the most genteel, who in particular danced in a large pleasure-house in the middle of the garden, there were also built long buildings to dance in, all light and illuminated. Masked and unmasked danced amongst each other, most with dominos. A beautiful firework was also set off. I returned again at 3 in the morning." Hans von Aphelen (1719-1779) was married to Schiønnings sister Helene Dorothea Schiønning.

[56] See Chapter One for more information on the ticketing practices and record keeping at Christian VII's court; masquerades in the winter 1770 season regularly exceeded 2000 participants (Rigsarkivet *Overhofmarskallatet 1672-1897*).

must not have been a high priority. For those fortunate enough to have masks, moreover, Schiønning's testimony indicates that attempts to remain unrecognized could be successful. At the same time, the mingling of masked and unmasked guests also represents a break with traditional masquerade rules, and gives the impression of a more loose, freewheeling event than was the norm even for the famously unruly masquerades.

The physical setting for Caroline Mathilde's birthday masquerade also deserves particular attention. Reverdil mentions this masquerade in connection with Struensee's later decision (1771) to open the king's gardens at Rosenborg to the public and to allow a German named Gabel to keep a tavern and offer lodging to travelers there (Brock 71). The consistent references in historical sources to Gabel's nationality suggest that a link was made between his Germanness and being given preferential treatment in this matter by Struensee, though Brock reports that an additional rumored reason for Struensee's favoritism was his sexual relationship with Gabel's daughter Esther (ibid). Reverdil saw this project as a continuation of the birthday celebrations and as leading to "tøjlesløs Udskejelse";[57] he moreover implied that the bushes were the site of "Vanhelligelse af Kongens Gaard ved hemmelige Kærlighedsforhold"(Reverdil 144).[58] The references to sexual acts performed in Rosenborg's formal gardens suggests carnivalesque inversions, as the courtly, refined version of nature represented by the park was infiltrated by a more earthy, even ribald kind of nature.

Luxdorph is the source of a famous anecdote from the period after Rosenborg was opened. In his diary entry for 13 August 1771 he describes a statue in the park with a

[57] Translations: "unbridled excesses."
[58] Translation: "Desecration of the king's garden by secret love relations."

severed male member that had been vandalized with the text: "Var S. som du, var han ej grev nu!"[59] In any case, the context of the birthday masquerade in a garden, the apparently lax admission standards and its description as a kind of "Folkefest*"* inches this masquerade in the direction of folk carnival, and makes it strongly reminiscent of the popular public masquerades in Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens in England in the eighteenth century.[60] However, Reverdil's astonishment over these indecencies and his association of the birthday celebration with them obscures an important fact: he was not even in Denmark when the birthday masquerade took place. Though apparently updated on the situation in Denmark by letters from his allies in Copenhagen and, later, discussions with those present, Reverdil does not have first-hand knowledge of the event, but his account has nonetheless become an inevitable source for historians. Even if his impression of the event is inaccurate, it demonstrates the extent of the hyperbole surrounding masquerade and its powers, and the longevity of his account is indicative of the way masquerade's reputation developed via rumors over time. While this particular incident illustrates the expansion in reputation of one single, historical masquerade, it also suggests how the reputation of masquerade in general developed. Ludvig Holberg wrote in the epistle in "Forsvar for Maskerader" (Defense of Masquerades) that opponents of masquerade "støder sig meere over Navnet end over Tingen," but even for

---

[59] Translation: "If S. were like you, he wouldn't be a count now!"

[60] See Castle, Terry. *Masquerade and Civilization. The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1986. 2. Stella Tillyard makes a connection between Rosenborg and Vauxhall and Ranelagh in her *A Royal Affair: George III and his Troublesome Siblings*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2006. 196. She suggests that the opening of the gardens could be linked to Christian VII and Struensee's experiences at Ranelagh during their travels in England. In any case, the outdoor, summer masquerade had more precedents in Caroline Mathilde and her brother's native England than in Denmark.

those who were not offended by masquerade, it seems that its very name – the concept of the masquerade – was just as dangerous as the practice itself ("Forsvar for Maskerader" 123).[61]

Even in the poem where Carl Gustav Heräus calls the Viennese court masquerades a "Wunder-Land," the images he uses to conjure this spontaneously arising realm that is "groß an Glück und Ruh, an Freud' und Seltsamkeiten" are not uniformly positive or even appealing (226). He initially makes reference to the standard trope of the inversion of day and night, to carnivalesque reversals such as cross-dressing, and to the juxtaposition of opposite character types as cited in the previous chapter ("Hier gilt kein Unterscheid"…). As the poem progresses, Heräus goes from optimistically emphasizing the Wunder-Land as a place where "der Kummer jener Welt" is unknown to also acknowledging that "Bey dieser Friedlichkeit ist doch nichts unverstellt" (227, 228). Friends betray each other, spouses abandon each other for different partners, and in general, people act differently than they otherwise would: "Hier stellt auf ofner Bühn ein gang verdecktes Spiel / Den Spieler hin zum sehn, der Schauer zum agieren" (228). Heräus comments on the paradox of the secretive actions being performed in a public manner, but the word "Spiel" softens somewhat the seriousness of the charges. His emphasis on the exchange of roles between actors and performers moreover emphasizes the performative aspect of the game, and, as discussed in relation to the in the Le Coffre ceiling painting in Chapter One, suggests the importance of seeing and being seen through these vacillations.

[61] Translation: "are more offended by the name than the thing."

The events of the Wunder-Land Heräus depicts do not have consequences once the masquerade is officially ended. The deviations do not have ramifications for the individual citizens of the Wunder-Land, for in the poem's perspective, they have literally become the characters they are portraying in a way that could never be possible even in the most elaborate masked balls. Foucault explains one of the heterotopia tasks as being to create "a space of illusion" that, paradoxically, can expose the illusions qualities of everyday life, and though the transformations Heräus describes are quite radical, the poem does not explicitly attribute to them a long-lasting relevatory power (Foucault 27). The character types – lord and peasant, Moor and Christian – remain only types, and the individuals and their social identities in everyday life are unimportant for this poem. When he concludes by bemoaning the fact that "diß Reich in wenig Stunden fällt," he makes neither an argument against the masquerade's excesses nor against the return of the ordinary, but rather accepts that it cannot stay; it dissipates "wie Träume" (Heräus 229).

Mascarade

The claims that the liberating effects of a masquerade only lasted as long as the masquerade itself and that the previous order returned once the heterotopic space of the masquerade ceased to exist served to ameliorate the concerns about the potential dangers of these liberties. In "Forsvar for Maskerader," Holberg defends the way masquerades bring high and low together this way as a part of its "philosophic game", and he dismisses the common concerns about the way the masquerades turn "day to night," permit cross-dressing, and serve as sites of romantic intrigues. Yet in his play *Mascarade*,

written in 1724 just as masquerades were about to be banned in Denmark, the plot centers on just these types of masquerade experiences that turn out to have consequences during the daylight hours after all. Many of the debates about the propriety of masquerades that Holberg later participated in himself in his epistle appear in the play, but the arguments are undermined by the behavior of the principal characters – most notably in the central plot point of the masquerade serving as the site of an unsanctioned love affair. In the epistle, Holberg argues that concerns about "ublue Elskovs Intriguer" (immodest love intrigues) may be valid in Spain or Italy, "hvor Fruentimmer indspærres, og er usynlige: Men aldeeles ikke her udi Norden, hvor Omgiængelse imellem begge Kiøn er fri og utvungen det heele Aar igienem; saa at man uden Middel af Mascarader kand giøre Elskovs Erklæringer" (Holberg "Forsvar for Maskerader" 125).[62] These claims about the differences in the relative freedom and visibility of women and the interrelations between the sexes in the North versus in the southern countries of Italy or Spain certainly rely on broad generalizations. In terms of masquerade, though, it is worth noting that he ascribes different motivations for masquerade participation to residents of the North and South. Though he locates the origins of the masquerade in Roman tradition, he suggests that the behavioral license typical of contemporary Italian and Romance cultures' carnival traditions is not the primary draw for his compatriots.

At the same time, while the validity of Holberg's claims about the relative freedom of the sexes could be discussed at length, it is certainly remarkable that the situation Holberg presents in the comedy *Mascarade* does not correspond to his assertion

[62] Translations: "immodest love intrigues"; "where women are locked up and invisible; but not at all here in the North, where interaction between the sexes is free and unforced throughout the whole year; so that one can make love declarations without recourse to *masquerades*."

that interactions between men and women were "unforced" in the North. Early in the play, we learn that the young bourgeois man Leander is soon to enter into an arranged marriage with a young woman (Leonora) he has not seen since childhood, and his father (Jeronimous) doubts that her father (Leonard) "vil give sin eeneste Datter bort til en saadan Straten-Junker" like Leander, who stays out all night at masquerades and then sleeps all day (I, 7).[63] The fact that the romantic figures are placed in a situation that is much more restrictive than what was typical for members of their class at that time would have made their reluctance to acquiesce to it more palatable to the audience. While arranged marriages certainly still occurred at this time, the scenario Holberg presents here – in which children were betrothed to each other and kept separate until they reached adulthood – would have been unusual. The nature of this betrothal underscores the conflict between marriage as a source of social advancement for the family on the one hand and personal happiness for the individual on the other.

More than these socio-economic and philosophical concerns, the play's unusual betrothal is crafted by Holberg primarily to make the twisted strands of a comedic plot fall into place. Leander defies his father's order to stay home from the masquerade, and sneaks out yet again with his wily servant Henrich. The entire masked ball scene exists only as a stage direction without spoken text, an "Intermedium" between the first and second acts:

> *Hvorudi Mascaraden præsenteres. Derudi præsenteres Leander at blive forliebt i en Maske, som er Leonora, Leonards Datter. De demaskerer sig begge, tales ved,*

[63] Translation: "will give his only daughter away to such a drifter."

og gir hindanden sine Ringe. Naar samme Præsentation har været et Qvarteer, lade man Dækket falde.[64]

The scene is not unlike the ballet in traditional operas, but especially because of the masks, also references pantomime and *commedia dell' arte*.[65] As Holm dryly notes, a quarter hour is pretty long in the theater, so the visual appeal of this scene must have been considerable if it could maintain the audience's interest, especially given the fact that the original audience would have been used to participating in masked balls ("Det civiliserede kaos" 33). Even later, after the ban against theater was lifted but the one against masquerades was still in place, this scene was the play's calling card, referred to prominently on the posters advertising its performance ("Plakater"); similarly, Vilhelm Andersen and Carl Nielsen's 1906 opera adaptation of the play (*Maskarade*) rearranged the plot so that the masquerade scene would come climactically in the final act (Holm "Det civileserede kaos" 33). In the play, in the aftermath of this scene, both Leander and Leonora go home to their respective fathers and tell them that they refuse to enter into the arranged marriage, as they have chosen their own partners. The remaining plot is dedicated to unraveling the tangled mess predicated by the masked ball and then revelling in the relief of the lovers when they are reunited and reconciled with their fathers – and learn that they were "meant" to be together all along.

---

[64] Translation: *"Wherein the masquerade is presented. Within it Leander is presented falling in love with a mask, who is Leonora, Leonard's daughter. They both unmask themselves, talk to each other, and exchange rings with each other. When this presentation has lasted a quarter hour, the curtain falls."*

[65] For background information on Holberg's familiarity with these forms, see Torben Krogh, *Studier over Harlekinaden paa den danske Skueplads.* København: Jespersen & Pio, 1931

All comedies of mistaken identity require some suspension of disbelief for the audience to accept that one person is really taken to be someone else, but the unusual variation on this theme in *Mascarade* is that the subjects of the confusion are not strictly speaking misidentified, but rather that they are not formally introduced to each other at all. The social norms that would usually require an intermediary for them to meet and for them to exchange names are altered at the masquerade. For them, the act of unmasking, revealing their "true" faces, and exchanging rings are private acts that do not require the approval of other people. Even their conversation, the whispered exchanges of young lovers, is only pantomimed, excluding the audience from the details of what is said, leaving only their gestures and body language for the audience to interpret. Their romantic feelings for each other apparently distract them from usual patterns of introduction. Is this a suggestion that the imaginary, magical equality of the masked ball has so captivated Leander and Leonora that they truly believe that the act of transcending such superficial considerations as names will continue into everyday life? And, by extension, that other important markers of social identity, such as age or class will also be inconsequential? Though Holberg's lovers never voice such a radical notion, his epistle on the subject begins with a comparison of the way people judge each other based on "Navne og Maaderne" to the way they condemn the "Tidsfordriv…som fører Navn af *Mascarade"*; this comparison leads directly to his celebration of the masked ball as an invention which "forestilles den naturlige Stand, hvorved alle Mennesker giøres lige" (Holberg "Forsvar for Maskerader" 123).[66] It is the servant Henrich who voices

[66] Translations: "Names and mores"; "pastime that bares the name of masquerade"; "portrays the natural state in which all humans are made equal."

arguments along these lines in the play, responding to Leander's mother Magdelone's question *"*Kommer der ogsaa gamle Koner paa Mascarade?*"* by saying that "Vi forsmaaer ingen, der kommer baade unge og gamle" (I,3).[67] Not only does Henrich directly claim that there is no discrimination at the masquerade, he also suggests, by way of the first person-plural pronoun, that this is a communal decision or practice in which even a servant such as himself can participate, further strengthening the sense that the masquerade is a space where the ordinary restrictions on contact between different groups of people is suspended, and, moreover, where they join together in a kind of community; the discussion is a contribution to fantasy of the heterotopic masquerade.

For the young lovers, the name or social identity of the beloved weighs less than the personal qualities that inspires their mutual attraction. Still, they recognize that the decision to pursue their own romantic inclinations and break with the plans of their fathers is not one that the fathers will accept easily, and that there will be consequences within the family for this decision. Masquerade's suspension of consequences is temporary, lasting only as long as the event itself; any activity that continues outside of the realm of the masquerade will once again be subject to the controls of everyday life once the event is over. Leonora expresses her concerns about disappointing her father to her servant Pernille, saying:

> Mit Hierte har ballanceret længe mellem Fornuft og Kiærlighed; men Kiærlighed har vundet Sejr. Ach u-lyksalig var den Tid, jeg fik den unge Person at see, hvis Skiønhed har saaledes betaget mit Hierte, at jeg ikke er mægtig meer til at bruge

[67] Translations: "Do old women also come to the masquerade?"; "We reject no one, both young and old come."

> min Fornuft. Ach gid de Mascarade-Klæer man lavede til i Gaar for mig, havde været mine Liig-Klæer (III,1).[68]

The masquerade consisted not in spoken words, but in action, and these actions have ramifications for all of the play's characters. Herr Leonard had argued for a moderate approach to masquerades, saying that they can be beneficial because they "forfrisker tungsindede Folk" and – as Holberg would reiterate in his epistle years later – "de forestiller Menneskene den naturlige Liighed, hvorudi de vare i Begyndelsen, førend Hofmod tog overhaand, og et Menneske holdt sig for god at omgaaes med et andet; thi saa længe Mascaraden varer, er Tieneren lige saa god som Herren*"* (II, 2)[69] Because the effects of the masquerade here are not constrained to its normal "slice of time," they spill out into daily life (Foucault 33). Herr Leonard may have been prepared to suggest that the inequality of every day life is unnatural, but he is nonetheless distraught to learn that his daughter has dared to do something that disrupts the traditional hierarchy in their own relationship. He both renounces his previous stance towards the masquerade and declares that he intends to force her to follow his plan.[70] Just as Leonora wishes that her masquerade costume had been her shroud, and Leander begs Henrich to kill him (II, 4), Herr Leonard worries that this development will affect his welfare and honor, and

---

[68] Translations: "My heart has long balanced between reason and love; but love has won the victory. Oh, unhappy was the time that I saw the young person, whose beauty has so captivated my heart, that I am no longer capable of using my reason. Oh, if only the masquerade clothes made for me yesterday had been my shroud."

[69] Translation: "refresh heavy-minded people"; "they present to people the natural equality in which we were in the beginning, before arrogance took the upper hand, and one person considered himself to be too good to mingle with another; for as long as the masquerade lasts, the servant is just as good as the master."

[70] Holberg, *Mascarade.* "*Nu fordømmer jeg det slags Giækkerie, som jeg nys tog i Forsvar*." "Now I condemn that sort of foolishness which I just recently defended." (II, 3); " "*Jeg har i Sinde at tvinge min Datter.*" Translation: I intend to force my daughter." (II, 4)

moreover that when his wife learns of it, she will "gremme sig til døden" (III, 3).[71] Though these appeals and references to death admittedly smack of comedic hyperbole, they also emphasize the extent of the ramifications for failing to restrict the masquerade's liberating influence to its own realm and choosing to bring it into daily life.

The couple's bold decision to go against their fathers' plans is only one way that their affair is unusual. While the atmosphere at masquerades was popularly believed, as Holberg writes in "Forsvar for Maskerader," to encourage romantic intrigues, Leander and Leonora also break the code of "what happens at the masquerade stays at the masquerade" by taking their love affair out of that context and into the daylight. The common perceptions of the masquerade's atmosphere of promiscuity and romantic intrigues are exemplified by Henrich, who jokes about the presence of prostitutes at the masquerade, and also says that he fell in love with several girls at the masquerade, but managed to dance so much that he "svedede … Kiærligheden bort," even when he thought that he might "døe af Kiærlighed til een" (II, 4).[72] This frenzied state inspired by the masquerade is so effective, Henrich says, that at the end of one long dance "gik der saa meget Cupido ud ved Sveed af alle Ender paa mig, at jeg ikke gad see den Pige meer for mine Øyen" (ibid).[73] Herr Leonard also says ironically to Leonora, after learning of her romantic entanglement, "Jeg veed ikke bedre end at du gaaer paa Mascarade i Aften igien, at du kand forliebe dig udi den anden, i Morgen aften i den tredie, og faare saa

[71] Translation: "grieve herself to death."
[72] Translations: "sweated out the love"; "die of love to one of them."
[73] Translation: "so much Cupid came out in sweat from all ends of me, that I didn't want to see the girl before my eyes anymore."

stedse fort indtil du kand faae saa mange Kiærster, som der bliver Mascarader i Aaret til," and even makes statements calling his daughter's virtue into question (II, 3).[74]

Ultimately, of course, they do not go against their fathers' wills at all. When the young lovers are caught during their attempt to elope, it quickly becomes clear that they have chosen the same partners for themselves as their fathers had foreordained, and the resulting sense of relief confirms that everything has ended as it should; the fathers know best after all, and will get their way. Leonora calls the situation "en lyksalig Vildfarelse" (a happy misunderstanding), and Jeronimus explains that "disse Fortreedeligheder, disse Hendelser skal opmuntre jer til at elske hinanden desmeere," though he had before insisted that their own feelings on the matter were inconsequential (III, 12).[75] While from the characters' perspective it is a lucky coincidence that the prospective bride and groom, as determined by their fathers, also happen to want to marry each other, it is ultimately not fortune but a logical affirmation of the legitimacy of the status quo. In the play's rationalistic universe, the chaotic, carnivalesque aspects of the masquerade cannot overpower the patriarchal structures; in the end, the "free" choices of the lovers will logically prove to be congruent with what society - as embodied by the fathers - want of them. Believing that Leonora was going to commit suicide, Leonard had expressed regret over his and Jeronimus's power play, and wondered if it was wrong to force the children to marry against their wills, yet this suggestion does not attract more discussion;

[74] Translation: "For all I know you will go to the masquerade again tonight, so that you can fall in love with the second, tomorrow evening in the third, and to continue that way so that you have so many lovers as there are masquerades for the rest of the year."
[75] Translation: "these troubles, these events should encourage you to love one another all the more."

for the characters in the play, at least, the point is now irrelevant, though we and the audience may continue to ponder its implications.

In the play's final lines, Henrich and Pernille are also engaged to be married, and Henrich says "see engang hvor lykkelig vi er mod fornemme Folk, vi veed endnu ikke hinandens Navn, og kand dog maa skee komme til at holde Bryllup denne Aften" (III, 13).[76] Henrich's words remind us that Leander and Leonora were equally ignorant of each other's names at the beginning, and were prepared to follow their personal inclinations. Leonora insists that it was not merely physical attraction, but Leander's *"Meriter*" (Merits) that captured her attention, rather than his name or position (III, 3). The fact that his merits go unexplained reflects the superficiality of their acquaintance, but also echo points from the "Forsvar for Maskerader" that suggest she is voicing Holberg's perspective. Ultimately the comedy's message does not encourage rebellion. Though the young couple briefly attempted to defy patriarchal pressure by following their own desires, the public did not defy the ban on masquerades: that is, they did not engage in any revolt against patriarchies of the king or the Copenhagen police. Literary and theater historians have since commented on the fact that the audience for this play would have normally been prepared to attend a masquerade themselves immediately after the performance, had not the ban against such assemblies come down just days before.[77] Holberg writes that the play was a huge success, since it was performed more times than any of his previous plays, and some have also attributed this success to a possible spirit of

[76] Translation: "See how lucky we are compared with genteel people, we don't even know each other's names and yet may still be able to celebrate our wedding this evening."
[77] Cf Holm, "Det civiliserede kaos."

protest against the ban on the part of the theater-goers. Indeed, the masked ball had to wait more than 40 years before being revived as a practice in Denmark.

As is already clear from the previous discussion (both here and in Chapter One) with respect to "Forsvar for Maskerader," Holberg's own stance on masquerades is not so different from the one suggested by Herr Leonard, and, unsurprisingly for an Enlightenment scholar, he emphasizes a moderate approach. Herr Leonard rationalizes that masquerades are only cause for concern when they become a habit, and criticizes only their misuse, understood as when excessive enjoyment of the nightly activity leads to neglecting duties during the day (II, 3). Both Herr Leonard's debate with Henrich and Jeronimus, who represent the two extreme positions for and against masquerade, and Holberg's epistle emphasize the way masquerade functions as a site that elides the inequality of everyday social norms and brings together members of different social groups on an even playing field. From this perspective, the masquerade appears almost as a dynamic social event that promotes Enlightenment ideals, and it is this quality that is emphasized in some interpretations of the play. Leonora's statements about the effect of the masquerade counter the image of it as promoting Enlightenment rationalism, however, in so far as her reason fails her and she gives in to her emotions. At the same time, though, her (and Leander's) actions do emphasize the exercise of free will and personal liberty. In the end, as we have seen, reason triumphs despite the intervening threats to its order, and the practical, patriarchal, arranged match goes forward. In this scenario, it seems neither side wins, though neither side really loses either. Thus the ultimate result is that the play – the comedy look at masquerade – follows the

conservative tendencies of comedy. However, though the play's conclusion affirms the status quo, the preceding scenes have certainly called it into question.

De Usynlige

In 1726, two years after the success of *Mascarade* and the institution of the prohibition against public masquerades, Holberg again wrote a play featuring masked lovers in *De Usynlige,* though this time without a masked ball. The play was one of several commissioned by the Theater in Lille Grønnegade, but it was not performed before the theater closed.[78] The play is notable within Holberg's oeuvre because of its *commedia dell'arte* elements. Rather than his usual comic servants Heinrich and Pernille, in this play Holberg uses the traditional *commedia dell'arte* names *Harlequin* (or Harlekin) and *Colombine*, and at least the Harlequin figure would have been wearing the traditional black *commedia dell'arte* mask (Holm "Fra Pomp…" 98).[79] The plot revolves around two men falling in love with unknown women: initially, Leander, who has fallen passionately in love with a woman who only appears to him in a mask, and is known as "*Den Usynlige*", the invisible one; and then Harlequin, who, equally inspired and baffled by his master's unusual romantic adventure, rejects his Colombine in the hopes of likewise experiencing the infatuating power of love with a mysterious, "invisible" woman. The Italian-influenced aspects of the masks here are echoed in this concept of "invisibility," which can be tied to the Venetian society masks mentioned in Chapter

[78] Cf the Introduction to the play in the edition cited above; 261. The play was first published in 1731 and first performed in 1747.

[79] Holm mentions only that the Harlequin figure was played in the black mask throughout the eighteenth century in Denmark, and specifically in *Ulysses von Ithaca* and *De Usynlige*; he does not mention Colombine, who also traditionally wore a black mask in *commedia dell'arte*, and is for example still usually performed with a black mask even in Tivoli's pantomime theater today.

One. These masking customs were practiced in a variety of public contexts beyond carnival and masked balls, and afforded the Venetian nobility the ability to function as anonymous actors. The codified costume allowed them to enjoy the benefits of their social standing while avoiding identification as a specific individual - a scenario not unlike the one created in the Northern setting of this play by the title character, though she has different motivations, as will be seen.

In contrast to the situation in *Mascarade,* where the occasion of the masked ball explains the characters' wearing of masks, here the masked woman arrives without any such context. Thus the mask is a tool to gain power, and with it the woman creates an imbalance in her relationship with Leander by withholding her identity from him, though she knows who he is. The masked woman aims to establish a relationship based on personality and loyalty, arranging meetings with Leander at which she is in control and sets up tests for him to pass in order to prove his love for her. She even manages to act as her own rival, having Leander brought to her in her home, where she appears without a mask and impresses him with her wealth and beauty, yet unsuccessfully attempts to persuade him to give up his "invisible" lover.

After Leander has reported this story to Harlequin, the incredulous servant's reaction is to tell Leander that the "invisible" woman should be forced to remove her mask, "thi her er vist nok Bedragerie under, og vil ikke Herren tage hende Masken fra, saa vil jeg" (I, 1).[80] Holm writes that "at the outset, Harlequin represents the sarcastic-materialistic point of view; the opposite of his master's romantic attitude" ("Harlequin"

[80] Translation: "for there is certainly deception under it, and if Sir will not take her mask off, then I will."

163). Harlequin is incapable of understanding how Leander can be in love with someone whose face he has not seen and whose name, age and social position he does not know. Witnessing his master's interaction with the "invisible" woman, though, convinces Harlequin that his own affair with Colombine is lacking in comparison: "Men hvad kand være Aarsag til saadan lunken Elskov uden det, at jeg ingen Umag har haft med at vinde den?"(I, 3).[81] After Harlequin rejects Colombine for these reasons, Colombine arranges for old Magdalone to act as a second "invisible" woman, who makes romantic overtures to Harlequin at intervals throughout the rest of the play, but who eventually shocks Harlequin with her ugly appearance – the role was played by a man – and drives him back into Colombine's arms. [82] For Leander, of course, the story ends happily: his "invisible" woman removes her mask to reveal the beautiful, wealthy woman who had abducted him.

But what does this "invisibility" mean, and why does the woman go to such great lengths to make herself "invisible"? Leander's "invisible" woman represents an individual who is willing to go to implausible extremes to set to rest the concern that Leander's love is based on anything other than her personal characteristics. Her mask is a symbol of the rejection of outward signs of identity, though only temporarily, until she explains that she "spillede tveende Personer, for at sætte Prøve paa hans Troeskab*"* (III, 3).[83] The situation in and of itself is ridiculous enough, but Harlequin's carnivalesque attempts to imitate the fantastic love affair of his master parodies the improbabilities of

[81] Translation: "But what can the reason be for such luke-warm love except that I have had no trouble winning it?"
[82] See Holm, Bent. "Harlequin, Holberg and the (In)visible Masks." 164.
[83] Translation: "played two people to test his loyalty."

finding love in this way. The humor of the play derives from mocking those who support the notion that external, social characteristics are unimportant considerations. Harlequin first ridicules this perspective by openly questioning it, and then by parodying it. It is of course an absurd suggestion that the mask could really obscure all markers of social identity. The woman's clothes and speech would have revealed class, for example, so it does not even occur to Leander to worry about whether he might be crossing those sorts of boundaries in falling for this particular woman. In a sense, the mask in fact reduces her to a type, an anonymous member of a certain social group even as it disguises the particulars of her social identity, such as her name and family membership. Her "invisible" face also ensures that he could not identify her should they meet through normal channels in the relatively small population of Copenhagen. The mask moreover "mystified the object of desire" (Castle 39); the "invisible woman's" ruse is also an unusual variation on the old theme of playing hard to get.

Still, the use of masks by the "invisible women" is a device without context: there is no masked ball, indeed if the play is to be understood as taking place in Denmark, that would be impossible for the time the play was written and first performed. These masks are truly, as Bakhtin said of modern masks, "a particle of some other world" – the world of popular carnival, which is represented by *commedia dell'arte's* Harlequin figure (40). This play's Harlequin wears his black mask throughout the play and cannot remove it: it is "the essence of his character" (Holm "Harlequin" 164). This mask, as Holm writes elsewhere, is "det ekstreme udtryk for teater som konvention: den har intet med

psykologi eller "virkelighed" at gøre" (Holm "Fra Pomp…" 98).[84] This statement refers to Harlequin's mask, but is certainly untrue for the mask of the first of the "invisible women" in *De Usynlige*, for whom the mask is an opportunity to psychologically test her prospective lover, and it allows her to act as her "real" self, understood as her "authentic," personal qualities, rather than worrying about being identified by her face, which can be linked to her name and her social identity. Holberg wrote in "Forsvar for Maskerader" that the real masking happened when people appeared with their bare faces in public situations, that is, conforming to social roles (124). This rhetoric is characteristic of a shift from understanding the individual person as a member of certain groups based on categories like sex, class and age to one in which personal psychology and characteristics are the essential elements. The woman is "invisible" in the sense that the mask obscures her face, and thus her identity as a specific, nameable individual. While certain aspects of her group identity, her membership in a class for example, are visible, her specific position within those categories remains obscure, with the result that those intangible characteristics on which she places higher value will, by default, be the characteristics by which she is judged. These characteristics, like Leander's "merits" that Leonora purportedly values in *Mascarade*, are valued in interpersonal relationships, but do not always align with the economic and political ones privileged by society at large in determining social position or for making "good" marriage matches.

It is more and more in this vein that masquerade appears in comedic literature as the eighteenth century progresses. Two German comedies, written more than fifty years

[84] Translation: "The extreme expression of theater as a convention: it has nothing to do with psychology or 'reality.'"

apart but with remarkable similarities, reflect the general transition from a focus on the masked ball to one on masquerade in a broader, metaphoric sense. In both Johann Elias Schlegel's *Der Geheimnißvolle* (1746) and Theoder Körner's *Der grüne Domino* (1811), the masked ball itself is entirely displaced from the stage, and takes place prior to the respective comedies' narrative time. Yet both plays are filled with masquerade in the sense of an individual person's act of disguising the markers of his specific identity in order to – similarly to Holberg's "invisible woman" – be independent from that identity's usual associations with a specific family and social group, and to emphasize other criteria as more important. The masked ball is a topic of conversation, but it is mainly drawn upon referentially as a convenient opportunity to play with the ideas of metaphoric masquerade, and to inaugurate a series of scenes of disguise and mistaken identity.

Der Geheimnißvolle

Johann Elias Schlegel had already been living in Copenhagen as the secretary to the Saxon ambassador to the Danish court for three years when he wrote the five-act comedy *Der Geheimnißvolle* in 1746 (Kühne 255). In this play, masquerade works off-stage as an event outside of narrative time, but also appears in the broader sense of "disguise," as the title character works to keep his identity a secret. The *Vorrede* to the play references Moliere, but Raymond Immerwahr also sees in the plot the influence of Holberg's *Mascarade* (Schlegel *Der Geheimnißvolle* 185-186; Immerwahr 189). Schlegel was certainly familiar with that play, listing it and *Den honette Ambition* as being the two that he had seen performed in Copenhagen that had "den meisten Beyfall erhalten," and later referring to it as a play in which "Verwirrung herrscht" (Schlegel "Gedanken" 268, 285).

The phrase "Verwirrung herrscht" itself seems like a good summary of how masquerades are often portrayed. Unlike Holberg's work, however, the masked ball that initiates all of the confusion is displaced from the stage. The audience only hears the masked ball described, as Amalia, the daughter of "von Schlangendorf, ein vornehmer Herr", tells her maid Katherine in the play's first lines: "ich möchte doch gern wissen, wer der verkleidete Türk auf dem gestrigen Balle gewesen wäre" (I, 1). The women discuss the events of the ball and decide to find out who the mysterious stranger was, but this proves to be very difficult, as the stranger goes to great pains to conceal his identity.

The "secretive" stranger uses the dramatic name "Von Abgrund," refuses to answer any questions about his background, and during the course of the play appears dressed in the clothes of a lackey and disguised as a wig maker and hairstylist, and he even trades clothing with his servant Johann, which will be shown to be endangering Johann. At one point, when Abgrund has once again mysteriously disappeared, Katherine calls out to him to appear:

> Du flüchtiger, verborgener und unsichtbarer Geist, der du dich Abgrund nennst, Durchkriecher der Winkel, Tausendkünstler der Verwandlungen, Liebhaber der Masken, lebendiges Begräbniß der Geheimnisse! ich befehle dir, vor meinem Fräulein zu erscheinen, und uns zu offenbaren, ob du ein guter oder böser Geist, ehrlich oder ein Betrüger seyst, uns deinen Namen und Stand zu entdecken, und unsere Neugierigkeit nicht länger aufzuhalten!—Noch hilft es nichts (II, 7).

Whatever Abgrund's intentions are with his elaborate ruses, they are not endearing him to most of the play's other characters. His "Maskerade," as Kathrine says earlier in the same

act, is "schlecht abgelaufen," and has inspired comparisons to the devil rather than to a man of deep inner character (ibid).

In the meantime, Graf von Bährenfeld, an old friend of Schlangendorf, arrives, and these two men discuss their plan that their children will marry, as in *Mascarade,* though unlike the situation in Holberg's play*,* they do not intend to force this plan upon them*.* Schlangendorf and Bährenfeld recognize that, as the latter says, "Das wäre der Weg, alles zu verderben…Oft weigert man sich aus Eigensinne etwas zu thun, was man gewiß selber gewollt haben würde, wenn es uns auf beßre Manier wäre vorgestellt worden" (IV, 4). The recognition of the role of *Eigensinne* in young people is only strategic, the men are not truly interested in letting the children make up their own minds; it is the situation's appearance that matters, and the men aim to present a scenario in which their own motivations are hidden.

Johann is brought on stage in Abgrund's clothes, and claims to be him, however Kathrine gives him away, causing Johann to respond: "St! Weißt du nicht, daß das Kleid dem Mann macht! Du Plaudermal! Du könntest mich um mein Glück bringen" (V, 5). Throughout the play, Abgrund has dressed "down" in terms of status and more or less been able to "pass," but Johann's attempt to dress "up" fails immediately, despite having the right clothes. Johann recognized the danger in the situation, but his master's insistence overrode his concerns. This is not, however, enough to override the fact that the ability to successfully switch between social groups appears to be a one-way street, going only from up down. Masking's revelatory purpose in these comedies means that the servant's attempt to dress up as his master will reveal him to be a servant; his failure

in masking is itself an unmasking. The master can draw out the game a bit longer, but ultimately, social order will prevail.

In the end, Abgrund is brought back on stage, holding his hat in front of his face – yet another attempt at disguise – before it is removed and it is revealed that he is the son of Graf von Bährenfeld. Why on earth did he do all of this? Johann offers the explanation that Abgrund has come "um sein Glück zu machen," to which the elder Bährenfeld responds to his son with astonishment: "Dein Glück zu machen! Unter einem falschen Namen!" Abgrund, as the text still refers to him, explains to his father that he has concealed his plans, "weil ich furchte, Sie möchten meine Absicht lächerlich finden, daß ich mein Glück meinen eigenen Bemühungen schuldig seyn wollte" (V, 7). The father, however, is unable to comprehend the son's desire to explore freedom from the family name and social position. Despite his bizarre behavior, Abgrund has succeeded in winning the affection of Amalia, and their fathers officially arrange their engagement. Abgrund, continuing his secretiveness despite the failure of his disguises, requests that the engagement not be made public immediately, but Bährenfeld responds by saying that it "soll zu deiner Strafe gleich aller Welt bekannt gemacht werden" (ibid). These exchanges between father and son display two very different approaches to the issue of personal happiness and the decision to marry. Bährenfeld finds it ridiculous to pursue happiness without the benefits of the family name, while Abgrund wants to experience happiness that is based not on his background, but on his own efforts. The desire for personal happiness – specifically, it turns out – in relation to marriage, is voiced repeatedly by Abgrund as well as Johann, though it is at odds with the view of marriage

as “a matter of political and economic links between families, rather than a psychological link between unique individuals” (Jervis *Exploring* 152). This discrepancy is furthermore reflected in the way Abgrund sees the engagement as a private affair, while his father sees it as a social one that should be publicized.

Der grüne Domino

Theodor Körner’s one-act comedy *Der grüne Domino* was written in 1811, at the later end of the period under consideration, and demonstrates more fully the shift in focus from masked ball as event to metaphorical masquerade. At the same time, it still shows remarkable continuity with the basic themes of *Mascarade*, *De Usynlige* and *Der Geheimnißvolle*. Like Schlegel, Körner does not include the masked ball itself in his play, but has the previous evening’s events described in the conversation between his two characters, Marie and Pauline. Pauline tries to convince Marie to admit that “der grüne Domino” interests her, and notes that “Die Maske war galant, hing fest an Deinen Blicken” (I, 1). Marie is hesitant to confess any attraction, because, it turns out, she is engaged to be married to Pauline’s brother, Karl, whom she has never met. Pauline tells her that in her conversations with the mask, Marie herself was the main subject, to which Marie replies “Ei nun, man weiß ja schon, was eine Maske spricht” (ibid). She is nonetheless upset when Pauline also tells her that she informed the admirer of Marie’s engagement to her brother, saying that “Anbeter gelten viel in dieser theuren Zeit” and arguing that, though her fiancé’s letters show that he is “ein Mann von Geist und Herzenstief, und Witz und reinem Sinn,” that since the marriage has been arranged and she has not seen him, she does not yet feel compelled to chase away other suitors (ibid).

She praises the green domino, saying "er schien ein Mann von Geist, gebildet, klug und witzig" – traits that were highly valued in Enlightenment society and may provide a clue about the type of "merits" Leonora had in mind in *Mascarade* (ibid). Pauline, however, disagrees with Marie, and reasons that since he refused to take off his mask, he must be "häßlich wie die Nacht; Ein hübscher Mann läßt sich wohl nimmermehr so bitten" (ibid). The masked man's intellectual characteristics are not in and of themselves enough to convince Marie and Pauline that he would make a suitable lover; physical appearance is also important, but again, they do not voice concern about his name or social position. Certainly the rules of participation in the masked ball would have filtered out undesirable candidates, but this assumption remains unvoiced.

When Marie runs off stage to receive a letter, Pauline informs the audience in a monolog that the green domino was in fact her brother, hoping both to learn Marie's character and to win the affections of his bride-to-be independently of their fathers' arrangement (I, 2). The letter Marie returns with is from the green domino and includes a poem that praises the beauty of the "*Amazone*" he met at the masked ball; Pauline criticizes the domino's poetic talent, but Marie again refuses to let her opinion of him be swayed, and declares herself to be in love with him (I, 3). Left alone on stage again, Pauline puts on old clothes of her brother and then presents herself to Marie as the domino (I, 4). Her behavior is offensive and presumptuous, though, and Marie says "ich bin zufrieden, wenn Sie sich sogleich entfernen" (I, 5). Only now does Marie say, "O wär ich nimmermehr auf diesem Ball gewesen!" (I, 6). The affair with the domino was a "schöne[r] Traum," but she now feels that she was foolish to fall in love with a mask

(ibid). At this moment, Pauline reappears and explains everything, and informs Marie that her brother is now on the way to meet her face to face for the first time.

Once again we have a typically comedic, tidy resolution to an incredible series of maskings and disguises, with the result that a marriage arranged by fathers is affirmed by the prospective bride and groom's own inclination, but only after a scenario in which they can become acquainted without prejudice is staged. The masked ball, which can only be constructed retrospectively from the play's dialog, is used by the young man as a convenient occasion at which to approach his fiancée anonymously, establishing, as we have seen in *Der Geheimnißvolle,* a situation in which only one of the two people knows the other's identity. Yet the elaborate deception is presented as a positive or at least well-intentioned endeavor that allows both partners to experience a sense of agency in choosing a spouse, rather than merely acquiescing to their fathers' demands. Marie enjoys the opportunity to experience independence and freedom from the demands of her status as an engaged woman, and she uses the opportunity to act as an observer of a man without focusing on his everyday, social identity. The anonymity of the green domino allows Karl to present his character at its best, and it is this presentation that she falls in love with. Pauline proclaims "Schön ist der Liebe Siegen!" (I, 6). The underlying assumption is that the masks and disguises provide protection against a narrow focus on the superficiality of physical appearance or on membership in a specific social group; masks thereby allow a more individual, personal identity to come to the forefront, even as they make identifying the person in the absence of the mask more difficult. This test of both of their personalities has a happy conclusion, and despite her momentary regret for

having attended the ball, in the end the play's characters prize the masked ball for its ability to let the engaged couple become lovers on their own terms. At the same time, though, it is clear that these terms coincide with those of the powers that be, once again showing the inherent, reassuring conservatism of the masquerade comedy plot. The possibility that the couple might decide against the match, or might find different lovers from different social positions, is entirely absent.

The Masquerade Rumor Mill

The upper-bourgeoisie and lower nobility are featured in these comedies, which is not surprising given the audiences; the servants in both *Mascarade* and *De Usynlige* also participate in some masked romantic intrigues of their own, albeit with more slapstick results. Any serious concern that classes might mix at masquerades seems largely absent in these comedies – there are a few suggestions of this possibility in Holberg's plays and in *Der Geheimnißvolle*, but the playwrights do not explore it. Once again we that a generally conservative tendency prevails in masquerade comedies; the plays' characters might make their own decisions with regard to their love affairs, but it is clear that they will not make such a serious mistake as to choose a lover who is beneath them in the social hierarchy. By Holberg's standards, some progressive notes can also be deduced, in the sense that the plays do more to destabilize the status quo before the resolution, and that the endings suggest the possibility of harmony between social and individual identity. Still, the more carnivalesque, promiscuous behavior is left to the likes of Henrich, while for his betters, the primary dangers have to do with the conceptual

possibilities the masquerade suggests, rather than its ultimate effects, which are, all things considered, relatively harmless.

The romantic intrigues of these plots were doubtless inspired by the general reputation of the masquerade as a site of sexual adventure, as Terry Castle has prodigiously documented for the case of England. The masquerades she studies were much larger in terms of the number of participants, and these participants apparently came from a broader spectrum of the population than the ones in northern Europe, which is not surprising given the relative scale and the socio-political makeup of the regions and in particular the cities under consideration. While Castle can therefore point to a large body of historical anecdotes related to the sexual adventures of the participants in English masquerades, such material is less prevalent in the German and Danish lands.[85] Instead, we have a handful of anecdotes related, in particular, to royal figures. The sort of masquerade anecdotes that will be discussed here seem to have very little in common with the plots of the comedies outlined above. In the comedies, the masked ball serves as an opportunity for freedom of love on a psychological, personal plane, but not in an overtly sexual sense. Yet at the same time that the less scandalous romantic intrigues appeared in comedies, these stories suggest the extent to which real scandal was possible at the masquerade. That the rumors have survived the centuries demonstrates their role in the development of masquerade's reputation and ongoing place in fantasies about the eighteenth century.

In the Danish context, the most famous example of a masquerade escapade prior to the time of Christian VII comes from the time of his great-grandfather, Frederik IV,

[85] Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization* 39-51 and passim.

whose fondness for masquerades has already been mentioned in Chapter One. In 1711 the Danish court fled to the Jutlandish castle Koldinghus during an outbreak of plague in the capital, and it was here that Frederik IV met Anna Sophie von Reventlow at a masked ball. At this time the king was nearing 40, and was not only already married, but had already had a bigamous morganatic marriage with Elisabeth Helene von Vieregg.[86] His new beloved was barely eighteen years old and the daughter of his chancellor Conrad von Reventlow. Maria Helleberg writes of the affair: "De forelskede sig, og drømmen fødtes om et ægteskab bygget på kærlighed og om tilgivelse for ægteskabsbrud og bigami" (Helleberg "Lyst" 130).[87] The king abducted Anna Sophie Reventlow and married her morganatically in 1712; after the death of Queen Louise in 1721, he immediately married Anna Sophie officially and made her his new queen. If the reader is keeping track of the dates, it should be clear that it was with this couple as reigning monarchs that, in 1724 Holberg wrote *Mascarade* and that masquerades were banned in Denmark. Despite the preliminary happy ending of their masquerade affair, the couple suffered the loss of all of their children, and the king's already pietistic tendencies only increased in the belief that he was being punished for his past transgressions.[88]

Neither the affair itself nor the eventual outcome are so dramatic in the case of Friederich the Great's masquerade adventure. A bit of court gossip apparently first reported by Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz in his *Mémoires* and repeated in numerous histories

[86] Source info; The king's first morganic marriage was kept secret, and Elisabeth Helene von Vieregg died shortly after giving birth to their son Frederik Gyldenløve in 1704.
[87] Translation: "They fell in love and the dream was born of a marriage based on love and of forgiveness for adultery and bigamy."
[88] See for example Jensen, Anne E. *Teatret i Lille Grønnegade 1722-1728.* København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busk, 1972. 240.

and biographies of the king, so that it has attained somewhat legendary status, comes from the time of the visit of King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia with the crown prince to the court of King August the Strong in Dresden in early 1728 (256-257).[89] After dinner one evening, the two kings and their company went to the Redoute in Dominos, and the Polish King led the Prussian one through a series of rooms, until they came to one with a young woman:

> sie lieg auf einem Ruhebett in einem sehr reizenden und nachläßigen Gewande und ließ, ob sie gleich maskirt war, doch so viele Reize sehen, daß man von denen, die versteckt waren, nicht anders als sehr günstig urtheilen konnte (ibid).

The Polish king, after identifying himself, persuades the young woman to remove her mask; the more prudish Friedrich Wilhelm acknowledges her beauty, but then quickly pushes his young son out of the room and they return to their own chambers. According to some versions,[90] the entire scene had been arranged by the Polish king because Crown Prince Friederich (II) had developed an interest in the Polish king's illegitimate daughter Countess Anna Karolina Orzelska – herself known, incidentally, for dressing in men's clothing – and the jealous father hoped this masked woman would capture the young prince's attention. Carlyle and Kugler both report that the woman was known as "*Formera*," and that the crown prince "nahm das Anerbieten ab", as Kugler puts it (Carlyle 381, Kugler 46).[91] Carlyle writes of the liaison as the moment Friedrich II fell "into the wake of Beelzebub", and Kugler says that after returning to Berlin, the crown

[89] Frederich II's sister Wilhelmine of Prussia also relates this story in her memoires, but without the details about the mask.
[90] Including those byWilhelmine, Carlyle, and Kugler.
[91] Friederich II did also go on to have a lifelong friendship with Orzelska, among other things dedicating songs to her.

prince "verfiel in eine tiefe Schwermut," which the king suspected was due to "das freie Leben in Dresden" (Carlyle 381, Kugler 46). The masquerade is ascribed something like gateway status, initiating the young prince into a realm of activities of which his father did not approve.

The Confession

In light of these historical anecdotes, which emphasize male sexual choice, the case of Caroline Mathilde brings many of the considerations about the masquerade's potential for allowing individuals to live out fantasies of freedom to a head. While the young queen initially expressed awareness of the impossibility of maintaining anonymity at the masked balls, and was well aware of the rules of the game, in subsequent years rumors increasingly began to circulate about the ways in which she was bending these rules. Romantic masquerade intrigues that depended on anonymity could only ever be fantasies for a woman who could always be recognized – no matter how many times she changed costumes at the court masked balls. And while Frederik IV of Denmark and Friedrich II of Prussia were absolute monarchs who could allow themselves to indulge in the pleasures of women outside their social circle offered by the masquerade, the stakes were much higher for the women, especially for a woman was that married to the absolute monarch. This is of course also a question of property and lineage rights, as the paternity of the queen's children must be indisputable in a monarchy. Christian VII had brought his mistress, the courtesan known as *Støvlet-Katrine* (Bootine Cathrine) or Mylady Benthagen,[92] to masked balls, and she was so unabashed that she even removed

[92] Her real name was Anne Katrine Benthagen. The two parts of the nickname "Mylady Benthagen" referred to, first, her relationship to the English diplomat J. H. Gooderick, and

her mask at the gambling tables (Langen 216). These masquerade appearances served as a kind of entry point for Katrine into court festivities, as she soon began dining with the king and attending the theater on other occasions, despite the fact that she lacked the necessary rank to do so (Langen ibid).[93]

After Katrine's departure from the scene and Struensee's arrival, the masked balls at Christian VII's court only grew in number. Most sources agree that the queen was initially ill disposed towards the king's new favorite, but that at some point in the early 1770, their relationship changed.[94] It is hardly surprising that the rumors about their romance often had the masked balls as the setting for their erotic encounters. In a letter to Lady Løvenskjold from February 11 of that year, Louise Gramm writes:

> Hendes Hjerte er, haaber jeg, endnu uskyldigt, men hvor længe vil det vare? Jeg har den dybeste Medlidenhed med hende. Ved Maskeballerne gaar hun altid sammen med denne væmmelige Struensee – og hun er der gerne hele Natten. Er det ikke skrækkeligt – og ingen er der til at advare hende! Hvad skal det blive til? Hun var i mindre Far med sin Vattersot end nu (cit. Friis "Det danske Hof…" 791).[95]

---

secondly to the name of her adoptive father Johan Ernst Benthagen; her natural parents were Prince Georg of Braunschweig-Bevern and a peasant named Anna Marie Schröder. See: Langen, Ulrik. *Den afmægtige.* 216 and passim.

[93] In 1768 Katrine was forcibly removed from Denmark by his advisors, who were concerned about the effect of the relationship on the king's standing with the people. Langen 231.

[94] See for example: Amidsen, Asser. *Til nytte og fornøjelse. Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737-1772*). (København): Akaemisk, 2002. 8.

[95] Translation: "Her heart is, I hope, still innocent, but how long will that last? I have the deepest sympathy for her. At the masked balls she always goes around with that disgusting Struensee – and tends to be there the whole night. Is it not terrible – and no one is there to warn her! Where will it lead? She was in less danger with her edema than now."

In a letter later that month she says that she does not believe what had been said about the queen's "Tilbøjelighed," but rather that her imprudent behavior with Struensee is an expression of "Barnagtighed og ikke Alvor. – Hun er som et tiaars Barn, der pludselig faar Lov til at gøre, hvad det vil" (ibid).[96] While Gramm does express sympathy, she mostly voices concern that the masked balls are a grave danger to the queen, though she also finds the queen's careless behavior with Struensee childish. The masked ball is credited with acting as a catalyst to this behavior; without anyone to warn her of the dangers, the queen has indulged in the freedoms of the masquerade, and let the genie out of the bottle. By April, Gramm seems to have given up hope that the rumors are false: "ved Maskeballerne sætter de sig altid sammen alene og afsides og gaar sammen hele Natten. Det er ingen Hemmelighed, Alverden ved det og taler om det, og man følger efter dem paa Ballerne, siger man" (ibid 793).[97] Relying upon the masquerade convention of anonymity, the queen and Struensee engage in ever more blatant displays of affection, but the convention of anonymity is no protection against the power of court gossip.

The rumors about Struensee and the queen's affair extend from higher-rank individuals like Gramm to more anonymous court servants, and masquerades inevitably appear in them. Bregnsbo reports for example that during the subsequent trial, one of the queen's former chambermaids testified:

> at hun første gang fik mistanke om, at der bestod et intimt forhold mellem Struensee og dronningen, under en maskerade i riddersalen på Christiansborg

[96] Translations: "Inclination"; "Childishness and not Seriousness. – She is like a ten-year-old child, that suddenly has permission to do what it wants."
[97] Translation: "at masked balls they always sit together alone and separate and always walk together the whole night. It is no secret, the whole world knows and talks of it, and they are followed around at the balls, it is said."

> Slot. Dronningen havde her først været klædt i en tyrkisk dragt, men havde siden ladet sig omklæde til en sort mandsdomino (kappe) og en stor sort paryk og var derefter forsvundet. Kammerjomfruerne havde ledt forgæves efter hende i en times tid. Dronningen var dukket op på ny uden den sorte paryk "med Struensee klædt ligesom hun". Dagen efter havde hun spurgt kammerjomfruerne, om de havde ledt efter hende, og da de havde bekræftet dette, havde dronningen givet sig til at le (Bregnsbo *Caroline Mathilde* 100, emphasis in the original).[98]

The queen engages in the classic masquerade trick of changing costumes, and thus manages to escape association with her own public identity for a short time at this masked ball. The immediate implication made by the absence of her wig and the emphasis on Struensee wearing clothing like hers when she is seen again is that the two have had a sexual encounter. Dressing in matching clothing is a provocative statement of the two people forming a pair, and would have required advanced planning, meaning that either one or both of them was consciously using the masquerade as an occasion to make this public declaration. The queen's laughter in conversation with her chambermaids is presented as evidence of her pleasure at having avoided detection, and also as tantamount to a confession of having broken the rules.

Ultimately it is another confession that cements the role of the masquerade in history's understanding of Struensee and Caroline Mathilde's love affair. After their

[98] Translation: "…that she first became suspicious about there being an intimate relationship between Struensee and the queen during a masquerade in the Great Hall at Christiansborg Castle. The queen had first been dressed in a Turkish costume, but then had herself be redressed in a black man's domino (cape) and a big black wig and thereafter disappeared. The chambermaids had searched for her in vain for an hour. The queen appeared again without the black wig "*with Struensee dressed just like her."* The next day she asked the chambermaids if they had looked for her, and when they confirmed this, the queen began to laugh." Emphasis Bregnsbo's.

arrests, Struensee was interrogated (in German) over three days by a commission that eventually convicted him of adultery and treason. Struensee made no confessions on the first day, and only began to make statements towards the end of the second day. The transcripts present first all of the questions, and then Struensee's answers, but the answers indicate that more was asked of him than is indicated in the questions, and suggest both that he was informed about his fellow prisoner Enevold Brandt's confessions and about specific accusations made against him. It is in his answer to question nine that Struensee mentions the role of masquerades. Question nine itself was: "Welche Helfer und Beförder die Königin und er bey diesem unerlaubten Liebes-Handel gehabt, und wem die sonst die Sache angetraut haben?" (Fjelstrup *Skilsmisse* 40). Struensee's recorded answer was:

> Es sey niemand, der weder dazu geholfen, noch, so viel er wisse, dem die Königin, noch er, solches anvertrauet habe. Es könnte wohl seyn, dass er mit Gr. Brandt davon gesprochen; er erinnerte sich aber nicht, es ihm positiv gestanden zu haben, dass es so weit zwischen der Königin und ihm gekommen wäre, weil er nicht allezeit sehr in diesem Stück in Acht genommen hatte. Die Königin wäre zwar auf der Masquerade zärtlicher geworden; die erste Beywohnung aber sey besagtermaassen und in der Königin Cabinet geschehen. Und was Gr. Brandt von der Masquerade angebracht, solches musste er nicht recht verstanden haben (43).

Struensee does not implicate anyone else in the crime of adultery with the queen, and he discounts the suggestion apparently made by Brandt that he and the queen had their first sexual encounter at a masquerade. Nonetheless, the admission that the queen had been "zärtlicher" towards him at the masquerade became a motif in later retellings of the entire

affair, appearing everywhere from the earliest fictionalized accounts up to Enquist's more recent one, where he refers to a masquerade as the site of "den första signalen" of her interest in him as a sexual partner (308).[99]

The masquerade, even when not itself the actual site of the most egregious transgressions, thus remains a site of opportunity that can pave the way for such transgressions. More than just transgressions, though, the plays and historical anecdotes display shifts in the relative weight accorded to values such as economic and political advantage or individual personality as considerations for marriage arrangements. Any sense of anxiety about the potential that masquerade will escape its regulated confines is tempered by the comedies' resolutions and their message of faith in the ability of social structures to triumph over carnivalesque disorder. The happy endings of these masked romantic intrigues in the comedies are not to be expected for a woman like Caroline Mathilde, for whom such outcomes are impossible by virtue of her social identity and status. However much she appeared to enjoy the fantasy of escaping that status at the masked balls, it was only a fantasy. She and Struensee could not avoid detection, and could not escape the reality of their situation. Lousie Gramm asked where it all would lead, and the answer was found in the aftermath of the masquerade of 16 January 1772.

[99] Translation: "the first signal" (Nunnally 249).

Chapter Three:

Masquerade as Misfortune

Masqveraden og hendes slette Selskab var

Hoved-Befordrere af hendes Ulykke.[100]

-Peter Uldall (17)

Kein Laster darf ohne Maske erscheinen.

-Sophie von La Roche (110)

One of the most enduring publications from the period after Struensee's fall is a wood engraving attributed to the German artist Johan Meno Haas depicting the moment of the arrest itself.[101] A caption, given in both Danish and German, describes the image as follows: "*Vorstellung wie Graf Struensee ist arretird worden, den 17. Ian. 1772, auf dem Schlosse Christiansburg in seinem Zimmer um 4. Uhr des Morgens.*" The scene shows Struensee sitting up in bed in a dramatic gesture of surprise, and while one soldier shows him the arrest order, another man holds up a candelabra and several soldiers stand with fixed bayonets in the doorway.[102] Other details in the room give the background story: in one corner is Struensee's desk with stacks of papers and quills, suggesting the 1800-2000 cabinet orders he had enacted in the past 16 months;[103] next to the bed is a chair, over

---

[100] Translation: "Masquerades and her bad company were the main causes of her misfortune."
[101] The image was initially mass produced, exists in numerous archives, and has been reproduced countless times. For the attribution to Haas, see Hein, 30, where a reproduction of it is also available.
[102] The soldier is generally presumed to be Georg-Ludwig von Köller-Banner, a German officer who came into conflict with Struensee regarding his regiment and thus agreed to participate in the plot. It is generally agreed that Köller did not actually have an arrest order ready at the time, but the inclusion of it in the image helps to legitimize the act. See Hein, 30.
[103] These exact number of orders is a matter of some discussion, but these numbers are given in the most recent scholarship on the matter by Asser Amidsen (8).

which a domino is draped, and on the floor lies a mask, staring out blankly towards the viewer. Haas thus makes an allusion to the masked ball that immediately preceded Struensee's arrest, indicating that this bit of information was already public knowledge. At the same time, though, the cast-off mask and domino impart the overarching message of the entire image, telling the viewer that the travesty of Struensee's legitimacy as a ruler of Denmark is over. This spectacle is the end of the masquerade: as metaphor.

Today, the word "masquerade" is used almost exclusively to refer metaphorically to social performances, usually deceptive ones. As a practice, the masquerade itself is inherently metaphoric, as the common synecdochic reference to participants as "masks" implies, indicating that each participant engages in an individual performance in a different role as a character or as an anonymous actor. Yet the metaphor of masquerade's use in a wide variety of arenas not directly related to the context of the masked ball - as in Joan Riviere's famous "Womanliness as Masquerade," for example - reflects the metaphor's flexibility and potency. Masquerade's perceived ability to conceal truths - real or imagined, positive or negative - was always present in the debates about the legitimacy and propriety of the practice. While masquerades began to decline in popularity as a form of entertainment at the end of the eighteenth century, the prevalence of this metaphor began an ascent, to the point of eclipsing the event almost entirely in contemporary discourse. Haas seizes upon the coincidence of the masked ball of 16 January and the metaphoric unmasking of Struensee in this image, which exemplifies how these two trajectories seem to intersect in the late-eighteenth century. In this chapter, I will examine other texts where masquerade is located at this intersection of practice and

metaphor. Masquerade appears here primarily as a threat to both social stability and individual security – particularly for women. The chaotic, debased aspects of masquerade here elude the rules that attempt to tame it, and these aspects have ruinous consequences for both those who participate innocently and those who misuse the principle of *Maskenfreiheit.* In addition to further review of materials related to Struensee's fall, this will include prose works by Charlotte Dorothea Biehl and Sophie von La Roche. Women were perceived to be more vulnerable to the dangers of masquerade, and though men also warned of these dangers, these women writers explore the dangerous consequences of masquerade participation for their heroines at greater length than is seen in other texts from the German or Danish context.[104]

In contrast to Haas's early example of metaphoric interpretation of the masked ball at the Court Theater at Christiansborg the night of 16 January 1772, the court journal entry for that date confirms what P. O. Enquist wrote of it over two hundred years later: it was "fullständigt händelselös," completely uneventful (309). Like dozens of other masked balls in the five years since Christian VII had reintroduced them to the Danish court, this masked ball was perfunctorily recorded in the court journal (Rigsarkivet *Overhofmarskallatet 1761-1899*). In sharp contrast to the pages-long description of the masquerade of December 4, 1766, the journal description of the masquerade of January 16, 1772 could be finished off in a single sentence: "Til Aften blev holdet Masquerade paa det Franske Hof-Theatre, som blev bivaanet af De Høy. Kongel. Herskaber, hvilket

[104] Castle's study of masquerade scenes in English fiction examines long novels by both men and women, but I have uncovered no similar texts by men in German or Danish.

tog sin begyndelse Kl. 8 og ophørde Kl. 1 ½ slet" (ibid).[105] There is no description of what happened either during or after the masked ball, and even in the next day's entry there is no explanation of why the names of Queen Caroline Mathilde and Counts Struensee and Brandt suddenly disappear from the roster of those present for dinner in the king's apartment, or why Dowager Queen Juliane Marie and her son Hereditary Prince Frederik suddenly join it.

At least not in the first of two court journal entries for 17 January 1772, that is. For after a week of continuing with the same court journal, a new journal was begun after 23 January, starting over again with 17 January. Though such repetitions of dates occurred occasionally as one journal ended and another began, in this case the point of repetition is uncanny.[106] No explanation is offered for this overlap in the journals themselves, and none is needed. The new powers behind the absolute monarchy were literally rewriting history. The entry for 17 January 1772 in the second journal begins by stating that certain members of the court, including Struensee and Brandt, were removed to the Citadel in Copenhagen, and that the Queen was sent "efter Kongens Ordre" to Kronborg Castle at Helsingør, "hvor hun ligeledes indtil videre skulle forblive" (ibid).[107] Dowager Queen Juliane Marie, Hereditary Prince Frederik and coup leader Ove Høegh-

[105] Translation: "In the evening masquerade was held in the French Court Theater, which was attended by the most royal lordships, which began at 8 o'clock and stopped at exactly 1:30."
[106] The two journals contained in the box (see note 7) have the following title pages: *Dagjournaler 1771 April 1 – 1772 Januar 23 mm*. and *Dage Journal fra Den 17. Januar 1772 til Den 17. Julj 1772.*
[107] Translation: "by the King's order"; "where she likewise should remain until further notice."

Guldberg saw to it that Struensee and Brandt were convicted of treason and executed, and that Caroline Mathilde was divorced from the king and sent into exile in Hannover.[108]

Peter Uldall, the young Funen native who served as defense attorney for both Caroline Mathilde and Struensee, later wrote in his memoirs of the queen that "Masqveraden og hendes slette Selskab var Hoved-Befordrere af hendes Ulykke*"* (17).[109] Considering the rumors regarding her masquerade escapades with Struensee and Struensee's own euphemistic confession of her "zärtlich" behavior towards him at a masked ball, it is on the one hand not surprising to see the masquerade referenced here as having a negative influence on the queen (Fjelstrup *Skilsmisse* 43). On the other hand, however, it is still striking that masquerade is singled out above all other activities at court as an agent of her misfortune and moral degradation. Uldall makes his accusations about the queen's sexual relationship with Struensee more clear as he goes on to list a series of – only female – members of court he considered part of her "bad company," asking finally "Hvad Vægt kunde hendes ærlige Kammerjomfruers Formaninger til hende have imod Struensee og saa mange Forførersker?" (17-18).[110] The close association of the seducer Struensee and the numerous seductresses with masquerade reflects the power attributed to masquerade, the suspicion that it had a power to corrupt unlike other forms of entertainment.

Further reflection on Uldall's list of seductresses reveals another variation on the theme of masquerade, power, and corruption. The list Uldall gives includes five women

[108] For details about the negotiations regarding Caroline Mathilde's exile, see: Bregnsbo, *Caroline Mathilde. Magt og skæbne.* She died in Celle before her 24th birthday.
[109] Translation: "The masquerade and her bad company were the main causes of her misfortune."
[110] Translation: "What weight could her honest chambermaids' admonitions have against Struensee and so many seductresses?"

and the names of men whose mistresses they are reported to be: "Madam *Gæhler,* bekiendt Maitresse af *Classen,* Grevinde *Holstein* af *Brandt*, Baronesse *Bülow* af *Fabritius, Warnstedt, Schilden* og Gud veed hvormange andre, Madame *Malleville* af *Warnstedt*, Frøken *Eyben* af Grev *Moltke,* Acteuren le *Boeuf* etc" (Uldall 17, emphasis in the original).[111] With the exception of Johanne Marie de Malleville, all of these women belonged either through birth or marriage to the German-oriented elite sector of society. Malleville was from a more modest, bourgeois background, but her husband, Captain Thomas de Malleville, was born to a prosperous plantation owner on St. Thomas and later became governor of that island (Fjelstrup *Damerne* 135-137). The men listed as the women's lovers belong more to the Danish-speaking circle and several were perceived as self-serving social climbers during the Struensee era. The emphasis on the women as seductresses rather than on the men as seducers is not surprising given the sexual norms of the time, but does warrant mention as a prime example of the dominant paradigm. The association of these "seductresses" with masquerade is moreover indicative of the way that the masquerade was perceived as a site of loosened sexual mores, with implications of moral failings particularly for women. Uldall contrasts these female members of Caroline Mathilde's "bad company" who are from the German-oriented elite or social-climbing, Danish-speaking bourgeoisie, with the "honest chambermaids" - who are, however, unnamed; thus Uldall's list, coupled with his mention of masquerade, criticizes not only the sexual behavior of the elite women, but also implies connections to class and

[111] Translation: "Madam Gähler, known mistress of *Classen,* Countess *Holstein* of *Brandt,* Baroness *Bülow* of *Fabritius, Warnstedt, Schilden* and God knows how many others, Madame *Malleville* of Warnstedt, Miss *Eyben* of Count *Moltke,* the actor *le Boeuf,* etc." The spellings of the names are Uldall's.

national identity. That Malleville's husband also gained fame for being amongst the group of officers who was responsible for the arrests on 17 January 1772 only demonstrates the complex relationships and conflicting loyalties at stake in these intersecting social circles (Fjelstrup ibid). For Uldall, Struensee, who was both a German and a social climber, is clearly the worst of the lot.

On the whole, the episode of 16-17 January 1772 and its subsequent representations are indicative of the divergence between the practice of masquerade as a normal event and the metaphoric weight attached to it in art and writing. After all, it is improbable that the conspirators planned to carry out their coup after a masquerade due to its potential for metaphoric significance, but rather timed the event due to pragmatic considerations. Historian Peter Frederik Suhm, who was on the fringe of court society but was not an active part of the conspiracy, wrote of the event:

> Natten [til] den 17de gik Tingen for sig. Der havde været *Bal en domino* til Hove. Man valgte derfor den Tid, da de were søvnige, og da Köllers Compagnie havde Vagt paa Slottet. Alle Befrierne kunde og uden Mistanke være paa Masquerade, og Guldberg var der for første Gang (70).[112]

In other words, the masked ball would ensure that those to be arrested could be taken by surprise; it was scheduled at a convenient time and it provided a good excuse for the conspirators to be at the castle. As Suhm's use of the word "liberator" suggests, the conspirators claimed to be uncovering a plot to kill the king and put Caroline Mathilde

[112] Translation: "The night before the 17th the thing happened. There had been *Bal en domino* at court. The time was therefore chosen when they would all be sleepy and when Köller's company had guard duty at the castle. All of the liberators could be at the masquerade without suspicion, and Guldberg was there for the first time."

and Struensee officially in power as regents for the crown prince, but the conspirators did not explicitly connect their supposed revelation to an "unmasking" after the masquerade, nor to the queen's alleged duplicity, nor to the bourgeois German Struensee's "masquerade" as a legitimate ruler. For those familiar with life at court and the frequency of masked balls, the juxtaposition of the masquerade and the coup was unremarkable, and it goes completely unmentioned, for example, in the diary of Bolle Willum Luxdorph.

Nonetheless, as is clear from Luxdorph's collection of publications from the period of freedom of the press established by Struensee, it did not take very long for political commentors to begin making connections between the masked ball the night of 16 January and the metaphoric masquerade supposedly uncovered at court during the following night. Lisbet Hein has called the wave of publications that appeared related to Struensee's arrest "Danmarks første pressehetz," and the so-called "smædeskrifter" include ballad-like poems as well as images – wood cuts and engravings – sometimes also accompanied by short verses that overwhelmingly support the coup and depict Struensee as representing "alt ondt og umoralsk" (Hein 12).[113] Brief mentions of masquerade, masks and Danish carnival (*Fastelavn*) are sprinkled throughout these publications, always drawing on the negative connotations of masquerade. One anonymous poem on "De Syv merkværdige Fanger" (The Seven Notable Prisoners) begins, for example, with the following stanza:

Tegn op den syttende, som lærte dem at sandse,

Man Aftenen tilforn saae gladefuld at dandse,

[113] Translations: "Denmark's first smear campaign"; "defaming pamphlets"; "everything evil and immoral."

Med Skalkheds Masque paa, nu demasquerte er;

Før Grever og Baron', nu Jern-Lænker bær.[114]

The closing line of this first stanza presents a carnivalesque, "world upside down" image of the counts and barons in chains. The poem continues with two-stanza descriptions of each of the seven prisoners referred to in the title, and refers to the masquerade again in connection with the arrest of "Fru Gähler" – one of the "seductresses" mentioned by Uldall; the anonymous poet comments on the arrest of a woman as evidence that "Kiøn og Skiønhed ei af Hevnen reflecteres" (ibid).[115] It continues: "Galanterie forsvandt den Masquerades Nat, / Som greb Galanter og Galanerne ret fat," further delighting in the reversals of fortune and playing with the words "Galanterie," "Galanter" and "Galanerne" (the last two of which are synonyms).[116]

Another example from Luxdorph's collection, presented as a kind of hymn of thanksgiving for Struensee's fall, with several references to the masquerade and the removal of masks, ties these references to an appeal for further disclosures:

O! giv at hver og een, som Masquer bær endnu,

For Guds, for Kongens og for heele Statens Nytte,

Dem med reent Ansigt og reent Hierte vil ombytte,

Og denne Nat som Dansk maa komme reent ihu.

---

[114] Translation: "Mark up the seventeenth, which taught those to sense, / (whom) one saw happily dance the night before / with mischief's mask on, are now unmasked;/ Before counts and barons, now bearing iron chains."
[115] Translation: "Gender and Beauty are not taken into consideration by Revenge."
[116] Translation: "Gallantry disappeared that masquerade's night, which seized gallants and suitors."

(Anon. "Tvilling-Rigernes")[117]

The poem emphasizes the coup's "unmasking" of Struensee, Brandt and Caroline Mathilde as a patriotic, particularly Danish event. The poet takes up the metaphoric potential of masquerade and relates it to the corrupt court that had participated in masquerades as entertainment; the conscientious putting on and taking off of metaphoric masks is portrayed as a political maneuver, and attributes a narrative coherence to the sequence of events. The unmasked face is tied to a pure heart, and the pure face and heart are explicitly coded as Danish. Meanwhile, masks, symbols of deceit, are implicitly German.

The Danish-based patriotic sentiments of this example are only one permutation of the way the rhetoric linking Struensee's fall and masquerade were interpreted; German-speaking opponents of Struensee, who had to work to distance themselves from the German interloper, also adjusted this metaphoric association of Struensee and masquerade for their purposes. One of the longer examples from the collection is a poem in German that purports to have been written more than a year before the events of 16-17 January 1772, but only published after Struensee's arrest (Anon. "Gedanken"). The anonymous poet describes Struensee's rise at court in very negative terms, linking him to the "great dissembler," Satan and describing his behavior in terms of disguise:

Die Bosheit hüllte sich ins Kleide,

Von einem stolzen Charlatan;

Die Wohllust hatte eins von Seide,

[117] Translation: "O! Grant that every one still wearing masks / For God's, for the King's and for the whole State's Benefit,/ Will exchange them for pure face and pure Heart,/ And may purely remember this Night as Danish."

Sie zog sich leicht und üppig an,

Und beyde nahmen ihren Lauf,

Gerade nach dem Schloß hinauf. (Ibid. 3rd unnumbered page).

A reference to the masked ball itself would have been remarkably prophetic, assuming the work really was written in 1771, but the descriptions of the deceptive practices of Struensee and his supporters both show the currency of the disguise metaphor and suggest how easily the metaphoric masquerade - masked ball connection could have been made once more details were known. For obvious reasons, the German author is not interested in associating Struensee with national categories the way the author of the thanksgiving poem did, but rather relies on more standard associations of disguise as a facilitator for sinful activities.

Beyond these early popular reactions to the arrests, the majority of the early historiographic accounts of the Struensee affair did not attach significance to the masked ball of 16 January 1772. Yet this does not mean that masquerade did not play a role in their evaluation of the entire period. Suhm, for example, focuses on the practical reasons for the choice of night for the coup, but he also comments elsewhere in his reflections on masked balls and links them to the problems at court. He writes:

> Ved Mathildas Indtog ophørte Sorgen for salig Kongen – usædvanligt for os, da saadan Sorg altid pleide at vare et Aar. Fra den Tid bleve alle Lystigheder tilladte, endog Maskerader, som Frederik V aldrig havde villet tillade. Man mærkede nok, at den unge Dronning fandt Behag i alt saadant, man tilskrev det hendes Alder

allene, og mærkede ikke, at hendes Tilbøyelighet var saa stor dertil, at Frue Pless holt hende derfra saa meget som muligt (31).[118]

Suhm associates the queen's arrival with the premature conclusion of the mourning period for the late king, and then addresses the new forms of entertainment, singling out masquerades, implying that she had something to do with their introduction. He focuses exclusively on the queen's enjoyment of masquerade and is silent on the pleasure the king and his friends took in them, revealing Suhm's personal bias against the queen.[119] Suhm did not spare the king from criticism, but implied that the king's participation in masquerades was due to the bad influence of Conrad Holck or Støvlet-Cathrine (ibid).

Indeed, many writers attributed fondness for masquerade to individuals in order to indicate moral deficiency. Charlotte Dorothea Biehl, who came from a well-connected bourgeois background in Copenhagen, reversed the pattern of blame laid out by Suhm. Biehl's *Historiske Breve* were ostensibly written to her much-younger friend Johan von Bülow, though they were clearly intended for eventual public consumption.[120] In them, she expresses clear sympathy for Caroline Mathilde and Struensee, and in contrast to Suhm, describes not the queen but the king as having an "idelige higen efter lystture, baller, skuespil, maskerader og alle mulige afvekslinger af forlystelser" (Bech/Biehl

[118] Translation: Upon Mathilda's arrival mourning for the blessed king ceased – unusual for us, since such mourning always used to last a year. From that time all merriments were permitted, even masquerades, which Frederik V never had wanted to permit. It was noticed that the young queen enjoyed all such things, it was ascribed to her age alone, and it was not noticed that her inclination to it was so great that Frue Pless [Louise von Plessen, her lady-in-waiting] kept her away as much as possible.

[119] When she died, Suhm called it "*en stor Lykke for Landet*" (a great fortune for the country). Suhm 83.

[120] See Mariane Alenius, 114. Bülow encouraged Biehl to record her stories of the Danish court, which she gathered from many well-placed friends (Alenius 111).

191).[121] When there were no masquerades, she writes, he would often resort to starting a "*feltslag"* in the city, where he was known to destroy furnishings in brothels, often accompanied by Støvlet-Cathrine – who herself dressed in men's clothing for these outings (ibid 196, 204).[122] The linking of masquerades with the more scandalous stories about the king's vandalism in Copenhagen shows that Biehl has a skeptical attitude towards the monarch, despite being a royalist, and to the excesses associated with masquerade. Despite belonging to similar Danish-speaking social circles, Biehl and Suhm were in opposite camps in court politics; yet each associated masquerade with the individuals they disliked, and seem to imply that the individual's immorality is confirmed by the predilection for masquerades.

Den forklædte Maler

Biehl's writing is an example of the link between attitudes about the practice of masquerade in eighteenth-century society and its depiction in literature. While Biehl's historical letters are still valued for their insight into Danish history, it was her literary work that brought her fame in her own lifetime. Though she did not include many details about specific historical masquerades or elaborate upon how they were conducted in her historical writings, in her fictional literary oeuvre we have an expansive illustration of how masquerade conventions might be misused for immoral intentions. Biehl's *Moralske Fortællinger (Moral Tales)* were published in four volumes in 1781-1782, and in the second volume the tale *Den forklædte Maler* (*The Disguised Painter*) includes several references to masquerade and a scene in which a masked ball leads to the heroine's

[121] Translation: "continual yearning for pleasure trips, balls, plays, masquerades and all possible varieties of entertainments."
[122] Translation: "field battle"

abduction.[123] Anne-Marie Mai describes the late 18th-century Danish moral tale as a genre aimed towards a primarily bourgeois audience, and therefore written in the vernacular Danish rather than the German or French preferred by the nobility or much of the upper class (232, 239). Though in many of the tales the characters are from the upper echelons of society, as is the case in *Den forklædte Maler*, the didactic aims of the tale are more in line with petty-bourgeois values. Marianne Alenius writes of the *Moralske Fortællinger* that they feature language that clearly marks "den rette vej" for the heroes and heroines and that they play to a desire for justice and an aversion to inconstancy, but that "først og fremmest tages småborgerlighedens forargelse for givet (Alenius 107)."[124] Given this tendency, combined with the general disinclination towards masquerades noted in Biehl's historical letters, it is not surprising that in *Den forklædte Maler* we do not see the same sort of trivialization of concerns about the potential dangers of masquerade that were common in the comedies discussed in Chapter Two.

There are also some distinctions regarding the setting of this text as opposed to the comedies; rather than being set in a primarily urban milieu in the author's own country as the comedies were, most of *Den forklædte Maler* is set amongst the gentry in rural England and Scotland, though brief sojourns in London, Edinburgh and in Southern

[123] The *Moralske Fortællinger* were published by subscription; *Den forklædte Maler* is found in the second volume. Biehl stated directly in an address to the readers at the end in the fourth volume that one reason for writing the tales was "*at kunde paa en anstændig Maade vinde min Underholdning*" Translation: to be able to support myself in a respectable way. See Biehl, "*Till Læseren!*" (To the reader!) In: *Moralske Fortællinger*.København, 1781. Online facsimile. Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur. Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab og Det Kongelige Bibliotek.<http://adl.dk/adl_pub/pg/cv/ShowPgImg.xsql?nnoc=adl_pub&p_udg_id=394&p_sider=159> 2 April 2011.

[124] Translations: "the right path"; "First and foremost petty-bourgeois indignation is taken for granted."

Europe also occur. It is not known whether Biehl ever left even the island of Zealand, and it was only occasionally that she even left Copenhagen. Despite this, she was exceptionally well-read in several languages and active as a professional translator;[125] there is evidence that she was familiar with the English writers Joseph Addison, Richard Steel and Edward Young, and particularly with Samuel Richardson,[126] though probably in translation, and this familiarity no doubt contributed to her interest in trying this setting in her writing. The geographic displacements in *Den forklædte Maler* not only appeal to her audience's interest in foreign or exotic locales, but also reinforce the perception of masquerade as a foreign element in Danish culture. The genre distinction is also significant; classical theatrical restrictions on the unity of time and space were of course not concerns for a prose tale, with the result that the climactic masked ball scene does not take up as much of the actual plot in *Den forklædte Maler* as in the comedies, even in comparison to the comedies where the masquerade is only discussed rather than shown on stage. On the other hand, the prose genre also allows the author to present the reader more information on the thoughts of the participants of the masquerade as they interact with each other, as will be seen.

The basic background of the story, as in *Mascarade*, *Der Geheimnißvolle* and, to a lesser extent, *Der grüne Domino*, once again features a plotline of two fathers, Sir Buttler and Sir Mellisch, who are close friends and plan to have their children marry each other. The difference in the case of *Den forklædte Maler* is that the children have grown

[125] See the introduction by Marianne Alenius in: Biehl, Charlotta Dorothea. *Mit ubetydelige Levnets Løb.* (1787) Ed. Marianne Alenius. København: Museum Tusculanum, 1999. 9.
[126] Alenius *Brev til eftertiden.* 88-89. Richardson's *Pamela* was translated into Danish by Barthold Johan Lodde in 1743-1746. Castle analyzes masquerade abduction scenes in works by both Addison and Richardson.

up close to each other, therefore know each other very well, and have a relationship that is repeatedly described as sibling-like. Unlike Jeronimus and Leonard from *Mascarade* or Sclangendorf and Bärenfeld in *Der Geheimnißvolle,* though, these men are clever enough to realize "at unge Mennesker ved slige Tilfælde gierne vil have Vanskeligheder at bestride," and so therefore do not inform the children of their hopes (Biehl 163).[127] Young William Buttler and Julie Mellisch, whose ages are first mentioned as being 15 and 13, respectively, therefore fall in love on their own, without any masquerade influence. It is only when Sir Buttler decides to send William off on the Grand Tour that the prospective couple must finally face challenges in their relationship.

It is during the preparations for William's travels that masked balls are first mentioned. In a scene that recalls the tradition of advice manuals for young men making their way in the world, such as Julius Bernhard von Rohr's *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft*, Sir Mellisch lectures William at length about what to see and do, and with whom he should associate. He tells his friend's sons to write letters to his father about architecture, business, and food, to tell him about the people he meets, and to his sister Constance and to Julie about "Moderne, Fruentimmerne, Skuespillene, Masquerader, Baller, Concerte og alt sligt… (195).[128] In comparison with the weighty topics deemed appropriate for correspondence with men, the implication is that these are more frivolous topics and should be reserved for the women. The statement indicates that it is a given both that William will attend these sorts of events, and that the young women will be interested in

[127] Translation: "that young people in such cases prefer to have difficulties to contest."
[128] Translation: "fashions, women, actors, masquerades, balls, concerts and all such things." Note that Sir Mellisch also distinguishes between people in general (*Mennesker*) and women (*Fruentimmer*) as distinct topics for his letter writing.

hearing about them.[129] Importantly, the naming of the masked ball is directly preceded by a bit of advice from Sir Mellisch regarding the observations William should make about the people he encounters. Sir Mellisch wants William to report on "hvorledes du finder dem [folk], naar Masquen tages af, Hof-Folkene undtagen; thi det lønner sig ikke Umagen, siden de til alle Tider og paa alle Steder ere sig selv saa liige, at den, der har kiendt een, kiender dem alle" (195).[130] The decision to send young William off on the grand tour is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that Sirs Buttler and Mellisch had decided against sending him to university – at Cambridge or "Oxfort," as Biehl spelled it – believing that students would be a bad influence on him;[131] essentially Biehl describes Sirs Buttler and Mellisch as facing something of a choice between two evils, and the lesser is determined to be exposure to the dissembling courtiers in Europe.

For Rohr the masquerade was a necessary evil, something to be endured almost as a duty rather than enjoyed. In Sir Mellisch's advice to William, though, the masked ball seems coded as an innocent, pleasurable pastime appropriate for young women like his sister and Julie. The interesting aspect of Mellisch's particular statement is his assessment of courtly society. As we have seen from the *Historiske Breve,* Biehl dismissal via Sir Mellisch's statement about "European courtiers" as a homogenous group stands in contrast to the notion he expresses that people can be observed to behave differently with and without their "masks." Yet such statements condemning the

[129] Castle writes that "for the eighteenth-century Londoner the idea of the masquerade, with its erotic, riotous, and enigmatic associations, was at least as compelling as the actual event." Castle *Masquerade and Civilization* 3.
[130] Translation: "how you find people when the mask has been taken off, except for people at court; because it isn't worth the trouble, since they at all times and in all places are so alike, that if you have known one, you have known them all."
[131] Biehl, *Den forklædte Maler* 171.

"courtiers" is problematic coming from Sir Mellisch, who is himself a titled, wealthy individual; clearly absent from his field of vision are the lower classes, who remain marginal, anonymous figures in this text.[132] At the same time, however, it should be noted that even amongst some members of the British nobility, the royal court itself could be considered an immoral site of deception and betrayal; a prominent adherent of this view was Caroline Mathilde's widowed mother, Princess Augusta, who had her children brought up in relative isolation with as little influence as possible from their grandparents, King George II and Queen Caroline, and the rest of the court. Caroline Mathilde thus grew up at the castles Carlton House and Kew, rather than "in town" and had minimal exposure to public or court festivals – especially ones like masquerades – until the period immediately preceding her marriage to Christian and after her arrival in Denmark.[133] She certainly did not participate in the famous public masquerades at Haymarket, Ranelagh or Vauxhall that would later be connected to her birthday masquerade and the open night gardens of the Struensee period.

Sir Buttler's references to masked ball and masquerade may be foreshadowing for the text's own masked ball, but it is at quite a narrative distance. More than three quarters of the total, eventful text follow this conversation: in them William is presumed dead in a shipwreck during his travels, and Julie travels to Italy with her father, where she marries her cousin, Mylord Wentworth. William's unexpected reappearance on the scene back in

[132] This is in contrast to Holberg, Schlegel and, as will be seen, La Roche: Holberg's and Schlegel's servant characters have names and play important roles in *Mascarade, De Usynlige* and *Der Geheimnißvolle*. La Roche's herione's relationships with Rosine, her servant, and the other members of Rosine's family, as well as with the poor family in Scotland who take her in later, are entirely positively coded in *Das Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*. The tutor is an exception.

[133] See Bregnsbo 18-22.

England causes a crisis for all parties, but Julie, playing true to her role as the heroine of a "moral tale," informs him that his claims of her unfaithfulness are unmerited,

> thi jeg har aldrig lovet Dem at blive Deres, uden paa de Vilkaar, at min Fader biefaldt og samtykkede vores Foreening. Alt hvad jeg altsaa kunde giøre, da min Fader sagde mig, at han havde bestemt min Haand til min Fætter, var at sette mig blot for hans Irettesettelser og Vrede ved at tilstaae ham, at jeg uden hans Villie og Vidende havde givet Dem mit Hierte … (264).[134]

She then denies William's request to reconfirm her love for him, saying that to do so would be to "træde baade Dyden og Sandheden for nær. Jeg elsker min Mand…" (ibid).[135] Julie's emphasis on virtue and truth and her passivee acceptance of a paternally assigned spouse show her within gender stereotypes of late eighteenth-century women (Hausen 367ff). Her fidelity to her father and husband will and must trump any promises she made to William. William's refusal to accept her moral arguments turns him into a villainous, iniquitous character, and his behavior only becomes more reprehensible as he surrenders to his passions.

Despite Julie's rejection of him, William desperately – and secretly – follows Julie and her husband to Scotland. Upon his arrival in Edinburgh, he learns that there are plans for "en stor Fest, hvorved der skulde være et Fyrværkerie….det skulde sees fra

---

[134] Translation: "For I never promised to be yours except for under the condition that my father approved and agreed to our union. All I could do then, when my father told me, that he had decided to give my hand to my cousin, was to expose myself for his corrections and anger by confessing to him, that I had given you my heart without his desire or knowledge."

[135] ibid. Translation: "would be to encroach upon both virtue and truth. I love my husband." According to Mai, Biehl had been inspired by C. F. Gellert's *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G* ("…för unga och oerfarana peroner av mitt kön" 466).

Mylord W…s store Lystgaard hvor Ballet var for alle velklædte Masquer" (290).[136] William disguises himself in a skipper uniform and, using the pretence of delivering a letter from his sister, manages to speak to Julie at the Wentworth country house. Julie is so concerned about finding out the contents of the letter that she opens it "uden at kaste Øynene paa Overbringeren eller at give Agt paa, at han blev staaende" (291).[137] The letter turns out to be a suicide threat from William, who throws himself at her feet. Julie rejects his overtures again and, after he has called her false and unfaithful, tells him that she deserves these names, because "disse [Navne] allene har kundet hindre Fornuften fra at vise Dem, med hvilken Afskye og Skræk jeg maatte see Dem her i en Forklædning, der er høyst fornærmelig baade for Dem og mig" (291-292).[138] In other words, Julie berates William first for dressing as a skipper, rather than for violating her request that he not visit her at all or even for threatening to kill himself. He has not only misrepresented himself with the disguise and used it to gain access to her, but has also, she implies, denigrated both of them with the choice of disguise, which is below their social standing. In contrast to Abgrund's strange disguises in *Der Gehimnißvolle,* there is nothing humorous about William's behavior here. Grievous sins such as suicide and adultery are sidelined to the danger of sartorial transgression. Outside of the context of a masked ball — or a comedy –, this sort of dressing-down masquerade is simply not sanctioned, as it implies a lack of stability in the social status quo.

---

[136] Translation: "a large festival, at which there would be fireworks… which would be viewed from Mylord W's large country house where there was [to be] a ball for all well-dressed masks."
[137] Translation: "without casting her gaze upon the bearer or noticing that he still stood there."
[138] Translation: "for these [names, ie characteristics] alone have been able to prevent reason from showing you, with what disgust and horror I must see you here in a disguise that is highly insulting to both you and me."

Julie has rejected him yet again, and insists that he stay away from her until he is ready to accept that they will be friends rather than lovers, but William is still not ready to give up. On the way out he meets her chambermaid with her masquerade costume and decides immediately to "tage Deel i denne Fornøyelse for under Masquen at sige sin kiere Julie endnu engang Far vel" (294).[139] He has said that the sight of Julie's face is his only happiness in life, but the sight of her mask is too much for him to resist, and encourages him to further transgressions. Rather than wearing a sailor costume to the masked ball, however, he arranges to have "en meget [z?]iirlig Domino med al dens Tilbehør, og befalede tillige sine Folk at holde alting i Beredskab til at kunde lette Anker, hvad Øyeblik han kom om Borde" (294).[140] Returning to the message about character in relation to class made earlier by Sir Mellisch as well as Julie's comment about his sailor disguise, it is worth noting here that William's social position is privileged, given that he has "Folk" to help him in his plans. William has become like Leander, a figure with an obsessive passion; but unlike the comic Leander, William's passion is not related to the playful game of a masked ball—rather, he plans to "misuse" the masquerade to follow his obsession, which has already been shown to be inappropriate and immoral.

Because he has seen her mask and costume on his way out of her house (though they are sadly not described in the text), William is able to recognize Julie immediately upon entering the masked ball. He approaches her, but sees "at en anden Domino Masque

[139] Translation: "participate in this entertainment so as to say farewell to his dear Julie once more under the mask."
[140] The word assumed to be "ziirlig" is unclear in the facsimile. Translation: "a very elegant Domino with all of its accessories, and commanded at the same time his people to keep everything ready to weigh anchor whatever moment he came on board."

var forekommet ham*"* (294).[141] William does not recognize the other domino, but learns from eavesdropping on Julie's conversation with the other Domino that it is her husband - who has likewise beat him to the punch in marrying Julie. In the context of the rules of the game, William's inside information disrupts the functions of Julie and Wentworth's masks, and he is able to take advantage of this to come into contact with Julie, though she has asked him to keep away from her. He approaches them and asks to dance with Julie, who "paa Øyeblikket kiendte ham" and tries to excuse herself (ibid).[142] This scenario demonstrates the complexities of the convention of anonymity at masquerades, and participants' ability to decipher the disguised bodies of their fellow participants. Julie's ability to recognize William despite his mask and domino suggests how even this blank-slate style of costume could not prevent well-known people, or people well known to each other, from being recognized based on characteristics such as their body shape, posture or manner of movement. In terms of the relationships between the characters, this scene of recognition underscores their past intimacy.

William continues to pressure Julie to dance and though Julie recognizes him, her husband does not. The conventions of the masked ball and her concerns about how William's behavior might discredit both of them prevent her from revealing to others the identity of the man her husband calls "denne artige Masque*"* (295).[143] Wentworth therefore unwittingly encourages Julie to dance with William, whom he has never met, lest she appear to spoil the mood of the party. Julie obeys immediately, once again demonstrating a subservient, passive femininity. William cannot resist making a

[141] Translation: "another mask had come before him."
[142] Translation: "immediately recognized him."
[143] Translation: "this clever mask."

comment to Wenworth, bitterly thanking him for the help, which causes Wentworth to become suspicious. As Wentworth's perspective comes to the forefront in the narrative, William can only be known as "denne Masque" (ibid)[144]; the search for the identity of the unknown Domino becomes Wentworth's own obsession, as he follows his wife and the mask and observes "alle Deres Bevægelser" (ibid).[145] After Julie rejects William yet again, and Wentworth observes that she pushes into the crowd rather than rejoining him, and therefore concludes that she "jo kiendte Masquen" (296).[146] He therefore has "the mask" followed; the servant charged with the task reports that the mask went to the shore, removed his domino and put on skipper's clothes. In this disguise William watches the fireworks from the crowd, hoping to see Julie "endnu en gang" which he does – but he also witnesses how the fireworks go awry and start a fire in the house.[147] He rescues her from the flames, and then abducts her to his ship.

Though none of the characters voice any doubts about the propriety of the masked ball, the events speak for themselves. The masked ball here is first of all a place of deception and confusion, but more importantly a space in which obsessions are developed or driven to their extremes. Sir Mellisch uses the metaphor of unmasking for revelations about individual character; but in this case, it is the occasion of wearing a mask that allows William to indulge his obsession in the most extreme way, revealing immoral behavior and escalating his pursuit of Julie past simple pleas to an extreme act of physical, not just psychological, transgression. The effects of this masquerade scenario

[144] Translation: "this mask."
[145] Translation: "All their movements."
[146] Translation: "Indeed knew the mask."
[147] Translation: "once more."

are on the opposite end of the spectrum from what was seen in the comedies; there is no happy ending for the young lovers who "chose" each other, the young woman is married to the man chosen first and foremost by her father and the young man's desires are thwarted, leading him to not only transgress social norms by continuing to express them but also to commit a criminal act.

The destructive chaos of the masquerade extends further in this tale, as it often did in comedies. The "disguised painter" of the title is Mylord Wentworth, who uses the ruse of being an Italian artist with a foreign name to "forskaffe sig Adgang til de Fornemme, uden at blive kiendt af dem" (302).[148] In this way, he hopes to get information about where William is keeping Julie captive. Wentworth performs a kind of "Ethnic Drag", blacking his eyebrows and covering his light brown hair with a black wig, "hvorved han blev sig selv saa uliig, at hans Kone kunde seet ham uden at fatte Mistanke om hvem han var." (302).[149] These statements about the strength of Wentworth's disguise can be related to William's skipper disguise and domino. While Julie did not initially recognize William in the skipper disguise, this was mainly because she did not look closely at him in his dressed-down disguise; she was, however, able to recognize him immediately in the domino. Therefore the suggestion, that Julie would be unable to recognize her own husband simply because his eyebrows were dark and he was wearing a wig is remarkable. Biehl could be indicating that these markers of ethnic identity would have been so overwhelming as to completely blind others to Wentworth's identity, or possibly she is

[148] Translation: "procure access to the noble circles without being recognized by them."
[149] Translation: "with which he became so unlike himself that his wife could have seen him without being suscpicious about who he was." See Kathrin Sieg's seminal work on Ethnic Drag for more information on this concept.

implying that Julie is, after all, more attuned to William's body than Wentworth's. In either case, it is meant to be clear that Wentworth is successful in obscuring his identity as he seeks to rescue his wife.

A rather convoluted plot involving William's sister, her suitor Mylord G… and William's former tutor Johan eventually leads Wentworth to his goal, and he is hired to paint a portrait of his own wife while disguised as the Italian artist. Before he can even begin, though, he eavesdrops on a conversation between Julie and William while hiding in a cupboard, during which she reconfirms her love for her husband, whose child she says she is carrying, and scolds William for abducting her. Wenworth steps forward – still disguised as a painter—and assures his wife that he does not doubt her innocence, and the pair is happily reunited after Julie overcomes her *"*Møye*"* in recognizing him in his wig and costume. The couple offers William their friendship in exchange for his *"*Tab*,"* and they return to Scotland, where a son is born as "Pandt*"* of their love (314, 316).[150] William's sister marries Mylord G, and William marries Mylord G's sister, and the tale concludes with reassurances of the happiness of all parties involved. The symmetrical pairings and the resolution of loose ends through marriage are typical of Enlightenment didactic literature, as is the concluding message that "Overgivelsen til voldsomme Sindslidelser styrter Mennesket i de største Vildfarelser og Laster, og at en heftig Tilbøyelighed ikke fortiener Navn af Kierlighed, saa snart den strider imod Pligt og Fornuft" (319).[151] In contrast to the plot of the masquerade comedies discussed in

[150] Translations: "difficulties," "loss," "token"
[151] Translation: "Surrendering to violent emotions plunges man into the greatest delusions and vices, and strong inclination does not deserve the name of love, as soon as it contradicts duty and reason." "Sindslidelser" implies mental disorders in modern Danish.

Chapter Two, Biehl's tale emphasizes the dangers of letting personal inclination guide decisions about such important matters as marriage, and masquerade and disguise are primarily evidence of a lack of control and disregard for social norms. Mylord Wenworth's use of disguise shows that this type of deception can be "used" for good, but it depends upon intention and context; his cunning is employed for the greater good and it results in the consolidation of a desirable social dynamic. Wentworth would not have had to resort to this deception if not for William's deceptions, whose "dressing down" as a sailor and his abuse of the conventions of masquerade to gain access to Julie disrupt . The main characters are ultimately freed from the dangers of masquerade and safely ensconced in their happily married, affluent lives.

Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim

Biehl considered the writing of *Moralske Fortællinger* to be a respectable way to earn money, and she was also widely known in Denmark for her comedies and translations, but her German contemporary Sophie von La Roche was not initially as eager for publicity. La Roche's 1771 epistolary novel *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* was originally published anonymously, with many assuming that the hugely successful book's publisher and editor, her friend and former fiancé Christoph Martin Wieland, was the author. Before long, however, La Roche was acknowledged as its author and it made her the most famous female German writer of the era (Becker-Cantarino, 381). As with Biehl's *Moralske Fortællinger*, *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* has a clearly didactic purpose and the heroine is a paragon of virtue. Masquerade and disguise feature prominently in the plot of the novel, but their roles are

ambiguous, with characters using them with both moral and immoral intentions, and with both positive and negative consequences.

The novel's heroine, Sophie von Sternheim, is the daughter of an officer and his friend Baron P's sister. While the literary texts examined until now have featured romantic pairings of people from the same social circles, the relationship between Oberst von Sternheim and his wife is the first one under consideration that features a relationship across class lines, albeit lines that are quite thin, especially from the perspective of modern readers. Sternheim comes from a bourgeois background – his father was a Professor in "W"– and is raised into the nobility by a general who tells him: "Ihr Verdienst, nicht das Glück hat sie erhoben." *(*19). His wife, however, is the daughter of a German Baron from an old *Adelsfamilie* and his first wife, an English *"Lady Watson*, die er auf seiner Gesandtschaft in England geheiratet" (20). When the young Baron P learns of the mutual attraction between his older half sister and his dear friend, he must convince his mother and particularly his other sister, Charlotte, to overcome their prejudices about "Heiraten außer Stand" (32). The product of this marriage, the daughter Sophie, is the heroine of the novel, and is perceived as a "halb-bürgerlich," a status which Margit Langer contends La Roche uses in her critique of the nobility, especially the courtly nobility (34). Sophie von Sternheim is presented as an idealized, virtuous young woman, and she is clearly intended as a moral role model.

After both of her parents have died, Sternheim, as she is known, must leave the country home in which she was raised and live with her aunt Charlotte and her husband, Graf Löbau, in the town "D." Helga Shutte Watt details how Sternheim's arrival in town

also initiates her into the world of fashion, as her "worldly and designing aunt… has her dressed and coifed according to the latest style." (146). Sternheim's father had previously had her dress in her late mother's simple clothes, which her aunt deems "aus der Mode." (La Roche 63). While her aunt is worried about having Sternheim make her appearance (*Erscheinung),* Sternheim herself worries about appearing less like her idolized mother, and says: "Gott verhüte, daß diese Unähnlichkeit ja niemals weiter als die Kleidung gehe!" (ibid). These early remarks set the stage for Sternheim to be dressed according to the desires of others, and suggest a belief that clothing might actually affect the person, rather than merely reflect the person's characteristics – a quite literal understanding of clothes making the man, or rather woman. In this case, the clothes not only influence the way others perceive an individual, but clothes also also thought to exercise an influence on the individual wearing them.

This point brings me back to some of the considerations mentioned in Chapter One. If clothes really do make the man, then might putting on the guise of a different character influence you or change you into that character? Clearly this was not possible in a physical sense, but when so much was at stake based on a person's appearance and performance of social roles, then the ability to switch roles that the masquerade temporarily provided highlighted the arbitrariness of the status quo, but also required the participant to give careful consideration to their choice of mask and costume. Peter Henningsen writes that this social structure that assigned each person a role "kunne ændres, hvis aktørerne ikke længere ville finde sig i deres roller. Det blev særlig tydeligt i den sidste halvdel af 1700-tallet, hvor aktørerne – særligt de borgerlige og de rurale

statister – begyndte at gøre oprør mod den rolle, som de var blevet tildelt i enevældens politiske teater" (Henningsen 342).[152] It was not just those in absolutist monarchies, nor just the bourgeoisie or peasants who felt a need to escape from their assigned roles, but members of all of these social groups to varying degrees, as the case of masquerade demonstrates. While each masquerade itself was fleeting and contained, the frequency and enthusiasm with which they were hosted and the number of participants testify to some level of dissatisfaction with the requirements of everyday roles.

Sternheim makes several other statements throughout the novel on the potential ability of clothing to influence a person's behavior, in particular when she is dressed in the "Kleidung eines Alpenmädchens" for a festival on the country estate of Graf F** (146). The description of the festival as related in letters by the English Lords Derby and Seymour as well as by Sternheim makes it clear that the festival falls under the category of a *Bauernwirtschaft*, one of the types of *Verkleidungsbanketten* mentioned in Chapter One that were predecessors to masked balls. While Schnitzer explains that the participants usually drew lots for roles at these events, Rohr writes that the main point of the game is: "daß man die Personen nach ihren *Statur*en, Sprache, Alter, natürlichen Geschicklichkeit und anderen äußerlichen Umständen wohl zu *choisir*en wisse, und einem ieden denjenigen *Character* beylegen wozu er sich dem Ansehen nach am natürlichsten schickt" (Schnitzer 196, Rohr *Grossen Herren* 828). Rohr's emphasis on the goal of achieving an unaffected portrayal of characters speaks to the degree to which

[152] Translation: "could be changed, if the actors were no longer satified with their roles. This became particularly clear in the second half of the 1700's, when the actors – especially the bourgeois and the rural supernumeraries – began to rebel against the role they had been assigned in absolutism's political theater."

the everyday social roles were also understood as a performance, and indicates how the *Wirtschaften* were conceptually related to the *theatrum mundi* notions of acknowledging the arbitrariness of social position, for the lessons of the *Wirtschaften* ultimately had to with individual acceptance of the allotted roles in everyday life. At the same time, the "natürlich" performance of roles that Rohr prescribes is symptomatic of the discourse surrounding the transition from baroque to Enlightenment-styles of stage acting, from "'künstlichen' zum 'natürlichen' Zeichen,'" as summarized by Erika Fischer-Lichte (*Semiotik Band 2* 91ff). Not only are the participants' physical appearance and performance of roles important for the success of the *Wirtschaft*, but the entire environment of the festival is arranged and designed - staged - to give a unified impression. In the case of the festival in *Sternheim,* peasant houses, benches, and the like are constructed in order to fulfill the wishes of the host, who, in this case, "ein Landfest vorstellen wollte." (146). Johann Elias Schlegel wrote of such events that "Alles Vergnügen, welches man bey dieser Vorstellung empfindet, ensteht daher, daß sie einer Bauernwirtschaft zwar ähnlich, doch schöner ist" (*Schriften* 14). For Sternheim, the aesthetics of the event's organization are tied directly to the performative ones. Sternheim writes to her friend Emilia that she is pleased with her "ländlichen Ansehen," and that she wishes "daß, wenn ich auch diese Kleidung wieder abgelegt haben würde, doch immer reine Unschuld und unverfälschte Güte meines Herzens den Grund einer heitern wahren Freude in meiner Seele erhalten möchte!*"* (147). Sternheim is convinced of clothing's power of association, believing that merely putting on the appearance of innocence and goodness can effect her own personality.

However, Sternheim's idealist interpretation of peasantry and country life are at odds with the intentions of the hosts and organizers of the event. On the one hand, La Roche contrasts Sternheim's innocence and sincere interest in country life to the constructed, courtly imitation of peasantry; Sternheim takes note of a group of actual *"*Landleuten, die wir vorstellten*"* including *"*viele arme und kummerhafte Gestalten*"* and attempts to discreetly make a donation to the local pastor for their benefit (148). Others, however, interpret her absence as an occasion for a rendezvous with the prince. Sternheim is namely unaware of a fact that is an open secret amongst all others at the party: that her aunt and uncle are plotting to make her the prince's mistress to help their own financial and social situation. She thus does not understand, as Wieland explains in a note, that it is not truly due to chance that she is assigned to sit next to the Fürst. The "Glück" that assigns social positions in the courtly perspective of *theatrum mundi* is not in play here, though this is a purported rule of the game of a *Wirtschaft*, but has been manipulated according to the desires of the prince. This seating arrangement for the prince and a young woman of Sternheim's social position would have been unusual under other circumstances, but the "Möglichkeiten der Zeremoniellreduzierung" were one of the functions of *Verkleidungsbanketten* (Schnitzer 226). Not only did any *Wirtschaft*'s rearrangement of the everyday social positions permit participants to interact in different ways, but Schnitzer explains that the peasant theme specifically drew upon clichés about peasant behavior to allow "bei aller Einschränkung größtmöglichen Spielraum für unhöfische Verhaltensweisen zur Verfügung" (227). The peasant was considered to be "frei von jeglicher gezierter Manier und fungierte mithin als kontrastierendes Pendant des

Höflings" (ibid); though Sternheim privileges the peasant over the courtiers in this dichotomy based on her perception of their virtue, the courtiers clearly look down upon the people they are imitating, and the Fürst especially sees the act of playing the peasant role as an opportunity to approach Sternheim in a way that would otherwise violate the rules of courtly society.

While Sternheim takes naïve pleasure in the country atmosphere, the machinations of the immoral court proceed as usual. Seymour writes in his letter relating the events of this *Wirtschaft* that the festival was nominally given by the minister of the court for the nobility, "oder vielmehr der Fürst gab unter den Namen des Grafen F** dem Fräulein von Sternheim eine Fête auf dem Lande" (143). The use of words like *Nachahmung, bezeichnen* and *vorstellen* throughout the accounts of the festival indicate that it is a travesty; it is neither an authentic peasant country festival nor is it merely entertainment for the nobility, but rather it is an elaborate attempt to seduce Sternheim. Seymour recounts his deep disappointment with the attitude of his uncle, the English ambassador to the court, who tells him that he sees "die Aufopferung der Tugend eines Mädchens zu Befriedigung der Leidenschaft eines Großen für eine sehr wenig bedeutende Kleinigkeit" (145). Seymour, however, has fallen in love with Sternheim, and explains that he would not be so disturbed about her being sacrificed this way if she were "ein gemeines Mädchen mit Papageien-Schönheit und Papageien-Verstand," thus emphasizing his perception of Sternheim as a unique, authentic woman, as opposed to the stereotypical women at court (ibid). The parrot, as a classic metaphor for mimicry, adds to the emphasis on the discrepancy between appearance and reality.

In addition to the many references to this discrepancy and the three letters describing the artificial peasant festival of the *Wirtschaft*, La Roche has her characters employ mask metaphors to comment on the false appearance and fictitious motivations of the nobility. Sternheim had earlier reflected on the splendid decorations of the churches and the hypocrisy of the wealthy, writing "kein Laster darf ohne Maske erschienen" (110). Seymour echoes this sentiment in relationship to the plans for Sternheim when he writes: "Sie soll zur linken Hand vermählt worden sein. Elende lächerliche Larve, eine verstellte Tugend vor Schande sicher zu stellen!" (145). This attitude towards masks shows the clear influence on La Roche of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's, particularly that of *Émile,* where he for example writes: "Private interest, which in case of conflict necessarily prevails over everything, teaches everyone to adorn vice with the mask of virtue" (314-315). In his description of the project of teaching the child Émile to understand the deceptive tendencies of individuals living in society, as opposed to his sheltered upbringing, Rousseau writes:

> But let him see that society depraves and perverts men; let him find in their prejudices the source of all their vices; let him be inclined to esteem each individual but despise the multitude; let him see that all men wear pretty much the same mask, but let him also know that there are faces more beautiful than the mask covering them (237).

The problem for Sternheim is that, up to now, she has not been exposed to the sorts of prejudices and vices that her aunt and uncle, the Fürst and Derby are concealing; unfortunately, whatever beauty might be hidden beneath their masks is well concealed

indeed. The many instances of dressing up and mask metaphors culminate in the central scene of the novel: the masked ball organized to celebrate the prince's birthday, but also, as Derby says, in order to make Sternheim "durch Ball-Lustbarkeiten eher biegsam und nachgebend" (184). The previous attempts at seducing the unwitting Sternheim having failed, in other words, the prince must resort to more potent means to succeed in corrupting her, and the choice falls on the masked ball.

When Sternheim reports in a letter on the preparations for the upcoming masked ball, it is clear that she has once again failed to understand the purpose behind the court event, even though she knows that she is expected to speak to the prince about her uncle's case at the masked ball. Her sheltered upbringing, away from the German nobility and even the English background to which she feels connected, means that Sternheim is ill-equipped to understand the nuances of the situation. She focuses on the preparations for the ball – "ein jedes will sinnreich und gefällig gekleidet sein*"* – and she gets caught up in the purported appreciation for demonstrations of *Erfindungskraft* in the choice and execution of costume ideas (180-181). Sternheim readily accepts the explanation that "Hof- und Stadtleute werden dazu geladen, es soll eine Nachahmung der englischen Maskenbälle zu Vauxhall werden" (181). The invitation of *Stadtleute,* as opposed to the more exclusive selection of guests as the *Wirtschaft,* is meant to help the comparison to the public masked balls at Vauxhall in England. At the same time, the specific connection to England is intended to appeal to Sternheim, whose English heritage is frequently commented upon by other figures in the novel. Clearly Sternheim does not know much about the masked balls in England, which Castle writes were

reputed to "encourage female sexual freedom, and beyond that, female emancipation generally" (33).

Yet such open masquerades were not uncommon in the German lands, either. In previous generations at the Stuttgart court, it was not so much that Herzog Eberhard Ludvig or Herzog Karl Alexander invited the bourgeoisie as that they demanded that a wider range of their subjects attend the Redoute. Eberhard Ludvig's *Karnevalsordnung* of January 10, 1719 stated: "es solle sowol denen Hof- als Kanzleibedienten wie auch Kauf- und anderen ehrbaren Bürgersleuten angesagt werden hierdurch bekannt gemacht seyn, sich auf der Redoute bei Vermeidung des Herrn Ungnande fleißig einzufinden" (cited in Fleischbauer 3). Fleischbauer writes that the "bürgerlichen Zwangsgästen nur die Rolle der Statisten zugemessen war," and through her background in Baden-Württemberg and at various courts, La Roche may have been aware of this aspect of some of the more open masquerades (5). The *Stadtleute* participants at the masked ball in the novel likewise remain outside of the action; they are only important for creating the illusion of equality that Sternheim appreciates.

With apologies for the pun, Sternheim seems to take the positive interpretation of the masked ball at "face value;" she buys into the "philosophic game" without acknowledging what Holberg did, namely that abuse of masquerade could also occur. Sternheim writes:

> Ich bekenne, daß der ganze Entwurf etwas Angenehmes für mich hat; einmal, weil ich das Bild der römischen Saturnalien, die ich Gleichheitsfeste nennen möchte, sehen werde, und dann, weil ich mir ein großes Vergnügen aus der

> Betrachtung verspreche, den Grad der Stärke und Schönheit der Einbildungskraft so vieler Personen in ihren verschiedenen Erfindungen und Auswählen der Kleidungen zu bemerken (La Roche 188).

Innocent Sternheim emphasizes the aesthetic appeal of the costumes, the physical pleasure of dancing, and also the celebration of equality that she believes to be present in the masked ball. Sternheim's biography gives her a personal stake in seeing congenial interaction between members of different social groups. Derby, Sophie's aunt and uncle, the prince and the other conspirators, however, see the masked ball as the ideal site to seduce Sternheim, a setting in which their immoral behavior will not be out of place.

When it comes to the details of the masked ball itself, La Roche provides, via Sternheim and Derby, detailed descriptions of several costumes, something that is lacking in the majority of eighteenth-century texts that feature masked balls. Their differing perspectives on the costumes they describe moreover build upon the discrepancies between Sternheim's understanding of the positive potential of masquerade and the way it is practiced by the people surrounding her. Sternheim explains that:

> Der Graf F**, sein Nepote, mein Oncle, meine Tante und ich werden eine Truppe spanischer Musikanten vorstellen, die des Nachts auf die Straße ziehn, um vor den Häuser etwas zu ersingen. Der Gedanke ist artig, unsere Kleidung in Carmoisi mit schwarzem Taft, sehr schön…
>
> (La Roche 181).

This themed group costume and the plan to perform music is an example of the way that masked ball was a site of performance for the participants, but it is this aspect of it that

worries Sternheim. She is reluctant to appear vain about her singing voice, but is unaware that so much more is at stake. From Derby we learn a detail that is evidently kept from Sternheim, namely that the prince has paid for the costumes and jewelry and will himself wear a "venetianischen Mantel" in the same colors (184-185). Derby also provides more information about the appearance of the group, writing that Sternheim's aunt was dressed as an old woman carrying a lantern, Graf F** played bass violin, Löbau a flute, and Sternheim a lute. Sternheim is put on display here, singing and unwittingly playing the role of a prince's mistress in this public setting, and Derby's description of her and his reaction to the scene is erotically charged. Her hair is down, in "fliegenden nachlässigen Locken verbreitet," and he describes her costume as alternately highlighting different aspects of her body as she performs. She is wearing a half mask, which leaves her mouth ("den schönsten Mund") exposed as "ihre Eigenliebe bemühte sich die Schönheit ihrer Stimme zu aller Zauberkraft der Kunst zu erhöhen" (185). Because Sternheim knows only the most superficial details of the masked ball, she does not fully anticipate its darker side. This lack of understanding about the conventions of behavior at the masked ball and the ways they can be abused reflects her general innocence and naiveté about the ways of court and the plans of her unscrupulous relatives. Ironically, the masked ball serves as the scene at which their motivations will be revealed; it occurs at the novel's halfway point and is, as Christa Baguss Britt writes, the novel's "point of no return" (20). The end of this episode marks the break between the two parts of the novel, and signals a complete change of lifestyle for Sternheim.

Though the prince is intended to be the primary target of Sternheim's performance, there are obviously many participants of the masquerade who witness it, and their presence and interaction with each other lead to unexpected results. Derby, who proves to be the real villain of the novel, is actually disappointed by the effect of her costume. He writes:

> ohne Maske war meine Sternheim allezeit das Bild der sittlichen Schönheit, indem ihre Miene und der Blick ihrer Augen eine Hoheit und Reinigkeit der Seele über ihre ganze Person auszugießen schien, wodurch alle Begierden, die sie einflößte, in dem Schranken der Ehrerbietung gehalten wurden. Aber nun waren ihre Augenbraunen, Schläfe und halbe Backen gedeckt, und ihre Seele gleichsam unsichtbar gemacht; sie verlor dadurch die sittliche charakteristische Züge ihrer Annehmlichkeit, und sank zu der allgemeinen Idee eines Mädchens herab (185-186).

Derby's amateur physiognomic analysis of Sophie's face is based on the fact that he knows what is behind the mask. This knowledge complicates his gaze and distracts him, so that, unlike Leander and Lenora in *Mascarade,* for whom the alternation between a sense of attraction for the unknown and a desire to unmask each other is undoubtedly part of the appeal of the situation, he cannot appreciate the mask, and it seems even more artifical to him. Instead of seeing the mask as a sign of possibility or of liberating potential, as the principle of *Maskenrecht* was so often touted to be, Derby interprets it as an attempt to force conformity – both to the "allgemeinen Idee eines Mädchens*,"* but also to the will of Sternheim's relatives and the prince. In this scenario, where anonymity is

not preserved, the mask objectifies the wearer, demonstrating the dark side of *Maskenrecht.*

The effect of Sternheim's masked performance on the other participants in the masquerade is powerful. The prince's eyes show his desire and hope; both Seymour and Derby, despite his critique of Sternheim's appearance, actually react physically to the sight: Seymour "sah sie mit konvulsivischen Bewegungen an," and Derby describes his head becoming warm and his blood boiling (185). Because the audience of her performance is aware

> daß sie ihren ganzen Anzug vom Fürsten erhalten, ihm zu Ehre gesungen hatte, und schon lange von ihm geliebt wurde, stellte sie uns allen als würkliche Mätresse vor; besonders, da eine Viertelstunde darauf der Fürst in einer Maske von nämlichen Farben als die ihrige kam… (186).

There are no indications that the conventional anonymity is paid any heed here. Everyone knows who is who at this masked ball. Rather than disguising her, Sternheim's costume and her performance identify her to the other masquerade participants as the prince's mistress, even as she remains blissfully unaware of these connotations.

Before continuing to follow the events of the masquerade, it is worth pausing to consider the many national references contained within the scene, which both reflect the popularity of such costume types at masquerades throughout Europe and relate to the many references to nations and nationality throught the rest of the novel, primary to the ones that Sternheim identifies with, the English and the German. The masked ball here is nominally English, perhaps because masked balls were more famous and elaborate in

England than in Germany or Denmark; the employment of a masked ball at a critical moment in the plot may likewise indicate both authors' familiarity with similar scenes in English novels of the same period.[153] Sternheim's costume and the costumes of her aunt and uncle are meant to be Spanish; the prince wears "einen venetianischen Mantel"; and Seymour, who is also in love with Sternheim, wears a black domino, and then later appears with a white mask "*en Chauve-Souris*", a French cape similar to the domino (La Roche 186).[154] The costumes described represent the colorful mix of foreign-influenced fantasy costumes and straightforward disguises (exemplified by the domino) that was indeed typical of the English masquerade. In the English context, they suggested "diabolic foreign influence, imported corruption, the dangerous breach of national boundaries, contamination from without" (Castle 7). At this German masked ball, however, it is the local court's moral corruption that threatens Sternheim, and an Englishman, Seymour, who alerts her to the danger.

Derby relates how the prince forces Sternheim to dance with him the length of the entire hall, and when he finally stops, another figure approaches her – the "weiße Maske en Chauve-Souris" (La Roche 186). From a distance, Derby observes Sophie "eine heftige Bewegung mit ihrem rechten Arm gegen ihre Brust machen… und… ihre linke

---

[153] See for example Baguss Britt and Umbach, Regina. "The Role of Anglophilia in Sophie von La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771)." *German Life and Letters 52:1.* January 1999. 1-12.

[154] The *Anmerkungen* in the Reclam edition explain that the "Chauve-Souris" costume is a French version of the Italian domino. 360. It is often translated as a "bat costume," but the "bat" name is only descriptive in the same way that the "domino" name relates to priests; a domino is not a priest costume, and a chauve-souris cloak does not really fall into the category of animal costumes, but rather both are "neutral" cloak disguises. See Ribeiro: *The Dress Worn at Masquerade in England 1730-1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture.* Outstanding Thesis from the Courtland Institute of Art. New York: Garland, 1984.

Hand nach der weisen Maske ausstrecken" (ibid). Her attempt to unmask this figure fails, and the white mask escapes into the crowd, followed by Derby, who sees the white clothes fall off to reveal Lord Seymour in his black domino. Derby's friend John, meanwhile, sees Sternheim dramatically remove her own mask. Castle writes that the more respectable private masquerades in England were free from some of the criticisms leveled against public masquerades because they included a moment of "ritualized unmasking" that ensured that identities would not remain secret, encouraging more circumspect behavior by the participants (52). What happens at this masked ball, however, is far from being either ritualized or circumspect. Sternheim rushes to confront her uncle, and "gleich beim Eintritt allen Schmuck ihres Aufsatzes vom Kopfe riß, mit verachtungs- und schmerzensvollen Ausdrücken zu Boden warf" (186-187). She asks him: "Womit habe ich verdient, daß Sie meine Ehre und meinen guten Namen zum Opfer der verhaßten Leidenschaft des Fürsten machten?" (187). She does not wait for an answer, but "mit zitternden Händen band sie ihre Maske los, riß die Spitzen ihres Halzkragens, und ihre Manschetten in Stücken, und streute sie vor sich her" (ibid). The theatrical gesture is bold and out of character, but it reveals the depth of Sternheim's integrity. She does not let the spirit of this masked ball get the better of her, and instead reacts with decisiveness to distance herself from it. Here, we see the type of literal *Entlarvung* that Rousseau's comments in Émile, cited above, imply are possible: that the unadorned face beneath the mask can be more beautiful and virtuous than the mask imposed by society.

The great paradox of the masked ball in this novel is that, despite the intentions of those who want to abuse the masquerade's potential, it is only there that Sternheim learns the true character of her guardians and the nature of their plans for her. Rather than continuing to disguise their ill intentions, the masked ball proves to be the site of their revelation. Sternheim's initial understanding of the masked ball as a harmless pastime that allows creative expression and a celebration of equality does not acknowledge it as site of potential danger, but conventions of the masquerade itself are ironically what allows this danger to be revealed. However, Sternheim remains unaware of the identity of the person who makes this revelation. Derby reports that Sophie's servant tells him that Sophie does not know who the white mask was, but that "sie nenne sie eine edle wohltätige Seele, ungeachtet sie ihr das Herz zerrissen habe" (190). Seymour, moreover, has made well-intentioned use of the opportunity; in the black domino he is recognizable as Seymour, but as the white mask he is not. He did not or could not interfere with the romantic intrigue of his social better if his identity were known; the *Maskenfreiheit* of the masked ball and the common practice of using multiple costumes make it possible for him to intervene. In his own letter about the episode at the beginning of the novel's second volume, Seymour explains his use of "eine doppelte Maske*"* as allowing him both to observe (in black) and to act (in white) (204). He later learns of Sternheim's innocence and that she had "in einem Brief an dem Fürsten eine weise Maske gesegnet, die ihr alle Bosheiten entdeckt habe" (206). The symbolic color of the mask Seymour chose for his action underlines the purity of his intentions, though he had not anticipated the consequences.

The entire episode highlights the performance aspects of masquerade, and Derby's letter about it contains many references to theater. At the beginning of his letter, Derby calls the plot "die Komödie des Fürsten mit meiner Sternheim," and he later writes that some of the observers of her outburst "hielten es für eine schöne Komödie, und waren begierig, wie weit sie die Rolle treiben würde" (186, 189). The word *Komödie* is indicative of the attitude of Derby and the other courtiers to the situation, and what they see as Sternheim's exaggerated reaction to it. The experience is hardly comedic from the perspective of Sternheim, who experiences the masquerade as a threatening event that challenges her virtue and destroys her trusting naiveté. Derby follows after Sternheim, writing: "Ich riß John am Arm zum Saal hinaus, warf auf der Straße meine Maske ab, und zog den Überrock meines Kerls an, in welchem ich an das Löbauische Haus eilte, um Nachricht von der neuen Aktrice zu hören*"* (189). He mirrors Sternheim in discarding his mask, but he immediately takes on another disguise in order to take advantage of the situation. As with his earlier use of the word *Komödie,* his use of the word *Aktrice* here shows his glib assessment of her behavior, but it also demonstrates his lack of respect for her virtue, given the frequent association of actresses with prostitutes at this time.

Derby's subsequent abduction of Sternheim also relies on masquerade – first, in a cunning act of disguise, his friend John, dressed as the "Gesandtschafts-Prediger*,*" will perform the marriage of Derby and Sternheim (195). Derby writes, "John, der Teufel, hatte die Kleider des Docktors an, und seine Perucke auf; und redete gebrochen, aber sehr pathetisch deutsch*"* (ibid). The reference to the devil underscores the severity of this disguise, which he also later refers to as "die Maske des Priesterrocks," further

emphasizing the close ties between this deception and the masked ball. Despite the harsh lessons of the masquerade, Sternheim is still fooled by John's disguise and believes that she has truly married Derby. He then has Sternheim and her servant Rosine put on *"*Mannskleidern" for their escape from the Löbau house, but even this does not alert Sternheim to his deception (197).[155] When the truth comes out, she asks "Warum glaubte ich den Schein?" and eventually develops an *incognito* life as *"*Madame Leidens" (227, 234). Her decision to take on a new identity, which she successfully maintains for many years, suggests that she may have learned something from the masquerade after all. Schutte Watt asserts, "up to this point Sternheim had always been dressed according to the wishes of other people," but now Sternheim chooses her own clothing, her own name, and lives according to her own desires, albeit not the ones she might have followed under better circumstances (149). Though her participation in the masked ball was not voluntary, in a strange and roundabout way, masquerade may have liberated her after all. At the masked ball, the intentions of the prince and her aunt and uncle are made clear, and she finds the resolve to break away from them. The disappointment of her subsequent betrayal by Derby is tempered by her decision to lead an independent, incognito life. This new life, however, proves also to be temporary.

In the remainder of the novel Sternheim eventually comes to England, where she is discovered by Derby and abducted once again – and once again disguise plays a role; this time, "eine Person in Weibskleidern" (it is once again John, now in a cross-dressing disguise) and "noch zwo vermummte Personen" physically overpower her and take her to

[155] As Schutte Watt notes, "the cross-dressing is only briefly mentioned, leading the readers to draw their own conclusions." "Sophie La Roche's *History of Lady Sophia Sternheim.*" 148.

a remote area of Scotland (302).[156] Through a complicated series of events Sternheim is eventually rescued and married to Lord Seymour, and "together they build a model estate where good husbandry is combined with refined sociability and enlightened philanthropy," as Schutte Watt summarizes (151). Barbara Becker-Cantarino concludes that the novel ends "mit der utopischen Vision einer Frau, die die höfisch-männliche Gesellschaft durch eine ländlich-weibliche, was die Werte und Bezugssysteme in dieser Gesellschaft anbetrifft, ersetzt hat" (415). Ultimately Sternheim does achieve a degree of liberation from the courtly system that tried to force her to conform to its rules, but the masquerade in this play is not the Wunder-Land of comedy seen in Holberg's *Mascarade* or Schlegel's *Der Geheimißvolle,* and it is not followed with a quick and happy resolution. While the masked ball at the prince's court does result in Sternheim making a radical break from the court and is a "turning point" in her fate, its danger should not go unmentioned (Schutte Watt 151).

Ultimately, La Roche brings together many acts of masquerade, disguise, and deception throughout the narrative, which together demonstrate that masquerade cannot be controlled by the types of formal rules examined in the first chapter. Rather, the rules are subject to abuse in ways that can have devastating effects for the heroine, as Sternheim's two abductions warn. The initial optimism that Sternheim voices about the ability of clothes to positively influence her own character anticipates Kant's later suggestion that playing a role can transform the personality of the individual. Her later experiences, however, echo Rousseau's warning about the artificality and deceptiveness of masks. The people surrounding Sternheim in the first half of the novel exemplify

[156] For the reference to the cross-dressing kidnapper being John, see page 300.

Holberg's paradox of being most "masked" in everyday life, but they are "unmasked" and their true intentions revealed while they are in costume at the masquerade. The masked ball itself is both preceded and followed by acts of masquerade in the broader sense of disguise: Sternheim's being dressed up as an aristocrat, the *Wirtschaft,* the false priest, the assumed identity of Madame Leidens, the cross-dressing kidnapper. In sum, La Roche's use of masquerade shows a keen appreciation of the nuances and ambiguities of the motif that make this novel a particularly rich source for our understanding of its function and narrative possibilities in the late eighteenth century.

While the comedies examined in the previous chapter suggested that carnivalesque aspects of masqeurade might spill out into everyday life without seriously challenging the social order, here cynical and malevolent intentions are taken into the masquerade, indicating a certain vulnerability in the rules that can have devestating consequences for participants. Biehl's Julie and La Roche's Sternheim both experience the masked ball as a site of danger, where men attempt to abuse its freedoms to take sexual advantage of women. Though considerations about different social groups interacting are at work in La Roche's text, they are largely absent in Biehl's, and overall the spectrum of danger to the female protagonists is a narrow one, restricted to that presented by men's deceptive practices. Further instances of disguise and deception in the texts make it clear that appearances are not to be trusted, and warn the – primarily female – audiences to be on guard. The heroines end safe and sound with their husbands, but not without a great deal of luck and considerable effort. The historical Caroline Mathilde was not so lucky. The betrayals and dishonesties of life at court aside, her own attorney saw in

masquerades the source of her misfortune. Whatever role masked balls really played in her relationship with Struensee, the final masquerade of her life also took place on her final night of freedom, and this fact alone has been enough to forever associate her with the dangers of masquerade.

Chapter Four:

The End of the Masquerade

> "…nothing boiled, bis man nach dem Krieg das Buch entdeckte, 'Favorit der Königin, 'Herrscher ohne Krone,' einer meiner schlechtesten Romane."
>
> -Robert Neumann, *Ein leichtes Leben* (54).
>
> "Melodrama in general … suggests the dream world in its enactments, in its thrust to break through repression and censorship, in its unleashing of the language of desire, its fulfillment of integral psychic needs."
>
> -Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (80)

In Robert Neuman's 1935 novel *Struensee: Doktor, Diktator, Favorit und armer Sünder*, later retitled *Der Favorit der Königin,* the title character wanders through the aftermath of a masquerade hosted in October of 1768 by his employer, King Christian VII of Denmark, during his visit in London. Neumann writes:

> Als Struensee später durch den leerenden Tanzsaal ging, lag dort ein Medaillon unter zerrissenen Papiergirlanden, vertanen Blumen und allerlei Festesflitter. Er hob es auf. Es war ein wertloses Ding an einem wertlosen Kettchen, ein tief fremder Frauenkopf von billiger Ebenmäßigkeit war daraufgemalt, es war nicht einmal zu erkennen, ob das ein Phantasiegebilde war oder nachgestümperte Wirklichkeit. Er wog das leichte Ding in der Hand, und es schien ihm immerhin nahe genug verbunden zu sein mit Lebendigem, daß er es nicht zurückwarf in den Kehricht (*Favorit* 63-64).[157]

[157] As will be discussed below, the novel first appeared in English translation by Edwin and Willa Muir, and published by Gollancz in London and in New York by Knopf. The Danish edition was

Neumann's depiction of the end of this London masked ball captures a sense of combined nostalgia and ambivalence that is typical of later eras' appraisal of one of the eighteenth century's most characteristic form of entertainment. The colorful material refuse of the masquerade's excesses exposes the event as trivial and temporary, yet somehow connected to life and vitality. In particular, Neumann's description of the medallion's image of a female head indicates masquerade's precarious balance between fantasy and kitsch. The medallion disappears into Struensee's pocket for four years, until the morning of his execution, when, as fate would have it, he is brought the same clothing to wear as he had worn to this London masquerade (*Favorit* 318). Upon finding the medallion again, Struensee recalls the masquerade, and Neumann reiterates almost verbatim the passage cited above, before describing Struensee slipping the chain over his head and wearing the medallion under his shirt on the journey to his beheading.

Neumann's use of masquerade motifs is far from being an isolated example of an attempt to employ the masquerade as a reflection of the era that most celebrated it. Indeed, similar scenes in a variety of historical novels, popular histories, films and opera demonstrate a broad recognition of the masquerade's important place in eighteenth-century history and culture, even as the reinterpretations of masquerade reveal varying cultural assumptions and understandings about the era being depicted. This material could serve as the basis for its own study, so in this chapter I will restrict my focus to one perspective on it. Among the many tendencies that I discern in these reinterpreted masquerades, the inclination towards the melodramatic mode stands out, and will

---

translated and published by Hans Banner. In the 1953 German edition (Wien, München, Basel: Verlag Kurt Desch), the title was changed to *Der Favorit der Königin.* All citations from the text refer to this later edition of the novel.

function as a guiding principle for my study. As Peter Brooks argues, this is "a mode of high emotionalism and stark ethical conflict that is neither comic nor tragic in persons, structure, intent, effect" (12). The genre of stage melodrama has its origins in the aftermath of the French Revolution, and for Brooks, these origins are reflected in a "melodramatic mode" in later periods in the form of characteristic moral polarizations and extreme emotionalism. The melodramatic mode takes up these features seen as an aesthetics of excess in other genres, particularly the novel.

Given the polarized perspectives on masquerade, its reputation as a site of excess, and its association with the era that precipitated melodrama, this connection between masquerade and the melodramatic mode is not surprising; nor is the appearance of this connection in a novel about the events surrounding Christian VII, Queen Caroline Mathilde, and Johann Friedrich Struensee. Daniel Bornschein's *Friedrich Graf von Struensee, oder Das Dänische Blutgerüst* in 1793 marked the first literary rendition of the events, and by 1955, the Danish collector Svend Aage Meyer could boast that he had amassed hundreds of portraits, about 200 hundred *Spottschriften,* and some 450 books related to Caroline Mathilde, Struensee, and company (Anon. *Caroline Mathilde und Ihr Kreis* 13). As Broerman writes of this episode, it is "indeed fecund material for historiography, biography, or romance" (106). While in the previous chapters of this study, masquerades from Christian VII's court served as entry points into specific aspects of eighteenth-century masquerade, in this chapter, a selection of representative appearances of these same masquerades in later cultural products will help illustrate the

role masquerade plays in the melodramatic reimagining of the eighteenth century in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

As the word "masquerade" became increasingly tied to metaphor, masked balls themselves were also undergoing processes of transformation. Reviewing the course of the masquerade after the eighteenth century will help contextualize these developments. The fate of the masked balls of the nineteenth century and beyond remains to be documented in its entirety, but certain general trajectories and points of contact between the masked ball of the eighteenth century and its subsequent permutations can be identified. The eighteenth-century masked ball in German and Danish contexts was always a multifaceted phenomenon that varied widely from site to site and occasion to occasion, so that it can be described in terms of general trends but not of a uniform step-by-step evolution. We see the changing fortunes of the masked ball as a form of entertainment by considering the example of just the Danish court, where masquerades were large affairs with generous admission standards at the beginning of the century, were banned entirely in the late 1720's, revived in the 1760's on a grand scale, and then fell out of favor after Struensee's fall, so that in 1803 the future King Christian VIII (Frederik) could again call a court masquerade "en nye og ukiendt Fornøielse" (*Kong Christian VIII.s Dagbøger og Optegnelser* 102).[158] At the same time, in the late 1770s, the Redouttenhaus in Weimar was being refurbished,[159] and during the early decades of the nineteenth century, Goethe wrote a number of elaborate *Maskenzüge* for the court at

[158] Translation: "a new and unknown pleasure."
[159] Cf. Chapter 1.

Weimar that involved poetry, detailed costumes and choreography, and which were described and reviewed in periodicals such as *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*.[160]

These examples are indicative of two general trajectories for masquerade, as they can be traced with broad strokes. On the one hand, peering back to the historical inspirations for the masked ball celebrations, there is a large arc beginning from folk tradition's carnival celebrations that purported to bring together different social classes in enactments of the *World Upside Down,* moving upward in the social hierarchy to the massive, public masked balls hosted by many eighteenth-century monarchs, before descending again to the working classes. During the nineteenth century, the masked ball was increasingly claimed and tamed by the rising bourgeoisie, who, for material reasons, placed less emphasis on elaborate costumes and masks and were less likely to be joined by the nobility; Monika Fink writes of the "Absinken der Redoute in die unteren Gesellschaftsschichten um die Jahrhundertmitte," and of the use of the term "Armen-Redouten" by 1862 (141). By the late nineteenth century, masked balls, rather than traditional folk carnival celebrations, had become a favorite party type for unions and sports clubs.[161] On the other hand, the elite and ruling classes moved away from the large, public masked balls and back to the more theatrical forms of costumed entertainment seen in the pageants and masques of previous eras; Goethe's *Maskenzüge* are themselves essentially the insertion of these forms into the context of the masked ball. At other sites, however, the courtly masquerades were private events for the court and no longer focused on social dances; the events returned to a scripted style reminiscent of the *Wirtschaften* of

[160] cf. Köhler 43-45.
[161] Cf. for example Christiansen 23-24; Böhmert 15.

earlier years.[162] Fink says that these events were characterized by "historisches Eingedenken, das sich sowohl in der Kostumierung wie auch in den Tänzen auswirkte, ferner naturalistische Folkloristik sowie Exotismen" (144); but rather than allowing the free choice of costume types by participants, roles were once again assigned in advance. This revival of older forms of courtly masquerade is an indication of a return to more stringent restrictions on masquerade liberties, just as the "historisches Eingedenken" suggests the nostalgic component of nineteenth century masquerade, both in how it was practiced in that era and in how society perceived masquerade practices of the previous century.

In light of this brief sketch of the development of the masked ball after the height of its popularity in the eighteenth century, I now turn to the way subsequent centuries imagined its heyday. As a starting point in this review, Neumann's *Struensee* serves as a reminder of the transcultural popularity and appeal of the masquerade in eighteenth-century Europe, as he focuses solely on the October 10, 1768 masquerade in London. Aspects of the melodramatic impulse can be identified in typical depictions of each of the other masquerades. First I examine representations that use masquerade as an introduction to eighteenth-century forms of entertainment and to court life, and that emphasizes the excess and extravagance of these events. A second set of considerations relates to the contrasting perspectives on masquerade as alternately a site of class mixing and carnivalesque *Volksfest* sentiments or as an exclusive but trivial affair restricted to

[162] In particular, these masquerades can be compared to *Verkleidungsbanketten* forms such as the *Königreiche.* It is telling detail Adloph Freiheerr Knigge does not mention masquerades in his *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen* (1788)*,* suggesting both that they were beneath his interest and that they were already in decline at the time.

the most elite members of society. A fascination with sexuality and scandal is common to these narratives, and often involves the "confession" scene between Caroline Mathilde and Struensee as a moment of ethical confrontation that veers towards sensationalism. Most attention will be paid to representations of the masquerade of 16 January 1772, unquestionably the most frequently referenced masquerade in later literature, which appears as the quintessential scene of "unmasking," demonstrating the growing emphasis on the metaphor of masquerade and the connection of the masquerade with deception and betrayal.

As discussed in the introduction, P. O. Enquist downplays the 16 January 1772 masquerade as an event in *Livläkarens besök,* though at the same time invests the masquerade theme with metaphoric weight that extends through the entire novel. This shift might reflect both the distance from the masquerade as practice and the overwhelming association of masquerade with metaphor that are especially typical of the last century. Yet the weight of masquerade's metaphoric value is not only to be attributed to the lack of referential experiences for modern audiences. Rather, the sizable legacy of the myriad appearances of the masquerade in the cultural archive make, in sum, the concept of the masquerade more alluring and more philosophical than the actual practice ever was. For the present project, my focus remains on the ways popular literature understands and relates eighteenth-century masquerade to its audiences, while an investigation following the path of the masquerade metaphor away from historical references remains a desideratum for future work.

Neumann's *Struensee* and the Trans-European Masquerade

When Robert Neumann left Austria for exile in England in 1934, he turned to the Struensee story for a potboiler, following the suggestion of his friend Stefan Zweig, and based on Zweig's own recent success with *Marie Antoinette* (Dove 94). Neumann's *Struensee: Doktor, Diktator, Favorit und armer Sünder* was published first in London in English translation as *The Queen's Doctor*, then in German by Querido in Amsterdam (1935), then Danish (1936), then again in a North American edition (1936), thus making a pragmatic circuit of the markets to reach a potentially broad audience of readers who were interested in the historical subject matter.[163] Critics of the novel often point out historical inaccuracies and claim that it has escapist tendencies, both common criticisms of historical fiction (Broerman 105-106). As far as the role of masquerade in the Struensee story is concerned, Neumann certainly departs from the standard emphasis on the final masquerade of 16 January 1772; indeed, that masquerade is demoted to a mere "Hofball," and though the episode itself is still imbued with ironic foreshadowing and historic trivia, it also includes inventions such as the distribution of fliers from the gallery with a text denouncing Struensee (*Favorit* 270). However, this departure from the prevalent tendency to ascribe significance to the final masquerade does not mean that Neumann does not seize upon the masquerade's factor of historic interest or its metaphoric possibilities for his novel. Indeed, Neuman's novel serves as an exceptional

[163] The English translation was done by Edwin and Willa Muir, and published by Gollancz in London and in New York by Knopf. The Danish edition was translated and published by Hans Banner. In the 1953 German edition (Wien, München, Basel: Verlag Kurt Desch), the title was changed to *Der Favorit der Königin.* All citations from the text refer to this later edition of the novel. Though Dove claims that these readers were "largely uninterested in contemporary events in Europe," Broerman argues against the dismissal of the work as "escapism," seeing in the story of "a parody on politics with definite literary merit" (ibid; 106).

example of the use of the masquerade in retelling this eighteenth-century tale, both because of the author's unusual decision to focus on the London masquerade, but also because of the way that this scene nonetheless demonstrates many common elements of later eras' approach to masquerade. Struensee's rediscovery of the medallion at the end of the novel maintains the traditional connection of his arrest and execution to masquerade, and in fact becomes a comment on the entire affair as a masquerade. Furthermore, the medallion itself is related not only to the London masquerade, but to the figure of Queen Caroline Mathilde. At the beginning of the novel, as the English Ambassador and Minister Bernstorff negotiate a marriage between the newly-crowned Christian VII and an English princess, the Ambassador displays "fünf Medaillons mit Bildern englischer Prinzessinnen," one of which depicts Mathilde (*Favorit* 15).[164] Then, near the end of the novel, in the final ball scene, the queen presents her bejeweled "Mathilde-Orden" to Struensee and a handful of other favorites, some of whom will soon participate in their arrests (*Favorit* 272ff).[165] Struensee's Mathilde-Orden is described as being on his "Brust," just as the medallion is described as being pushed "unter sein Hemd" (*Favorit* 272, 318). The medallion that travels from the London masquerade to the Danish scaffold is thus a token of the masquerade experience, and its reappearance at the end of Struensee's life becomes a comment on the entire affair as a masquerade.

Though Neumann focuses on a masquerade less commonly discussed by later eras, it is a masquerade that attracted considerable attention in the eighteenth century; he also

[164] The queen is generally referred to only by the name Mathilde in this novel.
[165] This detail is one example of Neumann's liberties with the historical material; the Mathilde-Orden was actually established almost exactly one year prior, on the occasion of the king's birthday - January 29, 1771 (Bregnsbo 117).

"exploited the English dimension of the subject" of the London masquerade that the King of Denmark hosted at the Haymarket Opera House on 10 October, 1768 as a gesture of appreciation for the hospitality he had received during his visit to the country (Dove 94). This masquerade ranks highly in English masquerade history for its role in reviving interest in masked balls in England after a period of some dormancy, but usually does not figure in German or Danish literature, probably due to a combination of aspects that would have diminished its popularity, especially for Danish and German audiences; for example, the fact that the setting and participants were English rather than German or Danish, and the fact that Caroline Mathilde was absent, thus diminishing the romantic element.[166] Yet the aspect of this masquerade's English setting indicates masquerade's importance in the broader trans-European context, detailing the characteristics that contributed to its transnational appeal in the eighteenth century as well as its continuing place in cultural imagination about that era. Neumann's inclusion of historical material, here and throughout the novel, suggests an attempt to indulge his readership's interest in authenticity, while the modifications indicate the author's narrative goals.

In *Struensee*, the masquerade is a novelty introduced to England by the young Christian VII, who is primarily interested in gambling, drinking, and seducing members of the British nobility. The statement that "einen Maskenball hatte man bis dahin nicht gesehen" is an exaggeration of the historical circumstances that demonstrates Neumann's emphasis on the masquerade as "das tollste" of the many events hosted in England in honor of Christian VII's visit, and Neumann manages to mention all of the most widely-

[166] On the other hand, focusing on this particular masquerade was also likely a calculated move on Neumann's part, given his status as an exiled author trying to appeal to an English public.

known, reputed characteristics of masked balls (61).[167] He begins by describing it as a moment of curiosity for the British King, Christian VII's brother-in-law: "

> Selbst seine bürgerliche Majestät König Georg der Dritte geruhte, in einen dunklen Mantel geschlagen, aus dem finstern Hintergrund einer Loge für einen Augenblick in den Saal zu schaun — er hatte einfach seine Neugier nicht meistern können, dem der strengen Gattin Charlotte noch am selben Morgen gegebenen feierlichen Versprechen zum Trotz (61).

Neumann invents this image of the George III as a desparate, bourgeois voyeur to highlight the charged sentiments surrounding the masquerade in England as well as on the continent. Ribeiro claims that a different kind of sentiment was being expressed by the king's strange behavior, claiming that George III only attended the masquerade because "it could not be entirely boycotted by the royal family, although the English King was known to detest masquerades," but Neumann's modification plays up the seductive allure of the masquerade (Ribeiro "The King" 389). The costumes mentioned in both the historical documents and in the novel include a variety of dominos in different colors, as well as character costumes such as "der Rauchfangkehrer…der Moor, der Wegelagerer, das alte Weib sowie der Verschwörer" (Ribeiro "The King" 388ff, Neumann 61). Even as he derides "seine bürgerliche Majestät," Neumann also depicts the masquerade as a site of class-mixing, as he writes of a newspaper report stating "die erfolgreichsten Verkleidungen aber seien von Leuten nichtadeligen Standes gestellt worden—Bürgern, die mit Handelsgeschäften zu Vermögen gekommen waren" (61).

[167] Cf. Castle and Ribeiro for discussions of the extravagant masquerade tradition in the first half of the eighteenth century in England, as well as the practice's waxing and waning throughout the century.

Neumann's additions embellish the details from the historical record, and are in keeping with the masquerade's reputation. He also demonstrates a consciousness about this reputation itself, by obliquely alluding to reports by his unnamed newspaper reporter:

> was dieser Korrespondent nicht meldete, war, daß es nicht so sehr jene bürgerlichen, durch Handel zu Vermögen gekommenen Kreise waren, die nach Mitternacht im Tanzhause der Cornelis den Ton angaben, wie vielmehr andere, windigere, leichter gewichtige, die nicht erst einer umständlichen Verkleidung bedurft hätten, um als Wegelagerer genommen zu werden (62).

Neumann plays with the details of class-mixing made in reports in publications such as "Gentleman's Magazine" and "Oxford Magazine" and exaggerates them, ascribing a kind of censorship to the historical record and simultaneously inflates the rumors they peddled (Ribeiro "King" 388). He also coyly inserts both Casanova and Theodor of Corsica into the scene, though Casanova's visit in England ended in 1763 and Theodor of Corsica died in 1756 (Endore 231, Fitzgerald 150). Thus plausible highwaymen, the world's most famous seducer and three kings come into contact at the same masquerade—and Struensee, whose name Neumann's Christian VII does not yet even remember, participates in the entire scene only as a silent observer (63).

The point upon which Neumann's use of the masquerade motif goes beyond most such later reimaginings of the masquerade and its potential roles in the narration of the Struensee tale is in his depiction of what happens after the masquerade has ended. Ribeiro quotes the memoirs of William Hickley as describing the masquerade as continuing into the early morning hours, as "bottles and glasses flew about in various

directions and some of the most turbulent heroes came to fisty cuffs. At four, the King departed, and the house began to thin. I continued till near eight in the morning, when I went home much pleased with all I had seen…" (Ribeiro "The King" 389). Neumann does not depict such violence explicitly, but includes one ambiguous moment when a woman screams "Mein Halsschmuck!" and draft extinguishes a number of candles (62-63). The moment suggests theft and an attack on a female victim, but the lack of response to her cries implies the indifference or even villainy of the bystanders. By the end of Neumann's depiction of this event, when Struensee walks through the emptying dance hall and finds the medallion, the readers has gotten the message of masquerade as both *Wunder-Land* of strange possibilities and a site of danger and misfortune.

Introduction and Initiation

Historically, the masquerade of 4. December 1766 marks in many ways the beginning of the story for Caroline Mathilde and Christian VII, and takes place before the arrival of Struensee sets up the dramatic sexual triangle between them. As noted in the Chapter One, this first masquerade at Christian VII's court is particularly well documented because of the novelty factor for the court. Yet, as is the case of each of these masquerades, it is clear that Enquist's point that nothing of note really happened at them is quite accurate; it is the very fact *that* they happened that is of interest. When the masquerade of 4. December 1766 is mentioned in later literature, it is most often to inaugurate a discussion of life at the court of Christian VII, to distinguish that court both from those that preceded and followed it, and usually to imply that Christain VII and his court were particularly fond of amusing themselves, often to an excessive, even immoral

extent. At a distance of a half a century or more, these texts attempt to recreate the milieu of eighteenth-century court life for their readers, and the masquerade functions as an introductory point for that discussion.

A common tactic, particularly in nineteenth-century popular bourgeois histories, is to first simply list the masquerade as one element of many in a succession of entertainments. In general, these writers suggest that the arrival of Caroline Mathilde in Copenhagen less than a year after the death of Frederik V was followed by the initiation of a renewed interest in entertainment at the court. While authors vary in assigning responsibility for this development, the same rhetorical strategy is evident again and again.[168] Masquerades are, in these presentations, simply one type in a number of possible entertainments. For example, L. J. Flamand writes in 1854: "Grev Holk ledede nu aldeles sin unge Herres Adspredelser. Skuespil, Baller og Maskerader afvexlede ved Hoffet I en bestemt Orden" (37).[169] Similarly, Karl Wittich wrote in 1879: "Am Hofe wurde es lustig, lustiger vielleicht, als je zuvor. Assembléen, Concerte, Parforcejagden, Maskeraden und Schlittenfahrten folgten einander den ganzen Winter hindurch in athemloser Wechsel." The breathlessness of these lists gives the audience the impression of a court primarily engaged in pleasure seeking rather than ruling, and overwhelm the reader with a catalog of activities that are rarely explained in detail.[170] This starkly additive aspect of these collections of varieties of entertainments is moreover a kind of

[168] Cf. discussion of Suhm's assignation of "guilt" to Caroline Mathilde in Chapter 3.
[169] Translation: Count Holk now entirely directed his young master's entertainments: theater, balls and masquerades alternated at court in a given order.
[170] Further examples can be found in G. F. von Jenssen Tusch in 1864 (17); Christian Blangstrup in 1890 (104-105); and Ellen Jørgensen and Johanne Skovgaard from 1910 (285). The trend can also be noted in more recent histories as well, such as those by Carolin Philipps and Thea Leitner.

performance of the very excess that the authors seek to convey about the court, and adds to the appeal of the text for the audience; Brooks notes that "excess can itself be thrilling, even when it is somewhat campy, even when…it is more a citation of past systems of meaning than a serious investment in present reality" (Brooks ix).

These types of lists set the stage for the depiction of courtly life as superficial and immoral, and the documentary tendency is followed by elaborations and color commentary on the masquerade, though the practice itself is still unexplained. For example, in an 1864 historiographic text G. F. von Jenssen-Tusch writes:

> Am 4. December wurde die erste Maskerade auf der Christiansburg für die sechs ersten Rangklassen gegeben, wozu alle Offiiere der Garnison und sämmtliche fremde Gesandtschaften eingeladen waren. Nicht einmal unter der lustigen Regierung Friedrichs V. hatte man sich getraut, dergleichen Mummereibälle zu gestatten, allein Christian fand Alles in dieser Richtung erlaubt (15).

By documenting the specific date and circumstances of this masquerade, Jenssen-Tusch attempts to establish the legitimacy and accuracy of the narrative. His self-conscious astonished response to the "Mummereibälle," however, clearly shows a prejudicial understanding of masquerade as a particularly scandalous practice. After all, even more than his son, Friedrich V is the Danish monarch perhaps best known for lascivious and debauched behavior.[171] Still, Jenssen-Tusch offers no explanation of exactly what is surprising about Christian VII allowing masquerades, or what else might be included "in dieser Richtung," a phrase that indicates that he is able to rely on his readers' biases about masquerade. At the same time, the invention of the term "Mummereibälle" appears

[171] Cf. Langen 11-17.

as an unusual anachronism that recalls the "Mumereien" Schnitzer documents from the Middle Ages to the early seventeenth-century;[172] its use in tandem with the more familiar, French- or Italian-derived term "Maskerade" suggests an attempt on Jenssen-Tusch's part to insert a Germanic term, perhaps to at least assert his own German perspective over the more prevalent foreign terms, and the perceived exoticism of the masquerade itself.

In historical novels, the masquerade is likewise often seized upon as a prime example of the eighteenth-century court's excesses and loose morals, and serves as an opportunity to detail these failings in more colorful terms. As late a text as Ib Henrik Cavling's sensationalistic 1963 novel *Elskov og Vanvid* ("Love and Insanity") is extreme in its condemnation of Christian VII's court, and focuses almost exclusively on the titillating aspects of the Struensee era, which he deems the "Sodoma-Gomorrah tiden" (the Sodom-Gomorrah time) of Danish history (5). His exposition on the masquerade is scornful:

> Et par år i forvejen var de store hofmaskerader blevet indført i Danmark til hoffets udelte glæde. De gav anledning til at lade den mest løsslupne frihed florere under forklædningen.
>
> De pragtfulde og overdådige bal masquéer kostede svimlende formuer, og tiden var alt andet end egnet til sådanne unødige udgifter. Finanserne var usle, statskassen næsten tom, og bønderne rev sig i håret af fortvivlelse under deres

[172] The only internet search engine result for this term is Jenssen-Tusch's book in GoogleBooks.

tunge åg. Skatterne udpinte borgerne, og handelen sygnede hen på grund af mangel på kapital. Det interesserede ikke den forelskede konge (80).[173]

Here the joy and hedonistic pleasure of the court in the masquerades is put into direct contrast with the suffering peasant and middle classes, and the masquerades are linked directly to the financial ruin of the entire state. For Cavling, there are no heroes in the entire story, only villains, and in his novel he seems to take pleasure in creating scenes of exaggerated sensual and financial indulgence even as he condemns them and the period that celebrated them.

Folkefest and Exclusivity

While Calving's condemnation of the court is based largely on his perception of the outrageous discrepancy between the court's spending and the state's finances, some writers turn to Caroline Mathilde's birthday masquerade to suggest the positive connotations of the event, either for the individual figure of the queen or as a moment of harmonious interaction between the court and the people. Early on (1784), Charlotte Dorothea Biehl had made the observation that the extravagant celebrations associated with Caroline Mathilde's 18th-birthday must have been appreciated by a young person like the queen, especially given that her first two birthdays in Denmark were barely noted publicly (Bech *Brev* 223-224). It is therefore surprising that these multi-day festivities, including the grand public masquerade in Frederiksberg Garden, are often only scantly

[173] Translation: "A few years before, the great court masquerades were introduced in Denmark to the undivided joy of the court. They gave the opportunity to let the most promiscuous freedom flower beneath the costumes. The brilliant and excessive bal masquées cost dizzying fortunes, and the times were all but well suited to such unnecessary expenditures. The finances were squalid, the treasury was nearly empty, and the peasants pulled their hair in despair over their heavy yoke. Taxes impoverished the bourgeoisie, and trade withered because of lack of capital. That did not concern the lovesick king."

mentioned in much of the later literature. In Maria Helleberg's 1991 *Mathilde. Magt og Maske,* the birthday celebration is briefly summarized as "fyrværkeri og folkefest," a gesture that suggests a combination of the elite display of power and a carnivalesque, populist atmosphere that is common to many later texts, though without much reflection or analysis on the implications of this combination (111).[174]

The short shrift afforded this masquerade in later literature can be further attributed to the fact that so little attention was paid to it even by most contemporary accounts, so that there was simply less material for later writers to work with.[175] From a historical perspective, birthday masquerade is mainly remarkable for the ways in which it was not a typical masquerade, and because it wass not associated with any major plot points in later texts, it remains more obscure. The relative prominence or lack thereof given this masquerade in various works of popular literature in particular, though, demonstrate how masquerade could be used as a vehicle for writers' sympathies and perspectives on the story more generally.

In many cases, depictions of this masquerade simply melt into a stream of elite entertainments enjoyed by the court in general, especially because it is only one of several entertainments associated not just with the queen's birthday, but also with her brother's visit; the carousel, tournament, and other activities were moreover more rare occurrences at the court than the masquerade, which was of course also a favorite way to celebrate royal birthdays in this period – in particular, Christian VII's birthday was almost always marked with a masquerade. Some writers do follow Biehl's comments

[174] Translation: "fireworks and people's festival."
[175] Cf. Chapter 2.

about the novelty of celebrating Caroline Mathilde's birthday; for example Thea Leitner in *Skandal bei Hof,* who notes, "Ihr Geburtstag, bis dahin ignoriert, wurde festlich gefeiert" (Leitner 211). This type of remark often sets the stage for the depiction of Struensee as the lascivious and power-hungry tyrant who seeks out the relationship with the innocent queen to further his career. This perspective developed into something of a legend of the queen's innocence that has survived into the present day and illustrates a variant of the melodramatic tendency in relation to narratives of this episode as a whole, depicting Struensee as a villainous seducer and Caroline Mathilde as a virtuous if naïve victim.

In narratives more sympathetic to Struensee, the masquerade must compete with other public festivals held in connection with more politically important events, such as the festival in the same garden with the "reconciliation ox" after the sailor's uprising.[176] Perhaps most significantly for the melodramatic legend of Caroline Mathilde, it does not fit in with the image of the unhappy, ignored queen to have one of the court's most unique masquerades held in her honor. It is only in late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Scandinavian popular historical fiction that the birthday masquerades begin to

[176] In the summer of 1771 there had been considerable delays in sending off a naval expedition to Algeria to fight pirates off the Barbary Coast. Norwegian sailors made up the majority of the crews in the Dano-Norwegian navy and a large group of frustrated Norwegian sailors were stuck in Copenhagen. There had already been plans to hold a large festival in Frederiksberg Garden when the sailors, who had not even received their salary, marched towards Hirschholm, where Struensee and the Royal Family were staying, on 10 September. The success of the festival on 28 September was diminished significantly because Struensee and the court decided at the last minute not to attend, out of fear for a potential assassination attempt. See for example Amidsen 131-132.

receive more attention, particularly as a motif in historic novels.[177] This may, in part, be inspired by Biehl's comments becoming familiar to a broader audience via Svend Cedergreen Bech's 1975 popular edition of *Brev fra Dorothea*.[178] In later texts, Caroline Mathilde becomes increasingly portrayed as a sympathetic, almost proto-feminist figure. As a consequence, the focus of much literature shifted to her and it is not unexpected that her birthday celebrations also feature more prominently. In the most recent literary retellings, the two main motifs associated with the birthday celebrations are the suggestion that they were Struensee's idea, and the emphasis on the public access to the masquerade, which is presented almost as an element of his Enlightenment reforms.

On this count, Elie Salomon Francois Reverdil's linking of the birthday masquerade in Frederiksberg Garden to the opening of Rosenborg Garden to the public more than two years late, noted in Chapter Two, had clear echoes in later texts, such as in Enquist's *Livläkarens besök.* In Enquist's novel, the birthday masquerade is not mentioned specifically, but Enquist does write that both Frederiksberg and Rosenborg gardens became erotic playgrounds for masked couples:

> Tre kvällar i veckan var denna park särskilt öppnad för maskerade par. Det var folkets rätt till maskerad som proklamerats, och i offentliga parker, och på nätterna. I verkligheten betydde det rätt at under viss anonymitet (maskerna) fritt kopulera utomhus.

[177] The dearth of German-language references stands in contrast to the attention paid in Scandinavian contexts; it could be considered whether this could be due to a presumed interest in the *folk* in question being greater for Scandinavian rather than German readers.
[178] Cf. Chapter 3.

> Masker för ansikten, öppnade sköten och viskningar. Förut hade de kungliga parkerna varit förbehållna hovets damer, som oändligt långsamt genomkorsat dem under sina solparasoller. Men nu öppnades de for allmänheten, och på nätterna! På nätterna!!![179]

These examples connect open-air masquerading, fornication and broad public access to areas that had previously been reserved for an elite group, thus directly linking a reform impulse in the people's interest to masquerade. Not only are the previously sacred locations carnivalized by the sexual activities of the lower classes, but the fact that it is described as taking place in summer also represents a shift in the permissibility of public masking by these classes outside of the traditional Christmas and Shrovetide seasons.

For both Bodil Steensen-Leth and Henning Rovsing Olsen, whose Caroline Mathilde-inspired novels came in the immediate wake of Enquist's success, the birthday party masquerade finally plays a starring role. In Steensen-Leth's case, the birthday masquerade is also linked to the love declaration usually placed at a masquerade in early 1770, and the declaration is first made by Struensee rather than Caroline Mathilde. Steensen-Leth's interpretation of the event has Caroline Mathilde carried away by the intoxicating, dream-like atmosphere of the masquerade. It is, in particular, the ability to be lost in the mass of people that leads her to let her guard down: "Af og til aner hun, at de forglemmer sig, men hun trøster sig med, at hun jo kan være hvem som helst. Ingen af

[179] Enquist, *Livläkarens besök,* 257-258. Translation: "Three evenings each week this park was specially opened to masked couples. The people's right to a masquerade was proclaimed – in public parks, and at night. In actuality this meant the right, with a certain anonymity (the masks), to copulate freely outdoors. Masks on their faces, open thighs, and whispering. Before, the royal parks were reserved for the ladies of the court, who would stroll through them at an infinitely slow pace beneath their parasols. But now they were open to the public, and at night! At night!!!" (Nunnally 209).

de mange mennesker, som deltager i maskeradeballet, ved, at det er dronningen, der gemmer sig bag dragten. De er blot et af mange meget forelskede par."[180]

Henning Rovsing Olsen's interpretation of the legend of Caroline Mathilde's innocence is revisionist and starkly conservative in its insistence on the queen's virture. In two novels, Rovsing Olsen argues that Suhm's reports and the other eye-witness accounts of the Struensee affair are nothing but irresponsible, mean-spirited gossip. For Rovsing Olsen, Caroline Mathilde and Struensee are drawn to each other, but her marriage vows are never broken, and the friendship remains intellectual and platonic. In 2001's *Døden i festdragt,* essentially a plaidoyer for what turns out to be his distant relative Enevold Brandt, Caroline Mathilde's birthday is not mentioned;[181] in his second go at the material in 2006's *Caroline Mathildes Revolution*, which follows the queen from London to her death in Celle, however, Rovsing Olsen discusses the celebrations at length:

> Lørdag den 22. Juli 1769 fyldte Caroline Mathilde 18 år, og det kom ikke til at gå stille af. Struensee havde diskret givet kongen den idé, at en storstilet folkefest i anledning af fødselsdagen kunne kaste glans over kongemagten. Monarken var nem at overtale. Han elskede Fester. Og Caroline Mathilde havde ingen indvendinger – når nu både kongen og Struensee så gerne ville højtideligholde hendes fødselsdag. I strålende sol kørte kongeparret i åben karet fra Frederiksberg

[180] Translation: "Now and then she senses, that they are forgetting themselves, but she comforts herself with the idea that she could be anybody. None of the many people participating in the masquerade ball know that it is the queen hiding behind the costume. They are only one of many couples in love."

[181] According to a newspaper's birthday biographical sketch of Rovsing Olsen, a former journalist and diplomat, his interest in the Struensee is based on the fact that he and Enevold Brandt shared a common ancestor from the seventeenth century, Matthias Brandt. See Randel 15.

> til Christiansborg slot og blev tiljublet af Københavns borgere, om eftermiddagen blev der holdt tropperevy til ære for Caroline Mathildes bror, hertugen af Gloucester, der havde taget den lange tur i sin karrosse fra London, og om aftenen fejredes dronningen med gallataffel og festforestilling på Hofteatret. Dagen efter fortsatte festlighederne med et maskebal med flere tusinde dansende gæster iklædt fantasifulde dragter. Da mørket faldt på blev slotsparken foran Frederiksberg slot illumineret, og ved midnatstid oplystes himlen over København af et festfyrværkeri (53).[182]

Though the masquerade is here again one in a series of entertainments and diversions, Rovsing Olsen does join the tradition of casting the birthday festivities as a "folkefest*."* These other festivals are more important for their role in marking Caroline Mathilde's position within the monarchy, and therefore have broader political implications.This is a *"*folkefest" in the sense of a performance by the elite for the people, however. In the subsequent paragraphs, Rovsing Olsen uses these festivities to transition through the fall to the winter: "Efteråret og vinteren gik med selskabelighed ved hoffet. Teaterforestillinger, koncerter, baller og maskerader afløste hinanden, altid med

[182] Translation: "Saturday the 22nd of July Caroline Mathilde turned 18, and it wasn't celebrated quietly. Struensee had discretely given the king the idea that a large-scale public festival on the occasion of the birthday could lend luster to the monarchy. The monarch was easy to persuade. He loved parties. And Caroline Mathilde had no objections – when now both the king and Struensee wanted to celebrate her birthday. The Royal Couple rode in an open carriage in brilliant sunshine from Frederiksberg to Christiansborg Castle and were cheered by Copenhagen's citizens, in the afternoon there was a review of the troops in honor of Caroline Mathildes brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who had taken the long trip in his coach from London, and in the evening the queen was celebrated with a gala dinner and a gala performance in the Court Theater. The day after the festivities continued with a masked ball with several thousand dancing guests dressed in fanciful costumes. When darkness fell, the castle park in front of Frederiksberg Castle was illuminated, and at midnight the sky above Copenhagen lit up with gala fireworks."

kongeparret som midtpunkt…" (ibid).[183] In Rovsing Olsen's interpretation, all of these activities are not excessive and immoral, but work in a spirit of fun and innocent pleasure to bring happiness to the Royal Couple, rather than to open them up to scandalous behavior.

Sexuality and Scandal - Early 1770

The historical references to masquerade as a catalyst for the sexual relationship between Struensee and the queen, and for the queen's downfall in general, that were outlined in chapters two and three served as popular fodder for later writers. As was shown in those chapters, the legendary masquerade at which Caroline Mathilde supposedly first approached Struensee in a romantic way can serve as a prime example of how "masquerade freedom" can be interpreted in completely opposed ways, alternately as a positive experience that allows expressions of personal liberty or as one that encourages near-anarchical behavior. Even before August Fjelstrup's 1908 publication of pirated manuscript copies of the documents relating to the divorce of the king and queen, the anecdote that Struensee confessed that Caroline Mathilde had first behaved "*zärtlich*" towards him at a masquerade had already leaked out (*Skilsmisse* 43). While the early narratives of the story tend to build up a legend of Caroline Mathilde's innocence and therefore generally excluded such a confession, this began to change in the late nineteenth century. After the original materials from the trials were made available to the public in 1966, the masquerade as the site of a declaration of love or of more bold erotic encounters has become a favorite motif (Langberg 12). Though it is generally accepted

[183] Translation: "Fall and winter passed with conviviality at court. Theatrical performances, concerts, balls and masquerades succeeded one another, always with the Royal Couple as midpoint."

that the relationship between Struensee and Caroline Mathilde became sexual sometime in early 1770, no specific date is associated with the love-confession masquerade, allowing writers more license in terms of how and when to include this masquerade. The predominant tendency is to use the depiction of this masquerade as an opportunity to emphasize the masquerade as a site of sexual expression and scandal.

In many historical texts, the anecdote of the masquerade love declaration becomes an opportunity to compile various rumors about the romantic goings-on at masquerades. August Fjelstrup, for example, writes about masquerades as playing "en skæbnesvanger Rolle" (a fateful role) in Caroline Mathilde's life*,* mentions Struensee's comments about masquerades in his confession, and then quickly moves on to relate the court gossip:

> der blev baade af Karoline Matildes Kammerjomfruer og de andre anført flere Lejligheder, hvor Dronningen under Masken havde opført sig meget uforsigtigt overfor sin Elsker, og det var, som bekendt, paa et Maskebal paa Kristiansborg Slot, at Karoline Matilde tilbragte de sidste lykkelige Timer af sit Liv (*Damerne* 75).[184]

In this sequence we see the trajectory of the masquerade's dangerous influence: from "tale om amour," to reckless behavior, to the climactic final moments of happiness before disaster (ibid).[185]

Late twentieth-century histories show less of an inclination to depict the masquerade as almost causally leading to Caroline Mathilde's downfall, and instead

[184] Translation: "a fateful role"; "both Karoline Matilde's chambermaids and the others reported several occasions, where the queen under the mask behaved very carelessly towards her lover, and it was, as is well known, at a masquerade at Kristiansborg Castle that Karoline Matilde spent the last happy hours of her life."
[185] Translation: "talk of love."

emphasize masquerade's role in terms of court etiquette. Harald Langberg refers to the "rules" of courtly masquerade in *Dødens Teater* (1972), both making it clear that they did not truly guarantee against recognition and suggesting for his readers that Caroline Mathilde's reliance on these rules did not protect her against the fact that she was breaking other rules:

> Caroline Mathilde har ment sig garderet, og hun har måske noget naivt troet, at de særlige inkognito-regler, der gjaldt for maskerader, også omfattede hende, når hun befriet fra etikettens bånd, mere eller mindre forklædt – men altid genkendelig – trådte dansen på slottet. I alle tilfælde har hun på de hyppige maskerader vist sig mere kærlig mod sin ven, end en dronning kunne tillade sig, og når hun maskeret forsvandt fra et bal for først en rum tid senere at vise sig igen – uden den store paryk, hun før havde båret, men i selskab med Struensee – så skulle det nok blive bemærket (49).[186]

Explanations like this serve to demystify masquerade, and lay the blame for masquerade's "fatal" role in Caroline Mathilde's life on her own shoulders. The queen is guilty of naïveté with regard to the rules of the game, and the language of etiquette and permissibility replaces the suggestions of a causal link between masquerade and her fate. Nor are the masquerades associated with inevitable transgression the way they were in previous generations; rather, they are portrayed much more as opportunities that arise and

[186] Translation: "Caroline Mathilde thought herself safe, and perhaps naively believed that the special incognito-rules in place for masquerades also included her, when she, freed from the bands of etiquette, more or less disguised – but always recognizable – danced at the castle. In any case she showed at the frequent masquerades more affection towards her friend, than a queen could permit herself, and when she disappeared in a mask from a ball only to turn up a while later – without the large wig she had worn before, but in Struensee's company – it would certainly be noticed."

are seized upon by the immature, romantically inclined queen. In this sense, though, these texts can also be interpreted as showing Caroline Mathilde as a more active agent in her own story, in contrast to the passive victim, reminiscent of Biehl's and perhaps La Roche's figures, that we encounter in so much earlier fiction.

In fictionalized retellings, though, the melodramatic possibilities that masquerade freedom offers for progressing the erotic storyline were hard to pass up once this aspect of the story became fair game. From merely being a whispered rumor, in fiction, the scene can be expanded and given specific details. Brooks writes that melodrama "suggests the dream world in its enactments, in its thrust to break through repression and censorship, in its unleashing of the language of desire, its fulfillment of integral psychic needs" (80). The opportunity to eavesdrop on this moment of the confession of desire is irresistible for writers as well as readers of melodramatic fiction, who want confirmation of the relationship and to witness the moment enacted for them. One of the most extensive examples of this imagined moment comes in the sixth chapter of H. F. Ewald's 1890 novel *Caroline Mathilde* – which was the inspiration for Svend Aage Meyer's collection. Titled "*Masker*" ("Masks), this chapter takes place at a masquerade in the Great Hall at Christiansborg in early 1770. Ewald uses a number of fictional characters from both bourgeois and royal backgrounds in his retelling of the story, and in this chapter Anna Gjørling, daughter of a city clerk, has snuck into a masquerade at Christiansborg with the help of childhood friend Marie Reutzer, a quartermaster's daughter, who also explains the logistics of court masquerades for the benefit of both Anna and Ewald's readers, reporting for example that the royals don't always necessarily

wear masks, and that it is common for participants to change costumes during the course of the evening. In this way, Ewald combines the view of the masquerade as a special, courtly event, with the fantasy that outsiders can infiltrate it.

Another interloper, tutor Niels Sander sneaks off into a side room to confess his love to his former pupil, the colonel's daughter Charlotte Amalie von Trolle (a historical figure), only to be interrupted by the appearance of two masks, a man dressed as a monk and a woman in an Elizabethan gown. They whisper to each other in French, and the woman suddenly says aloud: "Je vous aime!" (137). After the couple disappears again, Charlotte is outraged, which confirms for Sander his suspicion: "Det var Dronningen; Majestæten skinner hos hende igennem enhver Forklædning. Naar det var hende, saa har jeg ikke nødig at spørge om, hvem der stak i Munkekutten" (138).[187] The scene prompts a discussion between Charlotte and Sander about their own future together, and Sander urges her to marry him for love, rather than the man her parents have chosen for her. Ewald draws on the motif of the masquerade as a site for the expression of personal desire, and juxtaposes the situation of the queen's love confession with that of the young couple that is also attempting to break social borders; after the two part, Sander is stopped by none other than Count Holck, the *maître des plaisirs,* who demands that he unmask himself and lectures him about breaking rules. Ewald thus brings together in this chapter the masquerade fantasies of class mingling and romantic adventure, drawing inspiration from the historical anecdote rather than focusing on it exclusively.

[187] Translation: "That was the queen; majesty shines in her through any disguise. If that was her, then I don't need to ask who was hiding in the monk's cowl."

Ewald's novel offers one of the richest examples of an attempt to depict the full-blown fantasy of the court masquerade. In addition to the narrative elements of scandalous class mixing and romantic intrigues present in this chapter, Ewald also conscientiously sets the scene with details about the architecture of the locale and descriptions of costumes that are surprisingly absent in most retellings. He describes Marie and Anna's route as they sneak into the Great Hall using her father's keys to avoid the main entrance and the controls, and has them first observe the tumult of the masquerade from the gallery, then descending a spiral staircase to join the crowd, while other characters steal into the many chambers surrounding the Great Hall. The costumes described cover the range of costumes that would have been typical at a court masquerade: Anna is in a black domino, black half-mask, and black hat with white feather; Marie comes as a local peasant girl with a jaunty mask; Charlotte von Trolle in an antique costume from the seventeenth century; Marie's love interest and Charlotte's brother Kristian von Trolle is in a Tyrolean costume; Niels Sander is a jockey; Count Holck is in a riding costume; Struensee is seen first as a Turk and then as a monk. The scene also includes examples of the masqueraders disguising their voices and speaking in English to avoid being recognized. In this chapter, the only glaring historical error seems to be the presence of Dowager Queen Sophia Magdalena at the masquerade, which otherwise serves as an indulgent immersion in a meticulously recreated moment of the eighteenth century for late-nineteenth-century tastes.

More than one hundred years later, the anecdote of the love declaration has become a more established element in the story, nearly as requisite in retellings as the

final masquerade.[188] Steensen-Leth and Rovsing Olsen, for example, both imagine a kind of smooth transition from summer (Caroline Mathilde's birthday celebration) to winter via masquerades, and a parallel transition from the first blush of love in the summer to outright declarations in winter or spring. If the belief in the possibilities of masquerade freedom has waned amongst historians in recent years, it is still an attractive, thriving motif for novelizations, as in Rovsing Olsen's *Caroline Mathildes Revolution:*

> Caroline Mathilde og Struensee dansede menuet. Hans ansigt var tæt ved hendes, hun mærkede hans spændte krop og følte hans hånd glide hen over hendes skulder, og gemt bag masken oplevede hun fortryllelsen, hun blev løftet ud af nu'et og ind i en vidunderlig sanselig verden, hvor alt er tilladt. I virvaret af dansende trak hun ham ind i skuespillernes omklædningsrum bag scenen (58).[189]

The couple shares an embrace and some kissing before being interrupted by another masquerade participant. Rovsing Olsen's belief in Caroline Mathilde's innocence leads to the inclusion of this witness to explain the well-known gossip, but his appearance destroys the atmosphere for the couple. The next day Struensee says to the queen:

---

[188] Enquist ignores this rumored masquerade and the love confession entirely, drawing instead upon a different, often neglected element of Struensee's interrogation: his report that his first sexual encounter with the queen did not occur at a masquerade, but after he was reading aloud for her. Enquist moves this encounter from Christiansborg to "Rousseaus cottage" at Ascheberg Garden, which is more in keeping with his downplaying of the masquerade as an event and his emphasis on the intellectual aspects of the Struensee affair.

[189] Translation: "Caroline Mathilde and Struensee danced the minuet. His face was close to hers, she noted his firm body and felt his hand glide over her shoulder, and behind the mask she experienced the enchantment, she was lifted up out of the now and into a wonderful sensory world, where everything is permitted. In the tangle of dancers she pulled him into the actors' dressing room behind the stage." Rovsing Olsen's description of the minuet does not actually fit well with the way the dance was normally performed.

> Det, der skete i aftes, var en fejltagelse…det var min skyld, og jeg beder Dem tilgive mig. Stemningen var løssluppen, gæsterne var så frigjorte bag maskerne, og der blev flirtet på dansegulvet… Jeg glemte mit ansvar. Det fortryder jeg bittert. Vi havde vist alle fået for meget at drikke (59).[190]

Struensee claims to take responsibility, but also uses the excuse of the quite literally intoxicating effect of the masquerade. In the Steensen-Leth scene cited in the previous section, the donning of a masquerade costume itself is again given credit or blame for allowing the pair to indulge more seriously in their flirtation. Though there is no mention of alcohol as with Rovsing Olsen, Steensen-Leth nonetheless has the masquerade function as an "ecstatic" experience that lets her heroine get carried away. Steensen-Leth presents the fiction of masquerade anonymity as something that consoles the queen; though in later passages the queen worries about eventual court gossip, the masquerade appears as true opportunity for the brief expression of personal liberty. While for Ewald, the masquerade is an opportunity for bourgeois interlopers to brush up with their betters, for Steensen-Leth it has become an opportunity for the queen to behave as one half of an ordinary lovesick couple.

The Final Unmasking - 16 January 1772

The masquerade at Christiansborg on 16 January 1772 shows in its reception history, perhaps more clearly than any other masquerade of the era, the tension between the understanding of masquerade as a practice and as a metaphor. By and large, this

[190] Translation: "What happened last night was a mistake… it was my fault, and I beg your forgiveness. The atmosphere was unrestrained; the guests were liberated behind the masks, and there was flirting on the dance floor… I forgot my responsibility. I regret it bitterly. We had probably all had too much to drink."

particular masquerade has been interpreted in one of two ways: as one trivial event among many of eighteenth-century court life, or as a metaphor-laden statement on the court and the events of the preceeding years. Though most likely a coincidence of history, as noted at the beginning of Chapter Three, this masquerade was almost immediately seized upon as a metaphor that could frame the public's understanding of the unusual events of the period. The employment of this metaphor extended beyond the campaigns immediately following the arrest and trial of the queen and Struensee into the literature of the nineteenth century, and continues on into the twentieth century and beyond.

P. Fr. Rist begins a 1914 pastiche in the voice of Dorothea, a teenaged girl who attended her first ball at the Court Theater on 16 January 1772 as follows:

> Gode Søster---ihvorvel Du og min kjære Svoger af *Papa* har erfaret Alt det, hvilket skeet er samme ulyksalige Dag og Natten derpaa, og I derfore har Kundskab om vores ulyksalige høytelskede Dronning Caroline Mathilde, hvilken nu forsmægter paa Cronborg Fæstning, saa og om Greverne, samt endydermeere de Andre, hvilke haardeligen holdes udi Fængsel, vil jeg enddog antegne nogle Poster anlangedes den *Bal Masqué paré en Domino,* hvilken gik foran (Rist).[191]

Composed for the souvenir program of the "Afskedsforestillingene" (Farewell Performances) at the Christiansborg Court Theater that took place over three nights in

[191] Translation: "Dear Sister - although you and my dear brother-in-law have learned from Papa everything which happened on that same miserable day and the night before, and you therefore have knowledge of our miserable most loved queen Caroline Mathilde, who now languishes at Cronborg Fortress, and also of the counts, including even more the others, who brutally are kept in prsion, will I nonetheless note some points regarding the *Bal Masqué paré en Domino* that preceded it.

late April and early May 1914, this text exemplifies the melodramatic mode in its polarized and nostalgic perception of the event. Though Christian VII's theater had been renovated several times during the nineteenth century, for years it had served as a warehouse for old furniture from Christiansborg, but now it had been determined that it was a fire hazard and should be demolished. In celebrating the Court Theater, the organizers of the farewell program naturally turned to an historical event that is forever tied to the location. Luckily, an impressive list of supporters led by actor Robert Neiiendam worked to save the theater, and it was eventually turned into the Theater Museum,[192] which as such now preserves both the program containing this pastiche in its archives as well as the memory of the theater's connection to the infamous Struensee period and the Revolution of 1772 in a lodge dedicated to Caroline Mathilde and Struensee and their final masquerade. Yet as Per Olov Enquist writes in *Livläkerens besök,* that masquerade itself was uneventful, and only later became "så omtalad, och så viktig" (309).[193] The pastiche does not suggest otherwise, but rather focuses on the costumes, the decorations, the dancing - the banality of the event. "Jeg saae Arveprintzen længe derpaa dantze med Dronning Caroline, der gjorde heele *Touren* med. Den onde Printz", writes Rist in the personage of the girl, looking back at the masquerade some three months later, according to the "letter's" dating of April 1772.[194] Dorothea casts the prince as villain and the queen as an unfortunate victim, while Rist enjoys the ironic

[192] The committee members and "Garanterne" listed in the program reads like a "who's who" of the period, including such prominent figures as Louis Bobé, Georg Brandes, Emma Gad, Carl Nielsen, and Viggo Cavling. Edward Brandes contributed an essay to the program as well.
[193] Translation: "so discussed and so important" (Nunnally 250).
[194] Translation: "I saw the Herditary Prince dance for a long time thereafter with Queen Caroline, who did the whole *tour*. The evil prince."

distance of the pastiche—a masquerade genre in a sense—even as he draws on nearly a century-and-a-half of accumulated knowledge and speculation about the event.

The simple historical fact of the proximity of the *bal paré en domino* of January 16, 1772 to the coup the following morning has been so frequently mentioned as to make it seem that the conspirators actually intended to make a metaphoric statement with their timing. Thea Leitner and Carolin Philipps are strikingly similar in their almost causal link of the masquerade and the arrests: "Die Palastrevolution war für die Nacht vom 16. zum 17. Januar, 1772, unmittelbar nach einem Maskenball, geplant"(230); and "Die Nacht nach dem Maskenball am 17. Januar 1772 wurde zur Stunde X auserkoren"[195] (142). Yet the coup was not, after all, pulled off during the masquerade itself, but rather hours after it had ended. The distractions could just as easily have been provided by any one of the many other forms of entertainment that so famously filled the court's calendar. The fact of a masquerade preceding the revolution could be interpreted as a coincidence of history, and yet instead it quickly became a programmatic scene for many narratives of the entire Struensee affair, a scene with an almost legendary quality that rivaled the legend of Caroline Mathilde's innocence. In the case of the story of Struensee and Caroline Mathilde, the final masquerade has been variously interpreted to emphasize the charade of the absolute monarchy, the end of the "Wunder-Land" fantasy of carnivalesque suspension of social rules, the potential for betrayal and deception, and the shocking removal of the mask that stops the show.

Enquist and Neumann are not alone in downplaying of the final masquerade as an event within their retelling in favor of more broad reliance on masquerade metaphor, but

[195] NB: Philipps gives the wrong date.

they are in the minority. Far from being "nothing," however, for many other interpreters of the story, the masquerade of 16 January 1772 is everything. Parallel to the tradition of ignoring or downplaying the masquerade, there is also a tradition running from the first literary treatment of the material, Bornschein's *Dänische Blutgerüst* up through Svend Åge Madsen's 1987 play *Dødens Teater* that relates only the final masquerade, including a number of texts that squeeze the entire story into the days immediately surrounding it.[196] For Bornschein, this "*Ball en Maske*" is a scene of "*ausserordentliche Pracht*," and although he writes in a time when masquerades were still common, he fills the passage with a series of rather heavy-handed masquerade metaphors. Most notably, this occurs via the frequent appearance in identical black masks of the conspirators, who whisper "In der Hölle, niemals in Dänemark!"in response to various utterances by other characters, such as a toast in honor of the queen (Bind 3, 142, 147).[197] Such starkly villainous proclamations are examples of what Brooks calls one of the main points of "critical resistance and embarrassment that melodrama may elicit" (41); he claims that these declarations are uncomfortable, and "that such pure destructive sentiment should exist, and should so acknowledge its existence, disturbs us," though it is also part of its appeal (42). This uncensored expression of emotion and "rhetorical breaking-through of repression" makes villainy clear (ibid); it also highlights again the affinities between masquerade and melodrama, for masquerade also represents an attempt to allow unfettered expression.

---

[196] Madsen's *Dødens Teater* (Theater of Death) was written for Grønnegårds Teater in 1987, and shares its title with Langberg's 1972 historiographic text. (The writer's own name is similar to, but should not be confused with, that of the collector Svend Aage Meyer.) The unpublished script is available at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

[197] Bornschein, Bind 3, 142, 147.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, two German dramatists used the masquerade in their retellings as an opportunity to emphasize the metaphoric impact of the masquerade as a site of betrayal, and invent new intrigues for their narratives. These plays are not categorized as melodramas, but do have strong melodramatic tendencies, in particular with respect to the masquerade scenes. Michael Beer includes in his (1828) version of the final masquerade not only Struensee's near declaration of love to Caroline Mathilde, but also a long exchange with a character named "die weiße Maske," who rushes around the stage through during several scenes, before finally finding Struensee and warning him about the imminent danger he is in (3, 9ff). Their conversation is filled with metaphors of playing and games, as Struensee is expected at the king's card table. Struensee is rather cavalier about the warning, but thanks the mask, saying: "Doch denk' ich, heute droht mir kein Verlust, / Denn wer mit Kön'gen spielt, kann nicht verlieren" (3, 10). Struensee leaves, and the mask is removed to reveal Schack Carl Rantzau, the count that had been Struensee's friend in Altona but ultimately was included amongst the conspirators. Rantzau counters in monologue, "Weil Du mit Kön'gen spielst, bist du verloren!" and bemoans his situation before being approached by Köller and Guldberg (3, 11). This device allows Beer to rehabilitate his (and Struensee's) fellow German, however improbably. The figure of the warning white mask is reminiscent of Lord Seymour's white mask in La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim,* but in the context of the Struensee-Caroline Mathilde story is an unusual twist in the masquerade scene. The mask effectively protects the wearer's identity, and the masquerade setting makes it possible for Rantzau to attempt a benevolent, though secret act that could have

serious personal repercussions. Here the masquerade is primarily a scene of political games, and Rantzau's attempt to warn Struensee there casts it as a scene of possibility and, ultimately, missed opportunities.

While Beer attempts to include both the political and the romantic narratives, Heinrich Laube focuses almost exclusively on the love triangle in his *Struensee* tragedy (1847), and his masquerade scene accordingly draws upon the motif of romantic intrigue and deception.[198] Laube, apparently striving after the classic goal of unities of time, place and action, crams the entire tale into about twenty-four hours from 16th-17th January, even managing to have Struensee executed – by firing squad! – before the curtain falls.[199] But Laube also invents his own intrigue at the masquerade; he introduces a Gräfin Mathilde von Gallen, who, bitter after having been rejected by Struensee, joins the conspirators in entrapping him. She and the queen appear at the ball in identical costumes – as Undine, in a possible reference to Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué's tale of that name (1811) and Hans Christian Andersen's *Den lille havfrue* (1837), playing upon the motif of the young woman attempting to survive out of her element and experiencing romantic disappointment and betrayal.[200] At the same time as the two Undines game is being played, the king has switched costumes with another character, thus confusing the conspirators, who expect to find him in a hermit costume. The countess lets Struensee believe that she is the queen as he declares his love to her and "beugt sein Haupt auf ihre

[198] Laube, Heinrich. *Struensee. Tragödie in fünf Akten.* Leipzig: Weber, 1847.
[199] In the foreword to the published script, Laube rather incredibly denies that this was intentional, writing: "Daß in meinem Struensee alle drei Einheiten beobachtet sind, ist für mich selbst etwas beinahe Zufälliges"(30).
[200] The first German translation of *Den lille havfrue* appeared as "Das kleine Meerweib" in a translation by none other than Jenssen-Tusch in 1839. See Möller-Christensen, 118.

Hand" (5, 6). This is witnessed by the heretofore-duped king, who, now in a red domino, is completely convinced of Struensee's guilt. The hermit is meanwhile revealed to be a messenger sent to inform Struensee of his mother's death – which he manages to do just as Struensee is forced to confess. The game of identity confusion at Laube's masquerade is played to the detriment of the hero and heroine, and thus presents masquerade as a dangerous practice that facilitates deception that leads to both political and personal tragedy.[201]

Absent invented, masquerade-specific intrigues such as seen in Beer and Laube, most writers draw on a repertoire of historical anecdotes related to the 16th January masked ball in combination with the use of the word "masquerade" to give the retellings give these passages more or less metaphoric weight, sense of foreboding, or dramatic irony. The most prominent of these are Caroline Mathilde dancing the evening's final dance with Hereditary Prince Frederik, the appearance of Guldberg at a masquerade for the first time, and descriptions of the suits worn by Struensee and Brandt, which they later wore to their executions. These bits of historical trivia are depicted in literature in ways that frequently suggest reference to the melodramatic ritual Brooks identifies: "the confrontation of clearly identified antagonists and the expulsion of one of them" (17). Because the characters with whom the writers' sympathies lie— Caroline Mathilde at

[201] Laube's use of character costumes also raises a point about one aspect of the January masquerade that is sometimes changed, or ignored, in later depictions of it; for it was actually a *domino* ball and not a character masquerade. In the earliest accounts and histories, such as the masked ball is usually referred to with the word domino included, as in Jens Kragh Høst's 1824 history *Geheimekabinetsminister Grev Johann Freidrich Struensee og hans Ministerium,* where he refers to it with the French term *Bal Masque paré en Domino;* the 1827 German translation calls it "ein Maskenball in Domino". For some writers, though, the opportunity to luxuriate in descriptions of costumes, often adding further layers to the masquerade metaphor via the costume choices, is difficult to pass up.

least, if not also Struensee and Brandt— are the ones who historically suffered this expulsion, recountings of their experiences cannot fulfill the classic stage melodrama's triumph of good over evil. However, the writers' clear partisanship performs a kind of rehabilitation of these figures, in so far as they enjoy a belated recognition of their virtues.

The reference to Hereditary Prince Frederik as "den onde Printz" in the pastiche cited above and Rovsing Olsen's description of the Prince's dance with Caroline Mathilde as a "*danse macabre"* are typical in their succinct estimation of the moment, and highlight how much magnitude is ascribed to what would have been a fairly ordinary occurrence (Rovsing Olsen *Caroline Mathildes revolution* 83).[202] The melodramatic implication that the prince's dance with the queen is insincere because he is aware of her imminent arrest, layers a second moment of deceit onto the backdrop of the masquerade, which is already coded as a scene of treachery. Guldberg's decision to make this his first masquerade is likewise presented as an incidence of duplicity, as he appears to be joining those whom he is about to overthrow. As with the masquerade as a whole, these actions of the conspirators at the masquerade only gain importance in the context of the following coup, but their constant repetition in new narratives reflects both the lack of more exciting events at the masquerade itself as well as the ability of the masquerade to color even the most uneventful deeds, making even the simple act of participation in the masquerade a sinister act.

While those two motifs focus on the gap between the appearance and the intentions of the coup makers, the motif of Struensee and Brandt's clothing suggests the

[202] Translation: "the evil prince."

masquerade's long-lasting influence on the individual. Rovsing Olsen makes the most of this bit of trivia, titling the first of his two novels on the subject *Døden i Festdragt* (Death in festival attire) and including a long passage that imagines Brandt and Struensee exchanging messages in prison about the clothing choice.[203] Both contemporaries and later historians note that the two men wore the same clothing to their executions on 28th April as they had worn to the masquerade on 16th January, so we know that Brandt wore a green suit with gold trim, Struensee light blue velvet, and both had white furs.[204] There was much that was unusual about the execution of these men – no one of their status had been executed in recent memory, and only one other person was executed for lèse majesté that century – and their clothing was indeed an aspect that varied from the norm, for capital offenders were usually dressed in a special white outfit with black edging, not in colorful party clothes.[205] While the choice of elegant clothing is often interpreted as a sign of the belief that the two men would be granted clemency, the specification that these were the clothes worn on 16th January strongly suggests a sense of continuity from the masquerade straight to the execution scaffold. We can only speculate about to what extent this might have been the intention of the new rulers, who perhaps recognized only in hindsight that the coincidence of the masquerade and their coup could be harnessed as a political metaphor.

Though Neumann does not describe the final ball as a masquerade, he still has Struensee wear a suit worn to a masquerade at his execution, drawing out this metaphor

[203] Rovsing Olsen, *Døden i Festdragt*, 262-263.
[204] See for example Langberg 111-112.
[205] Tyge Krogh describes execution practices in eighteenth-century Denmark and this "dragt" in particular (290).

of masquerade over the course of his entire experience of the Danish court. The perspective on masquerade seen in Neumann and other later writers thus shifts its emphasis from being a large-scale, public game for hundreds or thousands of participants to a risky private enterprise with long-lasting consequences for the individual. Brooks sees in the melodramatic mode the modern, Rousseuaian "insistence on the uniqueness of his individual inner being," a kernel of which seems inherent in the masquerade's emphasis on the sanctity of the mask and the individual's safety behind it (16). Yet the constant paradox of the mask is that it always performs several functions simultaneously. Even as it ensures the privacy of the individual behind it, it also relates to that individual's public persona. The sacred status of the individual person that arose during the Enlightenment was acted out in masquerade, which was celebrated as a site of personal independence and exploration, and acknowledged the gap between the public mask and private desires. In its afterlife in much of the literature of the nineteenth, twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, the ambivalence and ambiguity surrounding the masquerade was transferred into the melodramatic mode and externalized to the era as a whole.

***

The medallion Neumann's Struensee finds before his execution comments on the figure's preceding years as a masquerade. I also see this forgotten masquerade relic as a fitting metaphor for the material that I brought together and analyzed in this project, demonstrating the complexities of the practice that inspired so much discussion and is still recognized as a characteristic element of eighteenth-century culture. Not unusually

for a project of this scope, there remains an abundance of other sources that could be incorporated in future work: paintings, engravings, operas, poems and other literary works, films. There is also much that speaks for expanding the transnational scope into other context, particularly the Swedish one. At the same time, the ongoing fascination with eighteenth-century masquerade can be seen in the fact that Danish production company Zentropa Entertainments has entered *En kongelig affære* (A Royal Affair), a film about the Struensee affair, in the 2012 Internationale Filmfestspiele in Berlin, where it will have its world premire ("18 World Premieres"); a teaser poster for the film features Christian VII in a dominating pose with two scantily-clad, masked women ("En kongelig affære").[206] Beyond the continued presence of masquerade in popular culture, I look forward to following the masquerade metaphor outside of the eighteenth-century frame. This project's primary aim has been to recover and contextualize eighteenth-century masquerade in German and Danish contexts, and I believe that this work will serve as a springboard for continued investigations of this rich topic.

[206] At the time of writing, the poster was available online at: <http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/nationalfilmografien/nffilm.aspx?id=74204>.

Bibliography of Works Consulted

"18 World Premieres in the Competition." *Berlinale – Press – Press Releases – Competition – 18 World Premieres in the Competition.* January 20, 2012. Web. February 3, 2012. <http://www.berlinale.de/en/presse/pressemitteilungen/wettbewerb/wettbewerb-presse-detail_13012.html>

"Adskillige Nyt." *Københavns Kongelig allene privilegerede Adresse-Contoirs med Posten foresendende Efterretninger.* No. 111. Mandagen den 24. Julii 1769. Microfilm.

Albjerg, Asger. *Ludvig Holberg's poetiske maskerade*. København: Vinten, 1978.

Alenius, Marianne. *Brev til eftertiden. Om Charlotta Dorothea Biehls selvbiografi og andre breve*. København: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1987.

Amidsen, Asser. *Til nytte og fornøjelse. Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737-1772*).(København?): Akademisk, 2002.

Andersen, H. C. "Den lille Havfrue." *Eventyr, fortalte for Børn. 1835-42.* Kritisk udgave efter de originale Eventyrhæfter med Varianter ved Erik Dal og Kommentar ved Erling Nielsen. Bd. I. 1835-42. København: Hans Reitzel. 87-106.

Andersen, Østergård Jørgen and Charlotte Engberg, Eds. *Masken som repræsentation.* Kulturstudier 22. Århus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 1994.

Anon. *Caroline Mathilde und Ihr Kreis. Die Sammlung Svend Aage Meyer, Kopenhagen.* Kulturamt Celle, 1960.

Anon. "*De Syv merkværdige Fanger*. *Den 17. Januarii 1772.* Kiøbenhavn. Trykt ogfindes tilkiøbs hos A. F. Stein, boende i Skidenstrædet i No. 171." Copenhagen, 1772.

Anon. "Gedanken, im September 1770 geschrixeben, und wegen des merkwürdigsten 17ten Jenners zu einer Erinnerung beyder Zeiten, im Druck gegeben." Kopenhagen, 1772. Gedruckt, und zu finden bey Joh. Rud. Thiele, in der grossen Heiligengeiststrasse. Copenhagen, 1772.

Anon. "*Tvilling-Rigernes Taksigelse til Forsynet over Kong Christian VII tilligemed Kiøbenhavns Borgeres Glæde over de vigtige Tildragelser den 17de Januarii Anno 1772."* Kiøbenhavn trykt hos Paul Herman Høecke. Copenhagen, 1772.

Anon. “Ueber die Masquen =Bälle.” Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1785.

Bakhtin, M. M. *Rabelais and His World.* (1965) Trans. Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984.

Barthélemy, Edouar de (le comte). *Histoire des relations de la France et du Danemarck. sous Le ministère du comte de bernstorff, 1751-1770.* Copenhague. Imprimerie de Jørgense & Cie (M. A. Hannover). 1887.

Bartholdy, Nils G. “Pardeslottets Hverdag.” *Christiansborg Slot. red. af Kristian Hvidt, Svend Ellehøj og Otto Norm, billedred.: Chr. Bang.* Bd. 1. 1 : Absalons borg. Københavns slot. Det første Christiansborg. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, 1975.

Bauer, Volker. *Die höfische Gesellschaft in Deutschland von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer Typologie.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993.

Baguss Britt, Christa. “Introduction.” In: La Roche, Sophie von. *The History of Lady Sophia Sternheim.* Trans. Christa Baguss Britt. New York: State University of New York Press, 1991. 3-35.

Bech, Svend Cedergreen. Ed. *Brev fra Dorothea. Af Charlotta Dorothea Biehs historiske Breve.* Politikens Historiske Bibliotek Bd. 8. København: Politikens Forlag, 1975.

Bech, Svend Cedergreen. *Struensee og Hans Tid.* Med Billedredaktion af Bo Bramsen. København: Politiken, 1972.

Becker-Cantarino, Barbara. *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit: Frau und Literatur (1500-1800).* Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987.

--. “Lessing, 'Der Misogyne.’ Sexualität und Maskerade in Lessings frühen Lustspielen.” *Monatshefte für deutschscprachige Literatur und Kultur.* 92 (2000): 123-138.

Bettinger, Elfi and Funk, Julika. *Maskeraden: Geschlechterdifferenz in der literarischen Inszenierung.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1995.

--. “Nachwort.” *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim.* By Sophie von La Roche. 1771. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983.

Beer, Michael. *Struensee. Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Zum Erstenmale dargestellt auf dem königlichen Theater zu München, den 27. März 1828*. Stuttgart und Tübingen: F. G. Gotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1829.

Berg, Gunhild. "Zur Konjuntkur des Begriffs 'Experiment' in den Natur-, Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften." In: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte als Begriffsgeschichte. Terminologische Umbrüche im Entstehungsprozess der modernen Wissenschaften.* Ed. Michael Eggers and Matthias Rothe. Bielefeld: transcript, 2009.

Berns, Jörg Jochen. "Der nackte Monarch und die Nackte Wahrheit: Auskünfte der deutschen Zeitungs- und Zeremoniellchriften des späten 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts zum Verhältnis von Hof und Öffentlichkeit." In: *Hof, Staat und Gesellschaft in der Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts.* Ed. Elger Blühm et al. Amsterdam, 1982.

Biehl, Charlotta Dorothea. *Brev fra Dorothea. Af Charlotta Dorothea Biehls historiske breve.* [=Letters from Dorothea. From Charlotta Dortohea Biehl's historical letters.] Ed. Svend Cedergreen Bech. København: Politiken, 1975.

--. "Den forklædte Maler." [="The disguised painter."] In: *Moralske Fortællinger* Bd. 2. København, 1781. *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur*. Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab og Det Kongelige Bibliotek. 15. September 2007. Web. 18 Dec. 2011 <http://adl.dk/adl_pub/pg/cv/ShowPgImg.xsql?nnoc=adl_pub&p_udg_id=394&p_sidenr=159>

--. *Mit ubetydelige Levnet Løb.* [=My insignificant life's course.] Ed. Marianne Alenius. København: Museum Tusculanum, 1999.

Bielfeld, Baron. *Letters of Baron Bielfeld…containing original Anecdotes of the Prussian court for the last Twenty years*. Trans. Mr. Hooper. 4 vols. London, 1768-1770.

Bredsdorff, Thomas. *Den brogede oplysning.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2003.

Blangstrup, Christian. *Christian VII og Caroline Mathilde.* Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1890.

Bloch, J. [Arkivsekretær] "En Brevvexling fra Struensee-Tiden. (Rousseausk Interiør fra Danmark)" *Museum – Tidsskrift for Historie og Geografi*. 1981, 1. Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal. (129-154, 249-287, 346-380.)

Bobé, Louis. "Kong Christian VII's Tid." *Danmark i Fest og Glæde.* Bind III: Tiden 1750-1820. Ed. Julius Clausen and Torben Krogh. Kbh: Erichsens, 1935. 53-180.

Bohnen, Klaus. "Der Gott des Kindes: eine deutsch-dänische Aufklärungsdebatte (Cramer, Lessing, Basedow, Holberg)." *G.E. Lessing-Studien : Werke--Kontexte—Dialoge.* 2006: 187-196.

Bornschein, D. [Dramatisch bearbeitet von D. B…n.] *Friedrich Graf von Struensee oder Das Dänische Blutgerüst.* Kopenhagen, Flensburg und Altona, 1793.

Bregnsbo, Michael. *Caroline Mathilde. Magt og Skæbne.* København: Aschehoug, 2007.

Brock, Dr. P. [Inspektør ved de danske Kongers kronologiske Samling paa bemeldte Slot.] *Historiske Efterretninger om Rosenborg.* 3 Volumes. Kjøbenhavn: Lehmann & Stage, 1881-1883.

Broerman, Bruce M. "Robert Neumann's Struensee: Potboiler or Patent Parody." *Modern Austrian Literature.* 16:2, 1983. 105-119.

Brooks, Peter. *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess: With a New Preface.* 1976. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Guilford, Wildwood House, 1978.

Blangstrup, Christian. *Christian VII og Caroline Mathilde.* Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1890.

Boerman, Bruce M. "Robert Neumann's *Struensee:* Potboiler or Patent Parody." *Modern Austrian Literature.* 16:2, 1983. 105-119.

Bornschein, D. [Dramatisch bearbeitet von D. B…n.]. *Friedrich Graf von Struensee oder Das Dänische Blutgerüst.* Kopenhagen, Flensburg und Altona, 1793.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe.* [1978] Revised reprint. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994.

Carlyle, Thomas. *The History of Friedrich II of Prussia,* Volumes 1-7. (1858) Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007.

Castle, Terry. *The Female Thermometer. The 18th Century and the Invention of the Uncanny.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.

--. *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1986.

Cavling, Ib Henrik. *Elskov og Vanvid.Cathrine og Kongen. Struensee og Dronningen.* 1963.

Cedergreen Bech, Svend, Ed. *Brev fra Dorothea. Af Charlotta Dorothea Biehls historiske breve.* København: Politiken, 1975.

Christian, konge af Danmark [VIII]. *Kong Christian VIII.s Dagbøger Og Optegnelser*. Eds. Axel Lindvald, Else Kornerup, Albert Fabritius, et al. Kbh: Det kongelige danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie, 1943.

Christiansen, Chr. *Arbejderfester.* København: Fremad, 1932.

Craft-Fairchild, Catherine. *Masquerade and Gender. Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women.* University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State UP, 1993.

Daniel, Ute. "The Baroque Court Festival: The Example of German Courts Around 1700." 33-46.

Dansk litteratur historie 3: Stænderkultur og enevælde 1620-1746. Ed. Jens Hougaard, Toni Nielsen, Erik Vestergaard Rasmussen, Arne Rindom, Peer E. Sørensen. København: Gyldendal, 1984-2000.

Dörfliche Fasnacht zwischen Neckar und Bodensee. Beiträge des Tübinger Arbeitskreises für Fasnachtsforschung. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Folkskunde, 1966.

Dove, Richard. "Almost an English Author: Robert Neumann's English-Language Novels." *German Life and Letters* 51:1 January 1998. 93-105.

Eagleton, Terry. *Walter Benjamin, or, Towards a Revolutionary Criticism.* London: Verso, 1985.

Eco, Umberto. "The frames of comic 'freedom'", in Sebeok, Thomas A. Ed. *Carnival!* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984. 1-9.

Endore, S. Guy. *Casanova the World's Greates Lover: His Known and Unknown Life.* Cornwall, NY: Cornwall, 1929.

Engberg, Charlotte and Bodil Marie Thomsen, Eds. *Maskerade--teori, tekst, billeder.* Kulturstudier 16. Århus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 1992.

Elias, Norbert. *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie, mit einer Einleitung: Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft.* Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1969.

--. *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen.* Bern, München: Francke, 1969.

Elling, Christian. *Hofkronik: Studier Omkring Caroline Mathilde.* København: Gyldendal, 1945.

--. *Maskespil. Fire Afhandlinger.* København: Gyldendal, 1945.

"En kongelig affære." *Det Danske Filminstitut.* n.d. Web. February 3, 2012. <http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/nationalfilmografien/nffilm.aspx?id=74204>

Enquist, P. O. *Livläkarens besök.* Stockholm: Pan, 1999.

Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe. Ed. Mulryne, J. R. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring. Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate ; London : MHRA, 2004.

Ewald, H. F. *Caroline Mathilde. Historisk Roman.* Kjøbenhavn: Jacob Erslevs, 1890.

Feigs, Wolfgang. "Deutschland, Deutsche und Deutsch in Ludvig Holbergs Komödien." *Nerthus* 2 (1969): 249-265.

Fink, Gonthier-Louis. "Das Englandbild in Sophie von La Roches 'Fräulein von Sternheim.'" In: *Funktion und Funktionswandel der Literatur im Geistes- und Gesellschaftsleben.* Ed. Manfred Schmeling. Bern: Peter Lang, 1989.

Fink, Monika. *Der Ball. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Gesellschaftstanzes im 18. og 19. Jahrhundert.* [Band 1 der Reihe Bibliotheca Musicologica Universität Innsbruck. Hg. Tilman Seebass] Innsbruck-Wien: Studien Verlag/Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1996.

Fischer-Lichte, Erika. *Ästhetik des Performativen.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2004.

--. *Semiotik des Theaters. Band 1. Das System der theatralischen Zeichen.* 1983. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2007.

--. *Semiotik des Theaters. Band 2. Vom "künstlichen" zum "natürlichen" Zeichen Theater des Barock und der Aufklärung.* 1983. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2007.

Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington. *King Theodore of Corsica.* London: Vizetelly, 1890.

Fjelstrup, Aug. *Damerne ved Karoline Matildes Hof.* København: Hermann-Petersens Forlag, 1909.

Fjelstrup, August. *Skilsmisse Processen imellem Kong Kristian VII og Dronning Karoline Mathilde.* (1908). Strubes, 1968.

Flamand, L. J. *Christian den Syvendes Hof, eller Struensee og Caroline Mathilde. En sand Fremstilling af de vigtigste Begivenheder under Cristian den Syvende, efter de nyeste Kilder og mundlige Beretninger af Samtidige; med Portraiter*. Kjøbenhavn: Salomon, 1854.

Fleischbauer, Werner. "Fasnacht und Maskerade am Stuttgarter Herzogshof." *Schwäbische Heimat: Zeitschrift für Regionalgeschichte, württembergische Landeskultur, Kulturschutz und Denkmalpflege.* Stuttgart: Heimatbund, 1953. 3-6.

Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." Trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics.* Vol 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1986). 22-27.

--. *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage/Random House, 1978.

Fouqué, Friedrich de la Motte. *Undine. Eine Erzählung.* 1811. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983.

Friis, Aage. Ed. "Det danske Hof i 1770 skildret ved samtidige Breve." In: *Tilskueren: Maanedsskrift for Litteratur, Samfundsspørgsmaal og almenfattelige videnskabelige Skildringerr.* København: Det Nordiske Forlag, 1900, 779-802 and 883-914.

Garber, Marjorie. *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing & Cultural Anxiety.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Geitner, Ursula. *Die Sprache der Verstellung. Studien zum rhetorischen und anthropologischen Wissen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992.

Gestrich, Andreas. “Höfisches Zeremoniell und sinnliches Volk. Die Rechtfertigung des Hofzeremoniells im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert.” *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit.* Ed. Jörg Jochen Berns und Thomas Rahn. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995.

Glebe-Møller, Jens. *Struensees vej til skafottet. Fornuft og åbenbaring i Oplysningtiden.* København: Museum Tusculanum, 2007.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. “An Sie.” In: *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens.* Münchner Ausgabe. Hg. Karl Richter et al. Band 18.1 *Letzte Jahre 1827-1832.* München: Carl Hanser, 1997.

--. “Das Römische Karneval.” In: *Italienische Reise.* 1786-1788. München: Beck, 2006. 484-515.

--. “Theaterreden und Maskenzüge.” In: *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens: Münchner Ausgabe.* Hg. Karl Richter et al. Band 6.1 *Weimarer Klassik 1798-1806*. München: Carl Hanser, 1986.

Goethe-Wörterbuch, ed. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, and Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979-[2010]), 2:1253

Goffman, Erving. *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

--. *Interaction Ritual; Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

--. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959.

Greene-Gantzberg, Vivian. “Om Holbergs svar på tysk kritik.” *Danske Studier.* 1988: 72-83.

Gunnell, Terry. *Masks and Mumming in the Nordic Area.* Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 98. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2007.

--. *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995.

Haas, Johann Meno. “Struensees Arrestation.” 1772. n.d. Web. February 3, 2012. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Struensees_arrestation.jpg>

Habermas, Jürgen. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchung zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit*. Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1962.

Hagedorn, Friedrich von. "Die Maske und das Gesicht." *Versuch in Poetischen Fabeln und Erzehlungen*. (1738) In: *Herrn Friedrichs von Hagedorn sammtliche poetische Werke*. Hamburg, J. C. Bohn, 1957 ; Bern : H. Lang, 1968.

Hauke, Wilfried. "Ludvig Holberg und Johann Elias Schlegel. Zur Komiktheorie und Wirkungsästhetik zweire Frühaufklärer im Feld der Komödienbestimmung Johann Christoph Gottscheds (Dänemark/Deutschland 1730-1751)." *Skandinavistik.* 15. 2 (1985): 107-133.

Hausen, Karin. "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere.' Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben." Werner Conze (Ed), *Soziale Geschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neu Forschungen.* Ed. Werner Conze. Stuttgart, 1976. 363-393.

Hein, Lisbeth. "Danmarks første pressehetz – Struensee og trykkefriheden 1772." *Hørsholm Egns Museum Årbog 1992.* Hørsholm, 1992.

Helleberg, Maria and Katia Johansen. *Louise Augusta. Kærlighedsbarnet.* [Exhibition Catalog.] Rosenborg, 2003.

Helleberg, Maria. "Lyst." In: Langen, Ulrik, Ed. *1700-tallet: Parykker, Profit Og Pøbel.* Koebenhavn: JP/Politikens og Golden Days in Copenhagen, 2010. 126-143.

Helleberg, Maria. *Mathilde: Magt Og Maske : Roman*. København: Gyldendal, 1991.

Henckmann, Giesla and Dorothea Hölscher-Lohmeyer. *Kommentar* In: Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens.* Münchner Ausgabe. Band 18.1 *Letzte Jahre 1827-1832.* München: Carl Hanser, 1997.

Henningsen, Peter. "Den bestandige maskerade. Standssamfund, Rangsamfund og det 18. århundredes honette kultur." *Historisk tidsskrift.* København. 101.2 (2001): 313-344.

Heräus, Carl Gustav. "Uber den Bal der Kaiserl. Edel=Knaben bey Hofe in der Fastnachts=Zeit." *Gedichte und Lateinische Inschriften des Kaiserl. Raths, auch Medallien- und Antiquitäten-Inspectors Herrn Carl Gustav Heräus, Nach des*

Herrn Verfassers Ubersehung, und Hinzufügung der in dem ersten Exemplar abgängigen Stücke. Nürnberg: Monrath, 1721. 226-229.

Hjort, Birte. *Fastelavn i Hollænderbyen.* Dragør : Foreningen "Vennekredsen", 1986.

Holberg, Ludvig. "Forsvar for Maskerader" (Epistola CCCXLVII). 1750. *Epistler. Udgivne med kommentar af F. J. Billeskov Jansen.* V. 4. København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1938.

--. *Four Plays: The Fussy Man. The Masked Ladies. The Weathercock. Masquerades.* Trans. Henry Alexander. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1946.

--. *Julestue.* [Christmas Party] 1724. *Værker i tolv Bind. Digteren – Historikeren – Juristen – Vismanden.* Bind 4. Udgivet med Indledninger og Kommentarer af F.J. Billeskov Jansen, Rosenkilde og Bagger, Kbh. 1969-71.

--. *Mascarade.* 1724. *Værker i tolv Bind. Digteren - Historikeren - Juristen – Vismanden.* Bind 4. Udgivet med Indledninger og Kommentarer af F.J. Billeskov Jansen, Rosenkilde og Bagger, Kbh. 1969-71.

--. *De Usynlige.* 1731. [*Værker i tolv Bind. Digteren –Historikeren - Juristen – Vismanden.* Bind. 6. Udgivet med Indledninger og Kommentarer af F.J. Billeskov Jansen, Rosenkilde og Bagger, Kbh. 1969-71.

Holm, Bent. "Det civiliserede kaos: maskerade-motivet iflg. Ludvig Holberg, Vilhelm Andersen og Carl Nielsen." *K & K* 87 (1999): 11-40.

--. "Fra Pomp til Pædogogik." In: *Dansk Teaterhistorie I: Kirkens og kongens teater.* Red. Kela Kvam, Janne Risum, Jytte Wiingaard. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1992-1993. 57-122.

--. "Harlequin, Holberg and the (In)visible Masks: *Commedia dell'arte* in Eighteenth-Century Denmark." *Theatre Research International.* 23.2 (1998): 159-166.

--. "Maskerade - metafor og metamorfose - Om Holbergs Mascarade." *Reception – tidsskrift for nordisk literatur.* 55 (2004). 38-44.

Høst, Jens Kragh. [Doctor Juris] *Der dänische Geheimecabinetsminister Graf Johann Friedrich Struensee und sein Ministerium. Nebst Darstellungen der nächst vorhergehenden und folggenden Begebenheiten in Dänemark.* 2 Bd. Kopenhagen, 1826-1827.

Huizinga, Johann. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* Boston: Beacon, 1950.

Hull, Isabel V. *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996.

Humphrey, Chris. *The Politics of Carnival: Festive misrule in medieval England.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001.

Immerwahr, Raymond. "J. E. Schlegel and Ludvig Holberg as Creators and Theorists of Comedy." *The Germanic Review.* XIII. 3. (1938): 175-189

Jensen, Anne E. *Teatret i Lille Grønnegade 1722-1728.* København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busk, 1972.

Jenssen-Tusch, G. F. von. *Die Verschwörung gegen [die Königin] Caroline Mathilde [von Dänemark, geb. Prinzessin von Grossbritannien und Irland,] und [die Grafen] Struensee [und Brandt]. Nach bisher ungedruckten Originalakten und nach L. J. Flamand in selbstständiger Bearbeitung*. Leipzig: Hermann Costenoble, 1864.

Jervis, John. *Exploring the Modern. Patterns of Western Culture and Civilization.* Blackwell, 1998.

Joeres, Ruth-Ellen B. "That girl is an entirely different character!" Yes, but is she a feminist? Observations on Sophia von La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräulein von Sternheim*." *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Ed. Ruth-Ellen Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1986. 137-56.

Jørgensen, Ellen and Skovgaard, Johanne. *Danske Dronninger. Fortællinger og Karakteristikker.* København: H. Hagerup, 1910.

Juel, Jens. *Porträt der Herzogin Louisa von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg in türkischer Tracht.* ca. 1780-1790. Oil Painting. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum.

Juel, Louise. *Min hjerte allerkærste Fritz, breve fra Louise Juel til hendes nevø Frederik Ludvig Schulin 1763-1767. Udgivet ved Karen Hjorth med sproghistorisk*

medvirken af Karen Margrethe Pedersen. København: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 2004.

Kant, Immaneul. "Von dem erlaubten moralischen Schein." *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht.* (1798). *SämmtlicheWerke.* Bd. 17.1. Ed. Karl Rosenkranz and Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert. Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1838. 42-44.

Kattfuß, Johann Heinrich. *Choregraphie oder vollständige und leicht faßliche Anweisung zu den verschiedenen arten der heut zu Tage beliebsten gesellschaftlichen Tänze für Tanzliebhaber, Vortänzer und Tanzmeister*. Leipzig: Heinrich Gräff, 1800.

Kleinspehn, Thomas. *Der flüchtige Blick. Sehen und Identität in der Kultur der Neuzeit.* Hamburg: Rohwohlt, 1989.

Knigge, Adolf. *Ueber Den Umgang Mit Menschen*. Hannover, 1788.

Koch, L. "Breve fra slutningen af det 18de århundrede" i *Danske Magazin*, 5. rk., III, s.1-70.

Koefoed, Nina Javette. *Besovede kvindefolk og ukærlige Barnefædre. Køn, ret og sædelighed i 1700-tallets Danmark.* København: Museum Tusculanum, 2008.

Körner, Theodor. *Der grüne Domino. Ein Lustspiel in Alexandrinern, in einem Aufzuge.* 1811. *Sämtliche Werke*. 2. Band. 4. Auflage. Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869. 159-176.

Krimmer, Elisabeth. "Sartorial Transgressions: Re-Dressing Class and Gender Hierarchies in Masquerades and Travesties." *Unwrapping Goethe's Weimar. Essays in Cultural Studies and Local Knowledge.* Ed. Burkhard Henkre, Susanne Kord, and Simon Richter. Rochester N.Y: Camden House, 2000. 191-212.

Krogh, Torben. *Studier over Harlekinaden paa den danske Skueplads.* [Studies on Harlekin on the Danish Stage] København: Jespersen & Pio, 1931.

Krogh, Tyge. *Oplysningstiden og det magiske. Henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700-tallets første halvdel.* Samleren, 2000.

Kruse, Jens. *Holbergs maske*. København: Gyldendal, 1964.

Kruedener, Jürgen Freiherr von. *Die Rolle des Hofes im Absolutismus.* Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer, 1973.

Kugler, Franz. *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber'schen, 1840.

Kühne, Lena. "Johann Elias Schlegels Bedeutung für Dänemark, insbesondere für das dänische Theater 1747-1749. Ein Problem der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft." *Text und Kontext. Zeitschrift für germanistische Literaturforschung in Skandinavien.* Ed. Klaus Bohnen and Bjørn Eckmann. 1997. 20 (2). 255-281.

Lachmann, Renate. "Bakhtin and Carnival: Culture as Counter-Culture." *CulturalCritique.* No. 11 (Winter, 1988-1989). 115-152.

Langberg, Harald. *Dødens teater. Revolutionen 1772.* København: Gyldendal, 1971.

Langen, Ulrik. *Den afmægtige - en biografi om Christian 7.* København: Jyllands-Posten, 2008.

La Roche, Sophie. *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim.* 1771. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983.

--. *Tagebuch einer Reise durch England und Holland.* Offenbach, 1788.

Laube, Heinrich. *Struensee. Tragödie in fünf Akten.* Leipzig: Weber, 1847.

LeCoffre, Benoît. "Maskerade." ca. 1704-1711. Frederiksberg Slot.

Leitner, Thea. *Skandal bei Hof.* Wien: Ueberreuter, 1993.

Lever, Maurice. *Zepter und Schellenknappe. Zur Geschichte des Hofnarren.* Trans. Katharina Menke. Frankfurt/M: Fischer, 1992.

Loccisano, Michael. *Singer Lady Gaga Arrives At the 2009 MTV Music Video Awards.* Getty Images.

Luxdorph, B. W. *Luxdorphs Dagbøger. Indeholdende Bidrag til det 18. Aarhundredes Stats-, Kultur- og Personalhistorie.* I udrag udgivne ved Eiler Nystrøm. 2 vol. København: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1915-30.

Madsen, Svend Åge. *Dødens Teater*. Grønnegårds Teatret, 1987.

Mai, Anne-Marie. "…för unga och oerfarna personer av mitt kön: Om Charlotta Dorothea Biehls moraliske berättelser och Sophia Lovisa Charlotte Badens moraliska brevberättelser." ["…for young and inexperienced people of my sex: On Charlotta Dorothea Biehl's moral tales and Sophia Lovisa Baden's moral letter-tales."] In: *Nordisk kvinnolitteraturhistoria*. Ed. Elisabeth Møller Jensen. Höganäs: Wiken, 1993-2000.

Mai, Anne-Marie and Esther Kielberg, Eds. *Moralske fortællinger 1761-1805*. [Moral tales 1761-1805] Danske Klassikere Series. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab/Borgen, 1994.

Mai, Georg Albrecht. *Die Frauenfiguren im Dramatischen Werk der Charlotte Dorothea Biehl. Studien zur Komödienform in Dänemark im 18. Jahrhundert.* (=Dissertation.) Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-Universität, 1981.

Marker, Frederik J. and Lise-Lone Marker. *A history of Scandinavian theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

Maskeraden. Geschlechterdifferenz in der literarischen Inszenierung. Ed. Elfi Bettinger and Julika Funk. Berlin: Schmidt, 1999.

Meytens, Martin van. *Maria Theresia.* 1744. Oil Painting. Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H.

Mezger, Werner. *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch. Studien zum Fortleben des Mittelalters in der europäischen Festkultur.* Konstanz: Universität Konstanz, 1991.

Möller-Christensen, Ivy York: *Den gyldne trekant. H. C. Andersens gennembrud i Tyskland 1831-1850.* Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag 1992

Moser, Friedrich Carl von. *Teutsches Hof=Recht, In Zwölf Büchern.* 2 Bde. [1754/55] Frankfurt und Leipzig: Verlag der Knoch- und Eßlingerischen Buchhandlung, 1761.

Neiiendam, Klaus. *Hofteatret og Teatermuseet ved Christiansborg.* [Kbh]: Teatermuseet, 1982.

Neiiendam, Robert. *Scenen Drager. Historiske Billeder fra Teatret.* København: J. L. Lybeckers Forlag, 1915.

Neumann, Robert. *Der Favorit der Königin.* (1935). München: Kurt Desch, 1953.

Nunnally, Tiina, trans. *The Royal Physician's Visit.* By Per Olov Enquist. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 2001.

Olden-Jørgensen, Sebastian. "Statsceremoniel, hofkultur og politisk magt i overgangen fra adelsvælde til enevælde - 1536 til 1746". *Fortid og Nutid,* 1996. 3-20.

"Om mand med en rolig Samvittighed kan gaae paa Masqverader?" Nyt Archiv for Psychologie, Historie, Litteratur og Kunst. Samlet og udgivet ved Niels Christian Øst, Overkrigscommisair. I. Bind. Kjöbenhavn, 1829. 113-118.

Pedersen, Sune Christian. "Maskeradens historie – en historie af menneskesyn forandring. *Folk og Kultur.* 1998, 57-71.

Pesne, Antoine. *Anna Elisabet von der Schulenburg.* ca. 1740. Oil Painting. Nationalmuseum Stockholm. NMGrh 1367.

Philipps, Carolin. *Zwischen Krone und Leidenschaft. Das Leben der Caroline Mathilde von Dänemark.* Vienna Ueberreuter, 2003

"Plakater fra Det Kongelige Teater." Det Kongelige Teater, ca. 1700-1805. København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Microfilm.

Pöllnitz, Karl Ludwig. *Memoiren zur Lebens und Regierungsgeschichten der vier letzten Regenten des Preussischen Staats.* II. (Trans. from French). Berlin, 1791. 256-257.

Raagaard, P. *Efterretning om Optoget af Amager Danske Sogne-Mænd og Koner paa Slotspladsen, efter Høi-Kongelig Befaling den 2den Martii paa Fastelavns Mandag.* København, 1772.

Randel, Erik. "At skrive er at leve. 70 år i morgen: Henning Rovsing Olsen." *Berlingske Tidende* 18.08.2003. 1. Section. 15.

Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress and Morality*. New York: Homes & Meier, 1986.

--. *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789*. London: Batsford, 1984.

--. *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture*. New York: Garland, 1984.

Reverdil, Elie Salomon François. *Struensee og det danske Hof.* Oversat af Paul Læssøe Müller. Intr. and Notes by Louis Bobé. Kjøbenhavn: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søns Forlag, 1941.

Rheinberger, Hans-Jörg. *Towards a History of Epistemic Things. Synthesizing Proteins in the Test Tube.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997.

Rigsarkivet: *Overhofmarskallatet 1761-1899 Q. Dagjournaler. 1771 April 1 – 1772 Januar 23 mm.* See individual entries for specific dates.

Rigsarkivet: *Overhofmarskallatet 1672-1897 O. Diverse sager. 1766 Efterretninger om maskeraderne i Riddersalen på Christiansborg Slot.*

Rist, P. Fr. "*Bal Masqué paré en Domino* i Hof-Theatret. En unge Pige til hendes gifte Søster i Norge. *Pastiche*." *Afskedsforestillingerne paa det Kongl. Hof-Theater.* Tirsdag den 28de April, Torsdag den 30te April og Lørdag den 20 Maj, MCMXIV. Program. Unpaginated.

Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as Masquerade." *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis.* Ed. Ernst Jones. Vol. X. London: The Institute for Psychoanalysis, 1929. 303-313.

Rohr, Julius Bernhard von. *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren.* Reprint of Berlin: Joh[ann] Andreas Rüdiger 1733. Ed. Monika Schlechte. Weinheim: Edition Leipzig, 1990.

--. *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen.* Reprint of Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger 1728. Ed. Gotthardt Frühsorge. Weinheim: Edition Leipzig, 1990.

Rosenfeld, Hellmut. "Fastnacht und Karneval. Name, Geschichte, Wirklickeit." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte.* 1969: 1. 175-181.

Rousseau, François. *Maskenball im Bonner Hoftheater, "Bönnsches Ballstück." Blick auf der Bühne.* 1754. Painting. Stadt Museum Bonn. Dauerleihgabe des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums.

--. *Maskenball im Bonner Hoftheater, "Bönnsches Ballstück." Blick auf der Bühne.* 1754. Painting. Historisches Museum der Stadt Köln.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile, or On Education.* Trans. Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Rovsing Olsen, Henning. *Caroline Mathildes Revolution.* Holkenfeldt, 2006

--. *Døden i festdragt.* Holkenfeldt, 2001.

Salmen, Walter. *Goethe und der Tanz. Tänze – Bälle – Redouten – Ballette im Leben und Werk.* Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms, 2006.

Salmen, Walter. *Tanz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Musikgeschichte in Bildern IV: Musik der Neuzeit. Lfg. 4. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988

Satori-Neumann, Bruno Th. “Goethe und die Einrichtung der Weimarschen Redoutten.” Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der amtlichen Tätigkeit des Dichters.” *Festgabe der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Literatur zum siebzigsten Geburtstag ihres Vorsitzenden Max Hermann.* Berlin, 1935. 47-60.

Schiønning, Peter. *Orlogsmuseet - Søofficeren Peter Schiønning - Dagbog*. *PeterSchiønnings dagbøger 1732-1812.* Ed. Jakob Seerup. n.d. Web. February 3, 2012. <http://www.orlogsmuseet.dk/sch/projekt_start.htm>

Schlegel, Johann Elias. “Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters.” In: *Werke.* Ed. Johann Heinrich Schlegel. Bd. 3. Kopenhagen and Leipzig: Verlag der Mummischen Buchhandlung, 1764. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Reprint, 1971.

--. “Gedanken über das Theater und insonderheit das dänische.” *Werke.* Ed. Johann Heinrich Schlegel. Bd. 3. Kopenhagen and Leipzig: Verlag der Mummischen Buchhandlung, 1764. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Reprint, 1971.

--. *Der Geheimnißvolle. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen.* In: *Werke.* Ed. Johann Heinrich Schlegel. Bd. 2. Kopenhagen and Leipzig: Christian Gottlob Prost and Rothens Erben, 1773. Frankfurt/M: Athenäum Reprint, 1971.

--. *Ästhetische und Dramaturgische Schriften.* Heilbronn: Henninger, 1887.

Schmeling, Manfred. *Funktion und Funktionswandel der Literatur im Geistes- und Gesellschaftsleben.* Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Saarbrücken 1987. Bern: Peter Lang, 1989.

Schmidt, Hanns H.F. “Noch einige Mutmassungen über Johann Gottfried Schnabel zum einen den 'Buch-Händler Robinson' (1728), zum anderen Julius Bernhard von Rohr (1688-1742) betreffend.” *Jahrbuch der Johann-Gottfried-Schnabel-Gesellschaft*. 95 (1992): 47-60

Schnitzer, Claudia. *Höfische Maskeraden: Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999.

--. “Das verkleidete Geschlecht.” Höfische Maskeraden der Frühen Neuzeit. *L’Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft.* Wien. 8.2 (1997): 232-242.

Schutte Watt, Helga. "Sophie La Roche's *History of Lady Sophia Sternheim:* Who is Dressing and Writing the Heroine?" In: *The Clothes That Wear Us. Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture.* Ed. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999. 143-156.

Sebeok, Thomas A. Ed. *Carnival!* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984.

See, Klaus von. "Holbergs Komödien und der dänische Absolutismus." *Euphorion. Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschcihte.* 72. 1 (1978): 1-19.

Semmens, Richard. *The bal publics at the Paris Opéra in the Eighteenth Century*. Dance & Music Series No. 13. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2004.

Sieber, Friedrich. *Volk und volkstümliche Motivik im Festwerk des Barocks. Dargestellt an Dresdner Bildquellen. Mit 29 Abbildungen im Text und 112 Tafeln.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.

Sieg, Kathrin. *Ethnic Drag: performing race, nation, sexuality in West Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Spectaculum Europæum. Theater and Spectacle in Europe (1580-1750). Histoire du Spectacle en Europe (1580-1750). Ed. Pierre Béhar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. Wölfenbüttler Arbeitskreis für Barockforschung Bd. 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999.

Spreitzer, Brigitte. "Geschlecht als Maskerade. Weiblicher Transvestismus im Mittelalter." *Durch abenteuer muess man wagen vil. Festschrift für Anton Schwob zum 60. Geburtstag.* Hg. Wernfried Hofmeister und Bernd Steinbauer. Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1997. 477-487.

Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell, 1986.

Steinbauer, Bernd. "Die Fastnachtbühne als moralische Anstalt. Hans Rudolf Manuels *Ein holdsäligs Faßnachtspil/ darinn der edel wyn von der Truncknen rott beklagt/ vonn Räblüten geschirmbt/ vnd vonn Richtern ledig gesprochen wirt.*" *Durch abenteuer muess man wagen vil. Festschrift für Anton Schwob zum 60. Geburtstag.* Hg. Wernfried Hofmeister und Bernd Steinbauer. Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1997. 489-502.

Steensen-Leth, Bodil. *Prinsesse af blodet.* Forum, 2000.

Stockhorst, Stephanie. "Die höfische Maskerade als Medium der Literaturpolitik. Goethes Maskenzug *Die Romantische Poesie.* (1810)." *Wirkendes Wort: Deutsche Sprache und LIteratur in Forschung und Lehre.* 2 (2002): 206-217.

Straub, Eberhard. *Repraesentation Maiestatis oder Churbayerische Freudensfeste. = Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia*. 14. München: Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs München, 1969.

Suhm, P. Fr. Hemmelige Efterretninger om de danske Konger efter Souveraineteten. Ed. Julius Clausen. København: Hagerup, 1918.

Sund, Horst. *Fas(t)nacht in Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur.* Konstanz: Universität Konstanz, 1984.

Taubert, Gottfried. *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister, oder gründliche Erklärung der frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst.* Leipzig: Friedrich Lanckirschens Erben, 1717.

Tillyard, Stella. *A Royal Affair: George III and his Troublesome Siblings.* London: Chatto & Windus, 2006.

Toscani, Ignazio. *Die venezianische Gesellschaftsmaske. Ein Versuch zur Deutung ihrer Ausformung, ihrer Entstehungsgründe und ihrer Funktion.* (=Diss. – Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes.) Saarbrücken, 1972.

Trebay, Guy. "When Lady Gaga appears, so do her many influences." *The New York Times.* Online Edition. December 27, 2009. Web. January 29, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/27/fashion/27gaga.html?scp=1&sq=haus%20of%20gaga&st=cse>

Uffenbach, Johann Friedrich Armand von. *Tagebuch einer Spazierfarth durch die Hessische in die Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Lande* (1728). Ed. Max Armin. Göttingen: Verlag von Dr. Ludwig Häntzschel & Co. G. m. b. H. 1928.

Uldall, Peter. *Efterladte Optegnelser af Generalfiskal Peter Uldall Dronning Caroline Mathildes Defensor. Memoirer og Breve*, Ed. Julius Clausen og P. Fr. Rist, XXI. København, August Bangs Forlag, 1969.

Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self. Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2004.

Watanabe-O'Kelly. "From 'Société de Plaisir' to 'Schönes Neben-Werck'—the Changing Purpose of Court Festivals." *German Life and Letters* 45.3 (1992): 216-219.

Weichmann, Birgit. "Fliegende Türken, geköpfte Stiere und die Kraft des Herkules. Zur Geschichte des venezianischen Karnevals." *Fastnacht / Karneval im europäischen Vergleich.* Ed. Matheus, Michael. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999. 175-198.

Weihe, Richard. *Die Paradoxie der Maske. Geschichte einer Form*. München: Fink, 2003.

Winge, Vibeke. "Dänemark—ein fortgesetztes Teutschland? Sprachliche Grenzgänger in Kopenhagen." *Grenzgänge: Skandinavisch-deutsche Nachbarschaften.* Ed. Heinrich Detering. Göttingen: Wallstein, 1996. 46-59.

Wittich, Karl. Prof. Dr. *Struensee.* Leipzig: Veit & comp, 1879.

Zedler, Johann H. *Zedler: Johann Heinrich Zedlers Grosses Vollständiges Universallexicon Aller Wissenschafften Und Künste*. [1731-1754] München: Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, 1999. Internet resource.

Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995.