

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES
School of Humanities

**Music as Daemonic Voice in late Eighteenth- and early
Nineteenth-Century German Culture**

by

Lars Eranke

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ABSTRACT

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In its representation as an ambivalently powerful voice in the German literature and music criticism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, music aligned itself with the re-emerging concept of the daemonic. Goethe's contemporaneous formulation of the daemonic consequently has wide-ranging significance for our understanding of the music and music aesthetics of that period.

Literary representations of music establish the basic functions of and the key ideas associated with the daemonic: mediation of the supernatural and mundane realms, the possession of a human conduit, seduction and the violent relocation of the listener. Fundamental to such narratives is the frequent female gendering of Music, a move that variously serves to mediate supernatural revelation and to threaten the implicitly masculine listener and the social stability he polices.

Music thus acquired its own powerful agency, bringing with it the need to consider the implications of the daemonic for both composer and performer. In both cases the result is a fluid relationship between submission to and mastery of an otherworldly musical voice. The composer both possesses the genius that works within him and is possessed by it, whilst the performer remains at once the embodiment of agency and an empty shell.

The complex function of the daemonic within instrumental performance is investigated through Ernst's 'Erlkönig' caprice. Transferred onto Music writ large and executed on the violin, the daemonic Erlking of Goethe's ballad and Schubert's setting exists in and comments on the matrix of the diabolic, the daemonic and violin playing.

Nineteenth-century music criticism serves to elaborate many of the key ideas of the daemonic within the context of specific musical works. E. T. A. Hoffmann's Beethoven reviews exemplify the interaction of the daemonic and the sublime and the challenge of the daemonic to the heroic paradigm in Beethoven's instrumental music.

The daemonic at once illuminates and problematizes contemporary aesthetic categories; it both suggests and accounts for a complexity of thought that is glossed over by established critical terms. I seek to reconsider our understanding of the nature of the creative process, genius, musical performance and the role of music in literature and poetry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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¹ Janosch, *Oh wie schön ist Panama* (Weinheim, 1978), 22.

Note on Translations

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. Sources quoted at length are included for reference in Appendix 1. Poems are given both in the literal translations used in my discussion and in verse translations in Appendix 2.

Cuts within extracts are indicated by three dots enclosed within square brackets. Dots not enclosed in square brackets are part of the original text.

‘An effect issues from [music] which rules everything, and which no one is able to account for’.

Goethe

Chapter 1

Introduction and Literature Survey

C Major chord (fortissimo)

“But let us dance over the open graves in wild and crazy joy – let us rejoice – those down there won’t hear us. – Hey – hey – dance and merriment, the devil arrives with drums and trumpets!”

C minor chords (repeated, fortissimo)

“Don’t you know him? – Don’t you know him? – Look, he grasps at my heart with a glowing claw! – he disguises himself with all kind of crazy faces – as hunter – concert master – worm doctor – ricco mercante – he throws candle-snuffers into my strings, just so that I may not play! – Kreisler! – Kreisler! rouse yourself! – Can you see it lurking, the pale ghost with the sparkling red eyes – extending its claw-like bony fists towards you from within its torn coat? – shaking the straw crown on the bare, smooth skull! – It is madness – Johannes, be brave. – Crazy, crazy phantom of life [*Lebensspuk*], why do you shake me so within your circles? Can I not escape from you? – No little speck of dust in the universe on which I, shrunk to a midget, may save myself from you, terrifying pest? – Let me be! – I will be good! I will believe the devil is a gentleman with the finest manners! – hony soit qui mal y pense – I curse song, music – I lick your feet like the drunk Caliban – just release me from this torture – hey, hey, loathsome one, you have crushed all my flowers – no blade of grass grows in this terrifying desert – death – death – death – ”

Here a little flame crackled into life – the faithful friend had quickly pulled out a chemical firelighter and lit both lights in order to cut off Kreisler’s fantasizing, for he knew well that Kreisler was currently at a point from which he usually flung himself into a dark abyss of hopeless sorrow.¹

¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub’, *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 295-6:

‘C-Dur-Terz-Akkord (fortissimo)

“Aber in toller, wilder Lust laßt uns über den offenen Gräbern tanzen. – Laßt uns jauchzen – die da unten hören es nicht. – Heisa – Heisa – Tanz und Jubel, der Teufel zieht ein mit Pauken und Trompeten!”

C-moll Akkorde (fortissimo hintereinander fort)

“Kennt ihr ihn nicht? – Kennt ihr ihn nicht? – Seht, er greift mit glühender Krallen nach meinem Herzen! – er maskiert sich in allerlei tolle Fratzen – als Freijäger – Konzertmeister – Wurmdoktor – ricco mercante – er schmeißt mir Lichtscheren in die Saiten, damit ich nur nicht spielen soll! – Kreisler! – Kreisler! raff dich auf! – Siehst du es lauern, das bleiche Gespenst mit den rotfunkelnden Augen – die krallichten Knochenfäuste aus dem zerrissenen Mantel nach dir ausstreckend? – die Strohkrone auf dem kahlen glatten Schädel schüttelnd! – Es ist der Wahnsinn – Johannes, halte dich tapfer. – Toller, toller Lebensspuk, was rüttelst du mich so in deinen Kreisen? Kann ich dir nicht entfliehen? – Kein Stäubchen im Universum, auf das ich, zur Mücke verschrumpft, vor dir, grausiger Quälgeist, mich retten könnte? – Laß ab von mir! – ich will artig sein! ich will glauben, der Teufel sei ein Galanthuomo von den feinsten Sitten! – hony soit qui mal y pense – ich verfluche den Gesang, die

E. T. A. Hoffmann's narrative, taken from his *Kreisleriana* of 1815, gives a terrifying account of the experience and effect of music. The music that Kreisler unleashes in his improvised performance is not the intended relief from the burdens of everyday life.² Instead, music – merely sketched in the indication of chords in Hoffmann's text – seizes and sounds through the performer, violently relocates him into a horrific supernatural realm and draws him relentlessly towards a madness from which he cannot save himself. In the power and nature of its workings the music of Hoffmann's story is suggestive of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's daemonic.³

At its simplest, Goethe's daemonic is a powerful, active supernatural force.⁴ It is 'something in Nature', but exists independently of the presence of life or a soul (i.e., in a Christian sense, the presence of animal or human life).⁵ The daemonic is irrational and delights in the misfortune of others, yet is capable of '[doing] good'; it shows no sequence, yet suggests connections in its actions; it only seems content in

Musik – ich lecke dir die Füße, wie der trunkene Kaliban – nur erlöse mich von der Qual – hei, hei, Verruchter, du hast mir alle Blumen zertreten – in schauerlicher Wüste grünt kein Halm mehr – tot – tot – tot – tot – "

Hier knisterte ein kleines Flämmchen auf – der treue Freund hatte schnell ein chemisches Feuerzeug hervorgezogen und zündete beide Lichter an, um so dem Kreisler alles weitere Fantasieren abzuschneiden, denn er wußte wohl, daß Kreisler sich nun gerade auf einem Punkt befand, von dem er sich gewöhnlich in einen düsteren Abgrund hoffnungsloser Klagen stürzte'.

'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub' was first published in the fourth and final volume of the *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* published by Karl Friedrich Kunz in Bamberg at Easter 1815.

² 'Kreisler sought, as usual, to balance everything in sound and bar through a symphonic fantasy', whose purpose was to elevate his friends 'to a purer air' than that which they had breathed during the day (E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub', 293: 'der Klub war beisammen, und Kreisler schickte sich an, wie gewöhnlich, durch eine symphoniemäßige Fantasie alles in Ton und Takt zu richten, ja wohl sämtliche Klubbisten, die einen gar musikalischen Geist in sich hegten, so viel nötig, aus dem staubigen Kehricht, in dem sie den Tag über herumzutreten genötigt gewesen, einige Klafter höher hinauf in reinere Luft zu erheben').

³ Whilst most authors writing on Goethe spell Goethe's usage of the term 'demonic' this can be misleading. I shall therefore make use of the distinction found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* under 'demonic': '2. Of, relating to, or of the nature of, supernatural power or genius = Ger. dämonisch (Göthe) [...] (in this sense usually spelt daemonic for distinction)' (J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 'demonic', *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1989], 4, col. 446). Throughout my thesis therefore, 'demonic' refers to the Christian sense of the word, whilst 'daemonic' refers to Goethe's concept.

⁴ Goethe's daemonic is based on the Ancient Greek idea of the daemones, and should therefore be considered a distinct category from the Christian demonic. I shall return to this distinction in Chapters 2, 5 and 6.

⁵ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175: '[etwas] in der Natur'.

The first three parts of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were first published by Cotta in the years 1811, 1812 and 1814 respectively. Whilst it concerns the events of the year 1775, the final part, from which the present discussion of the daemonic is taken, was largely written in the years 1821, 1824-25 and 1830-31. It was published posthumously by Cotta in 1833.

the impossible, discarding ‘everything possible with disdain’.⁶ The daemonic is a ‘terrible being’ that not only bridges the worldly ‘natural’ and the otherworldly ‘supernatural’, but mediates those spheres in a manner that distorts man’s existence: ‘it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space’.⁷ Manifesting itself only in contradictions, it is, according to Goethe, beyond signification:⁸

He [Goethe] thought he discovered something in Nature, the inhabited and the uninhabited, with a soul and without a soul,⁹ that only manifests itself in contradictions and can therefore not be brought together under a term, let alone a word. It was not divine, because it seemed irrational; not diabolic, because it did good; not angelic, because it often showed *Schadenfreude*. It was like chance, because it gave no evidence of sequence; it was like Providence, because it suggested connection. Everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space. It only seemed pleased with itself in the impossible, and discarded everything possible with disdain. This being – that could step between any others, that appeared to separate [them], [yet] unite them – I called daemonic, after the example of the Ancients and those who had been aware of something similar.¹⁰

Goethe’s narrative both locates the daemonic and, by acting out the confusion it causes, speaks of man’s inability to grasp it. What remains is a sense of the sheer irrationality, power and immediacy of the daemonic, and it is in this respect that the

⁶ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: ‘es war wohlthätig [...]. Nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen’.

⁷ Ibid.: ‘es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus’.

⁸ Despite claiming the daemonic to be incapable of being ‘brought together under a term let alone a word’ (Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175), Goethe does of course name it. I shall return to this point in Chapter 2.

⁹ Goethe literally speaks of ‘ensouled’ Nature. Consequently he refers to Nature with and without a soul not, as my translation might be seen to imply, that the daemonic is both with and without a soul.

¹⁰ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: ‘er glaubte in der Natur, der belebten und unbelebten, der beseelten und unbeseelten, etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte und deshalb unter keinen Begriff, noch viel weniger unter ein Wort gefaßt werden könnte. Es war nicht göttlich, denn es schien unvernünftig, nicht menschlich, denn es hatte keinen Verstand, nicht teuflisch, denn es war wohlthätig, nicht englisch, denn es ließ oft Schadenfreude merken. Es glich dem Zufall, denn es bewies keine Folge, es ähnelte der Vorsehung, denn es deutete auf Zusammenhang. Alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus. Nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen. Dieses Wesen, das zwischen alle übrigen hineinzutreten, sie zu sondern, sie zu verbinden schien, nannte ich dämonisch, nach dem Beispiel der Alten und derer, die etwas Ähnliches gewahrt hatten’.

category of the daemonic can usefully illuminate late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century accounts of music as a supernatural voice.

In Hoffmann's account of Kreisler's performance, music, like Goethe's daemonic, 'act[s] at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pull[s] time together and expand[s] space'; music appears as 'terrible being' 'that could step between any others': it ruptures the reality of Kreisler's music room and relocates Kreisler into a supernatural realm that is both removed from the visible worldly reality and beyond any worldly sense of time. Music is further suggested as daemonic force by the ambiguous and contradictory nature of the images it projects: blissful abandon and utter despair, Arcadian beauty and desolate horror evoke the performer as the plaything of a controlling voice that sounds in performance and whose intentions remain unclear; the music that Kreisler plays is suggested as the audible residue of the voice of Music 'itself' (i.e. as abstraction or ideal).¹¹ Through Kreisler's ravings we read what Music's voice 'tells' him, and thereby witness his manipulation: Music's voice tempts Kreisler by suggesting an ethereal, otherworldly beauty, and then lends its seductive voice to the performer for the purpose of his own imagined seduction of a 'fair maiden' ('holdes Mädchen'), whilst all the time drawing him towards insanity.¹²

Hoffmann begins with the recession of reality as Kreisler submits ecstatically to Music's voice and finds himself drawn into an erotically charged sensual dreamscape:

At Kreisler's request, the faithful friend extinguished all the lights, so that one found oneself in thick, black darkness. *Pianissimo*, with raised dampers, Kreisler now struck the chord of A flat major in the bass. As the sounds whispered into nothing, he spoke: "what rustles so miraculously, so strangely around me? – Invisible wings waft up and down – I swim in the scented ether".¹³

The extinguishing of the lights cuts out the worldly reality that surrounds performer and listeners, thereby marking the first stage of removal into the supernatural, whilst

¹¹ Throughout my thesis I shall refer to Music (capitalized) when meaning music as abstract supernatural force, as concept, as ideal.

¹² E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub', 294.

¹³ Ibid., 293: 'der treue Freund löschte auf Kreislers Geheiß sämtliche Lichter aus, so daß man sich in dicker schwarzer Finsternis befand. Kreisler griff nun *pianissimo* mit gehobenen Dämpfern im Baß den vollen As-dur-Akkord. Sowie die Töne versäuselten, sprach er: "Was rauscht denn so wunderbar, so seltsam um mich her? – Unsichtbare Fittige wehen auf und nieder – ich schwimme im duftigen Äther. – "'.

at the same time setting the scene for a near occultist summoning of Music's daemonic voice.¹⁴ However, the irony remains that although the improvising performer appears to summon Music, he in fact remains at *its* command. In describing the dampers as being raised, Hoffmann not only signals a performance effect (i.e. the mechanical necessity of the dampers to be held up so that the sound is not cut off), but also makes an aesthetic statement: the piano is thus opened up to receive the supernatural Music that will sound through it, a Music that is hereby suggested as the one eternal tone that mystically haunts early Romantic music aesthetics, most notably in the work of Jean Paul.¹⁵ The undampened piano itself thus becomes the rupture in the worldly fabric that will allow Music's daemonic voice to sound through,¹⁶ and sound this voice does, as 'fair spirits' carry Kreisler 'to the land of eternal longing', to 'the element that gave birth to [him] and that is [his] homeland'.¹⁷

Once in this 'land', Music appears to lend Kreisler its alluring voice as he narrates his seduction of a 'fair maiden':

Ah, how your heart blossoms in longing and love when I embrace you in glowing rapture with melodies as if with arms. – You never wish to leave me, for those hidden presentiments that constricted your chest have been fulfilled. Like a comforting oracle, the tone spoke to you from within me.¹⁸

¹⁴ It is worth noting Hoffmann's frequent association of darkness or thick mist with musical performances. See for example 'Johannes Kreislers musikalische Leiden', *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 30: 'the entire hall hung full of a thick scent in which the candles burned ever darker – at times I saw a nose, at times a pair of eyes, but they immediately vanished' ('der ganze Saal hing voll dichtem Dufts, in dem die Kerzen düster und düster brannten – zuweilen sah eine Nase heraus, zuweilen ein paar Augen: aber sie verschwanden gleich wieder').

¹⁵ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in Jean Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1963), 5, 64: 'one melody runs through all paragraphs of the song of life' ('eine Melodie geht durch alle Absätze des Lebens-Liedes'); 'an alien ether blows [...] that causes the gut strings of the earth to shiver and harmonize' (ibid., 97: 'ein fremder Äther weht [...], von welchem die Darmsaiten der Erde zittern und harmonisieren'). Note also Friedrich Schlegel's lines, placed at the top of the *Fantasy* op. 17 by Schumann: 'Durch alle Töne tönet / Im bunten Erdentraum / Ein leiser Ton gezogen / Für den, der heimlich lauschet' ('Through all the notes / In earth's many-coloured dream / There sounds one soft long-drawn note / For the one who listens in secret' [quoted in Nicholas Marston, 'Schumann', CD liner notes to *Schumann, Fantasy in C major* (Hyperion CDA 67166, 2001), 6]).

¹⁶ The undampened piano here becomes both narrative prop and symbol of Kreisler's own opening up and submission to Music's voice.

¹⁷ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Kreisler's musikalisch-poetischer Klub', 294: "'holde Geister [...] tragen mich ins Land der ewigen Sehnsucht [...]. Rege und hebe dich empor in dem Element, das dich gebar, das deine Heimat ist'".

¹⁸ Ibid.: "'ha, wie geht das Herz dir auf in Sehnsucht und Liebe, wenn ich dich voll glühendem Entzücken mit Melodien wie mit liebenden Armen umfasse. – Du magst nie mehr weichen von mir, denn jene geheime Ahnungen, die deine Brust beengten, sind erfüllt. Der Ton sprach wie ein tröstendes Orakel aus meinem Innern zu dir!'".

But within this deluded fantasy of the seemingly empowered conduit lies the evidence of his own enslavement: ‘the tone spoke ... from within me’. Seduced by images of ‘fair spirits’ and by the fantasy of his own powers of seduction, Kreisler the improviser is merely the conduit of Music’s daemonic voice. Thus ensnared, he finds himself alienated and abandoned in the supernatural realm to which Music has taken him. Visions of Arcadian landscapes grow darker as they give way to a forest scene, and Kreisler is left wondering, ‘life plays its mischievous game in many a way – why hope – why wish’?¹⁹ At this nodal moment, the seduced and abandoned performer appears to descend into madness as he strikes a chord of C major and is overwhelmed by the quasi-orgiastic imagery that will ultimately leave him helpless in the ‘terrifying desert’. I now return to this passage, cited at the top of the section.

The C major/minor passage spirals around the juxtaposed images of the devil and death, as Kreisler schizophrenically finds himself to be both protagonist in and observer of the unfolding scene. Music’s daemonic voice thus collapses the boundaries between reality and the supernatural, sanity and madness, as Kreisler addresses his friends (‘don’t you know him’), pleads with the ‘pale ghost’, encourages himself (‘Kreisler! rouse yourself’), and describes the unfolding scene (‘the devil arrives...’). The devil ambivalently, but briefly, oscillates between near-comic trick of fate that attempts to foil Kreisler’s performance (‘he throws candle-snuffers into my strings’), and horrifying threat (‘he grasps at my heart with a glowing claw’), before giving way to the even greater horror of the ‘pale ghost’. With its ‘claw-like bony fists’ and ‘straw crown on the bare, smooth skull’ this ‘phantom of life’ is of course Death.²⁰ Kreisler, or rather a part of his fragmenting self, knows this vision ‘is madness’, but to another part of him it is a terrifying reality.

What is most significant though, is that in his madness, Kreisler misunderstands the nature of what he experiences: in cursing music in an attempt to free himself from the visions of Death that are overpowering him, Kreisler fails to

¹⁹ Ibid., 295: “das Leben treibt sein neckendes Spiel auf allerlei Weise. – Warum wünschen – warum hoffen – warum verlangen?”.

²⁰ The portrayal of Death with a ‘straw crown’ is a long-established tradition. See for example the wreathes worn on Death’s skull in Hans Holbein’s ‘The Old Woman’ (see Rita Steblin, ‘Death as Fiddler: The Study of a Convention in European Art, Literature and Music’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 [Winterthur, 1990], 298). Steblin also comments on the elision of the devil and Death in music during the Romantic era.

Hoffmann here suggests the devil and Death as two distinct ‘characters’, referring to the former as ‘he’ (‘he grasps at my heart’/‘he throws candle-snuffers’) and the latter as ‘it’ (‘can you see it lurking’) before Kreisler addresses Death as ‘you’.

realize that it is the very music that he is cursing that drew him into this apocalyptic wasteland and projected these images before him.²¹ Unsurprisingly then, the cursing of music fails, as Death continues his advance ('you have crushed all my flowers'), and Kreisler finally sees the bleakness that surrounds him in his music-induced madness as reality: 'no blade of grass grows in this terrifying desert'. So powerful is the effect of Music's voice on the improvising performer that he is unable to free himself, and it is his 'faithful friend' who breaks the spell and banishes Music by restoring light.

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Content and Methodology

The German-speaking culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a fundamental change in the way both specific musical works were heard, and Music 'itself' (as concept, abstraction or Ideal) was perceived. As the apparently inexplicable effect music had on the listening subject became acknowledged and indeed prized, music's very abstraction seeming to invite a supernatural reading, its power appeared to defy all attempts at rationalization. My thesis proceeds from the premise that established aesthetic categories do not adequately explain the emerging aesthetic of music of that time. Categories such as 'supernatural' are too vague to provide useful analytical tools, whilst others, for example 'diabolical', present only one aspect of a complex understanding of music. I propose that in the convergence of Enlightenment rationalizing, Idealism and early Romantic supernaturalism, Music (as abstraction) became suggestive of the re-emerging concept of the daemonic, and argue that Goethe's reconceptualisation of the Ancient Greek daimon and its associated daemonic power provides the theoretical formulation of a category that accounts for the complex and often contradictory views of music in this period.

²¹ It is the same failure, together with the seductive aspect of Music's daemonic nature that repeatedly draws the performer to music; the experience Hoffmann describes is clearly not a rare one, as he writes that 'Kreisler was currently at a point from which he *usually* flung himself into a dark abyss of hopeless sorrow' (E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub', 296: 'denn er wußte wohl, daß Kreisler sich nun gerade auf einem Punkt befand, von dem er sich *gewöhnlich* in einen düsteren Abgrund hoffnungsloser Klagen stürzte' [emphasis added]).

In my thesis I pursue three primary aims:

- To present Goethe's daemonic as a workable category for musicological studies
- To demonstrate the relevance of the daemonic to late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German culture
- To show the usefulness of the daemonic both as analytical tool and as a means for understanding the representation of music in the period in question

In structure, the thesis combines case studies with chapters that address broader cultural issues and/or categories.

Initially the realization that what unified the many representations of Music in the period under consideration was Music's abstract working *as voice* gave the project its angle, although it did not make meeting the challenge of which repertoire and/or categories of thought to apply the daemonic to any easier. Given the recent work of, amongst others, Carolyn Abbate on the issues of voice, it appeared a necessity to address the daemonic in opera.²² It quickly became clear however, both that opera was not the primary site for the identification and workings of Music as daemonic voice, and that doing justice to a topic as large as opera in one chapter was at this stage an impossibility. It is therefore hoped that this omission may be addressed in post-doctoral work.

The focus of the individual chapters is as follows: I begin by addressing the role of Music (and music) in literature both because the category of the daemonic was formulated in Goethe's writings and because literature proved to be the platform for voicing and disseminating the aesthetic in which music became suggestive of a daemonic voice (Chapter 2). Investigating a changing understanding of music, and thereby rethinking music as agency, brings with it a need to reconsider the implications for both composer and performer. The former is pursued by considering the interaction of genius and the daemonic (Chapter 3), the latter by focussing on the daemonic in violin performance and its reception (Chapter 6). The Beethoven-criticism of E. T. A. Hoffmann provides two examples in contemporaneous music criticism of the evocation of supernatural voices and thereby enables the consideration of the issues raised in Chapter 3 in terms of specific musical works, as well as

²² See especially Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1991), Carolyn Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), 465-530 and Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, 2001).

constituting a platform for the charting of the music-analytical implications of the daemonic (Chapter 4). The recurring images of women in narratives of music and the daemonic, and the convergence of literary supernaturalism and the daemonic in representations of women in song are investigated in a chapter on women, supernaturalism and the Lied (Chapter 5).

1.1.2. Context

In approach my thesis reflects the recent interest in notions of music as ‘voice’.²³ Similarly, it both grows out of and continues specific elements of recent musicology such as hermeneutics and narrativity. Nevertheless there is also a distinctly historicist angle to my work; I aim to show the historical working of an aesthetic category through the analysis and critique of contemporaneous literary and musical sources. At the centre of the thesis then, lies the fusion of (post)modern musicological tools and approaches, and a historicist account of a category of thought neglected in musicology. Equally, the thesis is fundamentally cross-disciplinary in its approach, for whilst the emphasis is firmly on musical thought, it mediates music and literature, arguing for the relevance of a literary-philosophical category to musical thought.

My work contributes to the study of German musical romanticism by highlighting and demonstrating the relevance of a category previously unexplored in musicology. It reassesses canonic literary and musical works by, amongst others, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Jean Paul, Goethe, Heine and Beethoven in an attempt to problematize established readings of these texts, and similarly reinvestigates established categories of thought that are fundamental to our understanding of romantic musical thought (such as genius). Alongside better-known sources I draw on neglected repertoire, discussing works by Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst and Johann Hoven. Finally, my work offers alternative translations of key German texts (writings by Goethe, Hoffmann, Kleist and Jean Paul) and makes previously untranslated

²³ Especially as discussed in the work of Carolyn Abbate (see n. 22) and Lawrence Kramer (see in particular Lawrence Kramer, “‘As if a Voice Were in Them’: Music, Narrative, and Deconstruction”, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800-1900* [Berkeley, 1993], 176-213).

material available to an English-speaking reader for the first time (texts by Eichendorff and Heine, as well as various secondary sources).

1.1.3. The Daemonic in Recent Literature

To claim that the daemonic has failed to make a mark on musicological writings concerning Goethe is something of an understatement; rarely does one even encounter passing references.²⁴ When it is mentioned, such as in Hedwig Walwei-Wiegelmann's source collection *Goethes Gedanken über Musik*, it usually goes uncommented;²⁵ that Claus Canisius' does not mention the daemonic in his otherwise detailed recent study *Goethe und die Musik* attests to the category's continued neglect.²⁶

Literature concerning Goethe and music typically focuses on the poet's literary influence on music, and his relationship to the composers and musicians of his time; foremost tropes here are Goethe's friendship with Zelter and his failure to appreciate the work of Schubert.²⁷ Even on those rare occasions when the irrational in music is addressed in connection with Goethe, such as in Samuel Fisch's *Goethe und die Musik*, the daemonic remains unspoken, albeit implicitly present to those familiar with Goethe's work: 'despite all his attempts to grasp music intellectually,

²⁴ In his *The Possessor and the Possessed*, Peter Kivy cites Goethe's description of Beethoven as 'possessed of [...] a daemon' (Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* [New Haven, 2001], 143). Equally, John Sugden quotes Goethe's response to Paganini: 'Paganini is imbued with [the demonic (!)] to a remarkable degree and it is through this that he produces such a great effect' (Goethe to Eckermann, quoted in Sugden, *Niccolò Paganini: Supreme Violinist or Devil's Fiddler?* [Tunbridge Wells, 1980], 43 [translation as given in Sugden]. See my translation of this passage in Chapter 6). Note that Sugden spells the daemonic 'demonic'. Andreas Eichhorn writes, 'but in remaining outside of this comprehensibility, Beethoven's music embodies the daemonic' ('"Die Musik wirkt nur gegenwärtig und unmittelbar", Goethe als Musikhörer', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 3 [1999], 18: 'indem Beethovens Musik sich dieser Faßlichkeit entzog, verkörperte sie aber das Dämonische').

²⁵ Hedwig Walwei-Wiegelmann, *Goethes Gedanken über Musik* (Frankfurt a. M., 1985), 57-9. Similarly, Peter Pesic uses the term 'daemonic' without explanation, pre-supposing a terminological knowledge and stability that cannot be assumed ('The Child and the Daemon: Mozart and Deep Play', *19th-Century Music*, 25 [2001-2], 91-107). For example he writes: the interplay between 'purely formal and abstract patterns and the larger gestures of rhetoric [...] particularly illuminates the place of eros in Mozart's music, for the spirit of play animates even his most daemonic passages' (Pesic, 'The Child and the Daemon', 105).

²⁶ Claus Canisius, *Goethe und die Musik* (München, 1999).

²⁷ See for example Edgar Istel, 'Goethe and Music', *Musical Quarterly*, 14 (1928), 216-54. Istel's article is surprisingly non-judgmental on the 'Schubert issue'. For a detailed discussion of the events surrounding the posting of some of Schubert's songs to Goethe see Kenneth S. Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert* (Portland, 1999), especially pages 136-42. See also my discussion of Schubert and Goethe in Chapter 6. On Goethe as listener see Andreas Eichhorn, 'Goethe als Musikhörer'.

Goethe by no means closed himself to the fact that music is capable of having a strong effect on the soul and mind, that irrational powers live within it'.²⁸

To my knowledge only two studies have connected the daemonic with music beyond the mere citation of Goethe's comments on the subject. Ute Jung-Kaiser's 'Zur Präsenz des "Dämonischen" in Goethes Ballade zum Erlkönig und ihre Interpretation bei Moritz von Schwind, Ernst Barlach und Franz Schubert', remains frustratingly inadequate; Jung-Kaiser ultimately fails to demonstrate why she considers Schubert to succeed 'in musically fathoming the "daemonic" and its threatening immediacy'.²⁹ It is this inadequacy that I address directly with my own reading of 'Erlkönig' in Chapter 6. Luigi Magnani's 1976 book *Goethe, Beethoven e il demonico* engages with the daemonic on a much larger scale.³⁰ Magnani understands the daemonic as 'an obscure force, which, if controlled and tamed, appears to identify with the creative power of the genius as understood by the *Stürmer*; a compendium of action, feeling, thought [and] inimitable human essence [that is] almost divine'.³¹ It constitutes one image of the 'tragic conflict that always emerges in the human mind between the religious concept of life, in which every event is subordinated to the law of heaven and to the blind obedience to fate, and the ethical idea that gives full responsibility to the free action of man'.³²

Magnani's application of the daemonic, however, remains narrow; his concern more with the composer than with music. Magnani's text consists of what are essentially three separate studies: in the first chapter he considers the relationship between Goethe and Beethoven in light of the daemonic, understanding the tension between the two men as the result of the meeting of one who has distanced himself from the daemonic (Goethe) with one who is unable to master it (Beethoven). Musical works are only briefly mentioned, such as in the suggestion that the 'Heiliger

²⁸ 'Bei allen Versuchen, der Musik mit dem Verstande beizukommen, verschloß sich Goethe keineswegs der Tatsache, daß Musik eine starke Wirkung auf Seele und Gemüt auszuüben vermag, daß ihr irrationale Kräfte innewohnen' (Samuel Fisch, *Goethe und die Musik* [Frauenfeld, 1949], 99).

²⁹ '[Hier] sei nur auf die Schubert-Fassung Bezug genommen, zumal es ihr [...] gelingt, das "Dämonische" und seine bedrohliche Gegenwärtigkeit musikalisch auszuloten' (Ute Jung-Kaiser, 'Zur Präsenz des "Dämonischen" in Goethes Ballade zum Erlkönig und ihre Interpretation bei Moritz von Schwind, Ernst Barlach und Franz Schubert', *Zeitschrift für Musikpädagogik*, 14 [1989], 3-8).

³⁰ Luigi Magnani. *Goethe, Beethoven e il demonico* (Torino, 1976). I am grateful to Antonio Cascelli for his help with this book, and for his translations of the extracts quoted in my study.

³¹ Magnani, *Goethe, Beethoven e il demonico*, ix: 'una forza oscura che tuttavia, se controllata e domata, appare identificarsi con il potere creativo del genio quale era inteso dagli *Stürmer*: compendio di azione, di sentimento, di pensiero, essenza umana inimitabile, quais divina'.

³² *Ibid.*, x: 'del tragico conflitto, sempre risorgente nella coscienza umana, tra la concezione religiosa della vita, che considera ogni evento subordinato alle leggi del cielo, sottoposto alla cieca obbedienza dal fato, e l'idea etica che restituisce piena responsabilità al libero agire dell'uomo'.

Dankgesang' from Beethoven's Quartet op. 132 achieves a moment of balance with the daemonic. The second chapter considers Beethoven's personality through his reading of Goethe's *Westöstlicher Divan*, whilst in the third Magnani discusses Goethe's admiration of Mozart, suggesting that he thought Mozart able to overcome, yet still represent the daemonic.

If Goethe's daemonic has failed to attract wider attention in musicological circles, it is considered a fundamental aspect of Goethe's aesthetics in German literary studies where, to quote Kurt Hildebrandt, it is widely perceived to be 'the fundamental term of Goethe's metaphysics per se'.³³ Discussions of Goethe's use of the terms daimon, daemones and the daemonic broadly take three differing approaches: 1) an account of the influences on Goethe in formulating his understanding of these ideas, most notably from Ancient Greek thought; 2) the location of the daemonic in Goethe's works, especially *Faust* and *Werther*, and 3) the discussion of Goethe's relationship to the daemonic at various stages during his life (this latter category includes the interpretation of Goethe's life as daemonic).

Following the first approach, Kurt Hildebrandt argues in his 1961 article on the 'Dämon' that Goethe adapts both his use of daimon and daemonic from the Ancient Greeks: Hildebrandt differentiates between the daemonic as a 'more general term' ('allgemeinere Ausdruck') – used either when one does not wish to call a hostile god by name, or when a divine power does not manifest itself concretely – and as a 'metaphysical fundamental term' ('metaphysischer Grundbegriff'); he understands daimon as the guardian spirit of an individual, or their 'incorporeal entelechy' ('unkörperlich verstandene Entelechie').³⁴ In an earlier book, Hildebrandt's reading is

³³ Kurt Hildebrandt, *Goethe: Seine Weltweisheit im Gesamtwerk* (Leipzig, 1941), 90: 'dies "Dämonische" [ist] der Grundbegriff von Goethes Metaphysik schlechthin' (unfortunately certain racial comments betray the time of Hildebrandt's publication). Walter Muschg, writing in his *Goethes Glaube an das Dämonische* (Stuttgart, 1958), equally assigns central significance to the daemonic. The category is notably absent in Nicholas Boyle's recent study *Goethe: The Poet and the Age*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1991-2000).

Given the vast amount of literature on Goethe that is in existence, the following discussion serves as a mere snapshot. For further literature on the daemonic see W. Kaufmann, *Über das Dämonische bei Goethe* (PhD dissertation, Göttingen, 1922); Benno von Wiese, *Das Dämonische in Goethes Weltbild und Dichtung* (Münster, 1949); Heinrich Weinstock, *Die Tragödie des Humanismus* (Heidelberg, 1953); Walter Muschg, *Studien zur tragischen Literaturgeschichte* (Bern, 1965); W. Schlichting, *Goethe und das Dämonische* (PhD dissertation, Winnipeg, 1967); George A. Wells, 'Egmont und das Dämonische', *German Life and Letters*, 24 (1970), 53-67; Hugh Barr Nisbet, 'Das Dämonische', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 7 (1971), 259-81, and Hans-Georg Pott, 'Das Dämonische bei Goethe und Eichendorff', *Goethe und die Romantik*, ed. Gerard Kozierek, *Germanica Wratislaviensia*, 95 (Wrocław, 1992), 39-57.

³⁴ Kurt Hildebrandt, 'Dämon', *Goethe Handbuch*, ed. Alfred Zastrau (Stuttgart, 1961), I, col. 1730.

categorical to the point of oversimplification: ‘the daemonic is the super-personal, cosmic power of fate, the daimon its opposite: the individual, the monad’.³⁵

Hans Joachim Schrimpf subdivides the daemonic further into 1), the daemonic as daimon; 2) as ‘boundless confidence in oneself’, and 3) as ‘mighty surprise’.³⁶ As ‘daimon’, the daemonic roughly constitutes a guiding spirit, the entelechy; the second category describes at once the extreme manifestation of that entelechy as ‘boundless excess of the subjective’, and the daemonic as cosmic force (category three) forced into one man.³⁷ Schrimpf thus creates a fluid connection between his divisions by seeing the first two categories closely linked *within* the individual and the third in events that occur *to* the individual, whilst equally interpreting the middle category as the third category ‘in a smaller sense’.³⁸

Combining the consideration of Goethe’s influences with a study of the daemonic in *Faust*, Erich Franz differentiates between three influences of thought in Goethe’s understanding of the daemonic: what he calls the antique-humanist tradition, the philosophy of Nature (*Naturphilosophie*), and the Christian.³⁹ From antiquity, Goethe inherits the fusion of the ‘creative and the uncanny’, at once positive and destructive; from the philosophy of Nature a sense of Nature as ever-present working force that affects man both constructively and destructively; whilst in the Christian understanding of the term ‘the daemonic is something both alien and hostile to man that faces him menacingly. The daemon is the power of destruction, cold, evil, gloating, humiliating’.⁴⁰

³⁵ Kurt Hildebrandt, *Goethe: Seine Weltweisheit im Gesamtwerk*, 92: ‘das Dämonische ist überpersönliche, kosmische Schicksalsmacht, der “Daimon” das Gegenteil: das Individuum, die Monade’.

³⁶ Goethe quoted in Hans Joachim Schrimpf, *Das Weltbild des späten Goethe: Überlieferung und Bewahrung in Goethes Alterswerk* (Stuttgart, 1956), 307: ‘grenzenloses Zutrauen zu sich selbst’, and ‘mächtiges Überraschen’.

³⁷ Schrimpf, *Das Weltbild des späten Goethe*, 309: ‘das grenzenlose Übermaß des Subjektiven’.

³⁸ Ibid., 308: ‘das im engeren Sinne Dämonische’.

³⁹ Erich Franz, *Mensch und Dämon: Goethes Faust als menschliche Tragödie, ironische Weltschau und religiöses Mysterienspiel* (Tübingen, 1953), 162: ‘die Bedeutung des “Dämonischen” aber ist charakteristisch verschieden nach den drei Mythenbereichen, welche Heimat und Ausgang bilden, dem christlichen, dem antik-humanistischen und dem naturphilosophischen’.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 169: ‘im Christentum bezeichnet das Dämonische etwas dem Menschen Fremdes und feindliches, das ihm drohend gegenübersteht. Der Dämon ist die Macht der Zerstörung, kalt, böse, schadenfroh, erniedrigend’.

Franz’s work can be seen as complementing Ernst Busch’s earlier study of Faust from the perspective of Christianity (Ernst Busch, *Goethes Religion: Die Faust-Dichtung in christlicher Sicht* [Tübingen, n.d.]). Busch aligns himself with ‘modern theological terminology’ when he understands daemons as purely ‘diabolical beings’: ‘in accordance with modern theological terminology we remain with the term “daemons” for diabolical beings, but differentiate from them the daemonic in the Goethean sense’ (Busch, *Goethes Religion*, 88: ‘gemäß der modernen theologischen Terminologie

In exploring the tension between superstition and intellectualism in Goethe, Walter Muschg's tripartite reading of the daemonic identifies three stages in Goethe's relationship with the daemonic throughout his life: the young Goethe was himself 'still too close to the daemonic sphere' and therefore unable to 'reflect upon it'; a 'daemonic poet', who 'churned up his contemporaries, felt himself to be the vessel of a mysterious power and knew himself to be animated by a "fatum congenitum"'.⁴¹ Early in his Weimar years Goethe attempted to distance himself from his youthful self, but '[exorcising] the evil, dangerous spirits within himself with the help of the good spirits' to the extent that he 'neared the Christian belief in redemption', did not alter his fundamental belief in daemons; 'it was merely white, rather than black magic' that he practiced in his works.⁴² The third and final shift came as a result of the aftermath of the French Revolution, the death of Goethe's close friend Schiller, the military collapse of Germany and personal illness: 'Goethe once again opened himself to the visions of his youth that he had believed overcome, but this time [...] as an artist capable of ruling over [these visions] with complete freedom'.⁴³ Now able to 'reflect upon' the daemonic, the term appears in Goethe's writings and conversations: the daemonic had become an 'object of thought'.⁴⁴

bleiben wir bei dem Ausdruck "Dämonen" für die diabolischen Wesen, unterscheiden aber von ihnen ausdrücklich das Dämonische im Sinne des Goetheschen Begriffs').

⁴¹ Walter Muschg, *Goethes Glaube an das Dämonische*, 11: 'der junge Goethe stand der dämonischen Sphäre noch so nahe, daß er nicht über sie reflektieren konnte. [...] Als dämonischer Dichter wühlte er seine Zeitgenossen auf, fühlte er sich als Gefäß einer geheimnißvollen Kraft und wußte er sich von einem "fatum congenitum" getrieben'. Karl Viëtor also writes of Goethe's changing views, but does not categorize to the extent that Muschg does (see Karl Viëtor, *Goethe the Thinker* [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950], 94).

For further accounts of Goethe's life in terms of the daemonic see Emil Ludwig, *Goethe, The History of a Man*, trans. Ethel Colburn Mayne, vol. 1 (London, 1928), especially part I ('Genius and Daemon'), and Heinz Kindermann, 'Dämon und Einsamkeit', *Das Goethebild des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Sammlung 'Die Universität', 34 (Wien, 1952), 661-6.

⁴² Muschg: *Goethes Glaube an das Dämonische*, 13: '[Goethe] trieb die bösen, gefährlichen Geister in sich mit Hilfe der guten Geister aus, an die er sich nun so ausschließlich hielt, daß er in die Nähe des christlichen Erlösungsglauben geriet. Aber dämonengläubig blieb er auch so, es war nur weiße statt schwarzer Magie'.

⁴³ Ibid., 15: 'Goethe öffnete sich seinen überwunden geglaubten Jugendvisionen wieder, jedoch nicht mehr als tragisch Gefährdeter und dämonisch Versuchter, sondern als völlig frei über sie verfügender Künstler'.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 11: '[ein] Objekt des Denkens'. In Goethe's thinking on the daemonic Viëtor detects 'an expression of genuine piety, in the sense that Goethe feels the space in which man moves according to his own will to be enclosed by a larger, mysterious Order' (Viëtor, *Goethe the Thinker*, 95). Gottfried Diener implicitly questions this commanding image of the aged Goethe when he suggests that, in connection with his own creativity, Goethe feared the characteristic sudden disappearance of the daemonic and the resulting emptiness of the abandoned conduit (Gottfried Diener, *Pandora – Zu Goethes Metaphorik*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik, 5 [Berlin, 1968], 55).

1.1.4. Outline of Chapters

Chapter 2 explores the representation of Music in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German literature in light of Goethe's daemonic. Introducing the Goethean daemonic, I suggest that just as Goethe saw the daemonic as a force that 'pulled time together and expanded space', so music was viewed as affording the experience of the eternal supernatural within the limited worldly duration of a given musical work.⁴⁵

Drawing examples from Jean Paul's novels *Die unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus*, I argue that this move between the worldly experience of music and its perceived supernatural effect was marked by the appearance in literature of Music figured as daemonic supernatural voice. In E. T. A. Hoffmann's short story *Don Juan*, that voice appears as eroticised physical presence. Possessing a musically sensitive (female) singer, Music appears to the listener as a uniquely inspired and inspiring individual and reveals her 'deep secret' before returning to the otherworldly, the abandonment of its conduit leading to the death of the possessed singer.⁴⁶

Turning to W. H. Wackenroder's 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers' ('A Letter by Joseph Berglinger'), I explore the simultaneous pleasure and sinfulness of abandoning oneself to Music's voice.

Heinrich von Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie, oder die Gewalt der Musik* (*St. Cecilia, or the Power of Music*) illustrates the tension between Christianity and Music's daemonic voice. As in Hoffmann's *Don Juan*, Music here possesses the body of an artistically talented woman (in this case a nun), uses this body to appear physically on earth and then brings about the death of the possessed on retreating back into the supernatural. Unlike in *Don Juan*, Music in *Die heilige Cäcilie* is portrayed as mute, 'pure' ideal, whose very voicelessness suggests it to be executing a Christian divine will. In losing its human voice, Music becomes pure abstract musical sound, the effect of which is one of religious judgement that nevertheless remains daemonic in its workings.

⁴⁵ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus'.

⁴⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ombra adorata!', *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 33: 'wie wenig vermag doch der Mensch ihre tiefen Geheimnisse zu ergründen' ('how little is man capable of fathoming her deep secrets').

Chapter 3 investigates the daemonic in relation to the compositional process and the contemporary conceptualisation of genius. I problematize Peter Kivy's model of the 'pendulum theory' of genius, in which the Platonic model of genius (the man of genius as possessed) alternates with the Longinian (the man of genius as possessor), and argue that in the aesthetics of the early nineteenth century, such divisions were highly unstable: the composer of genius both masters the musical voice that sounds through him and is in turn mastered by it. In occupying this ambiguous middle ground, the man of genius recalls the ancient Greek daemones.

I argue that at least from the late eighteenth century onwards the gift of Nature of the genius was viewed as an internal alien presence (and thereby resembled the daemonic voice). With this in place, I re-examine Hoffmann's use of the term 'Besonnenheit' ('self-possession') to assert Beethoven's creative rationality in his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. I argue for a closer link between Hoffmann and Jean Paul's use of the term than has been acknowledged, and suggest that in adopting the notion of 'Besonnenheit', Hoffmann was, to some extent, reintroducing the very element of the supernatural that he was seeking to counter. The resulting ambivalence between Beethoven's rationality and his function as conduit to an otherworldly force suggests him as daemonic being.

In Chapter 4, two of Hoffmann's reviews of Beethoven's instrumental music serve to exemplify the identification of Music as supernatural voice in the instrumental music of the time.

Section 4.1. considers the interaction of the daemonic and the sublime in Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Focussing on the five metaphors that evoke Music as supernatural voice or being in Hoffmann's review, I propose a loosely linked narrative that charts the listener's seduction by Music's daemonic voice. The listener's journey into the supernatural is discussed with reference to Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, whilst the formulations of the sublime of Burke and Michaelis illustrate the powerful cultural associations of Hoffmann's images of the sublime. Special emphasis is placed on the transfer of Burke's sublime of terror in Nature to the symphonic work, the establishing of the symphony as 'force-like-Nature' and its daemonic challenge to divine creation.

Section 4.2. takes as its starting point Hoffmann's description of the return of material from the slow introduction to the first movement of Beethoven's trio op. 70,

no. 2 as a supernatural ‘chorale’ that breaks through the ‘artificial fabric’ of the sonata structure. Drawing on Hoffmann’s essay ‘Old and New Church Music’ and Music’s breakthrough in Jean Paul’s *Hesperus*, I develop an analysis that suggests a conflict between a goal-driven, ‘worldly’ sonata structure and an ancient, intrusive daemonic musical voice. I bring together the heroic paradigm evoked in connection with some of Beethoven’s sonata structures and the *Hesperus* scene discussed earlier, and suggest that it is in the very lack of ‘heroism’ of the first movement of op. 70, no. 2 that the daemonic suggests itself as alternative narrative type.

Chapter 5 takes the form of three case studies that together illuminate the workings of the daemonic as aesthetic category within representations of the female body, vocality and domestic music making in the nineteenth-century Lied. I begin with the literary figure of the Loreley: drawing both on literary works and Johann Hoven’s setting of Heinrich Heine’s version of the tale, the Loreley serves to illustrate the representation of song as a daemonic voice that sounds through the female body. In the second study, Heine’s ‘Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer’, again in Hoven’s setting, illustrates woman’s perceived susceptibility to Music’s supernatural voice, an association of woman, music and the occult that drew heavily on Christian demonic (as opposed to daemonic) imagery. The chapter concludes with a study of Schubert’s settings of Schiller’s ‘Laura am Klavier’. Here, Music’s daemonic voice emerges from the fragile stability of the idealized figure of the ‘woman at the piano’; musical performance reveals the feminised Ideal as threatening conduit.

In Chapter 6, two case studies explore the function of the daemonic in violin performance. I suggest that in Heinrich Heine’s account of Paganini’s performance in *Florentinische Nächte* images of devilry and the occult – in short, of the demonic – signify Paganini as *daemonic* phenomenon; the myth of the virtuoso’s pact with the devil constitutes a popular attempt to account for Music’s daemonic power. The second study focuses on Goethe’s ballad ‘Erlkönig’, its setting by Schubert, and the transcription of Schubert’s Lied for solo violin by Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst. I chart the changing workings of the daemonic voice in the move from poetic text to textless performance. Initially embedded within the narrative of Goethe’s ballad, the daemonic voice of the Erlking continues to sound via Schubert’s setting into Ernst’s transcription. Abstracted to textless fragment, and sounding as otherworldly musical

voice through the performing violinist, the function of the daemonic voice here draws together key issues from this and earlier chapters: the matrix of devilry, the daemonic and violin playing; Music's rupture of the worldly fabric, and the question of the agency of the creative artist.

I now turn to a review of recent writings on key topics and authors that my thesis engages with. The aim of the section is not to provide a comprehensive summary of every text written on the subject of musical supernaturalism – that would, quite simply, be impossible – but to stake out fundamental approaches and areas that have been covered, and thereby provide a background for the discussion that follows.

1.2. Literature Survey

1.2.1. Uncanny Voices

More than any others, two specific musicological essays resonate with the topic of my thesis: Carolyn Abbate's essay, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', and Christopher Gibbs' "'Komm, geh' mit mir": Schubert's Uncanny Erbköng'.⁴⁷ Both essays are concerned with the presence of voices in music and/or musical objects (instruments/music machines) as a signifier of the uncanny. For Abbate, the musical tombeau constitutes an uncanny lament in which the musical voice of the dead sounds through the hands of the living; similarly, musical instruments and machines become disturbing dead objects that are animated by the musical voice. Gibbs applies Freudian theory to the reception history of Schubert's setting of Goethe's 'Erlkönig', arguing that the 'structure and rhetoric of the critical debate "act out" the uncanny forces at work in Schubert's song'.⁴⁸

Gibbs aims to offer 'a deconstructive and psychoanalytical reading of the reception history of Goethe's celebrated words and Schubert's equally famous music, in an effort to account for the extraordinary and enduring popularity, appeal, and effect of Schubert's op. 1'.⁴⁹ The key point for Gibbs is that 'the split in the critical reception enacts the agonistic structure of the poem's narrative: the struggle between

⁴⁷ Carolyn Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', and Christopher H. Gibbs, "'Komm, geh' mit mir": Schubert's Uncanny Erbköng', *19th-Century Music*, 19 (1995), 115-35.

⁴⁸ Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erbköng', 117.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 116.

father and son, male and female, life and death that Schubert's setting brings to awareness'.⁵⁰ Unusually then, Gibbs does not apply Freudian theory to the setting or the text, but to the reception of the work(s). Following the literary critic Shoshana Feldman who identifies an uncanny 'reading effect' 'when the feelings evoked by a text repeat a situation narrated in the text', Gibbs identifies an uncanny 'listening effect' in Schubert's music.⁵¹

In the nineteenth-century, 'the opposition between the Goethean and the Schubertean interpretations' of the 'Erlkönig' – perceived as the opposition of the uncanny and the human – 'becomes displaced onto an opposition between Loewe and Schubert'.⁵² The 'northern' Loewe was seen as an effective counterpart to the 'southern' Schubert; the geography of the northern and the southern composer being in turn mapped onto 'their' Erlkings: Loewe was seen to evoke a 'ghostly northern spirit who makes sinister appeals with uncanny effect, while Schubert's Erlking is a sensuous southerner who sings lyrically'.⁵³

Donald Francis Tovey and Richard Capell have argued that Loewe's setting brings out the rationalistic view of Goethe's ballad: by setting the Erlking's promises to a single chord Loewe characterises the Erlking in terms of the father's rational explanations of the Erlking as wind and mist. Schubert's setting on the other hand 'remains unconvinced by the explanations. His terror is the child's; Loewe's terror is the father's'.⁵⁴ For Lawrence Kramer the boy in Goethe's text acts as middle term between the natural and the fantastic, and is ultimately destroyed by 'the psychic stress of living between the two realms'.⁵⁵ Schubert's setting, on the other hand, creates a 'dramatic duality' in which the natural, embodied by father and child, is engaged in a struggle against the fantastic.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 117.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 125.

⁵³ Ibid., 127. As Gibbs points out, this was to have increasingly political implications: 'the long-standing tropes used by music historians to describe the Protestant north and the Catholic south – the instrumental and the vocal, the sons of Bach and the sons of Palestrina (Verdi's phrasing), brains and beauty – reflect increasingly significant political, religious, and nationalist splits in mid-nineteenth-century culture. At issue is what is "truly German," and with Goethe involved this issue becomes even more hotly contested, especially around the upheavals of 1848' (ibid.).

⁵⁴ Tovey, quoted in Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 128. 'Capell maintains that the poem succeeds in retaining its fascination and force because it depicts the "terrors of a child." He asks, "Who shall know a child's realities?" and suggests that we are not merely auditors, but witnesses to the boy's trauma' (Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 128).

⁵⁵ Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley, 1984), 149, quoted in Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 128.

According to Gibbs all these readings act out binary oppositions, a logic that can be deconstructed by ‘considering the effect of the music on the listeners’ and thereby evoking the ‘uncanny listening effect’.⁵⁶ Critics assume the position of the father by ‘offering denials, explanations, and objections with which to disavow Schubert’s music for the Erlking’.⁵⁷ Similarly they assume the position of the son ‘in attempts to resist seduction by Schubert’s music’.⁵⁸ Consequently, ‘with respect to structure as well, tensions between father/son and Erlking, natural and supernatural, life and death are acted out in the critical debate through tensions between the poles of Lied and ballad, lyric and narrative, Schubert and Loewe, and so forth’.⁵⁹

Gibbs argues that Schubert’s song accomplishes the uncanny effect through its representation of the Erlking. The Erlking disturbs the relationship between father and son just as it was the Erlking that had disturbed 19th-century critics; he becomes the ‘third term’, containing opposite poles without reconciling them and thereby undoing the binary oppositions both of ‘the critical debate and the manifest composition’.⁶⁰

The Erlking uncannily embodies both/and: both human and supernatural, sweetly alluring and threatening, intimate and profoundly alien. The confusing and fusing Erlking represents what we want most to keep distinct: the separation between life and death, the differences between the sexes.⁶¹

Gibbs’ interest in the undoing of binary oppositions and his acknowledgement of a ‘third term’ that speaks of this undoing is fundamental to my thesis. I address ‘Erlkönig’ specifically in Chapter 6, but throughout my thesis suggest the daemonic as ambiguous force whose mysterious workings resist categorization. The daemonic musical voice, I argue, like Gibbs’ Erlkönig, is both ‘confusing and fusing’ – a ‘third term’.

Carolyn Abbate’s study is wide-ranging, moving from 18th-century musical tombeaux via musical automata and sound-reproduction machines to issues of musical performance and Ravel’s, *Le Tombeau de Couperin* and *L’Enfant et les sortilèges*. As such, much of Abbate’s essay falls outside the chronological and national boundaries

⁵⁶ Gibbs, ‘Schubert’s Uncanny Erlkönig’, 128.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 129.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Gibbs argues that ‘the critical blindness – and deafness – to the disturbing qualities of the Erlking not only replicate the father’s response to his son, but can also be seen as the manifest effect of the seduction and the disturbing quality of the music’ (ibid., 131).

⁶¹ Ibid., 133.

of the present study, and I will therefore focus on two key concepts that are of fundamental significance both to Abbate's essay and my thesis:

1. Music is suggested as a force that animates a lifeless body (either an instrument or the performer)
2. Moments of breakdown (e.g. a memory-lapse in performance) can either signal the mechanical in the human (performer), or the human in the mechanical (music)

For Abbate, the 'tombeau invokes two ideas that are inversions of one another. It plays back a lifeless work. But it is also inspired by that work, like a puppet in a theater of animation, a lifeless object set in motion by some hand that moves from within. [...] The living composer plays his imperfect recording of a dead master's sounds, and a past master brings a present composer back from stasis or death'.⁶² Both suggest the performer as a void, a channel through which an (altered) older music may appear. As such the performer is the puppet, controlled by the puppet master – the 'dead master' that sounds through him. What renders these tombeaux an 'uncanny form of lamenting',⁶³ according to Abbate, is that unlike mourning *songs*, instrumental tombeaux *contain* the dead: 'in mourning songs, living speakers stand outside the thing being mourned. Tombeaux, like their architectural cousins, *contain the dead*'.⁶⁴ Similarly, Abbate suggests, the musical tombeau animates a 'lifeless' instrument.⁶⁵ In the writings of Hegel, Abbate argues, this sense of music animating a dead object is extended to instrumental music as a whole. Hegel describes musical instruments as 'dead things' 'whose external reality (deadness) must be animated by music's internal reality of movement and activity. Thus what Baroque tombeaux did by implication, posing as instruments that have come to life, becomes a prescriptive metaphor for *all* instrumental performance'.⁶⁶

In his *Aesthetics*, Hegel differentiates between two types of performance. One that 'does not wish to render anything beyond what the work in hand already contains', and one that 'does not merely reproduce but draws expression, interpretation, the real animation in short, principally from its own resources, and not

⁶² Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 470.

⁶³ Ibid., 472.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 471.

⁶⁵ The instrument becomes 'yet another animated object in the crowd that surrounds tombeaux' (ibid., 473).

⁶⁶ Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 480.

only from the composition as it exists'.⁶⁷ Abbate sees Hegel's insistence on the performer giving 'life and soul' to a work, yet being an instrument himself as contradictory.⁶⁸ Hegel views Italian opera arias as music that is in itself soulless, but must be 'ensouled' by the performer through improvisation. Improvisation therefore becomes a signifier of the human soul, of the human as opposed to the mechanical, for 'nowhere is our machine-like status more clear than in a musical performance in which someone plays someone else's work'.⁶⁹ This anxiety is illustrated in an account by Ange Goudar:

When I first saw the celebrated virtuoso Anf[.] for the first time in Venice... I believed myself to be witnessing an automaton, a machine mounted on brass wires.... Since he had left his soul on the lid of his clavichord, I begged him to retrieve it, that is, to play an arietta of his own composition, that I might know that he existed; but he didn't want to exist: so on that day, I had a conversation with a cadaver.⁷⁰

The performer is perceived as android, whose only way of asserting subjectivity is through improvisation – signifier of the voice of the subject. In contrast, performing machines – especially those built to resemble the human form – constitute a sinister mechanical double to the human performer; one in which the metaphysical quality of music is erased:

⁶⁷ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford, 1975), 2, 955.

⁶⁸ 'Even though Hegel speaks of giving "life and soul" to the *work*, the framing metaphor of performer as instrument declares the human being to be a lifeless thing, animated *by* the work' (Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 479).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁷⁰ Ange Goudar, *La Brigandage de la musique italienne* (1777; reprint, Geneva, 1972), 84, quoted in translation in Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 478. Goudar's notion of the performer as corpse forms a striking contrast to Schumann's celebrated analysis of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*. Whilst for Goudar the performer assumes life through the performance of an own composition/improvisation (as opposed to being an animated corpse), for Schumann the autobiographical work *is* the corpse of the composer (see Fred Everett Maus, 'Intersubjectivity and Analysis: Schumann's Essay on the *Fantastic Symphony*', *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism*, ed. Ian Bent [Cambridge, 1996], 125-137). Schumann's process of analysis ultimately turns in on itself, drawing an analogy to dissection with the words 'Berlioz probably never dissected the head of a good-looking murderer more reluctantly than I have dissected this first movement' (Schumann, quoted in Maus, 'Intersubjectivity and Analysis', 134). Schumann equates Berlioz's music to the 'head of a good-looking murderer', something that would be easier to dismiss if the symphony did not contain a depiction of the beheading of a murderer – Berlioz at that. Consequently, according to Maus, if the symphony depicts Berlioz's own death, then 'perhaps this translates a more general anxiety about self-depiction. What if autobiographical musical texts, or musical sounds, remain stubbornly distinct from the composer, lifeless, inhuman artefacts? One could register this gap, figuratively, by taking musical self-depiction to be the death of the composer. So Schumann, doggedly disregarding Berlioz, treating the music as an empty building, suddenly evokes, not quite explicitly, the alternative figure of autobiographical music as the corpse of the composer' (Maus, 'Intersubjectivity and Analysis', 136).

The whole mechanism – the polydactyl hand inside the flute player – is like a controlling will in material form, wired to the creature it moves. Thus something metaphysical and insubstantial – the musical utterance that animates a human performer – is transmuted into pins and strings in the mechanical double.⁷¹

But there is a contradiction in Abbate's readings (of which she is well aware), for at the same time as improvisation can signify the non machine-like, she argues that 'our sense [of] performance as mechanism is paradoxically most keen when something – a memory lapse, perhaps – goes awry in solo instrumental performance'.⁷² This interruption of the mechanism is not a 'liberation' of the performing subject, but '[reinforces] his mechanical status', the attempt to 'locate some node in his unspooling movements where the mechanism can be reengaged'.⁷³ The feeling, Abbate claims, is of a 'machine [that] has given a few coughs before moving on'.⁷⁴ Subjectivity comes to the fore through breakdown, but the performer, exposed as human, must be reclaimed by the controlling mechanism of the musical piece. However, according to Abbate, the 'moment where something fails, which in performance exposes the machine in the human being, might in another context mark the humanity of the machine'.⁷⁵ Music is thus set up as machine, and its malfunction may be 'sensed as wit or horror'.⁷⁶

My thesis shares with Abbate's essay an interest in an animating/controlling voice and the sense that moments of breakdown in performance engender meaning in man's relationship to that voice. However, as will be apparent, my emphasis is not on the uncanny, nor on man as machine. Instead, I suggest that the way this animating/controlling voice is represented in writings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and perceived in musical structures, is much more specific: it

⁷¹ Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 487. The frequent appearance of the idea of the 'mechanical double' in Abbate's discussion continually draws the reader back to Stanley Cavell's image of the horror of the automaton: 'the animated figure we confront, astonishingly talented at assuming human functions, suggests how we could look down to find our own chests covered by brass plates, ripped open to expose "an elegant clockwork" within' (Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 476, quoting Stanley Cavell, *The Claims of Reason: Wittgenstein, Skepticism, Morality, and Tragedy* [Oxford, 1979], 401).

⁷² Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 480.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 481.

⁷⁶ Ibid. The works Abbate cites as examples are the third movement of Mahler's Symphony No. 2 and the Allegretto from Beethoven's Symphony No. 7. She adds: 'one *topos obligé* of musical works written to mimic mechanical music and automata is a musical hint that the machine has gone awry' (ibid.).

suggests the daemonic. I consider the musical voice as ambiguous force, not as signifier of mechanical horror.

1.2.2. Devilry

Few images of music and the supernatural have endured to the same extent as that of the demonic fiddler. Investigating the association of Death and the violin from the Mediaeval ‘Totentanz’ to modern-day uses of the motif, Rita Steblin has charted the broader cultural manifestations of Death and the devil as fiddle players.⁷⁷ Her study provides a general but insightful overview of the traditions that merged in the reception of Paganini and the nineteenth-century portrayal of Mephistopheles.⁷⁸ In Paganini the association of music and devilry found a powerful focus that tapped into the artistic sensibilities of the time.⁷⁹ According to Helmut Schmidt-Garre, the romantic artist was ‘inexorably drawn to the strange, the terrible, the macabre and the gruesome’⁸⁰ and imagined ‘a musician with fiery eyes, who is Satan-like or even Satan himself’.⁸¹ Drawing on Heine’s accounts of Paganini, I suggest in Chapter 6 that the diabolical in the reception of Paganini signifies the violinist as daemonic phenomenon, a vessel that channels Music’s daemonic voice. I address the same dichotomy between diabolical (demonic) imagery and daemonic effect in my discussion of Heine’s ‘Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer’ in Chapter 5. There the

⁷⁷ Rita Steblin, ‘Death as Fiddler’.

⁷⁸ On the Faust myth, and therefore on Mephistopheles in music see Ulrich Schreiber, ‘Alles Vergängliche: Ein Gleichnis – Goethe und die musikalische Fausttradition’, *Beethoven, Goethe und Europa: Almanach zum Internationalen Beethovenfest, Bonn 1999*, ed. Thomas Daniel Schlee (Laaber, 1999), 69-89; Helmut Loos, ‘Johann Wolfgang von Goethes *Faust* in der Musik: Schumann, Liszt, Mahler’, *Festschrift für Winfried Kirsch zum fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Ackermann et al., *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 24 (Tutzing, 1996), 280-302; Helmut Loos, ‘Die musikalische Verarbeitung von Faust-Texten im neunzehnten Jahrhundert’, *‘Denn in jenen Tönen lebt es’: Wolfgang Marggraf zum fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Helen Geyer et al. (Weimar, 1999), 167-78; Patrick Carnegy, ‘Faust in his Element: A Musical Career and its Consequences’, *The Romantic Tradition: German Literature and Music in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Frederick Albert Hall et al. (Lanham, 1992), 263-78; and Lothar Ehrlich, ‘Liszt und Goethe’, *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, *Weimarer Liszt-Studien*, 1 (Laaber, 1997), 33-45.

⁷⁹ On the popular association of Paganini and the diabolic see John Sugden, *Niccolò Paganini*. Behind its sensationalist title Sugden’s book is a straight-forward account of Paganini’s life. It does however, include significant references to the cult of devilry that surrounded (and in some ways still surrounds) the Paganini myth.

⁸⁰ Helmut Schmidt-Garre, ‘Der Teufel in der Musik’, *Melos*, 1 (1975), 175: ‘das Unbefriedigtsein [zieht] den Romantiker unwiderstehlich zum Absonderlichen, Schrecklichen, Makabren und Grausamen’.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*: ‘einen Musiker mit funkensprühenden Augen, der satangleich oder gar Satan selber ist’.

daemonic musical voice superficially appears a means of demonic seduction, what Schmidt-Garre has called ‘a demonic, diabolical music, that can “swallow” one whole’.⁸²

Nicholas Vazsonyi has come close to identifying the complexity of diabolical imagery in the nineteenth century that I discuss with reference to Paganini and Heine.⁸³ Writing on Mephistopheles in Liszt’s *Faust Symphony*, Vazsonyi argues for a narrative in which the diabolical serves a larger purpose that is not itself evil. Vazsonyi sees Goethe’s statement that Mephisto is ‘a part of that force which always intends evil, but always produces good’⁸⁴ as part of a fundamental dynamic in the *Faust Symphony* in which ‘the concepts of Evil, Mephisto, and the Feminine all become necessary for the attainment of transcendental Good’.⁸⁵ Thus in the third movement, ‘Faust’s various motifs [...] must all run a gauntlet of musical mockery [that] propel[s] the musical ideas from the first movement to ever higher plains of expression and passion’.⁸⁶ For Vazsonyi then, Liszt’s symphony ‘ends up conveying both structurally and in content much of what is at the heart of Goethe’s magnum opus’,⁸⁷ the ‘(unresolved) struggles [...] between God and Mephisto, between the male and the female, between damnation and salvation, between harmony and dissonance’.⁸⁸

1.2.3. Music and the Supernatural

The significance of the music aesthetics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries within which I identify the importance of the daemonic has been

⁸² Ibid.: ‘[Hoffmann] spürt [...] die Gefahr einer dämonischen, teuflischen Musik, von der man ganz “verschluckt” werden kann’. On the use of music as a means for diabolic seduction, see Frits Noske, ‘Sound and Sentiment: The Function of Music in the Gothic Novel’, *Music & Letters*, 62 (1981), 162-75.

⁸³ Nicholas Vazsonyi, ‘Liszt, Goethe and the Faust Symphony’, *The Journal of the American Liszt Society*, 40 (1996), 1-23.

⁸⁴ Goethe, *Faust II*, 1335-6, quoted in Vazsonyi, ‘Liszt, Goethe and the Faust Symphony’, 10: ‘Ein Teil von jener Kraft / Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft’ (translation as given by Vazsonyi).

⁸⁵ Vazsonyi, ‘Liszt, Goethe and the Faust Symphony’, 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 3.

charted in a number of larger studies, most notably in the work of Carl Dahlhaus.⁸⁹ For Dahlhaus however, the supernaturalism of early Romantic music aesthetics is a mere component part of a larger move between categories: Dahlhaus essentially narrates a history of ideas, and in so doing he elucidates, but does not question established categories and oppositions such as the relationship between music and language, the absolute and the programmatic, the sublime and the sentimental, or *Sturm und Drang* and *Empfindsamkeit*; any suggestion of the otherworldly/supernatural is merely articulated within and as part of those categories. So when, in his *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Dahlhaus states that in E. T. A. Hoffmann's writings 'pure, autonomous instrumental music [...] was approaching a prevision of the infinite',⁹⁰ the supernatural serves to show that 'Hoffmann elevated music to a language that, despite or perhaps because of its lack of concepts, is superior to and transcends the language of words'.⁹¹ In Dahlhaus' writings the supernatural is never considered as an aesthetic category in its own right, nor is its potential for mediating aesthetic binaries explored. In my thesis I suggest the daemonic not only as a significant category in understanding the aesthetics of the period, but argue that it problematizes the distinctions between categories that studies such as those of Dahlhaus fail to question. In order to demonstrate the relevance of the daemonic I therefore reconsider canonic texts by E. T. A. Hoffmann, Jean Paul and Wackenroder in light of the daemonic.

Critical literature has paid particular attention to Hoffmann's 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.⁹² Dahlhaus has suggested that Hoffmann's review displays the 'dithyrambic tone' of an ode, whilst praising 'the "deliberation" revealed in an "inner structure" of the music'.⁹³ In discussing Hoffmann's use of the sublime,

⁸⁹ See Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1989); Carl Dahlhaus, *Aesthetics of Music*, trans. William Austin (Cambridge, 1995), and especially Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago, 1989).

⁹⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 88.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁹² Perhaps one of the most unusual interpretations of Hoffmann's supernaturalism is that of Stephen Rumph (Stephen Rumph, 'A Kingdom not of this World: The Political Context of E. T. A. Hoffmann's Beethoven Criticism', *19th-Century Music*, 19 [1995], 50-67). Rumph argues that the 1810 review 'encodes the ideas of the Prussian reform movement and political Romanticism'. He sees in Hoffmann's idea of the spirit realm at once a political-aesthetic reaction to the violence of the Napoleonic wars and a wish for an ideal state: 'behind Hoffmann's ethereal *Geisterreich* lurks the sordid violence of the all-too-real kingdoms of this world. Conversely, out of the glimpses of the real meaning that color Hoffmann's discourse of the musical absolute we sense the definite outline of an ideal kingdom yet to come' (Rumph, 'A Kingdom not of this World', 59).

⁹³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), 69. In his essay 'E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen',

Dahlhaus subsumes Hoffmann's supernaturalism to his own narrative of the significance of the ode: Dahlhaus fails to acknowledge the influence of Burke's theory of the sublime on Hoffmann; instead, the images of violence in Hoffmann's review are, for Dahlhaus, evidence for the 'dithyrambic tone of the ode',⁹⁴ not of Burke's 'sublime of the supernatural, dark, disordered, painful, terrifying sort'.⁹⁵ My study of Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony draws on the writings of Jean Paul and Burke and suggests a loose narrative of the listener's seduction by Music's daemonic voice (Chapter 4). In particular I focus on the transferring of Burke's sublime of terror in Nature to the symphony, the establishment of the symphony as force-like-Nature and its daemonic challenge to divine creation. In Chapter 3, I qualify Dahlhaus' reading by suggesting that whilst Hoffmann did praise 'the "deliberation" revealed in an "inner structure" of the music' of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony,⁹⁶ he simultaneously reintroduced the very supernatural that he was seeking to counter.

According to Klaus-Dieter Dobat 'the irrational aspect of [Hoffmann's] artistry [has been] emphasised excessively'.⁹⁷ Dobat argues that 'the visionary romantic is not easily separated from the reviewer who soberly analyses and rationalizes compositional technique'.⁹⁸ In this respect Dobat is in agreement with John Neubauer's assessment that Hoffmann's 'rare leaps into the poetic and metaphysical' are woven into the technical fabric to such an extent that 'the mechanical and the mystical-Romantic lie immediately next to each other in the weave of his descriptions'.⁹⁹ Dobat finds an elision of 'the worlds of calculation and

Dahlhaus similarly links Hoffmann's review with the aesthetic of the sublime in general, and the ode more specifically (Carl Dahlhaus, 'E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 38 [1981], 79-92). See also my discussion of the idea of 'Besonnenheit' in Hoffmann's essay in Chapter 4.

⁹⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, 69.

⁹⁵ Elaine Sisman, *Mozart, The Jupiter Symphony*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge, 1993), 16.

⁹⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*, 69.

⁹⁷ Dobat, Klaus-Dieter, 'Zwischen Genie und Handwerk: "Geweiheter" Magier oder Mechaniker? Metamorphosen der Musikergestalt bei E. T. A. Hoffmann', *E. T. A. Hoffmann et la musique*, ed. Alain Montandon (Bern, 1987), 239: 'die Tatsache, dass das Oeuvre Hoffmanns wie bei keinem seiner Zeitgenossen inspiriert ist von der Musik als der "romantischste(n) aller Künste", [hat] lange dazu vereitelt, den irrationalen Aspekt seines Künstlertums über Gebühr herauszustellen'.

⁹⁸ Ibid.: 'der visionäre Romantiker [ist] nicht einfach vom nüchtern analysierenden und kompositionstechnisch rasonierenden Rezensenten zu trennen'.

⁹⁹ John Neubauer, 'Die Sprache des Unaussprechlichen: Hoffmanns Rezension von Beethovens 5. Symphonie', *E. T. A. Hoffmann et la musique*, ed. Alain Montandon (Bern, 1987), 33: 'im Geflecht seiner Beschreibungen [liegen] Mechanisches und Mystisch-Romantisches unvermittelt nebeneinander'.

of wonder' in Hoffmann's engagement with the creative process,¹⁰⁰ where the figure of the artist assumes the function of a mediator, identified by Dobat in Hoffmann's fiction as much as in his portrayal of Beethoven: 'indeed [the mentor] is given traits of a mysterious mediator who "allows" the helpless disciple "to step into the circle of magical appearances that his mighty sorcery calls forth"'.¹⁰¹ I problematize this notion of the composer as commanding mediator in Chapter 3, suggesting that the Romantic genius both masters the musical voice that sounds through him and is in turn mastered by it.

Studies of the work of Jean Paul broadly fall into two areas: the investigation of Jean Paul's influence on E. T. A. Hoffmann, and on the musical structures of Schumann. The former primarily circles around Hoffmann's use of Jean Paul's notion of 'Besonnenheit' ('self-possession') as a means of asserting the composer's rationality in Hoffmann's Beethoven criticism, whilst the latter investigates Schumann's debt to the structures of Jean Paul's novels.¹⁰² As such, neither area is concerned with the supernatural in Jean Paul. Exceptions to this are most often encountered in passing comments; for example, Donald H. Crosby sees in Schumann's *Carnaval* 'one of the most extraordinary musical realizations of the half-playful, half-demonic world of the masked fete, that realm of fantasy and fantastic so inextricably woven into the fabric of German Romantic literature'.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Dobat, 'Zwischen Genie und Handwerk', 243: 'zwanglos gleiten so die Welten von Kalkül und Wunder ineinander'.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 246, quoting E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 143: '[der geniale Komponist] erhält durchaus Züge eines geheimnisvollen Mittlers, der den unbeholfenen Jünger "in den Kreis der magischen Erscheinungen treten lässt, die sein mächtiger Zauber hervorruft"'.
¹⁰² On 'Besonnenheit' see Matthias Brzoska, 'La symphonie en mi bémol et la catégorie de la Besonnenheit', *E. T. A. Hoffmann et la musique*, ed. Alain Montandon (Bern, 1987), 149-58; Michael Walter, 'Musikkritik und Kanonisierung: Über Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmanns Rezension der fünften Symphonie Beethovens', *Musiktheorie*, 7 (1997), 255-65; Peter Schnaus, *Hoffmann als Beethoven-Rezensent*, *Freiburger Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (München, 1977), 81, and Ian Bent, 'Plato – Beethoven: A Hermeneutics for Nineteenth-Century Music?', *Indiana Theory Review*, 16 (1995), 1-33.

On Schumann's debt to Jean Paul's novels see Linda Siegel, 'The Piano Cycles of Schumann and the Novels of Jean Paul Richter', *Piano Quarterly*, 18 (1969), 16-21. Siegel points to Jean Paul's narrative freedoms as models for Schumann's cyclic structures; to a shared interest in the subjectivity of the artwork, and to the violent mood swings that can be found in the works of both men: 'Jean Paul abounds [...] in a wealth of episodes, discursiveness, a variety of moods and profound symbolism, traits we find again in the cycles of the composer, which read like the chapters of the novels of the author' (Siegel, 'The Piano Cycles of Schumann', 16). See also Anthony Newcomb, 'Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies', *19th-Century Music*, 11 (1987), 164-74 and Linda Correll Roesner, 'Schumann's "Parallel" Forms', *19th-Century Music*, 14 (1991), 265-78.

¹⁰³ Crosby, Donald H., 'Between Two Worlds: Robert Schumann and German Romanticism', *Forms of the Fantastic: Selected Essays from the Third International Conference on the Fantastic in Literature and Film*, ed. Howard Pearce and Jan Hokenson (Westport, 1986), 7. Crosby's focus extends beyond

I turn to the writings of Jean Paul as a site where the transition from the worldly experience of music to its perceived supernatural effect marked the appearance of Music as daemonic voice (Chapter 2). Furthermore, I suggest Jean Paul's writings on the creative process placed far greater emphasis on impulses that were beyond man's control than is credited in writings on the subject (Chapter 3). Finally, I argue that Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik* provides a model for the listener's move into the supernatural on hearing Music's daemonic voice, and draw a detailed comparison between Hoffmann's evocation of an otherworldly chorale in the first movement of Beethoven's op. 70, no. 2 and the workings of the daemonic musical voice in Jean Paul's *Hesperus*.

In the writings of Wackenroder, the supernatural emerges out of the coexistence of sentimentalism, piety and the aesthetics of emotions;¹⁰⁴ Wackenroder's is an ambivalent view of music, with music at once a divine language and a false deity.¹⁰⁵ According to Hans Geulen, in Wackenroder's writings music at once embraces suffering and reconciliation.¹⁰⁶ Rose Kahnt takes a more controversial stance – and one that is closer to my reading of Wackenroder's writings in Chapter 2 – in suggesting that for Wackenroder music is a demonic art that rules man and

the works of Jean Paul, discussing Schumann's preoccupation with the fantastic in general and taking into consideration topics such as the figure of the Double, masquerades, night-scenes, forests, and the influence of Hoffmann's Kreisler.

¹⁰⁴ See Linda Siegel's discussion of Wackenroder's essays in *Phantasien über die Kunst* (Linda Siegel, 'Wackenroder's Musical Essays in *Phantasien über die Kunst*', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 30 [1972], 351-8). Peter Michelsen has argued that Wackenroder arrived at his music aesthetics by elaborating the already established aesthetics of emotions (Peter Michelsen, 'Die "Aufbewahrung der Gefühle": Zur Musikauffassung Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroders', *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Geschichte - Ästhetik - Theorie: Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Danuser [Laaber, 1988] 51-65).

¹⁰⁵ See my discussion of Wackenroder in Chapter 2. On the divine in Wackenroder's aesthetics see Christian Zürner, 'Vom Göttlichen in der Musik: Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroders Berglinger-Text "Die Wunder der Tonkunst"', 'Seelenaccente' – 'Ohrenphysiognomik': *Zur Musikanschauung E. T. A. Hoffmanns, Heines und Wackenroders*, ed. Werner Keil and Charis Goer, Diskordanzen, 8 (Hildesheim, 2000), 297-337. Abigail Jane Chantler's study of Wackenroder, Hoffmann and Schleiermacher examines the influences of Schleiermacher on the aesthetics of Wackenroder (Abigail Jane Chantler, 'The Confluence of Aesthetics and Hermeneutics in the Writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann, Wackenroder, and Schleiermacher' [PhD dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1999]), whilst the influence of Pietism on Wackenroder is considered by Ulrich Tadday (Ulrich Tadday, "... und ziehe mich still in das Land der Musik, als in das Land des Glaubens, zurück": Zu den pietistischen Grundlagen der Musikanschauung Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroders', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 56 [1999], 101-9).

¹⁰⁶ Hans Geulen, 'Bemerkungen zur musikalischen Motivik in Wackenroders "Leben des Joseph Berglingers" und Grillparzers *Der arme Spielmann*', 'Sagen mit Sinne': *Festschrift Marie Louise Dittrich zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Rücker and Kurt Otto Seidel (Göppingen, 1976), 329-43.

renders him passive.¹⁰⁷ Wackenroder's 'A Letter by Joseph Berglinger', I argue, portrays an artist tormented by the simultaneous pleasure and sinfulness of abandoning oneself to Music's daemonic voice.

I conclude the literature review with a brief review of writings on operatic supernaturalism. For reasons already outlined above, this material is not addressed within my thesis, but here serves to illustrate how Romantic supernaturalism is engaged with in musicological literature, and the fundamental difference between the popular image of Romantic supernaturalism and the direction in which I will take the topic in my thesis.

1.2.4. Opera and the Supernatural

Studies of supernaturalism in German operas of this period largely focus on the operas of Weber, with the 'Wolf's Glen' scene from *Der Freischütz* attracting particular attention. Weber was acutely aware of the power of the supernatural in his *Freischütz*, and in suggesting 'dark powers' and 'demonic forces' to be working on the opera's protagonists he approaches a Goethean daemonic in a conversation with J. C. Lobe:

I had to remind the listeners of these 'dark powers' as often as possible by means of sound and melody. Very often the text offered possibilities for this, but also very often I suggested that demonic forces were at play through sounds and figures, where the poet had not directly marked this out.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Rose Kahnt, *Die Bedeutung der bildenden Kunst und der Musik bei W. H. Wackenroder*, Marburger Beiträge zur Germanistik, 28 (Marburg, 1969).

¹⁰⁸ Weber, quoted in Johann Christian Lobe, *Consonanzen und Dissonanzen* (Leipzig, 1869), 122f, quoted in Vera Reising, 'Die Funktion phantastischer Gestalten bei Weber', *Carl Maria von Weber und der Gedanke der Nationaloper*, ed. Günter Stephan and Hans John, Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, 10 (Dresden, 1987), 294: 'an diese "finsternen Mächte" mußte ich die Hörer so oft als möglich durch Klang und Melodie erinnern. Sehr oft bot mir der Text die Möglichkeit dazu, sehr oft aber auch deutete ich da, wo der Dichter es nicht unmittelbar vorgezeichnet hatte, durch Klänge und Figuren hin, daß dämonische Mächte ihr Spiel treiben'.

Schubert's use of a musical palindrome in his melodrama *Die Zauberharfe* is possibly one of the most unusual musical representations of such 'dark powers' at that period. Brian Newbould suggests that the palindrome may have been a demonic symbol for Schubert in this instance, 'a product of intellectual manipulations, the wilful reversal of values, as in the "black mass" (the undoing or reversal of normally forward-vectored meaning)' (Brian Newbould, 'A Schubert Palindrome', *19th-Century Music*, 15 [1992], 209). Newbould cites the idea of the netherworld mirroring the upper world in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* and connects Hoffmann and Schubert through the literary figure of the *Doppelgänger*, a figure central to the aesthetics of Hoffmann and certainly known to Schubert, not least through his (later) setting of Heine's poem dealing with the subject. Newbould

Nevertheless, as Max Becker has argued, the thought of regarding his music as mediating ‘the worldly and the otherworldly [...] was entirely alien to [Weber]’;¹⁰⁹ in Weber’s writings, ‘music by no means becomes a two-faced, seductively dark art’.¹¹⁰ Studies of the supernatural in Weber’s works therefore tend to approach their subject from the point of view of the mechanics of staging, or seek to place the opera’s supernaturalism in a social context. The essays of Anthony Newcomb and Gerd Rienäcker are typical in this respect.

Newcomb proposes that in writing the Wolf’s Glen scene, Weber was both echoing and playing upon contemporary trends in popular entertainment, especially the new craze for phantasmagoria.¹¹¹ Newcomb’s study suggests that the phantasmagoria not only attracted Weber through its tradition of ghost-images, but that its possibility ‘for movement and quick transformation [...] suggested to Weber a novel way to stage the traditional scene from the folk tale and the bargain of occult forces [...] and to reinforce its visual images and rapid temporal shifts with music’.¹¹² Thus the link between the Wolf’s Glen scene and phantasmagoria rests not on subject matter, nor directly on the means by which the images were created on stage, but by the speed with which they succeed each other.¹¹³

argues that ‘no musical configuration could be said to embody “united opposites” more wholeheartedly than a palindrome’ (Newbould, ‘A Schubert Palindrome’, 210). Newbould’s idea is given further weight by the occurrence of a retrograde of the ostinato bass in Schubert’s *Der Doppelgänger* at precisely that point when the narrator addresses his double (see David L. Code, ‘Listening for Schubert’s Doppelgängers’, *Music Theory Online*, 1 [1995], retrieved November 2004 [<http://www.societymusictheory.org/mto/issues/mto.95.1.4>]).

¹⁰⁹ Max Becker, ‘Zwischen Biedermeier, Romantik und Klassizismus: Zur Ästhetik Carl Maria von Webers’, *Musik und Gesellschaft*, 36 (1986), 574: ‘die Idee [...] seine Musik im [...] kunstreligiösen Sinne als Vermittlungsinstanz zwischen Irdischem und Außerirdischem aufzufassen, lag ihm völlig fern’.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 575: ‘wird Weber in diesem Deutungszusammenhang abermals mit besagten Romantikern konfrontiert, so zeigt sich, daß in seinen Schriften Musik mitnichten zur doppelgesichtigen, verführerisch dunklen Macht sich auswächst’.

¹¹¹ Anthony Newcomb, ‘New Light(s) on Weber’s Wolf’s Glen Scene’, *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge, 1995), 61-88. Invented by the French-born scientist-inventor Etienne-Gaspard Robertson (b. 1763) and first shown to the public in Paris in March 1798, the phantasmagoria was a refinement of the mid-seventeenth century magic lantern. It enabled phantasms such as ghosts or witches to appear before an audience in a small, darkened room, move about and finally disappear (due to the range of the projectors the size of the audience was limited to between forty and sixty people). Robertson played on the potential for generating a grisly, sensationalist atmosphere by establishing his second show in an abandoned chapel within a cloister of a former Capucin convent that had been violated by the Revolution. Newcomb charts the history, subjects and reception history of the phantasmagoria in some detail (see Newcomb, ‘New Light(s) on Weber’s Wolf’s Glen Scene’, 61-8).

¹¹² Newcomb, ‘New Light(s) on Weber’s Wolf’s Glen Scene’, 68.

¹¹³ See Newcomb, ‘New Light(s) on Weber’s Wolf’s Glen Scene’, 66-7. On the staging of the fantastic in Weber’s *Freischütz* see also Robert Braunmüller, ‘Geweihte Rosen und eine Kugel des Teufels: Die

For Rienäcker the Wolf's Glen scene is a distorting mirror, a Romantic fragment that encompasses the whole; it is 'devoid of any sense of progression', and functions 'as mirror of active humanity and as their uncomprehended opposite, vaguely captured in the term of the Other'.¹¹⁴

The Wolf's Glen is the fear-inducing dreamland yearned for by those who search – the concrete opposite, mirror image of the fracture of the self; unrecognised, incomprehensible natural forces have social physiognomy.¹¹⁵

This focus on the social aspects of operatic supernaturalism is central to the work of Vera Reising.¹¹⁶ Drawing an arc from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* to the operas of E. T. A. Hoffmann, Weber, Spohr and Marschner, Reising identifies the use of fantastic subjects from myth and fairy-tale as a process begun in literature and occurring in musical theatre since the late eighteenth century that peaked between 1820 and 1830, and whose stimulus came from the changing subjectivity of the Romantic period.¹¹⁷ The Communist cultural climate in which Reising was writing – all of her texts considered here were written in the former East Germany – is apparent in her readings:

paradoxe Realität des *Freischütz*', *Arbeitsfelder der Theaterwissenschaft*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte et al., Forum modernes Theater, 15 (Tübingen, 1994), 159-69.

¹¹⁴ Gerd Rienäcker, 'Gedanken zur Wolfsschlucht', *Carl Maria von Weber und der Gedanke der Nationaloper*, ed. Günter Stephan and Hans John, Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, 10 (Dresden, 1987), 305: 'enthoben aller Progression. [...] [Die Wolfsschlucht] fungiert [...] als Spiegel handelnder Menschen und als deren unbegriffenes Gegenüber'. Rienäcker's study of the Wolf's Glen scene takes its title quite literally: initially narrating musical events, Rienäcker muses on the meanings of the scene.

Hans Dieter Arnold has similarly argued that the cynicism in which mechanical horrors are unleashed on a pair of young lovers in Schubert's opera *Des Teufels Lustschloss* as a way of testing their love comments on the human condition of that period: 'the integrity of the tests of a *Magic Flute* are perverted. The cynical disregard for human feeling and their unscrupulous manipulation appear as a mirror of the time' (Hans Dieter Arnold, 'Zur Geschichte von Schuberts Oper *Des Teufels Lustschloss*', *Musik und Gesellschaft*, 28 [1978], 664: 'die Lauterkeit der Prüfungen einer "Zauberflöte" wird pervertiert. Die zynische Verachtung menschlicher Gefühle und deren bedenkenlose Manipulierung erscheinen als Zeitspiegel'). For Vera Reising too, the use of the fantastic functions 'as reflection of the social reality' (Vera Reising, 'Die Phantastik bei der sich herausbildenden deutschen Nationaloper', *Studien zur Berliner Musikgeschichte: Vom achtzehnten Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Traude Ebert-Obermeier [Berlin, 1989], 119: 'Reflexion gesellschaftlicher Realität').

¹¹⁵ Rienäcker, 'Gedanken zur Wolfsschlucht', 305: 'die Wolfsschlucht ist den Suchenden ersehntes, angsteinflößendes Traumland, reales Gegenüber, Spiegelbild eigener Zerissenheit; undurchschaute Naturkräfte haben, unerkannt, soziale Physiognomik'.

¹¹⁶ Vera Reising, 'Phantastische Gestalten in der deutschen Oper von 1790 bis 1830' (PhD dissertation, Universität Berlin, 1975); Vera Reising, 'Zur Funktion des Phantastischen in den Opern von Ludwig Spohr und Heinrich Marschner', *Zweite Romantikkonferenz 1982*, ed. Günter Stefan and Hans John, Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, 3 (Dresden, 1983), 56-60; Vera Reising, 'Die Funktion phantastischer Gestalten bei Weber'; Vera Reising, 'Die Phantastik bei der sich herausbildenden deutschen Nationaloper'.

¹¹⁷ Reising, 'Die Funktion phantastischer Gestalten bei Weber', 291.

As the acceptance of the circumstances of bourgeois production brought with it the disappointing conditions of capitalist alienation, rather than the ideal world proclaimed in the heroic illusions of the Enlightenment and the Classical era, it was necessary to deal with new contradictions within society that were not yet explained. For this, the use of fantastic characters, with their supernatural and therefore mysterious properties, seemed especially suited.¹¹⁸

Reising identifies five key characteristics of what she terms ‘fantastic characters’ in the German operas of that period:¹¹⁹

1. They ‘embody a national moment’
2. Being part of the ‘volk-imagination’ they are a point of contact for an audience consisting of bourgeois and plebeian social strata
3. As they frequently represent powers of Nature, fantastic characters are capable of expressing the newfound relationship to Nature of the Romantic subject
4. The effects used in staging works that include fantastic characters attracted audiences
5. Musically, the incorporation of the fantastic opened up new possibilities to the composer

With respect to Weber’s use of ‘fantastic characters’, she identifies the following, additional features:¹²⁰

1. They are drawn from national legends/fairy tales, or derivative literature
2. They are either ‘spirits of Nature’ (‘Naturgeister’) or strongly linked to the workings or the power of Nature¹²¹
3. Their human behaviour mirrors natural phenomena

With the exception of specific studies, such as those outlined above, much of the discussion of supernaturalism in Romantic opera is little more than description, or the work’s supernaturalism is considered incidental. William Edward Grim’s study of Gounod’s *Faust* is a typical example: essentially taking the form of an artistic reappraisal, both of the opera as a whole and of its libretto specifically, Grim’s essay

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 292: ‘da die Durchsetzung bürgerlicher Produktionsverhältnisse anstelle der in den heroischen Illusionen von Aufklärung und Klassik proklamierten heilen Welt die enttäuschenden Bedingungen kapitalistischer Entfremdung mit sich brachte, galt es neue, wissenschaftlich noch nicht erklärbare, gesellschaftliche Widersprüche zu bewältigen. Dazu erschien gerade die Verwendung phantastischer Gestalten mit ihren übernatürlichen und darum geheimnisvollen Eigenschaften besonders geeignet’.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 297. The exception to is, according to Reising, the ghost of Emma in Weber’s *Euryanthe* (ibid.).

¹²¹ Ibid.

refers to *Faust*'s supernaturalism in description only.¹²² Similarly, despite provocatively claiming that music in the Romantic period 'is more likely to bubble out of a sensual hell'¹²³ than heaven, and that there is a 'blasphemy inherent in opera',¹²⁴ Peter Conrad's writings offer little more than plot description.

1.3. Brief Conclusions

The daemonic re-emerged through the renewed interest in antiquity of the late eighteenth century and was fundamental to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's world-view. According to Goethe, the daemonic is a powerful supernatural force to which man is subject; it is capable of distorting time and space and thus intrudes violently into man's existence. Ambiguous and incomprehensible in its intention, the daemonic is neither good nor evil and manifests itself in contradictions. The daemonic can either work on man, or through him. At its most extreme, it comes to the fore to such an extent in a single individual that he assumes some of its characteristics, becoming a daemonic character.

It is clear from Goethe's writings and records of his conversations that he considered the daemonic to be a powerful force within the arts. These sources are sufficiently comprehensive to enable the daemonic to be understood as a category of thought, and applied to a variety of sources as an aesthetic category. Applied to the music and music reception of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the daemonic informs and usefully illuminates ideas of supernaturalism (including the association of devilry and music), transcendence, Music's power, and the effect and addictiveness of the musical experience. It accounts for the convergence of apparently irreconcilable dualities in the descriptions of music at the time, such as pain/pleasure, horror/beauty and violence/sensuality, and thereby provides an effective means for the understanding of contemporaneous accounts of music.

¹²² William Edward Grim, *The Faust Legend in Music and Literature*, vol. 2, Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music, 36 (Lewiston, 1988). On the critical reception of *Faust*'s libretto see Grim, 'Apologia pro Gounod's Faust', *The Faust Legend in Music and Literature*, 2, 1-10.

¹²³ Peter Conrad, *A Song of Love and Death: The Meaning of Opera* (New York, 1987), 55.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

Chapter 2

Goethe's Daemonic and Music as Supernatural Voice in the Changing Music Aesthetics Around 1800

The later part of the eighteenth century saw a radical shift in music aesthetics. The view most famously summed up by the quip attributed to Bernard de Fontenelle, 'Sonata, what do you want of me?',¹ whilst once expressing the perceived limitations of instrumental music, now found itself challenged by an idealist music aesthetic that placed instrumental music highest in its ranking of musical genres precisely because of its lack of concrete meaning. The aesthetics of Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, formulated in the last decade of the eighteenth century, elevated this wordless music to a divine language that took man beyond what E. T. A. Hoffmann was later to call the 'shame of the earthly'² and afforded a glimpse of the eternal supernatural; within this realm, man was able to glimpse the 'highest being'. But what this idealist move failed to resolve was the duality of music's new-found power, for the removal from the worldly brought with it potential alienation, addiction to the experience, a rejection of God's creation as less perfect than the ideal, horror, grief and self-loathing. Music's power was capable of working 'at once terrible and marvellous wonder[s]',³ it was a supernatural force that moved beyond the divine and began to challenge divine authority itself. This chapter refines and focuses this duality of music's power, drawing on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's conceptualization of what he termed the 'daemonic' as a possible means by which one may begin to understand music as a supernatural voice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

¹ 'Sonate, que me veux-tu?', ascribed to Fontenelle, quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago, 1989), 24.

² 'Ombra adorata!', *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 35: '[die] Schmach des Irdischen'. 'Ombra adorata!' was first published as number two of the *Kreisleriana* in volume one of Hoffmann's *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (Bamberg, 1814).

³ Heinrich von Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, in *Heinrich von Kleist, Sämtliche Erzählungen und andere Prosa*, ed. Walter Müller Seidel (Stuttgart, 1984), 301: 'dieses zu gleicher Zeit schreckliche und herrliche Wunder'.

2.1. Goethe's 'Daemonic'

The daemonic, as he termed it, was a central part of Goethe's world-view, but it is crucial to the understanding of Goethe's idea that the daemonic is considered as a distinct category from the Christian demonic.⁴ In formulating his daemonic, Goethe justifies it by referring to 'the Ancients', drawing his category from the Greek idea of the Daimon.⁵ The Daimon can itself be understood in a number of ways. Linked to fate, it is characterized by action and effect. Although the individual identity of the Daimon remains the subject of debate, the term is sometimes understood to be almost synonymous with 'theos' (god). The contentious nature of the Daimon's individual identity led to it being understood to represent the impossible – frequently mysterious and sometimes dangerous. Later Greek formulations of the Daimon, notably by Plato, gave the Daimon a place somewhere between divinity and man, whilst differentiating strictly between a good and evil Daimon (something Goethe significantly fails to do). Through its association with danger, Daimon could sometimes be understood to be synonymous with demon, whilst at its most diluted, the term merely meant 'strange'.⁶

At its simplest, Goethe's daemonic is a powerful, active supernatural force. It is to be located independently of physical existence (both within and outside of the physical); it is 'something in Nature',⁷ but exists independently of a human presence. The daemonic is irrational, delights in the misfortune of others, shows no sequence in its workings and only seems content in the impossible, discarding 'everything possible with disdain'.⁸ As such it bridges the worldly 'natural' and the otherworldly

⁴ Whilst most authors writing on Goethe spell Goethe's usage of the term 'demonic' this can be misleading. I shall therefore make use of the distinction found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* under 'demonic': '2. Of, relating to, or of the nature of, supernatural power or genius = Ger. dämonisch (Göthe [!]) ... (in this sense usually spelt daemonic for distinction)' (J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 'Demonic', *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989), 4, col. 446). Throughout my thesis therefore, 'demonic' refers to the Christian sense of the word, whilst 'daemonic' refers to Goethe's understanding of the term.

⁵ On Goethe's interest in Ancient Greece see Humphry Trevelyan, *Goethe and the Greeks* (Cambridge, 1941).

⁶ See Walter Pötscher, 'Daimon', *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden*, ed. Konrat Ziegler and Walther Santheimer (München, 1979), 1, cols. 1361-2.

⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175. The first three parts of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were first published by Cotta in the years 1811, 1812 and 1814 respectively. Whilst it concerns the events of the year 1775, the final part, from which the present discussion of the daemonic is taken, was largely written in the years 1821, 1824-5 and 1830-1. It was published posthumously by Cotta in 1833.

⁸ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen'.

'supernatural', but most significantly it mediates between those spheres in a manner that distorts man's existence: 'it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space'.⁹ Manifesting itself only in contradictions, it is beyond signification. The fact that Goethe calls it 'daemonic', and thus names it, when, as he put it, it could 'not be brought together under a term, let alone a word' is of course problematic; on the other hand, how could one discuss something without assigning any name to it, however precariously? As such one should perhaps think of the 'term' 'daemonic' as a tag that names what is ultimately unnameable; a force that is located in the supernatural 'gap' left by Enlightenment rationalizing but is not confined to that space.

Goethe's lengthiest and clearest exposition of the daemonic can be found in book twenty of his memoirs *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*. He writes:

During this biographical discussion, one has seen – in a long-winded sort of way – how the child, the boy, the youth, sought to get closer to the supersensory; [how he] first looked with fondness to a natural religion, then joined a positive one with affection, furthermore, tried his own strengths through pulling himself together, and finally gladly offered himself to the common belief. When he wandered freely through the areas between these regions, searched, looked around, he encountered many things that did not seem to belong to any [of these regions], and more and more he thought he realized, that it would be better to turn [his] thoughts away from the immense and the incomprehensible. He thought he discovered something in Nature, the inhabited and the uninhabited, with a soul and without a soul,¹⁰ that only manifested itself in contradictions and can therefore not be brought together under a term, let alone a word. It was not divine, because it seemed irrational; not diabolical, because it did good; not angelic, because it often showed *Schadenfreude*. It was like chance, because it gave no evidence of sequence; it was like Providence, because it suggested connection. Everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space. It only seemed pleased with itself in the impossible, and discarded everything possible with disdain. This being – that could step between any others, that appeared to

⁹ Ibid.: 'es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus'.

¹⁰ Goethe literally speaks of 'ensouled' Nature. Consequently he refers to Nature with and without a soul not, as my translation might be seen to imply, that the daemonic is both with and without a soul.

separate [them], [yet] unite them – I called daemonic, after the example of the Ancients and those who had been aware of something similar. I sought to save myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit.¹¹

Initially, Goethe describes his search for 'the supersensory', dabbling in different religions, before embracing 'the common belief'. However, there is clearly a dark side to this personal journey, as he encountered 'many things' that the various religions ('these regions') did not account for. These 'things' must have caused a strange terror, as Goethe describes how 'more and more he thought he realized that it would be better to turn [his] thought away from the immense and the immeasurable'. These 'immense and immeasurable' 'things' thus became a 'terrible being', from which the young Goethe sought to save himself by binding it to an 'image'

¹¹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: 'man hat im Verlaufe dieses biographischen Vortrags umständlich gesehen, wie das Kind, der Knabe, der Jüngling sich auf verschiedenen Wegen dem Übersinnlichen zu nähern gesucht, erst mit Neigung nach einer natürlichen Religion hingeblickt, dann mit Liebe sich an eine positive festgeschlossen, ferner durch Zusammenziehung in sich selbst seine eignen Kräfte versucht und sich endlich dem allgemeinen Glauben freudig hingegeben. Als er in den Zwischenräumen dieser Regionen hin und wider wanderte, suchte, sich umsah, begegnete ihm manches, was zu keiner von allen gehören mochte, und er glaubte mehr und mehr einzusehn, daß es besser sei, den Gedanken von dem Ungeheuren, Unfaßlichen abzuwenden. Er glaubte in der Natur, der belebten und unbelebten, der beseelten und unbeseelten, etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte und deshalb unter keinen Begriff, noch viel weniger unter ein Wort gefaßt werden könnte. Es war nicht göttlich, denn es schien unvernünftig, nicht menschlich, denn es hatte keinen Verstand, nicht teuflisch, denn es war wohlthätig, nicht englisch, denn es ließ oft Schadenfreude merken. Es glich dem Zufall, denn es bewies keine Folge, es ähnelte der Vorsehung, denn es deutete auf Zusammenhang. Alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus. Nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen. Dieses Wesen, das zwischen alle übrigen hineinzutreten, sie zu sondern, sie zu verbinden schien, nannte ich dämonisch, nach dem Beispiel der Alten und derer, die etwas Ähnliches gewahrt hatten. Ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete'.

The image the young Goethe sought to save himself behind was that of Egmont, a figure that was to be closely associated with the daemonic in Goethe's mind, and thereby represents the physical exemplification of a force that could be both 'physical and metaphysical'. The fact that Goethe, at least initially, attempted to grasp, categorize and thus diffuse the daemonic through the figure of Egmont, at the same time distorting the historical figure, is of course another rationalizing mechanism, and one that brings to mind Wackenroder's comments on the inability of the artist to deal with that with which life confronts him: 'when the image of misery steps into [his] path and asks for help [...] the softened soul of the artist gets scared, does not know how to reply, is ashamed to flee and does not have the strength to save. He tortures himself with compassion; unwittingly he regards the whole group as a work of his imagination come to life, and cannot resist, even if he is ashamed of himself at the very same time, to force something beautiful and artistic out of the wretched misery' (W. H. Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', *Phantasien über die Kunst*, ed. Wolfgang Nehring [1799; reprint, Stuttgart, 1973], 89-90: 'und wenn mir nun der Anblick des Jammers in den Weg tritt und Hülfe fordert, [...] [gerät] das verweichlichte Künstlergemüt in Angst, weiß nicht zu antworten, schämt sich zu fliehen und hat zu retten keine Kraft. Er quält sich mit Mitleid, – er betrachtet unwillkürlich die ganze Gruppe als ein lebendig gewordenes Werk seiner Phantasie und kann's nicht lassen, wenn er sich auch in demselben Momente vor sich selber schämt, aus dem elenden Jammer irgend etwas Schönes und kunstartigen Stoff herauszuzwingen'). I shall return to Goethe's conceptualization of the daemonic character in Chapter 3.

(Egmont).¹² What follows ('He thought he discovered ... as was my habit') serves to exemplify two fundamental characteristics of the discussion of the daemonic: first, it defines and locates the daemonic through multi-layered imagery, second, it re-enacts (or rather acts out) the confusion that the daemonic causes. What remains is an impression of the sheer irrationality and power of the daemonic that so unsettled the young Goethe, and the defencelessness of man when faced with such a force.

It is in this respect that the daemonic relates to contemporaneous descriptions of music as a supernatural voice. Of the daemonic Goethe had written:

Everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space. It only seemed pleased with itself in the impossible, and discarded everything possible with disdain.¹³

Just as the daemonic was able to penetrate 'everything that limits us', so music was a means to glimpse a supernatural infinite world. Music was therefore daemonic both because it distorted time and space and thereby allowed the experience of the eternal supernatural within the limited worldly duration of any given musical work, and because of its supernatural, inexplicable power that allowed it to achieve this move. Consequently, the individual work became a mere component part of a greater 'ideal', eternal Music.

2.2. Music as Daemonic Supernatural Voice in Jean Paul's *Die unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus*

This perceived ability of music to distort time and space found its expression in the literary works of Jean Paul, most notably in *Die unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus*, where the worldly experience of music gives rise to a metaphysical one that takes man to an 'infinite' spirit realm that unites the past and future in a glimpse

¹² There are, of course, two ways of reading this section: at this point Goethe's text is somewhat unclear as to whether he turned his thoughts away from 'the immense and the incomprehensible' and then 'discovered [the daemonic] in Nature', or whether the turning away is to be linked to the 'escaping behind an image' at the end of the paragraph (i.e. that the discovery of the daemonic caused him to shy back). I would favour the latter reading, as the daemonic clearly is 'immense and incomprehensible' in Goethe's mind, something the narrative of contradictions conveys.

¹³ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus. Nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen'.

of the eternal.¹⁴ As this gap between the worldly and the otherworldly is bridged, Music appears as supernatural voice. What made this supernatural voice daemonic was the ambiguity of its intention and the sheer power with which it seized the listening subject and 'powerfully [did] with him as it pleases'.¹⁵ It was good in as much as it took man beyond the 'shame of the earthly',¹⁶ and filled him with pleasure; evil because in order to generate this pleasure it confronted him with past grief and broke his heart. The *daemonic* supernatural voice thus arose out of the discrepancy between the worldly experience of music, and music's perceived supernatural effect, or, to clothe the argument in the terminology of its time, at the point of transition from the beautiful to the sublime.

In the first of two extensive extracts in *Hesperus* describing concerts, Jean Paul juxtaposes music as 'harmonic phraseology' with a sense of sublime revelation ('Dearest Viktor ... when one only talks of it').¹⁷ Note the gap that is left at the point of transition ('Horion shivered ... the full soul'):

The overture consisted of that [particular] musical scribbling and squiggling – of that harmonic phraseology – of that prattling of fireworks of opposing sounding sections that I elevate so, for as long as it is nowhere other than in the overture. There it fits; it is the rain of dust that softens the heart for the great drops of the simpler tones. All feelings in the world require exordia, and the music pathes the way for music, or for tears.

Gradually, after a dramatic plan that not every Kapellmeister develops for himself, Stamitz climbed from the ears into the heart, as from the Allegros

¹⁴ Jean Paul's sketches for *Die unsichtbare Loge* date back as far as 1790, although he recorded writing the work from the 7th of June 1792 to the end of the same year; it was published by Matzdorff in Berlin in 1793 in two volumes (see Norbert Miller, 'Anmerkungen', *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller [München, 1960], 1, 1241 [henceforth 'Anmerkungen']).

Sketches for *Hesperus* go back to the time of *Die unsichtbare Loge*, but Jean Paul's noted time (thought to be the actual writing time) is the 21st of September 1792 to the 21st of June 1794. *Hesperus* was first published by Karl Matzdorff in Berlin in Summer 1795 (in 3 volumes); the second, extended, edition was published by Matzdorff in 1798 in 4 volumes. The third and final edition during Jean Paul's lifetime was published by Reiner in 1819 (see also Norbert Miller, 'Anmerkungen', 1268-9).

¹⁵ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann on Tuesday the 11th of March 1828, quoted in Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden, 1975), 514: 'das übermächtig mit ihm tut wie es beliebt'. This edition is based on the first edition and Eckermann's handwritten notes.

¹⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ombra adorata!', 35: 'in einer nie gefühlten Begeisterung erhebe ich mich dann mächtigen Fluges über die Schmach des Irdischen' ('in an enthusiasm never felt before I then ascend in mighty flight over the shame of the earthly').

¹⁷ This first account, set during a concert given by Carl Stamitz, is a justifiably famous extract, credited by Carl Dahlhaus with transferring the 'poetic conceit of unspeakability' from literature to music (Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 63).

to the Adagios. Ever more tightly this great composer encircles the breast that contains a heart, until finally he reaches it and enfolds it in raptures.

Horion shivered alone, without seeing his beloved, in a dark pagoda into which a single withered branch let the light of the moon and its racing clouds. Nothing ever moved him more with music than to look into the scurrying clouds. When he accompanied these streams of mist in their eternal flight around our orb of shadows with his eyes and with the tones, and when he gave them all his joys and wishes to take with them, then, as in all his joys and sufferings, he thought of other clouds, of a different flight, of other shadows than those above him. Then his entire soul thirsted and languished; but the strings quenched the thirsting, like the cold lead ball extinguishes the thirst in the mouth, and the tones loosened the pressing tears from the full soul.

Dearest Viktor! In man there is a great wish that was never fulfilled: it has no name, it seeks its physical object,¹⁸ but everything that you name it, and all [the] joys it is not. Indeed, it returns when, on a summer's night, you look towards the north, or towards distant mountains, or when there is moonlight on earth, or storms in the sky, or when you are very happy. This great monstrous wish lifts our spirit up, but in pain: alas! *Lying here below, we are hurled to the heights like epileptics.* But this wish, to which nothing can give a name, is named for the human spirit by our strings and tones. Then the longing spirit cries more strongly and cannot compose itself and cries in between the tones in wailing rapture: yes, everything that you name, that I lack

The mysterious mortal also has a nameless monstrous fear, which has no physical object, that awakes from heard ghostly apparitions, and that sometimes one feels even when one only talks of it

With silent tears, which no one saw flow, Horion gave his crushed heart to the high Adagios, which lay over his wounds with soft eiderdown wings. Everything that he loved now stepped into his pergola, his oldest friend, and his youngest – he hears the storm wardens of life ring [their bells], but the hands of friendship stretch towards each other and grasp each other, and still in the second life they hold each other without having rotted. –

¹⁸ Note a problem of translation: in the 1960 Hanser critical edition one reads 'er sucht seinen Gegenstand' ('it seeks its physical object') (Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller [München, 1960], 1, 776). However, in the translation of *The Idea of Absolute Music* this is translated as 'seeks no physical object' (Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 62), implying a German of 'er sucht keinen Gegenstand'. I use the wording of the critical edition of 1960.

All tones seemed to be the celestial echo of his dream, answered by beings that one neither saw nor heard¹⁹

As Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out, this extract shows that by the time of Jean Paul 'it is music as art, not as sound of nature, in whose description the *empfindsam* type of reflection is replaced by a romantic one'.²⁰ However, if 'music as art' replaces 'music as sound of nature', then 'music as art' in the romantic aesthetic also brings with it music as sound of the *supernatural*.²¹ If what remains is an acute sense

¹⁹ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 775-6: 'die Ouvertüre bestand aus jenem musikalischen Gekritzel und Geschnörkel – aus jener harmonischen Phraseologie – aus jenem Feuerwerkgeprassel widereinander tönender Stellen, welches ich so erhebe, wenn es nirgends ist als in der Ouvertüre. Dahin passet es; es ist der Staubregen, der das Herz für die großen Tropfen der einfachen Töne aufweicht. Alle Empfindungen in der Welt bedürfen Exordien; und die Musik bahnet der Musik den Weg – oder der Tränenwege.

Stamitz stieg – nach einem dramatischen Plan, den sich nicht jeder Kapellmeister entwirft – allmählich aus den Ohren in das Herz, wie aus Allegros in Adagios; dieser große Komponist geht in immer engern Kreisen um die Brust, in der ein Herz ist, bis er sie endlich erreicht und unter Entzückungen umschlingt.

Horion zitterte einsam, ohne seine Geliebten zu sehen, in einer finstern Laube, in welcher ein einziger verdorrter Zweig das Licht des Mondes und seiner jagenden Wolken einließ. Nichts rührte ihn unter einer Musik allezeit mehr, als in die laufenden Wolken zu sehen. Wenn er diese Nebelströme in ihrer ewigen Flucht um unser Schatten-Rund begleitete mit seinen Augen und mit den Tönen, und wenn er ihnen mitgab alle seine Freuden und seine Wünsche: dann dacht' er, wie in allen seinen Freuden und Leiden, an andre Wolken, an eine andre Flucht, an andre Schatten als an die über ihm, dann lechzte und schmachtete seine ganze Seele; aber die Saiten stillten das Lechzen, wie die kalte Bleikugel im Mund den Durst ablöscht, und die Töne löseten die drückenden Tränen von der vollen Seele los.

Teurer Viktor! im Menschen ist ein großer Wunsch, der nie erfüllt wurde: er hat keinen Namen, er such seinen Gegenstand, aber alles, was du ihm nennest, und alle Freuden sind es nicht; allein er kömmt wieder, wenn du in einer Sommernacht nach Norden siehst oder nach fernen Gebirgen, oder wenn Mondlicht auf der Erde ist, oder der Himmel gestirnt, oder wenn du sehr glücklich bist. Dieser große ungeheure Wunsch hebt unsern Geist empor, aber mit Schmerzen: *ach! wir werden hienieden liegend in die Höhe geworfen gleich Fallsüchtigen*. Aber diesen Wunsch, dem nichts einen Namen geben kann, nennen unsre Saiten und Töne dem Menschengeste – der sehnstüchtige Geist weint dann stärker und kann sich nicht mehr fassen und ruft in jammerndem Entzücken zwischen die Töne hinein: ja alles, was ihr nennt, das fehlet mir....

Der rätselhafte Sterbliche hat auch eine namenlose ungeheure Furcht, die keinen Gegenstand hat, die bei gehörten Geistererscheinungen erwacht, und die man zuweilen fühlt, wenn man nur von ihr spricht....

Horion übergab sein zerstoßenes Herz mit stillen Tränen, die niemand fließen sah, den hohen Adagios, die sich mit warmen Eiderdunen-Flügeln über alle seine Wunden legten. Alles, was er liebte, trat jetzt in seine Schatten-Laube, sein ältester Freund und sein jüngster – er hört die Gewitterstürmer des Lebens läuten, aber die Hände der Freundschaft strecken sich einander entgegen und fassen sich, und noch im zweiten Leben halten sie sich unverweset. –

Alle Töne schienen die überirdischen Echo seines Traumes zu sein, welche Wesen antworteten, die man nicht sah und nicht hörte...'

Note: paragraphs, dashes and dots follow the text of the 1960 Hanser critical edition.

²⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 62.

²¹ E.g. Jean Paul's description of the organ in *Die unsichtbare Loge*: 'and when I shook the nocturnal church and the deaf dead with [the organ's] great tones, and when the old dust flew around me that had 'til then lain on their silent lips, then all transitory men that I had loved and their transitory scenes processed past. You came, and Milan and the silent land. With organ tones I told them what had become a mere tale, in the flight of life I loved them all once more, and wished to die out of love for them and press my soul into their hand – but only wooden keys were under my pressing hand. – I struck less and less tones, which surged around me like a pulling whirlpool – finally I placed the book

of music, or more specifically, the experience *of* music, as a point of rupture in perceived reality, then it is through the resultant gap that 'all tones' sounding as 'beings that one neither saw nor heard' speak as daemonic voice.

Jean Paul suggests this more explicitly in the second concert description of *Hesperus*, the concert given by Franz Koch.²² Once again Jean Paul suggests music as a link to the past-future spirit realm by describing the 'worldly' experience of music as the 'witching hour of the past' – that time of day (or rather, night) when ghosts are said to roam the earth ('one wistful memory after the other said to him in this witching hour of the past: "Don't stifle me, but give me my tear"').²³ The experience of music thus opens up the spirit realm, but, like the witching hour, it is a transient event that allows the experience of something timeless.²⁴ It is at this point that the supernatural voice is heard: first it is the 'wistful memory' that speaks to Viktor, then he enters in a dialogue with a 'cracked voice from a distant region'. Significantly this voice speaks not only in language (obviously), but also with the 'diction of verse': 'every time it felt within him as if a cracked voice spoke to him from a distant region whose voice had the diction of *verse*'.²⁵ Again the cracked voice

of chorales on a deep note and worked the bellows restlessly, so as not to suffer the mute gap between the tones – a humming tone flowed forth, as if it was following the wings of time. It carried all my memories and hopes and my beating heart swam in its waves.... Ever since then a sustained note saddened me' (Jean Paul, *Die unsichtbare Loge*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller [München, 1960], I, 306-7: 'und als ich mit ihren großen Tönen die nächtliche Kirche und die tauben Toten erschütterte und als der alte Staub um mich flog, der auf ihren stummen Lippen bisher gelegen war: so zogen alle vergängliche Menschen, die ich geliebt hatte, nebst ihren vergänglichen Szenen vorüber, du kamest und Mailand und das stille Land; ich erzählte ihnen mit Orgeltönen, was zu einer bloßen Erzählung geworden war, ich liebte sie alle im Fluge des Lebens noch einmal und wollte vor Liebe an ihnen sterben und in ihre Hand meine Seele drücken – aber nur Holztasten waren unter meiner drückenden Hand. – Ich schlug immer weniger Töne an, die um mich wie ein ziehender Strudel gingen – endlich legt' ich das Choralbuch auf einen tiefen Ton und zog die Bälge in einem fort, um nicht den stummen Zwischenraum zwischen den Tönen auszustehen – ein summender Ton strömte fort, wie wenn er hinter den Flügeln der Zeit nachginge, er trug alle meine Erinnerungen und Hoffnungen und in seinen Wellen schwamm mein schlagendes Herz ... Von jeher machte ein fortbebender Ton mich traurig').

²² Jean Paul, '28. Hundposttag', *Hesperus*, 944-60. Franz Koch was a former soldier who played an instrument he called the 'double mouth organ', which, according to Jean Paul, consisted of a 'pair of improved mouth organs or *Brummeisen* played simultaneously' (*Hesperus*, 946: '[ein] verbesserte[s] Paar zugleich gespielter – Maultrommeln oder Brummeisen'). This instrument was so quiet that it could only be played in front of small groups (Jean Paul mentions a group of 12). Furthermore, it was the custom of Koch to play in the dark. Jean Paul heard Koch at a concert in Hof in the August of 1792. Following the publication of *Hesperus* Koch became something of a celebrity, to the extent that another virtuoso established a career using Koch's name (see 'Anmerkungen', *Jean Paul, Werke*, I, 1296-7).

²³ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 948: 'eine wehmütige Erinnerung um die andere sagte in dieser Geisterstunde der Vergangenheit zu ihm: "Erdrücke mich nicht, sondern gib mir meine Träne"'.
²⁴ Significantly the German 'Geist' in this context means ghost, and therefore the term 'Geisterstunde' evokes the supernatural 'object' *itself*.

²⁵ Italics, Jean Paul.

spoke to him: “are these tones not made from hopes long gone”?²⁶ The daemonic nature of the voice becomes ever more apparent as it forces the listener (Viktor) to confront past grief and pain:

“Do you not know these old tones? – Look, they already moved in your dream before her birthday,²⁷ and there, lowered to the heart the sick soul into the grave next to you, and she left you nothing but an eye full of tears and a soul full of pain”. – – – “No, she left me no more”, his tired heart said, broken, and all the tears he had fought surged from his eyes in floods²⁸

As Viktor's heart breaks and he weeps, the tone of sublime revelation (mirroring the earlier description of the concert by Stamitz) marks the daemonic power of the supernatural voice and its ability to possess the listening subject:

Do these tones vibrate in earthly air? Oh! Art of tones, you who bring the past and the future with their flying flames so close to our wounds, are you the dusk breeze from this life or the morning air of the next? – Yes, your sounds are echoes, which angels take from the tones of joy of the second world, in order to sink the shattered sound of [the] spring of distant heavens into our mute heart, into our desolate night! And you, dying sound of the harmonica, indeed you come to us from a rejoicing that, having been cast from heaven to heaven, finally dies in the furthest silent heaven, which consists of nothing save a deep, wide, eternal silent bliss²⁹

This link between musical experience and death was developed further, together with the idea of musical possession, in E. T. A. Hoffmann's story *Don Juan*.

²⁶ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 948: ‘unter einer solchen überhüllten Zerfließung, die er oft für Fassung nahm, wars allemal in ihm, als wenn ihn aus einer fernen Gegend eine brechende Stimme anredete, deren Worte den Silbenfall von *Versen* hatten; die brechende Stimme redete ihn wieder an: “Sind nicht diese Töne aus verklungenen Hoffnungen gemacht?”’

²⁷ ‘Her’ refers to Klotilde – a character from the novel – on whose birthday the Stamitz sequence was set.

²⁸ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 949: “‘Kennst du die alten Töne nicht? – Siehe, sie gingen schon in deinem Traum vor ihrem Wiegenfeste und senkten dort bis ans Herz die kranke Seele neben dir ins Grab, und sie ließ dir nichts zurück als ein Auge voll Tränen und eine Seele voll Schmerz” – – – “Nein, mehr ließ sie mir nicht”, sagte gebrochen sein müdes Herz, und alle seine bekämpften Tränen drangen in Strömen aus den Augen ...’. Note: dashes and dots follow the text of the 1960 Hanser critical edition.

²⁹ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 949-50: ‘zittern diese Töne in einer irdischen Luft? O! Tonkunst, die du die Vergangenheit und die Zukunft mit ihren fliegenden Flammen so nahe an unsre Wunden bringst, bist du das Abendwehen aus *diesem* Leben oder die Morgenluft aus *jenem*? – Ja, deine Laute sind Echo, welche Engel den Freudentönen der zweiten Welt abnehmen, um in unser stummes Herz, um in unsre öde Nacht das verwehte Lenzgetön fern von uns fliegender Himmel zu senken! Und du, verklingender Harmonikaton! du kommst ja aus einem Jauchzen zu uns, das, von Himmel in Himmel verschlagen, endlich in dem fernsten stummen Himmel stirbt, der aus nichts besteht als aus einer tiefen, weiten, ewig stillen Wonne...’. Note: dashes and dots follow the text of the 1960 Hanser critical edition.

2.3. The Personification of Music's Daemonic Voice:

E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Don Juan*

Don Juan tells of a 'travelling enthusiast' witnessing a performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.³⁰ During the first half, Donna Anna, who must here be taken to mean both the character and the singer whose body Music had possessed, joins the narrator in the opera box. Through her mysterious presence the narrator gains a new insight into Mozart's composition. During the night, after the performance, the narrator returns to the box (which adjoins his hotel room) and begins to write about the opera, at the same time wishing to see Donna Anna again. At two o'clock the narrator senses a mysterious breeze that he first felt when Anna joined him in the box. Over breakfast the next morning it is revealed that the singer had lain in a faint during the interval and had died at two o'clock that morning.

In *Don Juan*, what was a supernatural voice in Jean Paul is not merely linguistically gendered feminine, but appears as physical presence. Music's voice assumes the body of a musically sensitive woman, appearing to the listener as a uniquely inspired and inspiring individual; it becomes the tool for a heightened understanding of the composer's work, just as it becomes an erotic object. As the listener finds music's 'deep secrets'³¹ revealed to him, the daemonic voice returns to the otherworldly, abandoning the body it had inhabited, resulting in the death of the possessed. Music's pagan daemonic nature is thus interpreted in terms of Christian ideas of demonic possession.

Donna Anna is most obviously suggested as an extension of the Jean Paulian daemonic supernatural voice by Hoffmann's contrasting descriptions of the narrator's perception of Mozart's work before and after Donna Anna's appearance. Just as Viktor in Jean Paul's *Hesperus* had moved from describing music as 'harmonic phraseology' to exalting it in terms of the sublime, so the narrator in *Don Juan* moves from being 'delighted' by the first half, to exclaiming: 'now the music worked in an

³⁰ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 67-78. *Don Juan* was first published on the 15th of March 1813 in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 15, no. 13, cols. 213-25. Initially published anonymously, it was included in volume one of Hoffmann's *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (Bamberg, 1814). The story is translated as 'Don Juan: A Fabulous Incident which Befell a Travelling Enthusiast' in R. Murray Schafer, *E. T. A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto, 1975), 63-73. My translation of Hoffmann's text remains close to the German original even if that may be at the cost of linguistic elegance.

³¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ombra adorata!', 33: 'wie wenig vermag doch der Mensch ihre tiefen Geheimnisse zu ergründen' ('how little man is capable of fathoming her deep secrets').

entirely different, strange way. It was as if a long promised fulfilment of the most beautiful dreams from a different world really entered this life. As if the most secret premonitions of the enraptured soul were being bound in tones, and had to manifest themselves strangely into the most wonderful realization'.³² The change in comprehension of the musical work that was brought about by the daemonic supernatural voice in *Hesperus* is here achieved by the appearance of Donna Anna, suggesting the latter as an extension of the former. She thus becomes the physical manifestation of the eternal Music – of the musical ideal.

The first hint that the figure of Donna Anna as she appears to the narrator may be supernatural, is the manner of her appearance in the box. She is not introduced in image (i.e. by the narrator beholding her), but by *sensing* her. Within this there is a linguistic progression that ultimately leads to her disclosure: 'thought ... felt ... suspect'. Consequently, just as music offers an *intimation* of the infinite, Donna Anna's presence is at first *felt* rather than beheld. Hoffmann writes: 'when I thought I noticed someone next to, or behind me',³³ and, later, 'several times already I thought I had felt a delicate, warm breath close behind me, that I had heard the rustling of a silk garment; indeed this let me suspect the presence of a woman, but, entirely submerged in the poetic world that the opera unlocked to me, I did not take any notice'.³⁴

When the narrator eventually beholds Donna Anna, her appearance is obviously puzzling:

Without a doubt it was Donna Anna. I did not think to consider the possibility of how she could have been in the theatre and in my box at the same time. Just as a fortunate dream combines the strangest [things], and then a devout belief understands the supersensory and adds it to the so-called natural occurrences of life without force, so I got into a kind of somnambulism when close to this miraculous woman, in that I recognized the secret connections that united us so

³² E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, 72: '[...] wirkte jetzt die Musik auf eine ganz andere, seltsame Weise. Es war, als ginge eine lang verheißene Erfüllung der schönsten Träume aus einer andern Welt wirklich in das Leben ein; als würden die geheimsten Ahnungen der entzückten Seele in Tönen festgebannt und müßten sich zur wunderbarsten Erkenntnis seltsamlich gestalten'.

³³ Ibid., 69: 'als ich jemand neben oder hinter mir zu bemerken glaubte'.

³⁴ Ibid., 70: 'schon oft glaubte ich dicht hinter mir einen zarten, warmen Hauch gefühlt, das Knistern eines seidenen Gewandes gehört zu haben: das ließ mich wohl die Gegenwart eines Frauenzimmers ahnen, aber ganz versunken in die poetische Welt, die mir die Oper aufschloß, achtete ich nicht darauf'.

intimately that even when she appeared in the theatre, she had not been able to leave me.³⁵

Hoffmann's description of 'this miraculous woman' shows a striking similarity to Goethe's comments to Eckermann regarding the daemonic in music. He spoke of 'something daemonic [...] in music', of 'an effect [that] issues from her which rules everything, and which no one is able to account for. Because of this [...] she is one of the primary means of appearing miraculous to humans'.³⁶ Hoffmann continues to describe Donna Anna in terms that signal her to be 'miraculous'. When the narrator first looks at her, he sees himself reflected in her mouth ('her mouth twisted into a quiet, ironic smile [or so it seemed to me], in which I was reflected and beheld my ridiculous figure').³⁷ It is a strangely sensual, almost erotic moment that is only diffused by the narrator describing himself as ridiculous. At the same time, the mouth here obviously stands for her – and therefore Music's – voice, and thus the narrator seeing himself reflected in Donna Anna's mouth suggests music to reflect the individual listener. In a frightening way therefore, the imagery of reflection freezes Music's (assumed) physical appearance and, by suggesting her body (exemplified by her lips) as mirror, evokes the horror of beholding one's double. It is a move that was already implicit both in Jean Paul's imagery of the 'tones' as 'echo' of the listening subject's 'dream', and in the way the daemonic supernatural voice of Music forced the listener to confront his own past. Music's daemonic voice thus reaches into the listening subject and confronts him with his own double.

³⁵ Ibid., 71: 'es war Donna Anna unbezweifelt. Die Möglichkeit abzuwägen, wie sie auf dem Theater und in meiner Loge habe zugleich sein können, fiel mir nicht ein. So wie der glückliche Traum das Seltsamste verbindet und dann ein frommer Glaube das Übersinnliche versteht, und es den sogenannten natürlichen Erscheinungen des Lebens zwanglos anreicht: so gerieht ich auch in der Nähe des wunderbaren Weibes in eine Art Sonnambulism, in dem ich die geheimen Beziehungen erkannte, die mich so innig mit ihr verbanden, daß sie selbst bei ihrer Erscheinung auf dem Theater nicht hatte von mir weichen können'.

³⁶ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, Tuesday the 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 358: 'in poetry [...] there is indeed something daemonic, and especially in the unconscious [poetry], in which all intellect and reason falls short, and which works above all terms because of this. It is the same in music to the highest degree, because she stands so high that no intellect can grasp her; and an effect issues from her which rules everything, and which no one is able to account for. Because of this the religious cult cannot spare her; she is one of the primary means of appearing miraculous to humans' ('in der Poesie [...] ist durchaus etwas Dämonisches, und zwar vorzüglich in der unbewußten, bei der aller Verstand und alle Vernunft zu kurz kommt, und die daher auch so über alle Begriffe wirkt. Desgleichen ist es in der Musik im höchsten Grade, denn sie steht so hoch, daß kein Verstand ihr beikommen kann, und es geht von ihr eine Wirkung aus, die alles beherrscht und von der niemand imstande ist, sich Rechenschaft zu geben').

³⁷ E. T. A. Hoffmann *Don Juan*, 70: 'ihr Mund (so schien es mir) verzog sich zu einem leisen, ironischen Lächeln, in dem ich mich spiegelte und meine alberne Figur erblickte'.

Language seems to be suspended, as the narrator finds his own speech failing: 'I felt the necessity to speak to her, and yet could not move the tongue that was paralysed in surprise, or I should say, as if in fright'.³⁸ The connection between Donna Anna's mouth and music becomes even more apparent when she states that she only speaks Italian – a language already strongly associated with music ('whereupon she immediately replied in the purest Tuscan that, should I not understand and speak Italian, she would have to forego the pleasure of my conversation, as she spoke no language other than that. – Like song those sweet words sounded')³⁹ and the narrator expresses his inability to capture her words in German: 'indeed, as I wish to write down what she said, I find every word stiff and matt, each phrase too clumsy to express what she said easily and with grace in Tuscan'.⁴⁰ We are here dealing with more than the relative suitability of individual languages for song; instead Hoffmann touches on the central problem of notating the ideal – the very same issue that led to the mystification of musical notation.

There are more clues to Donna Anna's mysterious identity: as she converses with the narrator, he finds a new depth revealed to the opera ('in speaking about Don Juan, about her role, it was as if only now the depths of this masterpiece opened themselves to me, and I could look lightly in, and clearly recognize the fantastic appearances of a foreign world');⁴¹ 'her whole life is music',⁴² but, most ambiguously she claims to know the narrator through having sung (in?) his latest opera: "“Yes” (here she said my first name), “I have sung you, just as your melodies are I”".⁴³ It is a strange elision of composer and music, and perhaps it is no coincidence that she is prevented from continuing by the bell announcing the commencement of the second half. Has she sung *in* his opera, or has she sung *through* his opera? *Is* she the melody, or are his melodies 'pure self'? Linguistically both are possible, and whilst I

³⁸ Ibid.: 'ich fühlte die Notwendigkeit, sie anzureden, und konnte doch die, durch das Erstaunen, ja ich möchte sagen, wie durch den Schreck gelähmte Zunge nicht bewegen'.

³⁹ Ibid., 70-1: 'worauf sie sogleich in dem reinsten Toskanisch erwiderte, daß, verstände und spräche ich nicht Italienisch, sie das Vergnügen meiner Unterhaltung entbehren müsse, indem sie keine andere, als nur diese Sprache rede. – Wie Gesang lauteten die süßen Worte'.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 71: 'allein, indem ich das, was sie sagte, deutsch hinschreiben will, finde ich jedes Wort steif und matt, jede Phrase ungelenk, das auszudrücken, was sie leicht und mit Anmut toskanisch sagte'.

⁴¹ Ibid.: 'indem sie über den Don Juan, über ihre Rolle sprach, war es, als öffneten sich mir nun erst die Tiefen des Meisterwerks, und ich konnte hell hineinblicken und einer fremden Welt fantastische Erscheinungen deutlich erkennen'.

⁴² Ibid.: 'sie sagte, ihr ganzes Leben sei Musik'.

⁴³ Ibid., 71-2: "“Ja, (hier nannte sie meinen Vornamen) ich habe *dich* gesungen, so wie deine Melodien *ich* sind”".

would suggest that she has sung through his melodies, it is this kind of ambiguity that creates Donna Anna's ambivalence and marks her presence as daemonic.

It is typical of Hoffmann's enigmatic description that the daemonic presence 'itself' suffers. As she has to return to the stage, Donna Anna feels a pain that I would suggest is the same she feels when 'freezing hands' seize her 'glowing heart' as the audience applauds a technical trick.⁴⁴ Distorting time and space, the daemonic ideal is able to act in the worldly sphere, but in doing so, it too feels pain.

What is significant in music's transition from daemonic supernatural voice in Jean Paul to daemonic physical presence in Hoffmann, is that as music becomes gendered female, it is sensualized. Consequently, the abandonment of the listening (and usually male) subject to the pleasures of music becomes not only selfish, but also ultimately sinful, thereby marking a meeting of the Goethean daemonic and the Christian demonic. Hoffmann's emphasis on the senses, the awareness of 'a delicate, warm breath' and the 'delicate scent of fine Italian perfume'; the lips and smile – here standing for the sensualized female body – and the silk of Donna Anna's garment, all add to her sensualization. Already during the second half of the performance, Hoffmann's description begins to resemble intoxication: 'in Donna Anna's scene I felt myself shudder in drunken pleasure from a gentle, warm breath that glided over me. Unwillingly my eyes closed and a glowing kiss seemed to burn on my lips: but the kiss was like a tone long sustained by an eternal thirsting longing'.⁴⁵ Perhaps it is in this context too, that Donna Anna's sudden return to the stage for the second half of the opera is best understood. Despite earlier admitting his puzzlement at Donna Anna's simultaneous appearance on stage and in his box, the narrator/Hoffmann never explains her haste to return to the stage; a stage she happily occupied *at the same time* during the first half of the performance. In her flight from the box Donna Anna/Music resists containment; she appears as a fleeting object of revelation and desire, only to leave her beholder stammering to translate her utterances and intoxicated by her appearance. Even her anguished escape draws the reader's attention to her body: her 'unadorned face' and the hand that implicitly draws the beholder's gaze to her chest:

⁴⁴ Ibid., 71: "Indem man eine schwierige Roulade, eine gelungene Manier beklatscht, greifen eisige Hände in mein glühendes Herz"!

⁴⁵ Ibid., 72: 'in Donna Annas Szene fühlte ich mich von einem sanften, warmen Hauch, der über mich hinwegglitt, in trunkener Wollust erbeben; unwillkürlich schlossen sich meine Augen und ein glühender Kuß schien auf meinen Lippen zu brennen: aber der Kuß war ein, wie von ewig durstender Sehnsucht lang ausgehaltener Ton'.

The bell sounded: a fleeting paleness drained Donna Anna's unadorned face; her hand flew towards her heart, as if she were feeling a sudden pain, and in quietly saying, 'unhappy Anna, now come your most terrible moments' – she was gone from the box.⁴⁶

Later that night, the narrator hears his name called. Seduced by the supernatural voice and hoping that he may see Donna Anna again, he moves his desk into the box.⁴⁷ Even the architecture of the theatre is suddenly transformed into the realm of the supernatural, marking the narrator's distance from the worldly: 'I [...] look into the deserted house, the architecture of which, magically illuminated by my lights, jumps out strange and fairy-like in miraculous reflections'.⁴⁸ He calls to Donna Anna, and the echo of his voice awakes the 'spirits of the instruments': 'the call dies in the deserted room, but the spirits of the instruments awake – a miraculous tone vibrates upwards, it is as if the beloved name whispers on within it! – I cannot ward off a secret shudder, but agreeably it quivers through my nerves'.⁴⁹ As the narrator's own voice dies, 'the spirits of the instruments of the orchestra' come to life.

⁴⁶ Ibid.: 'die Theaterglocke läutete: eine schnelle Blässe entfärbte Donna Annas ungeschminktes Gesicht; sie fuhr mit der Hand nach dem Herzen, als empfände sie einen plötzlichen Schmerz, und indem sie leise sagte: "Unglückliche Anna, jetzt kommen deine fürchterlichsten Momente" – war sie aus der Loge verschwunden'.

⁴⁷ At this point there is a significant difference between the edition by Müller-Seidel (München: Winkler Verlag, 1960) and that by Paul Friedrich Scherber (*E. T. A. Hoffmann, Musikalische Schriften*, ed. Paul Friedrich Scherber [München, n.d.], 28-39). Scherber's edition suggests the narrator hearing Donna Anna's voice before moving into the theatre box ('I felt so enclosed, so hot in my stifling room! – At Midnight I believed to hear a voice. It spoke my name clearly and seemed to rustle at the door. What prevents me from stepping into the place of my marvellous adventure once more? – Perhaps I [shall] see her, who fills my entire being!') [*Musikalische Schriften*, 34: 'es war mir so eng, so schwül in dem dumpfen Gemach! – Um Mitternacht glaubte ich eine Stimme zu hören. Sie sprach deutlich meinen Namen aus, und es schien an der Tapetentür zu rauschen. Was hält mich ab, den Ort meines wunderbaren Abenteuers noch einmal zu betreten? – Vielleicht sehe ich sie, die mein ganzes Wesen erfüllt!'). Müller-Seidel's edition appears to suggest a different speaker: 'I felt so enclosed, so hot in my stifling room! – At Midnight I believed to hear *your* voice, *my Theodor*. *You* spoke my name clearly and *it* seemed to rustle at the door. What prevents me from stepping into the place of my marvellous adventure once more? – Perhaps I see *you and* her, who fills my entire being' (*Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, 73-4, emphasis added: 'es war mir so eng, so schwül in dem dumpfen Gemach! – um Mitternacht glaubte ich *deine* Stimme zu hören, mein Theodor! Du sprachst deutlich meinen Namen aus, und es schien an der Tapetentür zu rauschen. Was hält mich ab, den Ort meines wunderbaren Abenteuers noch einmal zu betreten? – Vielleicht sehe ich dich und sie, die mein ganzes Wesen erfüllt!'). As neither editor mentions this ambiguity, other than to state that Hoffmann revised the story as a whole in order to disguise obvious references to his love for his student Julia Mark, I am at this point unable to suggest a reason for this difference. I therefore generalize a seduction that is present in both versions.

⁴⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, 74: 'ich [...] sehe in das verödete Haus, dessen Architektur, von meinen beiden Lichtern magisch beleuchtet, in wunderlichen Reflexen fremd und feenhaft hervorspringt'.

⁴⁹ Ibid.: 'der Ruf verhallt in dem öden Raum, aber die Geister der Instrumente im Orchester werden wach – ein wunderbarer Ton zittert herauf; es ist, als säusle in ihm der geliebte Name fort! – Nicht erwehren kann ich mich des heimlichen Schauers, aber wohlthätig durchbebt er meine Nerven'.

The 'miraculous tone', signifier of eternity in the works of Jean Paul, sounds up to the narrator, and in this state, he finally finds himself able to truly grasp Mozart's work.⁵⁰ Music has reached through time and space to reveal its innermost secrets to the narrator, but as in Jean Paul, hearing this eternal sound brings with it death – although not the death of the listener, but of the 'discarded' female singer:

A warm, electric breath glides over me – I experience the delicate scent of fine Italian perfume, that yesterday first allowed me to suspect my companion. A blissful feeling embraces me that I believe only to be able to express in tones. More urgently the air brushes through the house – the strings of the piano of the orchestra rustle – Heaven! Like from a far distance, carried on the wings of the surging tones of an airy orchestra, I believe to hear Anna's voice: "Non mi dir bell' idol mio!"

Open yourself, you distant, unknown spirit realm – you glorious Dschinnistan, where an unspeakable, heavenly pain, like the unutterable joy of the enraptured soul, fulfils everything promised on earth beyond all measure!⁵¹

As we learn of Donna Anna's death the next morning at the exact time when the above dialogue is set, we interpret the moment of transcendence on the part of the narrator as the moment of death for Anna. Of the 'warm, electric breath' that Hoffmann here evokes, Viktor had already asked in *Hesperus*, 'are you the dusk breeze from *this* life or the morning air of the *next*'?⁵² What had 'sounded down to the dying' in *Die unsichtbare Loge*⁵³ here sounds from the eternal to the living; as

⁵⁰ Ibid.: 'I master my mood, and feel inclined to at least suggest to you my Theodor how only now I believe to truly grasp the wonderful work of the divine master in its deep character' ('ich werde meiner Stimmung Herr und fühle mich aufgelegt, dir, mein Theodor! wenigstens anzudeuten, wie ich jetzt erst das herrliche Werk des göttlichen Meisters in seiner tiefen Charakteristik richtig aufzufassen glaube'). Again, Scherber's edition omits the references to 'Theodor'. It would appear at this point that the 'Theodor' referred to earlier, rather than being another presence, serves as a literary device – the addressee of the narration. The ambiguity is of course that we know Hoffmann himself to be (a) 'Theodor', but then this presence of the 'double' is a well-known aspect of Hoffmann's writings. On the role of the 'double' see Andrew J. Webber, *The Doppelgänger: Double Visions in German Literature* (Oxford, 1996).

⁵¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, 78: 'ein warmer elektrischer Hauch gleitet über mich her – ich empfinde den leisen Geruch feinen italienischen Parfüms, der gestern zuerst mir die Nachbarin vermuten ließ; mich umfängt ein seliges Gefühl, das ich nur in Tönen aussprechen zu können glaube. Die Luft streicht heftiger durch das Haus – die Saiten des Flügels im Orchester rauschen – Himmel! wie aus weiter Ferne, auf den Fittichen schwellender Töne eines luftigen Orchesters getragen, glaube ich Annas Stimme zu hören: "Non mi dir bell' idol mio!"

Schließe dich auf, du fernes, unbekanntes Geisterreich – du Dschinnistan voller Herrlichkeit, wo ein unaussprechlicher, himmlischer Schmerz wie die unsäglichste Freude, der entzückten Seele alles auf Erden Verheißene über alle Maßen erfüllt!'

⁵² Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 949: 'bist du das Abendwehen aus *diesem* Leben oder die Morgenluft aus *jenem*'?

⁵³ Jean Paul, *Die unsichtbare Loge*, 59.

Music retreats back into its supernatural realm, leaving behind the possessed body, the listener is once again left with a voice: 'Non mi dir bell' idol mio'.

2.4. Wackenroder's 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers': a Warning Against Seduction

Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder had already commented on the seductive power of music in his earlier 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', published posthumously in the *Phantasien über die Kunst*, but rather than embrace it, as Hoffmann was to do, Wackenroder suffered under the temptation ('I am shocked; when I think to what kind of wild thoughts these sinful tones can fling me, with their tempting siren-voices and with their raging murmurs and trumpet sounds').⁵⁴ Wackenroder's doubts about music, as formulated in 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers' – which stand in marked contrast to the majority of his work – centre on the fear that the musical artwork that he perceived as divine was actually man-made, and as such, a pagan idol:

Art is a remarkable, deceptive superstition; we believe to see in her the ultimate, innermost humanity itself before us, and yet she merely gives us a beautiful work of man, in which all the self-centred, self-satisfied thoughts and feelings are deposited, that remain unfertile and ineffective in the active world. And I, [a] fool, regard this work more highly than man himself, who was made by God.⁵⁵

The music he believed divine is exposed as man-made, as Music 'merely gives us a beautiful work of man'. Rather than praise of God, the motive is to make the composer 'an independent human god'. As the divinity of music collapses, the composer is exposed as pagan idolater:

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', *Phantasien über die Kunst*, 90: 'ich erschrecke, wenn ich bedenke, zu welchen tollen Gedanken mich die frevelhaften Töne hinschleudern können mit ihren lockenden Sirenenstimmen und mit ihrem tobenden Rauschen und Trompetenklang'. 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers' was first published anonymously in the *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst*, ed. Ludwig Tieck (Hamburg, 1799). The second edition omitted Tieck's own material and placed Wackenroder's contribution to the *Phantasien* and the earlier *Herzergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1797) in one volume published as *Phantasien über die Kunst, von einem kunstliebenden Klosterbruder*, ed. Ludwig Tieck (Berlin, 1814).

⁵⁵ Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', 88: 'die Kunst ist ein täuschender, trüglicher Aberglaube; wir meinen, in ihr die letzte, innerste Menschheit selbst vor uns zu haben, und doch schiebt sie uns immer nur ein schönes Werk des Menschen unter, worin alle die eigensüchtigen, sich selber genügenden Gedanken und Empfindungen abgesetzt sind, die in der täglichen Welt unfruchtbar und unwirksam bleiben. Und ich Blöder achte dieses Werk höher als den Menschen selber, den Gott gemacht hat'.

But oh, when I stand on this foolhardy height and my evil spirit seeks me out with arrogant pride in my feeling for art and with impudent elevation above other men, then, then such dangerous, slippery chasms suddenly open all around me from all sides; all the holy, high images leap from my art and escape back into the world of other, better men and I lie stretched out, shunned, and feel in the service of my goddess – I know not how – like a foolish, vain idolater.⁵⁶

Music becomes a false creation, the pursuit and valuing of which shows a blasphemous rejection of divine creation: music 'does sinful trade with the severed and artificially prepared feelings, and sinfully forfeits the original nature of man. [...] The artist becomes an actor, who regards every life as a role, who regards his stage as the true model and normal world, as the tight centre of the world, [and views] the ordinary, real life merely as a miserable, cobbled-together imitation, as a poorly enclosing shell'.⁵⁷ The search for the ideal thus leads to the kind of destructive yearning that drove Don Giovanni in Hoffmann's reading, as the artist, like Don Giovanni, is cursed to find 'all earthly life matt and flat'.⁵⁸

This self-castigating view of the artist led Wackenroder to view music in terms of biblical sin; music becomes the 'seductive forbidden fruit', tempting man to reject divine creation: 'art is a seductive, forbidden fruit; whoever has tasted her innermost, sweetest juice, is irretrievably lost for the active living world'.⁵⁹ The pursuit of art now becomes a sinful, selfish pastime, as Wackenroder describes the artist as a 'sensual hermit', who 'merely suck[s] daily, inwardly on beautiful

⁵⁶ Ibid., 88: 'aber ach! wenn ich auf dieser verwegenen Höhe stehe und mein böser Geist mich mit übermütigem Stolz auf mein Kunstgefühl und mit frecher Erhebung über andre Menschen heimsucht, – dann, dann öffnen sich auf einmal rings um mich her auf allen Seiten so gefährliche, schlüpfrige Abgründe, – alle die heiligen, hohen Bilder springen ab von meiner Kunst und flüchten sich in die Welt der andern, bessern Menschen zurück, – und ich liege hingestreckt, verstoßen und komme mir im Dienste meiner Göttin – ich weiß nicht wie – wie ein törichter, eitler Götzendiener vor'.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 90: 'das ist's, daß die Kunst [...] mit den entrissenen, künstlich zugerichteten Gefühlen frevelhaften Handel und Gewerbe treibt und die ursprüngliche Natur des Menschen frevelhaft verscherzt. Das ist's, daß der Künstler ein Schauspieler wird, der jedes Leben als Rolle betrachtet, der seine Bühne für die echte Muster- und Normalwelt, für den dichten Kern der Welt und das gemeine, wirkliche Leben nur für eine elende, zusammengeflückte Nachahmung, für die schlechte umschließende Schale ansieht'.

⁵⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, 75: 'immer hoffend, das Ideal endlicher Befriedigung zu finden, mußte doch Juan zuletzt alles irdische Leben matt und flach finden' ('always hoping to find the ideal of ultimate satisfaction, Juan ultimately had to find all earthly life matt and flat').

⁵⁹ Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', 88: 'die Kunst ist eine verführerische, verbotene Frucht; wer einmal ihren innersten, süßesten Saft geschmeckt hat, der ist unwiederbringlich verloren für die tätige, lebendige Welt'.

harmonies, and strive[s] to taste the ultimate delicacy of beauty and sweetness'.⁶⁰ As man gives in to the temptation, he finds himself ever more alienated from the rest of mankind: 'more and more tightly he crawls into his selfish pleasure, and his hand loses the strength to effectively reach out towards another human being entirely'.⁶¹ But having tasted the 'forbidden fruit' of music truly is a curse, as despite all doubts, music draws the weak artistic individual back in:

But what does it help, if I lie ill amidst these terrible doubts in my art and myself – and there rises a beautiful music, – ha! Then all these thoughts disappear in the turmoil, then the sensual ache of longing resumes its old game; then it calls and calls back irresistibly, and the whole childish bliss reveals itself before my eyes anew.⁶²

Only death provides a means of escape, as the artist is subjected to the supernatural will of Music that, to quote Goethe on the daemonic, 'powerfully does with him as it pleases'.⁶³

And thus as long as I live, my soul shall be like the vibrating aeolian harp, in the strings of which an alien, unknown breath blows and changing winds rummage at leisure.⁶⁴

It is fundamentally incongruous that, despite his rigorous rejection of music as 'man-made', Wackenroder still concludes by describing music as an 'alien, unknown breath', thereby reinstating the kind of supernaturalism that he apparently so strongly rejected. We are thus faced with a somewhat awkward Christian view of music as *demonic* voice that tempts man into sinful idolizing of its seductive voice, despite music being exposed as the work of man. This tension between Wackenroder's Christian symbolism and the daemonic musical voice that we saw in Jean Paul and

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 'das ganze Leben hindurch sitz ich nun da, ein lüsterner Einsiedler, und sauge täglich nur innerlich an schönen Harmonien und strebe den letzten Leckerbissen der Schönheit und Süßigkeit herauszukosten'.

⁶¹ Ibid.: 'immer enger kriecht er in seinen selbsteigenen Genuß hinein, und seine Hand verliert ganz die Kraft, sich einem Nebenmenschen wirkend entgegenzustrecken'.

⁶² Ibid., 90: 'was hilft's aber, wenn ich mitten in diesen entsetzlichen Zweifeln an der Kunst und an mir selber krank liege – und es erhebt sich eine herrliche Musik, – ha! da flüchten alle diese Gedanken im Tumulte davon, da hebt das lüsterne Ziehen der Sehnsucht sein altes Spiel wieder an; da ruft und ruft es unwiderstehlich zurück, und die ganze kindische Seligkeit tut sich von neuem vor meinen Augen auf'. Carl Dahlhaus has written, 'Berglinger finds something demonic about mere machinery's sometimes sufficing to touch the heart. He seems to be anticipating the *Tales of Hoffmann*' (Dahlhaus, *Esthetics of Music*, trans. William Austin [Cambridge, 1995], 41).

⁶³ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, Tuesday the 11th of March, 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: 'das übermächtig mit ihm tut wie es beliebt'.

⁶⁴ Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', 91: 'und so wird meine Seele wohl lebenslang der schwebenden Äolsharfe gleichen, in deren Saiten ein fremder, unbekannter Hauch weht und wechselnde Lüfte nach Gefallen herumwühlen'.

Hoffmann, comes together in a short story by Heinrich von Kleist entitled *Die heilige Cäcilie oder die Gewalt der Musik (eine Legende)*.⁶⁵

2.5. Music's Daemonic Voice and Christian Religious Judgement in Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie*

Heinrich von Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie* is a striking piece that shares many similarities with Hoffmann's *Don Juan*. Most notably, both have the physical appearance of the ideal, abstract Music at their centre. In both cases, Music as ideal possesses the body of an artistically talented woman – a singer in *Don Juan* and a female Kapellmeister in *Die heilige Cäcilie* – and uses this body to appear physically on earth and then retreats back into the realm of the supernatural, discarding the body and causing the death of the possessed subject.

However, despite this similarity, Kleist's story is in some ways the antithesis to Hoffmann's, for if *Don Juan* marks the sensualization of the ideal and the establishing of music as a seductive, daemonic supernatural voice, then Kleist's story portrays a mute, 'pure' ideal, whose very voicelessness suggests it to be executing a Christian divine will. This difference in representation may well be because music in *Don Juan* could be sensual and seductive, luring the narrator into its supernatural realm purely for its own gain, whereas, given that music in *Die heilige Cäcilie* is suggested to be executing the will of God, a similar portrayal of music in Kleist's story would have been blasphemous. In losing its human voice, music becomes pure abstract musical sound, the effect of which is one of religious judgement. But for all its indebtedness to Christianity, *Die heilige Cäcilie* cannot escape the ambiguity of good and evil that we have seen in the discussion of Music's daemonic supernatural voice; in fact, it is because it is so openly based on motives of Christianity that this ambiguity is all the more apparent. As such, it marks the appearance of the daemonic voice within a strictly Christian setting.

⁶⁵ *St. Cecilia, or the Power of Music (a Legend)*. Written for the birth of Adam Müller's daughter Cäcilie (b. 27. October 1810), *Die heilige Cäcilie* was first published in Kleist's magazine *Berliner Abendblätter* between the 15th and 17th of November (vols. 40-42). A revised, expanded version appeared in volume 2 of Kleist's *Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1811). I shall not consider the generic implications of the subtitle 'a legend' as this falls outside of the present study.

Set 'around the end of the sixteenth century, when the iconoclasm raged in the Netherlands', Kleist's story tells of four young men who, staying in Aachen (Germany) to collect an inheritance, decide to destroy the local Convent of St. Cecilia.⁶⁶ Collecting together a crudely equipped army of locals, they set off for the convent. Here meanwhile, preparations have been made to perform 'an ancient, Italian mass, composed by an unknown master'.⁶⁷ However, the performance is threatened not only by the encroaching hooligans but also by the fact that the 'Kapellmeisterin' of the convent, Sister Antonia, is unconscious following a nervous fever. The rebellious locals are already in the church of the convent and the musicians are preparing to play a more frequently performed piece which they can give without the direction of Sister Antonia, when suddenly, 'fresh and healthy, [if] a little pale in the face',⁶⁸ the latter appears with the ancient score and proceeds to direct the performance of the mass from the organ. Deeply moved by the power of music, the nuns perform the work 'with the highest and most glorious musical splendour',⁶⁹ and the convent is spared. Six years later, the mother of the four young men arrives in the town to enquire as to their whereabouts, as they seem to have disappeared. She finally recognizes them in a lunatic asylum where, dressed in black habits, they spend their days praying before intoning the Gloria of the ancient mass between Midnight and 1 o'clock. The horrified woman hears how at the start of the music, her sons had begun praying and had sunk to the ground in devotion. Ever since that day they had existed in a kind of religious trance that alternated between prayer and a horrifyingly distorted 'singing' of the Gloria.⁷⁰ Visiting the Abbess of the convent, the mother finds the score of the mass open in her study and hears how God himself had protected the convent that night: no one knew who really conducted the performance of the mass, as Sister Antonia had lain ill in her bed throughout the performance and had died the following night. Told of this event, the Archbishop of Trier had concluded 'that St. Cecilia herself had worked this at once terrible and marvellous

⁶⁶ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 288: 'um das Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, als die Bilderstürmerei in den Niederlanden wütete'. Note that there is no historical evidence for the existence of a Convent of St. Cecilia near Aachen at that time.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 289-90: 'eine uralte von einem unbekannten Meister herrührende, italienische Messe'.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 291: 'als Schwester Antonia plötzlich, frisch und gesund, ein wenig bleich im Gesicht, von der Treppe her erschien'.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: 'das Oratorium ward mit der höchsten und herrlichsten musikalischen Pracht ausgeführt'. Note that Kleist does not differentiate between Mass and Oratorio, using both terms interchangeably.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 296: 'this is how leopards and wolves sound, when they howl to the heavens in freezing Winter' ('so mögen sich Leoparden und Wölfe anhören lassen, wenn sie zur eisigen Winterzeit, das Firmament anbrüllen').

wonder',⁷¹ something that had been confirmed by the Pope himself. 'Here', Kleist writes, 'the legend ends'.⁷² The mother returns home and converts to Catholicism; in old age, her sons die 'a cheerful and happy death, after they had once more sung the Gloria in excelsis, as was their habit'.⁷³

More explicitly than Hoffmann, Kleist suggests music as a Christian divine ideal. Music (believed by the Church in Kleist's story to be St. Cecilia) assumes the body of a musically gifted nun, thereby borrowing the association of faith and purity and applying it to music. Music's miraculous appearance at a time of great danger and the subsequent sparing of the convent further point to divine intervention. But unlike Donna Anna in Hoffmann's *Don Juan*, the personified ideal in *Die heilige Cäcilie* does not speak directly: it has no human voice. It marks the physical appearance of Music as faith. To this extent the one moment of speech of Sister Antonia suggests a brushing aside of language, as if using words to shut out an inadequate language – it serves to underline her silence and the sound of music about to be heard:

To the astonished question of the sister: 'where she came from, and how she had so suddenly recovered?' she replied: no matter, friends, no matter, distributed the parts that she carried and sat herself, glowing with enthusiasm, at the organ to take over the direction of the excellent work.⁷⁴

Unlike those of her colleagues, Sister Antonia's words are not marked by speech marks. Thus rendered strangely non-sounding, they further act to deflect from language onto the music that she is about to perform, at the same time as they add to the mystery of this 'glowing' animated body.

Given that Sister Antonia is suggested as the physical manifestation of faith, it is not surprising to find Kleist's description of Sister Antonia's appearance and the subsequent performance to be heavily indebted to Wackenroder's aesthetic of the religious contemplation of music, most notably expressed in 'Das merkwürdige

⁷¹ Ibid., 301: 'auch hat der Erzbischof von Trier, an den dieser Vorfall berichtet ward, bereits das Wort ausgesprochen, das ihn allein erklärt, nämlich, "daß die heilige Cäcilie selbst dieses zu gleicher Zeit schreckliche und herrliche Wunder vollbracht habe"'.
⁷² Ibid., 302: 'hier endigt die Legende'.

⁷³ Ibid.: 'die Söhne aber starben, im späten Alter, eines heitern und vergnügten Todes, nachdem sie noch einmal, ihrer Gewohnheit gemäß, das gloria in excelsis abgesungen hatten'.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 291: 'auf die erstaunte Frage der Nonnen: "wo sie herkomme? Und wie sie sich so plötzlich erholt habe?" antwortete sie: gleichviel, Freundinnen, gleichviel! verteilte die Partitur, die sie bei sich trug, und setzte sich selbst, von Begleisterung glühend, an die Orgel, um die Direktion des vortrefflichen Musikstücks zu übernehmen'.

musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger'.⁷⁵ Kleist describes how the possessed Sister Antonia appears, 'glowing with enthusiasm',⁷⁶ whilst of the performance itself, he writes:

Accordingly it came like a miraculous, heavenly consolation into the hearts of the devout women; they immediately stood by their [music] stands; the apprehension itself in which they found themselves joined to lead their souls, as if on wings, through the heaven of melodious sound. The Oratorio was executed with the highest and most glorious musical splendour. During the entire performance, no breath moved amongst the halls and pews; especially during the *salve Regina*, and even more so during the *Gloria in excelsis*, it was as if the entire population of the church was dead.⁷⁷

Note the similarity to Wackenroder's description of Berglinger, both in terms of language and exact imagery: the sense of expectation felt by the performers in Kleist echoing that felt by the listener (Berglinger) in Wackenroder; the quasi-religious imagery of wings, and the transportation of the soul to heaven:

Full of expectation, he waited for the first note of the instruments; – and, as it burst forth from the gloomy silence, mighty and expansive, like the blowing of a wind from heaven, and the whole power of music swept by above his head, it was as if his soul had spread great wings, as if he was being lifted up from a barren heath, the dull curtain of clouds was disappearing from mortal eyes and he floated up to radiant heaven.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Translated as 'The remarkable Musical Life of the Musician Joseph Berglinger', *Source Readings in Music History: The Romantic Era*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York, 1965), 10-23.

⁷⁶ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 291: 'von Begeisterung glühend'. Note that the German word 'Begeisterung' (enthusiasm) uses the term 'Geist' (spirit) and therefore, whilst it translates as enthusiasm, it also alludes to the presence of divine spirit as a motivational force.

⁷⁷ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 291: 'demnach kam es, wie ein wunderbarer, himmlischer Trost, in die Herzen der frommen Frauen; sie stellten sich augenblicklich mit ihren Instrumenten an die Pulte; die Beklemmung selbst, in der sie sich befanden, kam hinzu, um ihre Seelen, wie auf Schwingen, durch alle Himmel des Wohlklangs zu führen; das Oratorium ward mit der höchsten und herrlichsten musikalischen Pracht ausgeführt; es regte sich, während der Darstellung, kein Odem in den Hallen und Bänken; besonders bei dem *salve regina* und noch mehr bei dem *gloria in excelsis*, war es, als ob die ganze Bevölkerung der Kirche tot sei'.

⁷⁸ Wackenroder, 'Das merkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger', *Herzergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, ed. Richard Benz (1797; reprint, Stuttgart, 1979), 105-6: 'erwartungsvoll harrete er auf den ersten Ton der Instrumente; – und indem er nun aus der dumpfen Stille, mächtig und langgezogen, gleich dem Wehen eines Windes vom Himmel hervorbrach und die ganze Gewalt der Töne über seinem Haupte daherzog – da war es ihm, als wenn auf einmal seiner Seele große Flügel ausgespannt, als wenn er von einer dünnen Heide aufgehoben würde, der trübe Wolkenvorhang von den sterblichen Augen verschwände und er zum lichten Himmel emporschwabe'.

Similarly, the description of the transformation of the brothers at the sound of music brings Berglinger to mind. Kleist writes: 'however, at the commencing of the music, your sons suddenly remove their hats together, and in a striking manner; as if deeply and unspeakably moved, they

However, whilst Sister Antonia is clearly an inspiring *presence*, the fact that she does not speak shifts the emphasis back to the 'ancient mass' that she directs. Kleist strongly suggests the score to be a notated 'divine' ideal, its 'magical signs' intelligible to mortal eyes.⁷⁹ The mass is 'ancient', it was composed 'with a special devoutness', but most significantly, it is by an 'unknown Italian master'.⁸⁰ This is important as the author of the work is not only all but erased, but what remains is that he was 'Italian', and, as in Hoffmann's *Don Juan*, the Italian language here points to a kind of mystical *Ur-music*. Even if one does not want to go as far as equating the 'unknown Italian master' with God, then Kleist nevertheless implies the 'master' as a prophet notating a divine message, passed down in the form of the ancient score. And yet, the score itself is confusingly described in terms of occult symbolism. Visiting the Abbess of the convent, the mother of the young men sees the score of the mass open on the table. Her suspicion of the mass's mysterious powers becomes apparent as 'she regarded the unknown magical signs with which a terrible spirit seemed secretly to mark out the circle for himself'.⁸¹ The metaphor is no mere coincidence, the magic circle – long associated with the summoning of demons – here describes the notation; in performing the mass, Sister Antonia 'mark[s] out the circle' and summons the daemonic power of Music.

Music the ideal is thus represented as a duality: on the one hand is the supernatural force that possesses Sister Antonia (and believed by the Church to have been St. Cecilia), and on the other the power that is unleashed by the translation of the occult symbols of notation into sound. The 'mute' possession of Sister Antonia's

gradually place their hands in front of their bowed face' (Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 294: 'dagegen, bei Anhebung der Musik, nehmen Eure Söhne plötzlich, in gleichzeitiger Bewegung, und auf eine uns auffallende Weise, die Hüte ab; sie legen, nach und nach, wie in tiefer unaussprechlicher Rührung, die Hände vor ihr herabgebeugtes Gesicht'). Berglinger 'often, out of inner piety, knelt humbly [on the ground]' (Wackenroder, 'Das merkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger', 105: 'wobei er oft aus innerer Andacht demütig auf den Knien lag'). However, in Kleist's story, what is quasi-religious behaviour in Wackenroder becomes vocal expression, as the brothers, unlike Berglinger, move beyond the gestures of religion and begin to mutter prayers.

'Das merkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger' was first published anonymously in the *Herzergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Berlin, 1797). Note though, that the volume was actually published in the autumn of 1796, but dated 1797. The second edition omitted Tieck's contributions and was published in 1814 as *Phantasien über die Kunst, von einem kunstliebenden Klosterbruder*.

⁷⁹ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 300: 'die unbekannten, zauberischen Zeichen' ('the unknown magical signs').

⁸⁰ Ibid., 289-90: 'eine uralte von einem unbekannten Meister herrührende, italienische Messe [...] einer besondern Heiligkeit'.

⁸¹ Ibid., 300: 'sie betrachtete die unbekannten zauberischen Zeichen, womit sich ein fürchterlicher Geist geheimnisvoll den Kreis abzustecken schien'.

body thereby establishes a window into the mortal world through which Music can act. It is the effect of this action that is horrific, for not only does the performance of the mass trigger behaviour of religious devotion but it also marks the descent into religious madness. Much like a pagan curse, music erases the personalities of the brothers, in effect turning them into living corpses; marionettes controlled by some supernatural will. One is encouraged to read this transformation as essentially positive, given that the power of music has averted violence and destruction, but at the same time Kleist's change in language as he describes the behaviour of the men is suggestive of Christian ideas of demonic possession. Equally, the men's newfound faith may manifest itself through music, but it is not the 'heaven of melodious sound' of the ancient mass, but a twisted, horrifying rendition of its Gloria. The fact that it is 'sung' at Midnight – the traditional witching hour – again suggests the occult.⁸² Note Kleist's emphasis on terror, on the howling of the brothers – more suggestive of animals than human behaviour – and on the mechanical nature of their actions:

Now suddenly the clock strikes midnight; [...] they begin to intone the Gloria in excelsis with an appalling and hideous voice. This is how leopards and wolves may sound, when they howl to the heavens in freezing winter: I assure you, the pillars of the house shook, and, rattling as if one was throwing handfuls of heavy sand against their surface, the windows, struck by the visible breath of their lungs, threatened to collapse. At this terrible entrance, we blindly flee with our hair on end; leaving coats and hats behind, we disperse in the surrounding streets, which were soon filled with more than a hundred people in our stead [that had been] startled out of their sleep. Bursting [through] the door, the crowd forces itself over the steps towards the hall, to find the source of this ghastly and outrageous screaming that rose pitifully up to God's ears for mercy from the deepest bottom of flame-filled hell, as if from the lips of eternally damned sinners.⁸³

⁸² Note in this context Jean Paul's description of the musical experience as the 'witching hour of the past' (Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 948: 'Geisterstunde der Vergangenheit').

⁸³ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 296-7: 'jetzt plötzlich schlägt die Stunde der Mitternacht; [...] fangen sie, mit einer entsetzlichen und gräßlichen Stimme, das gloria in excelsis zu intonieren an. So mögen sich Leoparden und Wölfe anhören lassen, wenn sie zur eisigen Winterzeit, das Firmament anbrüllen: die Pfeiler des Hauses, versichere ich Euch, erschütterten, und die Fenster, von ihrer Lungen sichtbarem Atem getroffen, drohten klirrend, als ob man Hände voll schweren Sandes gegen ihre Flächen würfe, zusammen zu brechen. Bei diesem grausenhaften Auftritt stürzen wir besinnungslos, mit sträubenden Haaren auseinander; wir zerstreuen uns, Mäntel und Hüte zurücklassend, durch die umliegenden Straßen, welche in kurzer Zeit, statt unsrer, von mehr denn hundert, aus dem Schlaf geschreckter Menschen, angefüllt waren; das Volk drängt sich, die Haustüre sprengend, über die Stiege dem Saale zu, um die Quelle dieses schauerhaften und empörenden Gebrülls, das, wie von den Lippen ewig

At the heart of Kleist's story then, we are faced with a dichotomy: music is portrayed as divine in origin, a force released by the devout that protects the convent and, by extension, the respect for God; but the way in which its effect is described increasingly draws on Christian demonic imagery – the building shakes and the beholders flee in terror as the ‘ghastly and outrageous screaming’ rises ‘pitifully up to God’s ears for mercy from the deepest bottom of flame-filled hell, as if from the lips of eternally damned sinners’. Kleist’s story consequently reveals an underlying framework that projects a clear move from music as ‘divine’ to music as demonic (see Figure. 1).

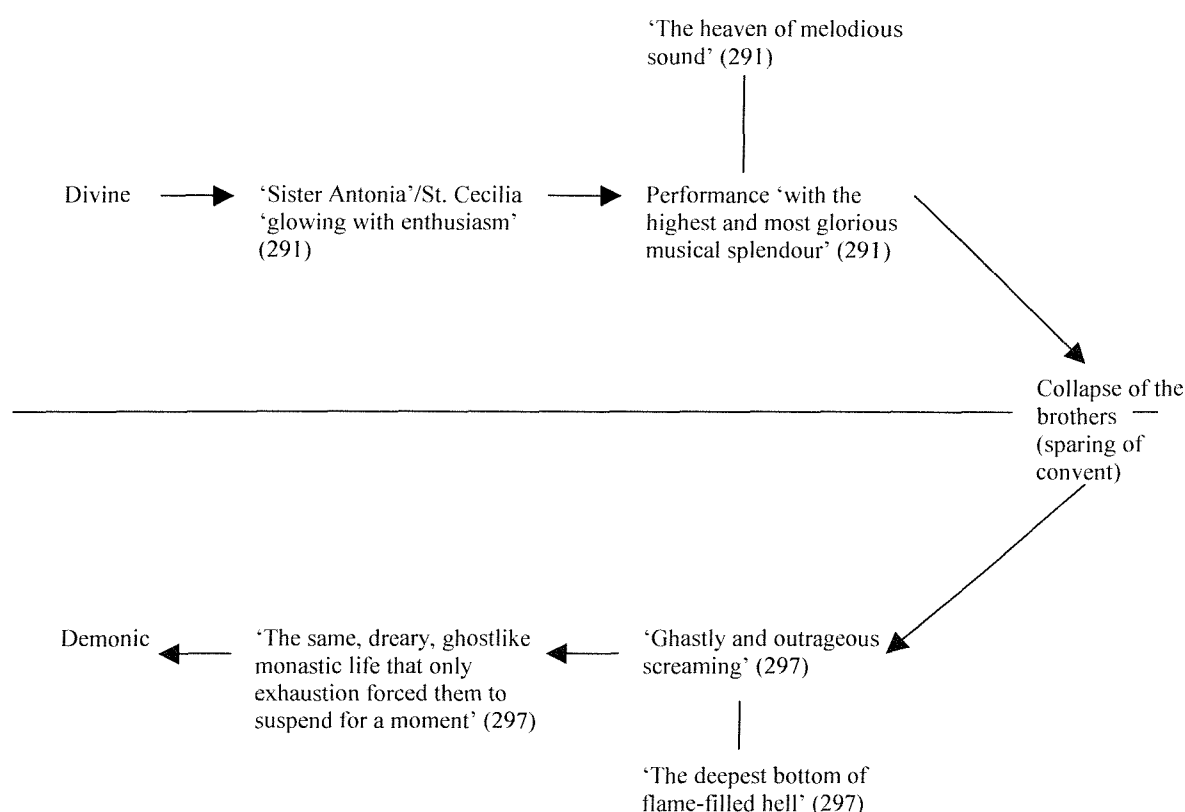


Figure 1: The Narrative Move from Music as Divine to Music as Demonic in *Die heilige Cäcilie*

Read in the direction of the arrows, the diagram charts a ‘chronological’ unfolding of the tale, which, despite the various flashback techniques Kleist uses, follows the story in sequence. At the same time each event is reflected in the central

verdammter Sünder, aus dem tiefsten Grund der flammenvollen Hölle, jammervoll um Erbarmung zu Gottes Ohren heraufdrang, aufzusuchen’. Kleist uses a rich vocabulary of horror to describe the scene. Some of the terms used have one and the same meaning in English, or there is overlap with the German. Consequently this has necessitated particular decisions in translation: entsetzlich = appalling; gräßlich = hideous; grausenhaft = terrible; schauerhaft = ghastly.

axis, mirroring each 'high' event with a corresponding 'low' event. For example, St. Cecilia's 'glowing with enthusiasm' is mirrored by the 'dreary, ghostlike monastic life' of the brothers.⁸⁴ Similarly, the performance of the mass 'with the highest and most glorious musical splendour' finds its counterpart in the 'ghastly and outrageous screaming' of the brothers' rendition of the Gloria. The moment that marks the move from the 'high' plane to the 'low' is the collapse of the brothers and the resultant sparing of the convent. It is, of course, a highly ambiguous event, as the sparing of the convent is obviously 'divine', but the collapse of the brothers is both 'divine' (they are turned from violence) and demonic (they effectively become living corpses, robbed of any free will). It is an ambiguity that Kleist fails to resolve, but it is in this very lack of resolution that *Die heilige Cäcilie* returns us to Goethe's daemonic.

The daemonic can be seen to be working in four different ways in Kleist's portrayal of music. Firstly, as in *Don Juan*, the human body is treated as an 'empty vessel' to be filled by a daemonic force ('man is often seen as the tool of a higher world order, as a vessel found to be worthy of receiving divine influence').⁸⁵ both Sister Antonia and the young men are possessed in this way, although in the case of the latter there is clearly a sense of punishment that is not a part of Sister Antonia's possession. Like the singer in *Don Juan*, Sister Antonia is 'found to be worthy' because of her musical ability; she becomes 'the tool of a higher world order'.⁸⁶ Secondly, the daemonic can be seen in the sheer power of Music acting in the worldly realm: it animates the fatally ill Sister Antonia, transforming her into an inspiring presence, whilst at the same time, through her, it literally strikes the enemies of the convent down. Thirdly, Music's appearance and effect in *Die heilige Cäcilie* are understood as miracle. As Goethe said of the daemonic in music, '[it] appear[s] miraculous to humans', and 'an effect issues from [it] which rules everything, and which no one is able to account for'.⁸⁷ Finally, it is this failing attempt to understand

⁸⁴ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 297: 'dasselbe öde, gespensterartige Klosterleben'.

⁸⁵ Goethe, speaking of the daemonic in music, in conversation with Eckermann on the 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: 'der Mensch [ist] oftmals als ein Werkzeug einer höheren Weltregierung zu betrachten, als ein würdig befundenes Gefäß zur Aufnahme eines göttlichen Einflusses'.

⁸⁶ 'Thus the daemonic gladly throws itself into distinguished individuals' (Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann on the 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 558: 'so wirft sich auch das Dämonische gern in bedeutende Individuen').

⁸⁷ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann on the 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 558: 'es geht von ihr eine Wirkung aus, die alles beherrscht und von der niemand imstande ist, sich Rechenschaft zu geben. [...] Sie ist eins der ersten Mittel, um auf die Menschen wunderbar zu wirken'.

the effect of music that ultimately has to resort to vague notions of the miraculous that demonstrates the resistance to comprehension of the daemonic. The explanation of the events at the convent is therefore not coincidental: the appearance of Music results in those irreconcilable ambiguities that defy man's attempts at rationalizing that are typical for the daemonic as Goethe understood it: Sister Antonia had lain 'sick, unconscious, quite simply not in control of her body' throughout the performance, yet apparently appeared to conduct it 'glowing with enthusiasm' and looking 'fresh and healthy, [if] a little pale in the face'.⁸⁸

The aesthetic shift of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought with it the appearance of Music as a supernatural voice (Jean Paul, e.g. *Die unsichtbare Loge, Hesperus*), a voice that, despite music's formulation as divine language appeared more ambiguous in its workings than the Christian idea of the 'divine' allowed for. This complexity creates a strong link to Goethe's formulation of a supernatural 'daemonic' force based on ancient Greek paganism. As the voice became a feminine physical presence (Hoffmann, *Don Juan*), its daemonic power brought a threat of seduction to the male listening subject, a threat (temporarily) disabled by Music's retreat into the supernatural and the death of the possessed female subject. Even warnings against this temptation, such as Wackenroder's 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', which attempted to remove music from its link to God, ultimately failed to overcome the threat of seduction. It is only in the possession of a nun in Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie* that the seductive element is, if not removed, then at least sidestepped; but even here, music remains larger and more complex than the category that one may somewhat tentatively term the 'divine good'.

⁸⁸ Kleist, *Die heilige Cäcilie*, 301: 'krank, bewußtlos, ihrer Glieder schlechthin unmächtig'; *ibid.*, 291: 'von Begeisterung glühend [...] frisch und gesund, ein wenig bleich im Gesicht'.

Chapter 3

Genius, the Creative Process and the Daemonic

This is not an art in you, whereby you speak well on Homer, but a divine power which moves you like that in the stone which Euripides named a magnet.

Plato¹

The aesthetic move that had established music as daemonic supernatural voice brought with it an obvious need to reconsider the role of the composer; if music was itself a powerful supernatural force, what did that make the composer and, by extension, his work? It is perhaps not surprising then, that much of the literature in which music features as daemonic supernatural voice avoids the issue, either by speaking of ‘tones’ rather than actual compositions or, as Kleist does in *Die heilige Cäcilie*, clothing an ‘actual’ (albeit fictional) work in the mystifying mantle of anonymity.² However, as we have seen in Hoffmann’s *Don Juan* and Jean Paul’s *Hesperus*, some writers did confront the ‘problem’ of referring to specific works and thereby contributed to the emergence of the Romantic concept of the genius composer. That the composer was therein elevated to a god-like status is a well-known aspect of the Romantic aesthetic.

In his recent study of musical genius, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius*, Peter Kivy has argued for what he calls a ‘pendulum’ theory of genius in which contemporaneous thinking on the subject of genius alternates between two contrasting models of the concept, the Longinian and the Platonic. In the former, based on the treatise *On the Sublime* once attributed to Longinus of Palmyra, but now thought to be the work of another, as yet unidentified author, the ‘genius’ is a figure of strength and power, in Kivy’s words, he

¹ Plato, *Ion*, in *Plato, The Statesman, Philebus and Ion*, trans. W. R. M. Lamb (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), 415, quoted in Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven, 2001), 4.

² The avoidance of citing actual works or composers is something of a stylefeature of the writings of this time.

is the ‘possessor’.³ In the latter, Platonic model, the artist is subject to the inspiration of an otherworldly voice that speaks through him; he is the ‘possessed’.⁴ Kivy writes:

Longinus gives us a theory of genius as strength and power and ‘expression’, which grows, flourishes and perforce must decline; Socrates [‘speaking’ in Plato’s *Ion*], a theory of genius as a thing that comes when it will at the bidding of the God or the Muse. For Longinus genius must seize the day; for Socrates the day must seize the genius.⁵

Throughout *The Possessor and the Possessed*, Kivy suggests that all models of genius from the early eighteenth century onwards were elaborations of either one or the other.

In this chapter, I suggest that certainly in the sources I shall investigate, matters were a little more ambiguous than Kivy would have us believe. I will argue that the composer himself is likened to what the ancient Greeks called the daimon (an intermediate being between gods and men), the daemonic voice of Music manifesting itself through the composer, appearing in the realm of mortals through his works.⁶ In so doing, I re-open the problem of agency in the popular image of genius (to a large extent based on Beethoven), as in the model I propose the genius both masters Music’s daemonic voice and is in turn mastered by it. To this end I will re-examine the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century view of the genius and propose a more complex and ambiguous formulation of the concept than the popular image of the genius has allowed for.

I begin with Goethe’s explanation of the effect of the daemonic on the individual and the resulting conceptualisation of the ‘daemonic character’. I demonstrate that whilst many of these individuals were political figures, Goethe equally perceived some artists as daemonic characters. The characteristics of these individuals in turn are crucial parts of the popular model of genius as embodied by Beethoven. Thus, whilst Goethe never claims daemonic characters to be the same as geniuses, they share sufficient characteristics for the link to become apparent. It is

³ For the sake of simplicity I shall follow both Kivy and other authors who have made use of the text by nevertheless referring to it as the work of Longinus, as ‘Longinus’ appears cumbersome. It is worth noting that Longinus did not have the term ‘genius’. Nevertheless, modern scholarship has consistently translated the term he does use, which, according to Kivy is more like ‘greatness of mind’, as genius (see Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 13-14).

⁴ Like Longinus, Plato did not use the term genius. In what follows I shall not substitute the term, speaking instead of voices or forces working through the artist.

⁵ Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 17.

⁶ On the daemones, see ‘Daimon’ in Margaret C. Howatson ed., *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford, 1989), 167. Note that the singular of daemones is daimon.

through Goethe's discussion of the creative process and his concept of productivity that the wider concept of genius can most clearly be seen to merge with the daemonic. For Goethe, I suggest, genius is a productive force that is guided by, and identical in effect to, the daemonic; it manifests itself in and works through daemonic characters.

In Section 3.2., I problematize the central contention of Kivy's Longinian model of genius: the contrasting of the idea of supernatural possession (i.e. the Platonic model), with the idea of genius as gift of Nature (the Longinian model). At least from the late eighteenth century onwards, I shall argue, the gift of Nature of the genius within began to be viewed as an internal alien presence; it began to resemble the daemonic voice. I shall re-consider both art-theoretical writings, such as those of Johann Georg Sulzer, Heinrich Christoph Koch and Heydenreich, and philosophical texts, specifically Kant's *Critique of Judgement*.

In Section 3.3., I turn to E. T. A. Hoffmann's use of Jean Paul's notion of 'Besonnenheit' ('self-possession') in his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. In the review, Hoffmann uses the term to argue for Beethoven's creative rationality. I propose a closer link of Hoffmann and Jean Paul's use of the term than has been acknowledged, and suggest that in adopting the notion of 'Besonnenheit', Hoffmann was, to some extent at least, reintroducing the very element of the supernatural that he was seeking to counter. The resulting ambivalence between Beethoven's rationality and his function as conduit to an otherworldly force suggests him as a daemonic being.

3.1. Goethe, the 'Daemonic Character' and the Creative Process

3.1.1. Goethe's Theory of the 'Daemonic Character'

According to Goethe, everyone is subject to the workings of the daemonic, a belief perhaps best expressed in his statement that '[the daemonic] is not my nature, but I am subject to it'.⁷ In claiming that the daemonic is not *his* nature however, Goethe implies there to be some whose nature it was. The daemonic itself is attracted

⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden, 1975), 356: 'in meiner Natur liegt es nicht, aber ich bin ihm unterworfen'.

to people of strength and power; it ‘gladly throws itself into distinguished individuals, especially if they have a high position’.⁸ Within these ‘distinguished individuals’ the daemonic shows itself to a great degree, in ‘a thoroughly positive vigour’,⁹ restlessness and an attractiveness to others.¹⁰ Individuals affected in this way become ‘daemonic characters’; the daemonic becomes their nature and they themselves are elevated to the level of a daimon:

Napoleon, I said, seems to have been of the daemonic kind. ‘Indeed he was’, said Goethe, ‘to the highest degree, so that hardly anyone is comparable to him. The deceased *Grand Duke* [Karl August] was a daemonic character, full of boundless vigour and restlessness, so that his own realm was too small for him, and the greatest would have been too small for him. The Greeks counted such daemonic beings amongst the half-gods.’¹¹

The daemonic individual is apparently inately charismatic, and others are unable to resist him whether he truly is ‘gracious and kind’ or not: ‘in the deceased *Großherzog*, [the daemonic] was in the degree that no one could resist him. He attracted all people through his calm presence, without even having to prove himself gracious and kind’.¹²

The energy and restlessness that characterizes the daemonic individual is coupled with an instinctive decisiveness. Thus Goethe tells of his relationship with Karl August that ‘everything that I undertook following his advice I succeeded with, so that in cases where my intellect and my reason were not sufficient I only needed to

⁸ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 358: ‘so wirft sich auch das Dämonische gern in bedeutende Individuen, vorzüglich wenn sie eine hohe Stellung haben’.

⁹ Goethe, in conversations with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: ‘einer durchaus positiven Tatkraft’.

¹⁰ Thus, according to Goethe, ‘the daemonic may also have been effective to a high degree in Byron, which is why he also possessed *attraktiva* to a great degree, so that especially women could not resist him’ (Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 359: ‘auch in Byron mag das Dämonische in hohem Grade wirksam gewesen sein, weshalb er auch die Attraktiva in großer Masse besessen, so daß ihm denn besonders die Frauen nicht haben widerstehen können’). Note here the implication that women are less able to resist the strength of the daemonic than men.

¹¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: ‘Napoleon, sagte ich, scheint dämonischer Art gewesen zu sein. “Er war es durchaus, sagte Goethe, im höchsten Grade, so daß kaum ein anderer ihm zu vergleichen ist. Auch der verstorbene Großherzog war eine dämonische Natur, voll unbegrenzter Tatkraft und Unruhe, so daß sein eigenes Reich ihm zu klein war, und das größte ihm zu klein gewesen wäre. Dämonische Wesen solcher Art rechneten die Griechen unter die Halbgötter”’.

¹² Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831 quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 358: ‘beim verstorbenen Großherzog war es in dem Grade, daß niemand ihm widerstehen konnte. Er übte auf die Menschen eine Anziehung durch seine ruhige Gegenwart, ohne daß er sich eben gütig und freundlich zu erweisen brauchte’.

ask him what should be done, whereupon he pronounced it instinctively and I could always be sure of success in advance'.¹³

But despite the positive attributes that the presence of the daemonic brings to the 'daemonic character', Goethe attaches a stark warning. The presence of the daemonic is not constant, and 'when the daemonic spirit left [Karl August] and only the human remained, then he did not know what to do with himself, and he was in a bad way'.¹⁴ When the daemonic withdraws, the human residue is at a loss.

Goethe's own written account of the daemonic character in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* reads like a warning; here the predominant appearance of the daemonic in an individual is 'terrible'. The daemonic character's energy, restlessness and instinctive decisiveness are threatening; his attractiveness fraudulent:

However this daemonic appears most terrible when it emerges above all else in one man. Throughout the course of my life I have been able to observe several, both at close quarters and at a distance. They are not always the most excellent people, be it in spirit or in talents, [and they] seldom recommend themselves through their good-heartedness; but an immense strength emanates from them, and they exert an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements, and who can say how far such an effect will reach? All the combined moral forces are powerless against them; it is in vain that the brighter part of humanity wishes to make them suspect as deceived or as swindlers: the masses are attracted to them. Rarely or never may one find contemporaries of their kind, and they cannot be overcome by anything other than the universe with which they have started their fight itself; and from such comments that strange but immense saying may have originated: 'Nemo contra deum nisi deus ipse'.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., 358-9: 'alles was ich auf seinen Rat unternahm, glückte mir, so daß ich in Fällen, wo mein Verstand und meine Vernunft nicht hinreichte, ihn nur zu fragen brauchte was zu tun sei, wo er es denn instinktmäßig aussprach, und ich immer im voraus eines guten Erfolgs gewiß sein konnte'.

¹⁴ Ibid., 359: 'wenn ihn der dämonische Geist verließ, und nur das Menschliche zurückblieb, so wußte er mit sich nichts anzufangen und er war übel dran'.

¹⁵ Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 177: 'am furchtbarsten aber erscheint dieses Dämonische, wenn es in irgendeinem Menschen überwiegend hervortritt. Während meines Lebensganges habe ich mehrere teils in der Nähe, teils in der Ferne beobachten können. Es sind nicht immer die vorzüglichsten Menschen, weder an Geist noch an Talenten, selten durch Herzensgüte sich empfehlend; aber eine ungeheure Kraft geht von ihnen aus, und sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente, und wer kann da sagen, wie weit sich eine solche Wirkung erstrecken wird? Alle vereinten sittlichen Kräfte vermögen nichts gegen sie; vergebens, daß der hellere Teil der Menschen sie als Betrogene oder als Betrüger verdächtig machen will, die Masse wird von ihnen angezogen. Selten oder nie finden sich Gleichzeitige ihresgleichen, und sie sind durch nichts zu überwinden als durch das Universum selbst,

The daemonic character radiates a kind of primeval power that affects not only ‘all creatures’, but even the elements, thereby challenging Nature as force. We recall in Goethe’s description of Großherzog Karl August the way in which the presence of the daemonic is crucial to animate the daemonic individual, and so it is here: ‘an immense strength *emanates from them*’ – the daemonic radiates through the man it animates. Just as the daemonic can distort time and space, so the daemonic individual is able to take on Nature; he is able to alter our external reality.

The daemonic character is thus both Longinian ‘possessor’ and Platonic ‘possessed’. That which is outside rationality, the intellect and Nature – the supernatural daemonic – threatens to topple everything that we know and understand: ‘all the combined moral forces are powerless against them’. ‘Who can say how far such an effect will reach?’ The daemonic individual, like the daemonic itself, is beyond ‘intellect or reason’;¹⁶ as such he can only be stopped by what is beyond man, ‘the universe [...] itself’.¹⁷ ‘Nemo contra deum nisi deus ipse’ – more an association than an indication that Goethe thought the daemonic individual defeated by God: ‘from such comments that [...] saying *may* have originated’. It tells us more about Goethe’s view of the daemonic character than about his view of God. So powerful is the daemonic individual that he becomes god-like, likely to be thought a god by those who behold him.

The near apocalyptic vision of a daemonic superman that Goethe unfolds is clearly more suited to a political figure such as Napoleon than it is to an artist, but nevertheless, key ideas in Goethe’s narrative are directly transferable to contemporaneous theories of genius.¹⁸ Like the genius, the daemonic individual is

mit dem sie den Kampf begonnen; und aus solchen Bemerkungen mag wohl jener sonderbare, aber ungeheure Spruch entstanden sein: “Nemo contra deum nisi deus ipse”.

¹⁶ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 358: ‘Verstand und [...] Vernunft’.

¹⁷ It seems likely that Goethe was here thinking of Napoleon’s failure in the Russian Winter (1812); the start of the defeat of the man who seemingly more than anyone embodied the daemonic individual for Goethe.

¹⁸ There appears to be no evidence to suggest that ideas of genius led Goethe to formulate his theory of the daemonic. Goethe only linked the daemonic to genius following Eckermann’s question on productivity: ‘you appear, I suggested, to term productivity what one otherwise called genius. “Indeed both are very closely related things”, replied Goethe, “for what is genius other than that productive force through which actions take shape that can stand before God and Nature, and that have consequences and are long lasting precisely for that reason”’ (Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 510 [11th of March 1828]: ‘Sie scheinen, versetzte ich [Eckermann], in diesem Fall Produktivität zu nennen, was man sonst Genie nannte. “Beides sind auch sehr naheliegende Dinge, erwiderte Goethe. Denn was ist Genie anders als jene produktive Kraft, wodurch Taten entstehen die vor Gott und Natur sich zeigen können und die eben deswegen Folge haben und von Dauer sind”’).

unique ('rarely or never may one find contemporaries of their kind'); he is gifted beyond the comprehension of man and, in terms of his ideas and actions, exists on a grand scale. Finally, the daemonic individual, like the genius, is portrayed as uncivilized, a raw force, not necessarily possessing either the culture or the talent that society values ('they are not always the most excellent people, be it in spirit or in talents').

All of these characteristics of the daemonic individual are familiar tropes of our image of Beethoven the genius, and in Goethe's own comments on Beethoven he brings these aspects in connection with the daemonic. In a letter to Bettina von Arnim, Goethe wrote of Beethoven: 'before that which is uttered by one possessed of such a daemon, an ordinary layman must stand in reverence [...] for here the gods are at work strewing seeds for future discernment, and we can only wish that they may proceed undisturbedly to development'.¹⁹ Beethoven is here figured as a daemonic individual: the 'ordinary layman' can merely marvel at the individual that, like the daemonic, he cannot comprehend; Beethoven is in the grip of a daemon, acting in accordance with a higher purpose that will not become clear until the future. The ambiguous agency of the daemonic and the man it works through is again present, as the daemonic is attracted to those great individuals within whom it can unfold to the greatest extent.

The other two attributes that unite the man of genius and the daemonic individual in Goethe's thinking – uniqueness and raw energy – are linked to Beethoven in two further letters by Goethe. In 1812, having met Beethoven at Teplitz, Goethe wrote to his wife, 'I have never met an artist more self-contained, forceful or sincere. I quite appreciate why he must seem strange to the world'.²⁰ Beethoven as daemonic man of genius is unlike any other, withdrawn and powerful, his appearance 'strange to the world'. To his good friend Zelter, Goethe wrote of the same meeting with Beethoven: 'his talent astounded me, but unfortunately he is an entirely untamed person, who may not be entirely wrong when he finds the world detestable, but certainly thereby does not make it more pleasurable either for himself

¹⁹ Goethe quoted in translation in Oscar G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1927), 83.

²⁰ 'Zusammengefaßter, energischer, inniger habe ich noch keinen Künstler gesehen. Ich begreife recht gut, wie er gegen die Welt wunderlich stehn muss' (Goethe, writing to his wife on 19th of July 1812, quoted in Hedwig Walwei-Wieglmann ed., *Goethes Gedanken über Musik* [Frankfurt a. M., 1985], 195).

or for others'.²¹ The roughness of the daemonic individual is apparent, but it is the 'utterly untamed personality' together with an 'amazing', incomprehensible 'talent' that marks Beethoven out as daemonic genius.

I have here briefly demonstrated the link between the daemonic individual and the genius as embodied by Beethoven; I now turn from the specific to the general, for on the level of the creative process, Goethe's link between genius and the daemonic is even clearer.

3.1.2. Goethe and the Creative Process: Productivity, Genius and the Daemonic

Goethe's discussion of the creative process shows the familiar subdivision into a (supernatural) moment of inspiration and a rational, essentially craft-based process of working out and notating that we may find in the discussion of inspiration ('Begeisterung') in the works of many of his contemporaries:²²

Thus the first thought of his *Hamlet* came to Shakespeare as a pure gift from above, on which he had no direct influence, where the spirit of the whole stepped before his soul as unexpected impression, and, in a state of heightened mood, he saw clearly the individual situations, characters and the conclusion of the whole. [...] The later execution of the individual scenes and dialogues of the characters however, he had completely in his power, so that he could shape them daily and continue to work on them for weeks on end, just as he wished.²³

However, the familiarity of this narrative of the creative process is severely compromised by Goethe's other statements on the subject in the same conversation. Carefully avoiding the term inspiration, Goethe's discussion of the creative process involves the interaction of three key terms: genius, the daemonic and what Goethe

²¹ 'Sein Talent hat mich in Erstaunen gesetzt; allein er ist leider eine ganz ungezügelter Persönlichkeit, die zwar gar nicht unrecht hat, wenn sie die Welt detestabel findet, aber sie freilich dadurch weder für sich noch für andere genüßreicher macht' (Goethe, quoted in Walwei-Wiegelmann ed., *Goethes Gedanken über Musik*, 195).

²² I shall return to this point below.

²³ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: 'so kam Shakespeares der erste Gedanke zu seinem *Hamlet*, wo sich ihm der Geist des Ganzen als unerwarteter Eindruck vor die Seele stellte, und er die einzelnen Situationen, Charaktere und Ausgang des Ganzen in erhöhter Stimmung übersah, als ein reines Geschenk von oben, worauf er keinen unmittelbaren Einfluß gehabt hatte. [...] Die spätere Ausführung der einzelnen Szenen aber und die Wechselreden der Personen hatte er vollkommen in seiner Gewalt, so daß er sie täglich und stündlich machen und daran wochenlang fortarbeiten konnte wie es ihm nur beliebte'.

termed productivity.²⁴ The result is a model in which genius is figured as a productive force that is guided by, and identical in effect to, the daemonic.

Goethe further connected the man of genius with the daemonic individual (i.e. the man possessed) on the basis of three aspects of his thinking on the creative process:

- 1) The daemonic is suggested to be the spirit of the 'productive force' that is genius.
- 2) Genius, thus connected with the daemonic, is the driving force of what Goethe termed 'productivity'.
- 3) The similarities of Goethe's descriptions of the daemonic character and the creating artist and their resulting common characteristics.

Goethe avoided describing specific men as *being* geniuses. Genius, for Goethe, was something that 'geniale Naturen' (literally natures [men] of genius) both possessed and were possessed by.²⁵ It was a force within them, not something they were. The way in which men of this kind created, and the property of the resulting product, Goethe termed productivity ('Produktivität'). Productivity however, had nothing whatsoever to do with quantity of output; in Goethe's thinking, the term 'productivity' covered three meanings:

- 1) A supernatural, inspiration-type 'moment' of creation or action.
- 2) A (largely) worldly 'process' of working out the product or action of the inspiration-type moment.
- 3) A 'property' of the product or action created through meanings one and two.²⁶

Goethe refers to the inspiration-type moment as 'productivity of the highest kind' and to the process as 'productivity of another kind'.²⁷ The moment of 'productivity of the highest kind' is entirely supernatural (it is 'above all worldly power') and is characterized by man's reduction to a passive vessel, through which an otherworldly force works:

Every productivity of the highest kind, every significant *Aperçu*, every invention, every great thought that bears fruit and is of consequence, is under no one's control and is above all worldly power. Man has to view things of

²⁴ The reason for Goethe's avoidance of the term inspiration is not known. The closest he comes to it is in describing Shakespeare as being 'in a state of heightened mood'.

²⁵ I shall henceforth refer to such men as men of genius.

²⁶ Note that the application of the terms 'moment', 'process' and 'property' to Goethe's concept of productivity is my own. Goethe covers all three meanings simply with 'productivity'.

²⁷ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: 'Produktivität *höchster Art*' and 'eine Produktivität anderer Art'.

this kind as unexpected gifts from above, as pure children of God. [...] In such cases man is often to be seen as the tool of a higher world order, as a vessel found to be worthy of receiving divine influence.²⁸

There is clearly something of the daemonic about this moment, as the receiving of this supernatural 'gift' is accompanied by the erasure of the agency of the recipient. It is beyond mortal influence ('under no one's control'), supernatural ('above all worldly power'), unexpected, and man becomes a 'tool' for an otherworldly will, an implicitly empty vessel. Precisely in this way, Goethe claims, this moment of productivity is like the daemonic. Crucially, the possessed artist is not aware of being controlled by a supernatural force; he believes himself to be 'acting on his own initiative':

It is related to the daemonic, which powerfully does with [the artist] as it pleases, and to which he unconsciously abandons himself whilst believing he is acting on his own initiative.²⁹

A comparison between Goethe's discussion of genius and a passage from a later conversation with Eckermann describing Mozart's *Don Giovanni* suggests this productivity of the highest kind not only to be *related* to the daemonic, but actually to be *guided* by it. When Eckermann pointed out that Goethe appeared 'to term productivity what one otherwise called genius', Goethe replied, 'indeed both are very closely related things [...]. For what is genius other than that productive force through which actions take shape that can stand before God and Nature, and that have consequences and are long lasting precisely for that reason'.³⁰ Genius here then, is a 'productive force' through which lasting creations or actions take shape. Goethe suggests that genius to be in the possession of a 'daemonic spirit':

[*Don Giovanni*] is a spiritual creation [...] in which the one producing in no way tried and patched together and acted arbitrarily, but where instead *the*

²⁸ Ibid.: 'jede Produktivität *höchster Art*, jedes bedeutende Aperçu, jede Erfindung, jeder große Gedanke der Früchte bringt und Folge hat, steht in niemandes Gewalt und ist über aller irdischen Mächte erhaben. – Dergleichen hat der Mensch als unverhoffte Geschenke von oben, als reine Kinder Gottes zu betrachten, die er mit freudigem Dank zu empfangen und zu verehren hat. [...] In solchen Fällen ist der Mensch oftmals als ein Werkzeug einer höheren Weltregierung zu betrachten, als ein würdig befundenes Gefäß zur Aufnahme eines göttlichen Einflusses'.

²⁹ Ibid., 514: 'Es ist dem Dämonischen verwandt, das übermächtig mit ihm tut wie es beliebt und dem er sich bewußtlos hingibt während er glaubt er handle aus eigenem Antriebe'.

³⁰ Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 510 (11th of March 1828): 'Sie scheinen, versetzte ich [Eckermann], in diesem Fall Produktivität zu nennen, was man sonst Genie nannte. "Beides sind auch sehr naheliegende Dinge, erwiderte Goethe. Denn was ist Genie anders als jene produktive Kraft, wodurch Taten entstehen die vor Gott und Natur sich zeigen können und die eben deswegen Folge haben und von Dauer sind"'.

daemonic spirit of his genius had him in its power, so that he carried out what it commanded.³¹

The ‘productive force’ that is genius is thus suggested to be a specific force geared purely towards ‘productivity’, that is guided by, and identical in effect to, the daemonic.

Amongst the category of productivity as process, Goethe places ‘everything needed for the execution of a plan, all the intermediary links of a chain of thought whose endpoints already stand there shimmering; [...] all that constitutes the visible physicality and body of an artwork’.³² On the surface, this apparently conscious working-out that follows the supernatural moment of productivity allows the man of genius to reclaim the agency he surrendered to the daemonic at the moment of productivity, but Goethe’s description of productivity as process is heavily qualified as to the amount of control it re-assigns to man:

Then there is also a productivity of another kind, that is rather more subservient to worldly influences, and that man has somewhat more in his power, although even here he finds cause to bow before something divine.³³

Productivity of this kind is merely ‘*rather more* subservient to worldly influences’, only ‘*somewhat more*’ under the control of the man of genius and still gives cause to ‘bow before something divine’. It is a lack of certainty that sits uneasily beside the statement on Shakespeare cited above: there is no evidence here of the process being ‘completely in his power’. Instead the boundary between productivity as moment and as process is transgressed by the daemonic, as it continues to influence the working out of the product it channelled into the man of genius.

Both the man of genius and the individual possessed by the daemonic (the daemonic character) then, are conduits of the daemonic; the daemonic character directly, the man of genius through its driving of productivity. Both gain clarity of insight, a greater vision (and thereby singularity) and energy – especially for

³¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 20th of June 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 574-5, emphasis added: ‘eine geistige Schöpfung ist es [...] wobei der Produzierende keineswegs versuchte und stückelte und nach Willkür verfuhr, sondern wobei der dämonische Geist seines Genies ihn in der Gewalt hatte, so daß er ausführen mußte was jener gebot’.

³² Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: ‘in diese Region zähle ich alles zur Ausführung eines Planes gehörige, alle Mittelglieder einer Gedankenkette, deren Endpunkte bereits leuchtend dastehen; [...] alles dasjenige was den sichtbaren Leib und Körper eines Kunstwerkes ausmacht’.

³³ Ibid.: ‘sodann aber gibt es eine Produktivität anderer Art, die schon eher irdischen Einflüssen unterworfen ist, und die der Mensch schon mehr in seiner Gewalt hat, obgleich er auch hier immer noch sich vor etwas Göttlichem zu beugen Ursache findet’.

creativity or actions. And, significantly, just as the daemonic character distorts Nature/the worldly, exerting ‘an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements’,³⁴ so the man of genius impacts on his surroundings (and, temporally speaking, beyond) by ‘his’ artistic creations being imbued with something of the daemonic force that created them. The artistic product or action created in this interaction of the daemonic, productive force and the man of genius elevated to daimon possesses ‘an inner life [...] that knows how to sustain itself’;³⁵ it displays the property of productivity. Something of the active, powerful, supernatural force of the daemonic, channelled through and forged by the man of genius as daimon, continues to work within the resulting product: it is ‘alive and able to live on’.³⁶

All of Mozart’s works are of this kind; within them lies a generating power that continues to work from generation to generation, and that should not be exhausted and consumed for some time.³⁷

3.2. The Stranger Within: Genius and the Gift of Nature

I turn now to the relationship between Nature and genius, and the need to re-think that relationship in light of the daemonic. According to Peter Kivy, ‘antiquity gave us two notions of creative genius in the arts; the genius of the possessed and the genius of the possessor; the passive genius, possessed by the God, and the active genius, a God himself, possessor of the table of the laws which he gives to his work; a genius to which creation happens and a genius who makes creation happen’.³⁸ In the previous section I have shown how, despite obvious correlations between Goethe’s notion of the daemonic and what Kivy calls the ‘Platonic theory’ of genius (the possessed), Goethe’s thinking on genius, the daemonic and productivity marked a breakdown of Kivy’s distinction, as the daemonic individual was both possessed by and asserted his will over his genius. In this section, I challenge Kivy’s assertion that

³⁴ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: ‘sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente’.

³⁵ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 511: ‘ein einwohnendes Leben [...] das sich zu erhalten weiß’.

³⁶ Ibid., 510: ‘it only matters whether the idea, the Aperçu, or the action, is alive and able to live on’ (‘Es [...] kommt bloß darauf an, ob der Gedanke, das Aperçu, die Tat lebendig sei und fortzuleben vermöge’).

³⁷ Ibid., 510: ‘alle Werke Mozarts sind dieser Art; es liegt in ihnen eine zeugende Kraft, die von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht fortwirkt und sobald nicht erschöpft und verzehrt sein dürfte’.

³⁸ Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 21.

when evoked as gift of Nature, genius designates the man of genius as possessor. I suggest that whilst the idea of genius as gift of Nature in one sense assigned possession to the artist, thereby making him the possessor, it was a gift with strings attached: Nature had never really let go, and instead worked through the man it so endowed for its own, ambiguous purpose; it became a daemonic force.

3.2.1. Heydenreich, Koch and the Possessed Possessor

The entire consciousness of the [inspired artist] is trained on the object that sets his powers in motion. The relations of the place and of the present vanish from his soul; he lives and works as if in another world than the real one that surrounds him. In the surges of his working and creating powers he hardly knows himself; he is highly independent and appears to be under the influence of a god. In vain one would demand an explanation from him as to the possibility and nature of his state; it is just as hidden from him, as the gift of Nature in whose possession he is capable of such great effects is a mystery to him.³⁹

Heydenreich's description of the creativity of the artist in the moment of inspiration raises several important points. As the artist's 'consciousness' is trained on the 'object', in other words, at the moment of inspiration, he experiences a violent distortion of his reality: the present and his surroundings vanish; he finds himself relocated as if to another world.⁴⁰ He is isolated, and amidst the 'surges of [the] working and creating powers' to which he is subjected he hardly knows himself; he appears controlled – possessed – by a divinity. Finally, both the nature of this inspiration and the 'gift of Nature' that allow him such inspiration remains a mystery to him. The moment therefore marks an extreme breakthrough of a force dormant within the man of genius, that animates him supernaturally, removes him from his

³⁹ Heydenreich, *Kurzgefaßtes Handwörterbuch über die schönen Künste* (1797), quoted in Heinrich Christoph Koch, 'Begeisterung', *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802; reprint, Kassel, 2001), 232: 'das ganze Bewußtseyn [des begeisterten Künstlers] ist gerichtet auf den Gegenstand, der seine Kräfte in Bewegung setzt, die Verhältnisse des Orts und der Gegenwart verschwinden aus seiner Seele, er lebt und wirkt gleichsam in einer andern Welt, als die wirkliche, die ihn umringt. In dem Drange seiner schaffenden und bildenden Kräfte kennt er sich selbst kaum; er ist höchst selbstthätig und scheint unter dem Einflusse einer Gottheit zu stehen. Vergebens würde man von ihm Rechenschaft fordern über die Möglichkeit und Art und Weise seines Zustandes; sie ist ihm eben so verborgen, als ihm die Naturgabe selbst räthselhaft ist, in deren Besitze er zu so großen Wirkungen fähig ist'.

⁴⁰ 'As if' because the artist is still physically present.

surroundings (mentally at least), ‘others’ him (‘he hardly knows himself’), and, whilst leading to a unique product, remains a mystery – beyond rational explanation.

It is quite clearly a narrative of the daemonic; like Goethe’s daemonic, Heydenreich’s moment of inspiration cannot be explained by ‘intellect or reason’;⁴¹ the artist appears ‘a vessel found to be worthy of receiving divine influence’, seized by a force ‘which powerfully does with him as it pleases’.⁴² More specifically, Heydenreich’s description can be seen to narrate the effect of what Goethe called the ‘daemonic spirit of [the artist’s] genius’;⁴³ whilst the ‘possibility’ and ‘nature’ of his state remains hidden and therefore inexplicable to the artist, Heydenreich suggests its *cause* to lie with the equally mysterious ‘gift of Nature’ (‘Naturgabe’) within the artist.⁴⁴ Heydenreich thus posits ‘something’ – some ‘powers’ – within the artist that were a ‘gift of Nature’ and that continue to work inexplicably. Quoting Heydenreich in his essay on inspiration (‘Begeisterung’), Heinrich Christoph Koch suggests these ‘powers’ to be ‘the powers of the spirit that one calls genius’.⁴⁵

When the powers of the spirit that one calls genius are set into such vigorous motion by the imagining of a certain object that they bring forth a whole with extraordinary ease and without conscious awareness of purpose or rules, which pleases through its form but at the same time causes interest, one says that the artist is in the state of inspiration.⁴⁶

If the moment of inspiration that Heydenreich describes appears one of the daemonic possession and relocation of the artist by Nature through genius, then embedded in the same narrative one also finds the suggestion of the exact opposite: by possessing (i.e. ‘having’) genius, Heydenreich suggests, it is *the artist* who ‘is capable of such great

⁴¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: ‘[the daemonic appears] in all which we may not resolve by intellect or reason’ (‘in allen, die wir durch Verstand und Vernunft nicht aufzulösen vermögen’).

⁴² Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 514: ‘es ist dem dämonischen verwandt, das übermächtig mit ihm tut wie es beliebt [...]. In solchen Fällen ist der Mensch oftmals als ein Werkzeug einer höheren Weltregierung zu betrachten, als ein würdig befundenes Gefäß zur Aufnahme eines göttlichen Einflusses’.

⁴³ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 20th of June 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 575: ‘der dämonische Geist seines Genies’.

⁴⁴ By ‘possibility’ I take Heydenreich to mean how the state came about.

⁴⁵ Koch thereby makes the familiar connection between genius and inspiration as the latter being a fundamental part of the creative process of the former.

⁴⁶ Koch, ‘Begeisterung’, 231: ‘wenn die Kräfte des Geistes, die man Genie nennet, durch die Vorstellung eines bestimmten Gegenstandes in eine solche lebhafte Bewegung gesetzt werden, in welcher sie mit außerordentlicher Leichtigkeit, und ohne Bewußtseyn von Absicht und Regeln, ein Ganzes hervorbringen, welches durch seine Form gefällt, zugleich aber auch interessirt, so sagt man, der Künstler sey in dem Zustande der Begeisterung’.

effects'.⁴⁷ Koch underlines and elaborates this apparently irreconcilable stance in his entry on genius. There, genius appears as a tool to serve the attainment of a 'certain degree of perfection' on the part of the artist.

Differentiating between *having* genius and *being* a genius, Koch in both cases claims genius is a gift of Nature (as it is for Heydenreich), as both having genius and being a genius shows 'the possession of such gifts of Nature [...], through which the artist becomes able to show himself as an artist to a certain degree of perfection'.⁴⁸ An artist is considered to *have* genius if his 'gifts of Nature' (i.e. his genius) enable him to progress rapidly in his artistic education ('Bildung'). Whilst having genius therefore represents a certain inborn aptitude for a subject, it still requires education. The artist who *is* a genius is able to attain 'a certain degree of perfection [...] by the shortest path and through the simplest means, as it were without study or rule'.⁴⁹ Compared to the man who has genius, the man who is a genius appears able to more or less bypass education. He is able to do this because, whilst both he and the man who has genius possess genius, his is of a greater extent ('Umfang') and nature ('Beschaffenheit'). To be a genius therefore denotes 'the greatest degree to which the artist may possess genius'.⁵⁰

Nature's 'gift' then, is both possessed by the artist, and possesses him. It is a gift that appears as both a blessing and a curse: the former in what it allows the artist to achieve and the ease with which it enables him to do so; the latter in as much as he finds himself violently alienated from his surroundings and unsure as to what is happening to and within him. In the contradictions of its presence then, Nature itself appears as daemonic force that, through its 'gift' of genius, penetrates 'everything that limits us' and acts 'at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pull[s] together time and expand[s] space'.⁵¹ 'the relations of the place and of the present

⁴⁷ It is important to note that unlike for Goethe, Heydenreich's notion of the artist 'possessing' genius is not one that explicitly involves the artist standing up to his genius.

⁴⁸ Koch, 'Genie', *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 660: 'den Besitz solcher Naturanlagen [...], wodurch der Künstler fähig wird, sich als Künstler in einem gewissen Grade der Vollkommenheit zu zeigen'. Genius of both kinds is further characterized by the ease and originality of the capacity for invention and presentation (ibid., 661).

⁴⁹ Ibid., 660: 'auf dem kürzesten Wege und durch die einfachsten Mittel, gleichsam ohne Studium und Regel'.

⁵⁰ Ibid.: 'den höchsten Grad, in welchem der Künstler Genie besitzen kann'.

⁵¹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it [the daemonic]; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space' ('alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus').

vanish from [the artist's] soul; he lives and works as if in another world than the real one that surrounds him'.⁵²

3.2.2. The Gift of Nature as Other: Johann Georg Sulzer and Genius

A similar duality of the representation of the gift of Nature can already be seen in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* of 1771. Predictably though, given both its date of writing and Sulzer's own indebtedness to French thinkers, his discussion lacks the overt supernaturalism of Heydenreich's. As in Koch and Heydenreich, genius, according to Sulzer, was something given to man by Nature that worked within him, as a result of which, Sulzer believed, the artist's works bear 'the stamp of Nature itself'.⁵³ Even here then, Nature asserts itself through the man it has gifted and marks 'his' product, even if not as its own, then at least as originating from it.

Nature seems to 'lay the foundations' for genius: 'Nature itself appears to lay the foundations [...] by making the individual she has endowed with a specific genius particularly sensitive to certain objects, so that the appreciation of these objects becomes something of a need'.⁵⁴ This need drives and constitutes an emotional commitment that is essential to genius, as it overcomes the 'calculation' and 'stiff character' that would ensue in the artistic product if the engagement with the object glimpsed at the moment of inspiration were only intellectual.⁵⁵ However, whilst the essential need with which Nature has possessed the artist thus arouses 'imaginative powers' ('Vorstellungskräfte'), it can only constitute genius if stimulated and directed

⁵² Heydenreich, quoted in Koch, 'Begeisterung', 232: 'die Verhältnisse des Orts und der Gegenwart verschwinden aus seiner Seele, er lebt und wirkt gleichsam in einer andern Welt, als die wirkliche, die ihn umringt'.

⁵³ Johann Georg Sulzer, 'Genie', *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1771), 458: 'das Gepräge der Natur selbst'. Sulzer, like Goethe, differentiated between the 'man of genius' and the genius within that man, but unlike for Goethe, the genius within in Sulzer's thought was not supernatural.

⁵⁴ Sulzer, 'Genie', 457: 'den ersten Grund dazu scheint die Natur dadurch zu legen, daß sie den Menschen, dem sie ein besonderes Genie zugedacht hat, für gewisse Gegenstände vorzüglich empfindsam macht, wodurch geschieht, daß ihm der Genuß dieser Gegenstände einigermaßen zum Bedürfnis wird'.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 458: 'irrespective of all intellect, he [the man of intellect] will remain far behind the true genius; one will certainly discover the constructed and somewhat stiff character in his works that comes from cold calculation' ('aber alles Verstandes ungeachtet wird er [der Mann von Verstand] weit hinter dem wahren Genie zurückbleiben; man wird das Verstandete, von kalter Überlegung herkommende und etwas steife Wesen gewiß in seinem Werk entdecken').

by a great intellect ('Verstand') or mind ('Geist'); the need *itself* must be possessed by the artist's great intellect.⁵⁶ Without stimulation by a great intellect the genius remains little more than an animal instinct, as 'these different categories of sensitivity [i.e. the arousal of the 'imaginative powers'] merely constitute the mechanical genius of the artist that is still close to the instinct of animals'.⁵⁷ It is only through the guidance of man's intellect that genius can transcend its mechanical aspects.⁵⁸

In suggesting the necessity for genius to be guided by a great intellect, Sulzer proposes an interdependence of man and genius that virtually renders the genius useless without the influence of man, weakening the genius as force and thereby seemingly leaving the agency with man; the man of genius appears more than a mere host body or conduit; he more closely resembles the power of Kivy's Possessor.⁵⁹ However, if the genius within man is not alien in the sense that it is specific to one man, given to him by Nature and therefore to some extent part of him, there is already, even in Sulzer's thoroughly 'enlightened' aesthetic, a sense in which genius appears to be something of an alien creative force or being within. For even if the man of genius himself is a blazing image of Enlightenment creativity, he does not *invent*; instead he *discovers* and *perceives* the ideas and emotions that come to him in the moment of inspiration within himself.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Sulzer uses great intellect and great mind interchangeably. Sulzer's discussion is further complicated by his use of the term 'Mann von Verstand' ('man of intellect' ['Genie', 458]) to describe a man of talent as opposed to genius. It appears, confusingly, that the 'man of intellect' does not possess the great intellect Sulzer deems necessary to stimulate the genius.

⁵⁷ Sulzer, 'Genie', 458: 'diese verschiedenen Gattungen der Reizbarkeit machen nur noch das Mechanische Genie des Künstlers aus, das noch immer nahe an dem Instinkt der Thiere gränzet'.

⁵⁸ The greatness of intellect or mind and the emotional commitment and shaping of his genius raises the artist above the merely talented technician (or 'man of intellect') and gives his work 'that spirit which makes a specific impression on the souls of those who are themselves not artists' and therefore allows him to take his 'place among those geniuses who appear as stars of the highest magnitude in the history of the human spirit' (Sulzer, 'Genie', 458-9: 'den Geist [...] wodurch es bestimmte Wirkung auf die Gemüther der menschen macht, die selbst keine Künstler sind'; [seinen Platz] 'unter den Genien, die in der Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes erscheinen als Sternen der ersten grösse erscheinen').

⁵⁹ This interdependency of man and genius given by Nature may have led to Goethe's statement, 'the artist has a two-fold relationship to Nature: he is at once her master and her slave. He is her slave to the extent that he needs to work with worldly means in order to be understood; but her master to the extent that he subjugates these worldly means to his higher intentions and puts them at their service' (Goethe in conversation with Eckermann on the 18th of April 1827, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 472: 'der Künstler hat zur Natur ein zwiefaches Verhältnis: Er ist ihr Herr und ihr Sklave zugleich. – Er ist ihr Sklave, insofern er mit irdischen Mitteln wirken muß um verstanden zu werden; ihr Herr aber, insofern er diese irdischen Mittel seinen höheren Intentionen unterwirft und ihnen dienstbar macht'). Goethe's move into the metaphysical is of course not part of Sulzer's thought.

⁶⁰ Sulzer describes the man of genius thus: 'a bright day, a shining light, rules in the soul of the man of genius that places every object before him like a close and well illuminated painting that he can easily comprehend as a whole and within which he is able to notice every detail clearly. [...] Wherever this light falls, the powers and mainsprings of the soul unite; the man of genius feels an inspiring fire that arouses all his powers' (Sulzer, 'Genie', 457: 'in der Seele des Mannes von Genie herrscht ein heller

He discovers within himself ideas, images of the imagination and emotions that cause wonder in others; he himself does not admire them as, without laborious searching, he has perceived them within himself more than he has invented them.⁶¹

There is an uncanny sense here in which the ‘ideas, images of the imagination and emotions’ perceived by the man of genius within himself have been invented by an ‘Other’, something the man of genius appears to accept uncritically. Sulzer suggests that creating ‘Other’ to be the genius within; it is he who invents and shapes the idea at the moment of inspiration: ‘if an artist finds himself in this condition [of inspiration], his object appears to him in an unusual light; his genius, as if guided by a divine power, invents without effort and arrives at the most suitable expression of that which it has invented without labour’.⁶² Thus the man of genius does not appear to be consciously aware of the genius creating within him, merely perceiving the ‘ideas, images of the imagination and emotions’ that his genius has invented and shaped. Genius – the gift of Nature – is thereby suggested as a nonconscious and to some extent ‘Other’ creating power.

Quite where this leaves Sulzer’s belief in the necessity of the guidance of the ‘imaginative powers’ by the great intellect is unclear, as one would have thought that the man of genius would be aware of his great intellect guiding his ‘imaginative powers’. One could either dismiss this as an inconsistency on Sulzer’s part, or, as I am inclined to think, conclude that the guidance must occur on a nonconscious level. The nonconscious and ‘Other’ creating power that is genius is then, like the man within which it resides, *both* possessor and possessed.

Tag, ein volles Licht, das ihm jeden Gegenstand wie ein nahe vor Augen liegendes und wol erleuchtetes Gemähd vorstellt, das er leicht übersehen, und darin er jedes Einzelne genau bemerken kann. [...] Dahin, wo dieses Licht fällt, vereinigen sich die Kräfte und Triebfedern der Seele; der Mann von Genie empfindet ein begeisterndes Feuer, das seine ganze Würksamkeit rege macht’).

⁶¹ Sulzer, ‘Genie’, 457: ‘er entdecket in sich selbst Gedanken, Bilder der Phantasie und Empfindungen, die andre Menschen in Bewunderung zetzen; er selbst bewundert sie nicht, weil er sie, ohne mühesames Suchen, in sich mehr wahrgenommen, als empfunden hat’.

⁶² Sulzer, ‘Begeisterung’, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 137: ‘befindet sich ein Künstler in diesem Zustande [der Inspiration], so erscheint ihm sein Gegenstand in einem ungewöhnlichen Lichte; sein Genie, wie von einer göttlichen Kraft geleitet, erfindet ohne Mühe, und gelangt ohne Arbeit zum besten Ausdruck dessen, was es erfunden’. This definition appears to contradict that given in the ‘Genie’ article of the same publication, where Sulzer describes the creative process in the man of genius as one where his ‘general, philosophical genius gives him great inventions, great ideas that the artistic genius forms in accordance with the spirit particular to the artform’ (Sulzer, ‘Genie’, 459: ‘dieses allgemeine, philosophische Genie giebt ihm große Erfindungen, große Gedanken, die das Kunstgenie nach dem, der Kunst eigenen Geiste bearbeitet’).

3.2.3. Kant and Genius

In his *Critique of Judgement* (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*) of 1790, Immanuel Kant proposes a model of genius in which genius explicitly is a means for Nature to work through man, thereby trans-forming itself into art.⁶³ It is a model that arises out of Kant's larger concern with theorizing the fine arts.⁶⁴ Kant presents the following problem: 'the fine art cannot itself devise the rules following which it should be able to create its product. But [...] equally, a product can never be termed art without some pre-existing rule'.⁶⁵ Kant's solution is that '*Nature* must supply the rules to art within the individual'.⁶⁶ Consequently, his is a formulation of genius that mediates Nature and man, and through which Nature supplies art with rules: 'genius is the talent (gift of Nature) that gives the arts their rules. Since this talent, as the creative capacity of the artist, itself belongs to Nature, one might equally say: *Genius* is the inborn disposition of the soul (*ingenium*) through which Nature provides art with rules'.⁶⁷ In other words, Nature endows man with genius, through which it is then able to provide art with rules. In so doing, Nature trans-forms itself into art; the man of genius becomes a conduit to Nature's purpose.⁶⁸

⁶³ See Christopher Want and Andrzej Klimowski, *Introducing Kant* (Cambridge, 1999), 129. Note that my reading of Kant's notion of genius differs from Want, who sees genius as the 'catalyst' for this trans-formation. I suggest genius as the means by which Nature achieves this move through man.

⁶⁴ The full complexity of Kant's relation of his notion of genius to the fine arts is not relevant here. I would refer the reader to Kivy's account of Kant in *The Possessor and the Possessed*, especially pages 106-18. It should be noted however, that in reading Kant as exemplifying an albeit 'highly original' (Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 97) take on the 'Longinian model' of genius, Kivy's reading of Kant is incompatible with my own.

⁶⁵ Kant, Immanuel, 'Schöne Kunst ist Kunst des Genies', *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (1790; reprint, Darmstadt, 1983), 406: 'die schöne Kunst [kann] sich selbst nicht die Regel ausdenken. Da nun gleichwohl ohne vorhergehende Regel ein Produkt niemals Kunst heißen kann, so muß die Natur im Subjekte (und durch die Stimmung der Vermögen desselben) der Kunst die Regel geben, d.i. die schöne Kunst ist nur als Produkt des Genies möglich' ('the fine art cannot itself devise the rules following which it should be able to create its product. But as, equally, a product can never be termed art without some pre-existing rule, Nature must supply the rules to art within the individual [and by the attunement of his faculties]; i.e. fine art is only possible as the product of genius').

⁶⁶ Ibid. Emphasis added. For German original, see n. 65.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 405-6: 'Genie ist das Talent (Naturgabe), welches der Kunst die Regel gibt. Da das Talent, als angebournes produktives Vermögen des Künstlers, selbst zur Natur gehört, so könnte man sich so ausdrücken: Genie ist die angeborne Gemütsanlage (*ingenium*), durch welche die Natur der Kunst die Regel gibt'. Note however, Kant's limitation of this process to the fine arts: 'from this it is evident that [...] through genius, Nature does not prescribe the rules to [scholarship or] science, but only to art; and in the latter only to the extent that it is a fine art' (ibid., 406-7: 'man sieht hieraus [...] daß die Natur durch das Genie nicht der Wissenschaft, sondern der Kunst die Regel vorschreibe; und auch dieses nur, in sofern diese letztere schöne Kunst sei').

⁶⁸ Kivy proposes Kant's notion of genius, which Kivy terms 'a reexpression, albeit in highly original terms, of the Longinian concept' (Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 97); as being particularly well-suited to the 'Longinian Beethoven, power incarnate, the very personification of Nature with a capital "N"' (ibid., 118). I do not take issue with Kivy's reading of how Beethoven was perceived, but

Kant goes on to suggest that the man of genius submits to his genius without understanding its nature, workings or purpose:

The progenitor of a product for which he has his genius to thank, does not himself know how the ideas for it came to him, nor does it lie within his power to calculate them methodically or at will, and communicate them to others by means of principles that would enable them to create works of equal quality.⁶⁹

The genius itself however, remains just as ignorant about its workings as its ‘host’: ‘[genius] cannot itself describe how it creates its products, or demonstrate the process theoretically, but [...] instead it provides the rules as Nature’.⁷⁰ Consequently, the genius within is unable to explain (‘describe’), though it unfolds according to a purpose in as much as it is itself Nature. As the genius is unable to ‘describe’ its workings, the man of genius cannot know them. He is thereby suggested as a pure channel: he does not ‘know how the ideas [...] came to him’, nor is he able to rationalize or explain them; he remains under the control of the genius within him and has to thank his genius for whatever he ‘creates’.⁷¹ The man of genius therefore remains productive (in the non-Goethean sense) but isolated; unable to explain and reduced to a conduit, he continues to pour forth works of exemplary quality as Nature trans-forms itself through him.⁷²

I do take issue with Kivy’s citing of Kant as the model for this interpretation, for the view of Beethoven as ‘power incarnate’ rested – as we shall see in the next section – on the composer’s absolute knowledge of what he was doing. It is exactly that, which Kant’s model of genius cannot offer, as in order to have absolute knowledge, the creative process must be entirely clear and therefore explicable.

⁶⁹ Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 406-7: ‘der Urheber eines Produkts, welches er seinem Genie verdankt, [weiß] selbst nicht [...], wie sich in ihm die Ideen dazu herbei finden, auch es nicht in seiner Gewalt hat, dergleichen nach Belieben oder planmäßig auszudenken, und anderen in solchen Vorschriften mitzuteilen, die sie in Stand setzen, gleichmäßige Produkte hervorzubringen’.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 406: ‘daß es [Genie], wie es sein Produkt zu Stande bringe, selbst nicht beschreiben, oder wissenschaftlich anzeigen könne, sondern daß es als Natur die Regel gebe’.

Despite reading Kant’s notion of genius as Longinian, Kivy acknowledges that ‘it is here that Kant comes closest to the Platonic view’ (Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, 110). It should be noted however, that Kivy cites the passage I have quoted as evidence of his Longinian model of genius. Due to the fundamentally different view Kivy holds, and his rather dubious attempt at upholding the distinction between his models in the face of their elision, it is worth quoting at length: ‘notwithstanding the reference to “inspiration” (*Eingebung*), however, the tenor of the passage is, as a matter of fact, more Longinian than Platonic. For what Kant is saying is that genius, when spoken of in this way, is nonetheless *natural* talent, “given to man at birth” [...]. Furthermore, that the Kantian account of genius includes the Platonic insight that there is no *techne*, no methodology for the production of original poetic, or, later, artistic ideas, is after all an insight that the latter-day Longinians and Platonists share, so it is not in itself a defection to the Platonic view’ (Kivy, *ibid.*).

⁷¹ I here place ‘creates’ in inverted commas as of course Kant suggests it is Nature that controls rather than man.

⁷² Since genius is a ‘talent’ and ‘not a capacity or skill for that which can be learnt from some rule or other’ the artistic products that are thus created are defined by their ‘prime quality’, originality (Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 406); ‘as there can also be original nonsense, [the products of genius] must at

3.3. 'Besonnenheit', Genius and the Daemonic

In his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, E. T. A. Hoffmann famously sought to defend the composer against his critics by asserting Beethoven's 'Besonnenheit' ('self-possession').⁷³ 'In light of his self-possession', Hoffmann wrote, '[Beethoven] is to be placed wholly next to Haydn and Mozart. He separates his self from the inner realm of tones and commands over it as boundless master. [...] Only the most profound absorption of the inner structure of Beethoven's music reveals *the* high self-possession of the master that is inseparable from true genius and that is fed from the sustained study of art'.⁷⁴ It is an assertion of the composer's rationality in the face of an accusation that is even clearer in the essay's later appearance in Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana*. There Hoffmann writes, 'but the wise judges, looking around with a dignified expression, assure us that [...] there is no evidence of the selection and shaping of thoughts, but that, in accordance with the inspired method, [Beethoven] throws it all down immediately as the imagination dictates it to him in its fire'.⁷⁵ The 'inspired method' that the 'wise judges' mistakenly identify in Beethoven's work is one where the composer acts as pure

the same time be models, i.e. they must be *exemplary*; and therefore, while not being products of imitation themselves, they must serve as models for others, i.e. they must provide a standard or rule for assessment' (ibid.: 'man sieht hieraus, daß Genie 1) ein Talent sei, dasjenige, wozu sich keine bestimmte Regel geben läßt, hervorzubringen: nicht Geschicklichkeitsanlage zu dem, was nach irgend einer Regel gelernt werden kann; folglich, daß Originalität seine erste Eigenschaft sein müsse. 2) Daß, da es auch originalen Unsinn geben kann, seine Produkte zugleich Muster, d.i. zum Richtmaße oder Regel der Beurteilung dienen müssen').

⁷³ 'Besonnenheit' is translated as 'rational awareness' in Martyn Clarke's translations of Hoffmann's review (David Charlton ed., *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, trans. Martyn Clarke [Cambridge, 1989], 234-51). Charlton discusses 'Besonnenheit' as 'ordinarily meaning roughly "self-possession" or "composure"' (Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 18). 'Having [...] implied a division between the individual effects produced by the music, and the Romantic awareness to which these effects give access, Hoffmann uses [the] 'Besonnenheit' of Beethoven to signify that special mental property that gave him leave to reveal instrumental music's inherent Romanticism. This appears in the translation as "rational awareness"' (ibid.). Oliver Strunk on the other hand, translates 'Besonnenheit' as self-possession (see Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Romantic Era* [New York, 1965], 38).

⁷⁴ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 37: 'rücksichts der Besonnenheit [ist er] Haydn und Mozart ganz an die Seite zu stellen. Er trennt sein Ich von dem innern Reich der Töne und gebietet darüber als unumschränkter Herr. [...] Nur ein sehr tiefes Eingehen in die innere Struktur Beethovenscher Musik [entfaltet] die hohe Besonnenheit des Meisters, welche von dem wahren Genie unzertrennlich is und von dem anhaltenden Studium der Kunst genährt wird'.

⁷⁵ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethovens Instrumentalmusik', *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 43: 'aber die weisen Richter, mit vornehmer Miene um sich schauend, versichern [...] da wäre denn nun von Auswahl und Formung der Gedanken gar nicht die Rede, sondern [Beethoven] werfe nach der sogenannten genialen Methode alles so hin, wie es ihm augenblicklich die im Feuer arbeitende Fantasie eingebe'.

conduit, blindly notating what his ‘imagination dictates to him’ in the fire of *its* creativity, without the composer selecting or shaping in any way. Hoffmann’s contention is that though there may be the appearance of unbridled imagination at the surface, an understanding of the inner structure of Beethoven’s work reveals the composer to shape and form ideas at the highest level and thus to be no mere conduit of inspiration. Under the banner of ‘self-possession’, Beethoven is thus enthroned as ‘master’ alongside Haydn and Mozart.

In his essay ‘E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen’, Carl Dahlhaus rightly points to Hoffmann’s adoption of the term ‘Besonnenheit’ from Jean Paul’s *Vorschule der Ästhetik*. However, without giving any evidence as to why he thinks so, Dahlhaus asserts that,

The accord of terms should not disguise the differences in the ideas that lie behind them. Jean Paul’s ‘higher self-possession’ is a consciousness that does not only rise in the object onto which it is targeted, but that at the same time turns back onto itself: a ‘seeing of the self of the facing and non-facing man in two mirrors at the same time’.⁷⁶ Hoffmann on the other hand appears to wish to say nothing more than that Beethoven does not ‘leave himself at the mercy of his fire and the immediate inspiration of his powers of imagination (‘Einbildungskraft’)' without reflection, but brings imagination (‘Phantasie’) and calculation into balance.⁷⁷

Thus, in keeping with the project of his essay – the linking of Hoffmann’s review with the aesthetic of the sublime in general and the ode specifically – Dahlhaus claims that ‘the self-possession that Hoffmann praised in Beethoven and sought to make concrete through a structural analysis of the Fifth Symphony is [...] merely the compositional reflection in general that had always formed a counterpart to enthusiasm in the theory of the symphony as in the poetics of the ode, and furthermore in the aesthetic of the sublime style as a whole; [a reflection] that ought to be saturated with ideas so as not

⁷⁶ What Jean Paul appears to be describing is the effect of standing between two mirrors!

⁷⁷ Dahlhaus, ‘E. T. A. Hoffmanns Beethoven-Kritik und die Ästhetik des Erhabenen’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 38 (1981), 85: ‘die Übereinstimmung in den Worten sollte allerdings über Unterschiede in den dahinterstehenden Gedanken nicht hinwegtäuschen. Jean Pauls “höhere Besonnenheit” ist ein Bewußtsein, das nicht in einer Sache, auf die es gerichtet ist, restlos aufgeht, sondern sich zugleich auf sich selbst zurückwendet: ein “Sichselbersehen des zu- und des abgewandten Menschen in zwei Spiegeln zugleich”. Hoffmann dagegen scheint nichts anderes sagen zu wollen, als daß sich Beethoven nicht reflexionslos “seinem Feuer und den augenblicklichen Eingebungen seiner Einbildungskraft überließ”, sondern Phantasie und Kalkül ins Gleichgewicht brachte’.

to remain mere wandering feeling'.⁷⁸ However, the similarity of terminology, and indeed of entire phrases and ideas between Hoffmann and Jean Paul (similarities noted by Dahlhaus) suggests a closer relation between the aesthetic of the two writers than Dahlhaus acknowledges. Returning to Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik* provides us with a complex conceptualization of the workings of genius that introduces the very thing that Hoffmann was attempting to counter back into his portrayal of Beethoven: the image of the genius-composer as conduit. Beethoven in Hoffmann's writing thus becomes a daemonic man of genius in the Goethean sense both in the effect he has on the listener through his music, and in being the conduit of an otherworldly force.

3.3.1. Jean Paul, 'Besonnenheit' and the 'Instinct of Man':

Two Aspects of Genius

According to Jean Paul, genius constitutes the fourth (and highest) degree to which man may possess imagination ('Phantasie').⁷⁹ Genius is a union of all strengths that, when present to a sufficient degree, acts with the 'blindness and certainty of instinct'.⁸⁰ 'In genius *all* powers flower at once, and the imagination is therein not the flower, but the goddess of the flowers ('Blumengöttin') that organizes the pollinating calyces to give new mixtures – one could say [she was] the strength full of strengths'.⁸¹ According to Jean Paul, 'the presence of this harmony and of this

⁷⁸ Ibid., 86: 'die Besonnenheit, die Hoffmann an Beethoven rühmte und durch eine Strukturanalyse der 5. Symphonie dingfest zu machen versuchte, ist [...] einfach die kompositorische Reflexion schlechthin, die in der Theorie der Symphonie wie in der Poetik der Ode, und darüber hinaus in der Ästhetik des erhabenen Stils insgesamt, immer schon einen Widerpart zum Enthusiasmus bildete, der von Ideen durchdrungen sein sollte, um nicht bloß schweifendes Gefühl zu bleiben'.

⁷⁹ Imagination, for Jean Paul, is the 'world-soul of the soul and the fundamental spirit of the remaining powers' (Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller [München, 1963], 5, 47: 'sie ist die Welt-Seele der Seele und der Elementargeist der übrigen Kräfte'). 'It leads the absolute and the infinite closer to reason and makes them more concrete to mortal man' (ibid., 48: 'sie führt gleichsam das Absolute und das Unendliche der Vernunft näher und anschaulicher vor den sterblichen Menschen').

⁸⁰ Ibid., 56: 'mit der Blindheit und Sicherheit des Instinktes'. An example of such a focussing of all the strengths in one that Jean Paul cites is Mozart (ibid.). Instinct in this context is not to be confused with the very specific meaning of the 'instinct of man'.

⁸¹ Ibid.: 'im Genius stehen *alle* Kräfte auf einmal in Blüte; und die Phantasie ist darin nicht die Blume, sondern die Blumengöttin, welche die zusammenstäubenden Blumenkelche für neue Mischungen ordnet, gleichsam die Kraft voll Kräfte'.

harmonist is born from and supported by two great aspects of genius' – self-possession ('Besonnenheit') and the 'instinct of man' ('der Instinkt des Menschen').⁸²

At its simplest level, self-possession requires the balancing of the outer and inner world; but the higher self-possession (which is that of the genius and which Jean Paul also refers to as 'divine self-possession') *additionally* divides the inner world into two, 'into an I and its realm, into a creator and his world'.⁸³ Whilst the 'basic' self-possession is always trained onto the outer world, higher self-possession is trained on the inner to such an extent that often 'this eternally burning flame [...] extinguishes when it touches the *outer* world and air'.⁸⁴ 'Higher self-possession' then, divides the inner world of the self; but the way in which 'the creator' works within 'his world' is not characterized by a frenzy of activity, but by calm control:

The inner freedom of self-possession is mediated and maintained for the I by the changing and moving of great forces, of which none constitute themselves into another I by their predominance, and which [the I] can move and calm to such a degree that the creator never loses himself in the creation.⁸⁵

The man of genius thus appears in total control, an embodiment of calm he, to borrow Hoffmann's phrase, commands over his inner realm as boundless master. Nevertheless, this seems a misunderstanding of Jean Paul's idea, for 'it is misunderstanding and prejudice to conclude something against the enthusiasm of the poet from this self-possession'⁸⁶ as 'only the whole is born from inspiration, but the parts are nurtured by calm'.⁸⁷ Jean Paul here reintroduces the irrational (inspiration); we thus see the start of a loss of agency on the part of the artist of genius, a limiting of man as creator as the presence of self-possession is 'the nature of the divine'.⁸⁸

⁸² Ibid.: 'das Dasein dieser Harmonie und dieser Harmonistin begehren und verbürgen zwei große Erscheinungen des Genius'.

⁸³ Ibid., 57: 'nun gibt es eine höhere Besonnenheit, die, welche die innere Welt selber entzweit und entzweiteilt in ein Ich und in dessen Reich, in einen Schöpfer und dessen Welt'. What I here translate as an 'I' is, mediated through the legacy of Sigmund Freud, usually understood as an 'ego'.

⁸⁴ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 57: 'diese ewige fortbrennende Lampe [...] [erlöscht] wenn sie äußere Luft und Welt berührt'.

⁸⁵ Ibid.: 'die innere Freiheit der Besonnenheit wird für das Ich durch das Wechseln und Bewegen großer Kräfte vermittelt und gelassen, wovon keine sich durch Übermacht zu einem After-Ich konstituiert, und die es gleichwohl so bewegen und beruhigen kann, daß sich nie der Schöpfer ins Geschöpf verliert'.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 58: 'Mißverstand und Vorurteil ist, aus dieser Besonnenheit gegen den Enthusiasmus des Dichters etwas zu schließen'.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 59: 'nur das Ganze wird von der Begeisterung erzeugt, aber die Teile werden von der Ruhe erzogen'.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 62: 'der Charakter des Göttlichen'.

‘The most powerful thing in the poet’, claims Jean Paul, ‘is the nonconscious’; it is this that imbues his work with a ‘good or evil soul’.⁸⁹ This nonconscious is ‘something dark’ within us, of which we can merely note its presence, not its extent, and ‘that is not our creation, but our Creator’.⁹⁰ As well as ‘being’ God, this unknowable nonconscious marks our mortal limitation, for, ‘were we entirely aware of ourselves, we would be our creator and therefore boundless’.⁹¹

This dark nonconscious within man is an instinct that knows the whole (thereby making it possible to understand the worldly, which is a mere part) but lacks it on Earth, thus resulting in a sense of longing for that whole.⁹² This instinct within man ‘is the purpose of the future’,⁹³ i.e. as such it is controlled not by the man within whom it resides, but by a higher force (God). It unfolds inexorably according to a higher purpose unknown to man, which is why it ‘means and contains its object just as it contains the effect of the cause’.⁹⁴ The ‘longing’ of the instinct is caused by its knowledge of the whole that is absent on Earth, whilst its distance from the whole gives the instinct its direction – it seeks the divine.⁹⁵ In this way, man’s instinct reveals to man that which is beyond the worldly and thereby reveals true paradise and eternity. If this instinct ‘did not exist, we would be content with the gardens of the world’; as it does exist, we ‘look into the shimmering moonscapes filled with flowers of the night, nightingales, sparks, spirits and play’.⁹⁶ Terms such as ‘earthly’, ‘worldly’ and ‘timely’ (i.e. subject to time) are therefore understandable to man because his instinct knows their opposites.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Ibid., 60: ‘das Mächtigste im Dichter, welches seinen Werken die gute und die böse Seele einbläset, ist gerade das Unbewußte’.

⁹⁰ Ibid.: ‘ein unauslöschliches Gefühl stellt in uns etwas Dunkles, was nicht unser Geschöpf, sondern unser Schöpfer ist’.

⁹¹ Ibid.: ‘wären wir uns unserer ganz bewußt, so wären wir unsre Schöpfer und schrankenlos’.

⁹² It is this longing that Hoffmann described as the essence of romanticism. Jean Paul is unclear at this point as to whether this ‘instinct’ is the dark nonconscious that is God within us, or whether it is a part of that nonconscious merely by implication, as we cannot understand it. My reading assumes the former.

⁹³ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 60: ‘der Instinkt oder Trieb ist der Sinn der Zukunft’.

⁹⁴ Ibid.: ‘er bedeutet und enthält seinen Gegenstand ebenso wie die Wirkung der Ursache’.

⁹⁵ Ibid.: ‘Entbehrung macht den Trieb, eine Ferne die Richtung möglich’.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 62: ‘wir blicken in die schimmernden Mond-Länder voll Nachtblumen, Nachtigallen, Funken, Feen und Spiele hinein’.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 61: ‘dieser Instinkt des Geistes – welcher seine Gegenstände ewig ahnet und fodert ohne Rücksicht auf Zeit, weil sie über jede hinauswohnen – macht es möglich, daß der Mensch nur die Worte Irdisch, Weltlich, Zeitlich u. s. w. aussprechen und verstehen kann; denn nur jener Instinkt gibt ihnen durch die Gegensätze davon den Sinn’ (‘this instinct of the spirit that eternally suspects and requires its objects regardless of time as they live beyond any [time] makes it possible that man may pronounce and understand words such as earthly, worldly, timely, etc; for only this instinct makes sense of such words through their opposites’).

It is in Jean Paul's formulation of the genius that the 'two aspects' of self-possession and instinct become one. Once all the powers other than instinct have risen within the genius, instinct – here referred to as 'heavenly' power – rises and 'issues that light [...] that one calls self-possession; the momentary victory over the earthly, over its objects and our attraction to them, is precisely the nature of the divine'.⁹⁸ In this way, Jean Paul makes self-possession much more than the subjective control it appears on the surface. Self-possession is thus the momentary triumphing over the worldly part and the beholding of the divine, infinite whole *within oneself*, brought about by the rise of the divine instinct within our nonconscious.

Within the genius, this instinct further constitutes what Jean Paul calls 'inspired matter' ('genialer Stoff') and also 'inner matter' ('innerer Stoff').⁹⁹ It is this inspired matter that the poet contains within a form of his own invention; the instinct (inspired matter) – that awareness of the eternal and the longing for it – is therefore expressed by the artwork of the man of genius in the form within which it is contained:

There is an *inner* matter, one could say inborn instinctive poetry, around which the form does not place the gilding, but the frame.¹⁰⁰

This inner matter is divine and endures; the form is created by the artist and is subject to time (i.e. it can date). It is this matter that constitutes 'inspired originality', thereby marking the difference to the work of the man of talent, just as this matter unifies the works of different men of genius as it is of one God: 'this matter constitutes the inspired originality that the imitator merely seeks in form and manner, just as it simultaneously generates the inspired equality, as there is only one divine, although much that is human'.¹⁰¹ The work of the man of talent remains lacking because it

⁹⁸ Ibid., 62: 'sobald im Genius die übrigen Kräfte höher stehen, so muß auch die himmlische über alle, wie ein durchsichtiger reiner Eisberg über dunkle Erden-Alpen, sich erheben. Ja eben dieser hellere Glanz des überirdischen Triebes wirft jenes Licht durch die ganze Seele, das man Besonnenheit nennt; der augenblickliche Sieg über das Irdische, über dessen Gegenstände und unsere Triebe dahin, ist eben der Charakter des Göttlichen'.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 63: 'es gibt einen *innern* Stoff – gleichsam angeborne unwillkürliche Poesie, um welche die Form nicht die Folie, sondern nur die Fassung legt'.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.: 'dieser Stoff macht die geniale Originalität welche der Nachahmer bloß in der Form und Manier sucht; so wie er zugleich die geniale Gleichheit erzeugt; denn es gibt nur *ein* Göttliches, obwohl vielerlei Menschliches'.

attempts to imitate the divine, to copy that which is innate.¹⁰² The sign for the work of the man of genius is thus a new way of viewing the world and life, presumably (Jean Paul never clarifies this) because through his instinct/inner matter he can see the whole beyond the parts that surround us.¹⁰³ The nature of the divine, eternal instinct means that ‘*one* melody runs through all paragraphs of the song of life. Only the outer form is created by the poet in momentary tension’.¹⁰⁴ As only this outer form is subject to time and therefore ages,¹⁰⁵ and as the instinct that constitutes the inner matter is divine and eternal, it is able to transgress form and its attraction.¹⁰⁶ Consequently what endures in the artwork of genius is its divine matter, a matter that remains nonconscious and unknown to the artist who notates it.

Finally, a predominance of the divine instinct leads to the work of the artist of genius forming the ideal: in those in whom it is dominant, the divine instinct ‘teaches them to look at the earthly. [...] When [the divine instinct] gives and rules the view of the whole, harmony and beauty shines down from both worlds and makes them into *one* whole, as there is only *one* before God and no contradiction of the parts. This is the genius, and the reconciliation of both worlds is the *ideal*’.¹⁰⁷ Genius is thus an unusual clarity of the divine instinct, due to the predominance of that instinct within a particular individual, that guides, conditions and rules the view of the world of the man within whom it resides, resulting in a reconciliation of the worldly and the heavenly within that man’s work that thereby constitutes the ideal.

¹⁰² Ibid.: ‘was gegen den Nachahmer erkältet, ja oft erbittert, ist nicht etwa ein Raub an witzigen, bildlichen, erhabenen Gedanken seines Musters – denn nicht selten sind sie sein eignes Erzeugnis –, sondern es ist das, oft wider Willen der Parodie verwandte, Nachspielen des Heiligsten im Urbilde, das Nachmachen des Angebornen’.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 64: ‘das Herz des Genies, welchem alle andere Glanz- und Hülfs-Kräfte nur dienen, hat und gibt *ein* echtes Kennzeichen, nämlich neue Welt- und Lebens-Anschauung. Das Talent stellet nur Teile dar, das Genie das Ganze des Lebens’.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.: ‘*eine* Melodie geht durch alle Absätze des Lebens-Liedes. Nur die äußere Form erschafft der Dichter in augenblicklicher Anspannung’.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.: ‘time reigns over the form, not over the inner matter’ (‘über die Form, nicht über den innern Stoff regiert die Zeit’).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.: ‘[dieser Weltgeist des Genius] kann sogar den Reiz der Form durch seinen höhern [Reiz] entbehrlich machen’.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 66: ‘wenn [der Instinkt des Göttlichen] in ihnen das Irdische anschauen lehrt; [...] wenn er die Ansicht des Ganzen gibt und beherrscht: so wird Harmonie und Schönheit von beiden Welten widerstrahlen und die zu *einem* Ganzen machen, da es vor dem Göttlichen nur *eins* und keinen Widerspruch der Teile gibt’.

3.3.2. Jean Paul and Goethe

In Chapter 2, I connected the writings of Jean Paul and Goethe by demonstrating how the effect of music's voice on the listener in two of Jean Paul's novels, *Hesperus* and *Die unsichtbare Loge*, suggested Music as daemonic voice. Drawing a similar line between Jean Paul's thoughts on genius, self-possession and instinct and Goethe's daemonic is initially more problematic.

The most obvious connection between the two concepts is that both involve a moment of rupture in worldly reality. The daemonic effects this rupture as it is a powerful, supernatural, inexplicable force that interferes in man's reality, capable of penetrating 'everything that limits us' and seemingly acting at will 'with the necessary elements of our existence'.¹⁰⁸ Jean Paul's notion of genius similarly breaks through within the man of genius as a divine instinct that momentarily transcends the worldly limitations and allows man to behold the (divine) whole. The fundamental difference that divides these two concepts, however, is that Jean Paul appears to see the move that the divine instinct effects as unambiguous in its intention. The divine instinct enriches the 'world-view' and the artistic products of the man it so affects and, through his work, similarly enriches the lives of those who cannot themselves make that move.¹⁰⁹ The daemonic on the other hand, is neither divine, diabolical, nor angelic. It is a 'terrible being', capable of stepping 'between any others'.¹¹⁰ Thus whilst for Jean Paul, the divine instinct that causes both genius and self-possession is proof of God within us, indeed *is* God within us, the daemonic is merely evidence for higher forces to which we are subject, but that we ultimately cannot grasp.

I have not, however, explained Jean Paul's thinking at length only to dismiss it as wholly incompatible, for, as I pointed out at the top of this section, I believe it plays a fundamental role in the formulation of a daemonic man of genius in music. For what unites both Jean Paul's notion of instinct and Goethe's daemonic is the

¹⁰⁸ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten'.

¹⁰⁹ I.e. those in whom imagination ('Phantasie') manifests itself to a lesser degree.

¹¹⁰ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: 'this being – that could step between any others, that appeared to separate [them], [yet] unite them – I called daemonic, after the example of the Ancients and those who had been aware of something similar. I sought to hide myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit' ('dieses Wesen, das zwischen alle übrigen hineinzutreten, sie zu sondern, sie zu verbinden schien, nannte ich dämonisch, nach dem Beispiel der Alten und derer, die etwas Ähnliches gewahrt hatten. Ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete').

underlying issue of agency raised by the rending of the worldly reality that is common to both, and it is this that both bring to a re-examination of the composer-genius.

If genius, for Jean Paul, is the predominance of the divine instinct in man, it is precisely that: *divine* instinct; the eternal force that knows the whole that our worldly existence lacks and that transports the man within whom it works out of that limited worldly existence and allows him to behold the ‘eternal infinite’. This is, then, a familiar daemonic narrative: a supernatural force grasps into the perceived reality from within the subject within whom it resides, and relocates the subject into the supernatural. The man of genius is thus subject *to* that relocation, not himself the initiator of that move. If he is able to re-assert his agency in the form he gives his work, then the ‘inner matter’ of that work (i.e. that part that both is the divine instinct and re-effects the move of the divine instinct in the ‘consumer’ of that artistic product), remains not his product, but that of God. It is that ‘inner matter’ that is not the product of the artist himself that remains, whilst the worldly form that the artist created – however brilliant – is subject to time.

It is here that Jean Paul’s thinking meets Goethe’s ideas of the creative process. For Goethe, as we have seen in Section 3.1., genius is a force guided by and identical in effect to the daemonic. It works within the artist of genius, indeed, as Goethe commented in connection with Mozart, it ‘ha[s] him in his power, so that he carrie[s] out what it command[s]’,¹¹¹ thereby imbuing the artist’s work with ‘a generating power that continues to work from generation to generation, and that should not be exhausted and consumed for some time’.¹¹²

With the connection between Jean Paul and Goethe now made, I return to Hoffmann’s portrayal of Beethoven in his review of 1810.

¹¹¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 20th of June 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 574-5: ‘wobei der dämonische Geist seines Genies ihn in der Gewalt hatte, so daß er ausführen mußte was jener gebot’.

¹¹² Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 11th of March 1828, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 511: ‘es liegt in ihnen eine zeugende Kraft, die von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht fortwirkt und sobald nicht erschöpft und verzehrt sein dürfte’.

3.3.3 Beethoven Daimon

Beethoven, according to Hoffmann, ‘penetrated the innermost being’ of instrumental music.¹¹³ There are only few ‘able to strike that particular lyre, whose sound opens the miraculous realm of the romantic’, but ‘Beethoven’s instrumental music [...] opens up the realm of the monstrous and the immeasurable’,¹¹⁴ causing ‘that infinite longing that is the nature of romanticism’.¹¹⁵ Ignoring Hoffmann’s linking of these attributes to ‘the romantic’, Beethoven is portrayed as a messianic figure capable of transgressing the worldly and opening an otherworldly realm to the listener, whilst at the same time causing an ‘infinite longing’. Beethoven achieves this transgression of the worldly not by submitting blindly to the ‘fire’ of his imagination, but by a ‘high self-possession’, through which he is able to separate ‘his self from the inner realm of tones and [command] over it as boundless master’.¹¹⁶ It is the summary of a familiar story, a story that is widely regarded as fundamental to the cult of Beethoven as hero, and whose indebtedness to Jean Paul’s terminology is obvious from the previous section.¹¹⁷ In what follows I shall reapply those aspects of Jean Paul’s thinking that Hoffmann drew upon to the picture of Beethoven Hoffmann gives and argue that, viewed in connection with the daemonic, Hoffmann’s Beethoven becomes a daimon. It is in all likelihood not an interpretation that either Hoffmann or Jean Paul would have approved of, the former because it robs Beethoven of some of the agency that Hoffmann was so careful to ascribe to him; the latter because it elevates Beethoven nearer to a god than Jean Paul’s thinking could have tolerated. It is however an interpretation that grows out of the sources at hand, and thereby

¹¹³ E. T. A Hoffmann, ‘Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie’, 35: ‘Haydn und Mozart, die Schöpfer der neuern Instrumentalkunst, zeigten uns zuerst die Kunst in ihrer vollen Glorie; wer sie da mit voller Liebe anschaute und eindrang in ihr innigstes Wesen, ist – Beethoven’. For the purpose of the present discussion it is reasonable to equate Hoffmann’s discussion of ‘instrumental music’ with music in general as he famously claims in the same essay, ‘when one speaks of music as an independent art, one should always mean instrumental music, which, rejecting any help or mixture with another art, expresses purely the particular being of art that is only recognizable in it’ (ibid., 34: ‘wenn von der Musik als einer selbstständigen Kunst die Rede ist, sollte immer nur die Instrumentalmusik gemeint sein, welche, jede Hülfe, jede Beimischung einer anderen Kunst verschmähend, das eigentümliche, nur in ihr zu erkennende Wesen der Kunst rein ausspricht’).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 36: ‘so öffnet uns [...] Beethovens Instrumentalmusik das Reich des Ungeheuren und Unermeßlichen’.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.: ‘Beethovens Musik [...] erweckt jene unendliche Sehnsucht, die das Wesend der Romantik ist’.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 37: ‘er trennt sein Ich von dem innern Reich der Töne und gebietet darüber als unumschränkter Herr’.

¹¹⁷ On the subject of Beethoven as hero, see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 2000).

demonstrates the potential of the daemonic as category for the rethinking of our perceptions of genius.

Hoffmann's portrayal of Beethoven assigns similar attributes to the composer to those shared by Goethe's daemonic individual and man of genius: uniqueness, an incomprehensible gift and a raw energy. Of the daemonic individual, Goethe had written, 'rarely or never may one find contemporaries of their kind'.¹¹⁸ According to Hoffmann, Beethoven is unique in that *his* 'instrumental music opens up the realm of the monstrous and the immeasurable', *he* is able 'to strike that particular lyre, that opens the miraculous realm of the infinite'.¹¹⁹ Only Haydn and Mozart can work a similar move, although in its specifics the effect of their music is quite different.¹²⁰

Beethoven's ability to open up 'the miraculous realm of the infinite' is a gift that remains incomprehensible to many, who dismiss his work as the untamed product of a vivid imagination. Thus the 'musical rabble' finds 'Beethoven's mighty genius' oppressive, whilst, in another direct parallel to the daemonic individual, being powerless against it. But this lack of comprehension is due to the 'weak sight' of the 'musical rabble'; it is their 'fault', for the 'language of the master' is 'comprehensible to the consecrated':

The musical rabble is oppressed by Beethoven's mighty genius; in vain does it seek to rebel against it. [...] But what if the inner connection of every one of Beethoven's compositions escapes only *your* weak sight? If it is only *your* fault, that you do not understand the language of the master, comprehensible to the consecrated, that the gate of the innermost holiness remains closed to you?¹²¹

It is here that Hoffmann's daemonic Beethoven differs from Goethe, because Hoffmann argues that 'the most profound absorption of the inner structure of

¹¹⁸ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: 'selten oder nie finden sich Gleichzeitige ihresgleichen'.

¹¹⁹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 36: 'der romantische Geschmack ist selten, noch seltner das romantische Talent: daher gibt es wohl so wenige, die jene Lyra, welche das wundervolle Reich des Unendlichen aufschließt, anzuschlagen vermögen'.

¹²⁰ Haydn's symphonies 'lead us into an endless green heath' (ibid., 35: 'seine Symphonie führt uns in unabsehbare, grüne Haine'), 'Mozart leads us into the depths of the spirit world' (ibid., 'in die Tiefen des Geisterreichs führt uns Mozart'), and Beethoven opens 'the realm of the monstrous and the immeasurable' (ibid., 36: 'das Reich des Ungeheueren und Unermeßlichen'). See E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 35-6.

¹²¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethovens Instrumental-Musik', 43-4: 'den musikalischen Pöbel drückt Beethovens mächtiger Genius; er will sich vergebens dagegen auflehnen. [...] Wie ist es aber, wenn nur *Eurem* schwachen Blick der innere tiefe Zusammenhang jeder Beethovenschen Komposition entgeht? Wenn es nur an *Euch* liegt, daß Ihr des Meisters, dem Geweihten verständliche, Sprache nicht versteht, wenn Euch die Pforte des innersten Heiligtums verschlossen bleibt'?

Beethoven's music reveals [his] high self-possession'.¹²² Goethe's daemonic individual/man of genius remains ultimately inexplicable, but even if Hoffmann does not expressly say that one can *entirely explain* Beethoven, one can at least *understand* him.

Despite this difference, Hoffmann portrays Beethoven, as Goethe portrays the daemonic individual, as exuding an immense strength. On the surface, Hoffmann generates this portrayal by tapping into the rich and established terminology of the sublime, thus 'Beethoven's music moves the levers of fear, of horror, of terror [and] of pain'.¹²³ But it is in the description of the effect of Beethoven's music – what Beethoven *does to the listener* (which in terminology is also indebted to the aesthetic of the sublime) – that Beethoven most obviously resembles a daemonic individual. Through his music, he seizes the listener and draws him out of his worldly surroundings and transports him into a supernatural realm. Thus the Fifth Symphony 'irresistibly draws the listener into the marvellous spirit realm of the infinite'.¹²⁴ It is a violent relocation of the listening subject that is daemonic in its ambiguity, as it is characterized by both pain and pleasure: 'for some moments after [the piece has ended, the listener] will be unable to step out of the marvellous spirit realm where pain and pleasure formed in tones enveloped him'.¹²⁵ The ability to so transport the listener beyond the worldly, finally assigns Beethoven the daemonic strength (and ability) to break through reality, to 'exert an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements'.¹²⁶

There remains however, the issue of agency, of who controls whom. So far, the interpretation I have given has suggested Beethoven as daimon in as much as *he usurps* the attributes of the daemonic. Elaborating Hoffmann's use of Jean Paul's

¹²² E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 37: 'nur ein sehr tiefes Eingehen in die innere Struktur Beethovenscher Musik [entfaltet] die hohe Besonnenheit des Meisters, welche von dem wahren Genie unzertrennlich ist und von dem anhaltenden Studium der Kunst genährt wird'.

¹²³ Ibid., 36: 'Beethovens Musik bewegt die Hebel des Schauers, der Furcht, des Entsetzens, des Schmerzes, und erweckt jene unendliche Sehnsucht, die das Wesen der Romantik ist'. I shall return to the intersection of the daemonic and the sublime within Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in Chapter 4.

¹²⁴ The translation does not do justice to the violence of Hoffmann's imagery. The German 'reißen' ('fortreißt') literally means tears. 'Draws' seems infinitely tamer in comparison!

¹²⁵ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 50: 'noch manchen Moment nach [dem Schlußakkord] wird er [der 'sinnige Zuhörer'] nicht aus dem wundervollen Geisterreiche, wo Schmerz und Lust in Tönen gestaltet ihn umfingen, hinaustreten können'.

¹²⁶ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: 'sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente'.

notion of self-possession suggests that *in addition* a supernatural force works within and through Beethoven.

Within his own application of the idea of self-possession, Hoffmann remains entirely logical. Self-possession, as used by Hoffmann, appears to stand for a thoroughly 'aware' and rational mode of composition: Beethoven, according to Hoffmann, has genius ('Genialität') and self-possession. The former, one must conclude within Hoffmann's account, is a disposition to particularly outstanding inspiration and ideas, the latter the ability to rationally exploit the potential of that inspiration.¹²⁷ But if Hoffmann evoked self-possession as a means of asserting the lack of influence of the supernatural on the creative process of the composer (more specifically Beethoven), then it is not an entirely successful association.

As we have seen in the discussion of Jean Paul above, self-possession does not negate the influence of inspiration. Even though Jean Paul and Hoffmann employ the image of the division of the inner world into a master and his realm, self-possession is not entirely within the control of the subject. Genius is the 'shining down' of earthly and heavenly beauty, brought about by the rise of the 'divine instinct' within the man of genius, that unknown 'darkness' of our nonconscious that 'is not our creation, but our Creator'.¹²⁸ The result is 'that light [...] that one calls self-possession'.¹²⁹ Self-possession thus posits a divine (or at least supernatural) control within man and thereby robs him of his agency; once again he becomes a conduit for another purpose (a purpose that, as has already been noted, remains unknown to him). It is undoubtedly not entirely clear from what Jean Paul writes whether the 'light' of self-possession is in turn subject to the rational shaping of the man within whom it appears, i.e. whether it illuminates the composer's workbench for him or actually reveals his finished work.¹³⁰ Whether one takes one view or the other, there is more than a sense here that, ironically, Hoffmann reintroduced the very subject that he was wishing to distance Beethoven from.

Beethoven thus emerges as daemonic individual in two ways. Firstly actively, in what he effects through his music (i.e. the breakthrough and removal from the worldly), and secondly passively, as conduit of a force (be it divine or more

¹²⁷ This one must draw from Hoffmann's text as a whole, as he at no point spells out what he takes either terms to mean.

¹²⁸ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 60: 'was nicht unser Geschöpf, sondern unser Schöpfer ist'.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 62: 'jenes Licht [...], das man Besonnenheit nennt'.

¹³⁰ The image of light as a staple part of the discussion of inspiration and therefore as signifying the irrational and/or inexplicable in contemporaneous discourse should be noted.

ambiguously supernatural) that works through and within him giving him genius and self-possession. The two ideas of Beethoven as usurper of the daemonic and as subject to it are not necessarily incompatible, but neither do they sit easily together. They remain instead themselves signifiers of a daemonic ambiguity within late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century conceptualizations of genius.

Chapter 4

The Supernatural in Instrumental Music:

E. T. A. Hoffmann's Reviews of Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 and the Piano Trio op. 70, no. 2

The present chapter serves to illustrate the ambiguous power of Music's daemonic voice with reference to two specific works: Beethoven's Symphony no. 5 and his Piano Trio op. 70, no. 2. My starting point in both cases are the reviews of these works written by E. T. A. Hoffmann for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in the years 1810 and 1813 respectively. In both reviews, Hoffmann describes music as supernatural voice or being, and in both cases music's voice evokes the daemonic (although Hoffmann never states as much directly). The manner in which it evokes the daemonic however, is crucially different and at times almost irreconcilable. It is for this reason that I juxtapose these two readings here, for music's daemonic nature becomes apparent in this very tension.

4.1. The Supernatural Voice/Being and the Expression of the Sublime: Beethoven's Symphony No. 5

The entire orchestra enters with the glorious, jubilant theme of the final movement [...] like a radiant, blinding sunlight, that suddenly illuminates the deep night.¹

Hoffmann's description of the opening of the final movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in his seminal 1810 review of the work constitutes a classic application of Edmund Burke's formulation of the sublime in Nature to the symphony. It is a moment in which 'the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain

¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 47-8: 'wie ein strahlendes, blendendes Sonnenlicht, das plötzlich die tiefe Nacht erleuchtet'. Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony was first published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on the 4th and 11th of July 1810 (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 12, no. 40 and 41, columns 630-42 and 652-9 respectively). Together with the review of Beethoven's piano trios op. 70 it was then published in revised form as 'Beethovens Instrumentalmusik' as part four of the *Kreisleriana* in volume one of Hoffmann's *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (Bamberg, 1814). See also n.61 below.

any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it'.² This view of the symphony as 'force-like-Nature', challenging Nature not through imitation but by assuming its power (the power of the sun) marked a monumental shift in the reception of the genre, and in the way music was thought to work on the listening subject. I turn to it here because this moment of the revelation of the finale of the Fifth as 'blinding sunlight', together with the mirroring description of the close of the movement in terms of fire, marks the culmination of three earlier references to music as supernatural voice or being.³

These five moments, each of which takes the shape of a metaphor beginning 'like a ...', punctuate Hoffmann's discussion of the Fifth (see Table 1 below).⁴ I propose that these specific metaphors form a loosely connected narrative; for although Hoffmann does not suggest them to be read as such, doing so leaves us with a model for both experiencing and comprehending music: man/the listener is seduced by Music's supernatural voice as it manifests itself in the symphony and drawn into the 'infinite spirit realm' that Christianity had established in place of the 'sensual world'.⁵ Once there he is confronted by the symphony as a sublime force that challenges Nature on equal terms. The 'truly romantic' composer is revealed as a daemonically powerful figure that (at least in the realm of music) achieves 'a position of control previously held by the Creator alone'.⁶ Hoffmann's evocation of a supernatural voice/being within this review is thus part of his construction of Beethoven as a 'truly romantic' genius. It is at once the means by which he mediates between the philosophical construction of the sublime and an amateur readership, and the extra-musical analysis that signals to the reader not only his personal response to the

² Edmund Burke, 'Of the Passion Caused by the Sublime', *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. James T. Boulton (1757; reprint, Oxford, 1987), 57 (henceforth *Enquiry*). Note that quotations follow the punctuation of this edition throughout my discussion.

The *Enquiry* was first published anonymously in London by Robert and James Dodsley in 1757. It was translated into German and published by Riga in Leipzig in 1773.

³ It is of course the central irony of this kind of description that what is perceived to be beheld as a 'being' is in actual fact heard acoustically both in and as music.

⁴ These metaphors are part of what Ian Bent has called the 'base layer [that] records the moment-to-moment response of the listener', narrating his (or her) 'perceptual experience' (Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century, Volume Two: Hermeneutic Approaches* [Cambridge, 1994], 141). This extra-musical 'base layer' serves to describe the Fifth Symphony in terms of the 'spirit realm'. Broadly, Hoffmann signals this realm when a specific musical section (or figure) suggests either those characteristics that Hoffmann associated with this realm (such as 'longing', 'foreboding' or 'the infinite'), or a specific metaphor, the image of which is preceded by 'like a...'.
⁵ See my discussion in Section 4.1.1. below.

⁶ R. Murray Schafer, *E. T. A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto, 1975), 80.

symphony but also, by extension, how the reader himself ought to respond to the work in the narrow sense, and to Beethoven's output in the wider.

Whilst each of these metaphors clearly refers to a 'moment', in as much as they occur with reference to specific musical sections, they do not establish a division within the musical texture, but instead both serve and maintain the narrative of the sublime that Hoffmann perceives in the symphony as a whole. As such, Hoffmann's understanding of music as sublime supernatural voice/being in this review is in marked contrast to the disruptive daemonic musical voice that I discussed in Chapter 2 and to which I shall return in my reading of Hoffmann's review of Beethoven's trio op. 70, no. 2.⁷

In what follows I shall consider Hoffmann's metaphors, their imagery and the narrative they suggest with reference to specific influences that appear to motivate his interpretation: firstly, Jean Paul's construction of the spirit realm as a means of transcendence; and secondly, the formulation of the sublime in the works of Edmund Burke and Christian Friedrich Michaelis.

4.1.1. Hoffmann's Beethoven and Jean Paul's World View

At the heart of Hoffmann's review lies the dynamic of a 'climax that mounts until the end [...] and draws the listener irresistibly into the wonderful spirit realm of the infinite'.⁸ 'Indeed, for some time after' the final chord, the listener 'will be unable to step out of the marvellous spirit realm where pain and pleasure formed in tones enveloped him'.⁹ Man (the listener) is an 'enraptured seer of ghosts', a prototypical listener somewhat akin to Wackenroder's Berglinger, if less openly devout:

⁷ See Section 4.2. below.

⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 37: 'tief im Gemüte trägt Beethoven die Romantik der Musik, die er mit hoher Genialität und Besonnenheit in seinen Werken ausspricht. Lebhafter hat Rez. dies nie gefühlt, als bei der vorliegenden Symphonie, die in einem bis zum Ende fortsteigenden Klimax jene Romantik Beethovens mehr, als irgendein anderes seiner Werke entfaltet, und den Zuhörer unwiderstehlich fortreißt in das wundervolle Geisterreich des Unendlichen'.

⁹ Ibid., 50: 'but the soul of every reflective listener will surely be deeply and profoundly seized by a *single* continuing feeling that is precisely this longing, unnameable and full of presentiment, and will be held within it until the final chord. Indeed, for some moments after it he will be unable to step out of the marvellous spirit realm where pain and pleasure formed in tones enveloped him' ('aber das Gemüt jedes sinnigen Zuhörers wird gewiß von *einem* fortdauernden Gefühl, das eben jene unnenbare, ahnungvolle Sehnsucht ist, tief und innig ergriffen und bis zum Schlußakkord darin gehalten; ja noch manchen Moment nach demselben wird er nicht aus dem wundervollen Geisterreiche, wo Schmerz und Lust in Tönen gestaltet ihn umfingen, hinaustreten können').

Beethoven's instrumental music ... opens the realm of the monstrous and the immeasurable to us. Glowing rays shoot through the deep night of this realm, and we become aware of giant shadows, which surge up and down, enclose us tighter and tighter and destroy everything within us, with the exception of the infinite longing, in which every joy that rose quickly in rejoicing tones sinks down and drowns. And only in this pain that – consuming love, hope and joy within itself, but not destroying them – wishes to burst our breast with a full accord of all passions, we live on and are enraptured seers of ghosts.¹⁰

Hoffmann's description is rich in the imagery of the sublime; vast size, immeasurability and extremes of light and shadow figure prominently in the theories of the sublime of Burke and Michaelis.¹¹ But as much as Hoffmann was indebted to these theories, it is from Jean Paul's theory of the origin of 'romantic poetry' in his *Vorschule der Ästhetik* that Hoffmann draws both the strength of his associations and his key terms:¹² 'the monstrous and the immeasurable', the 'deep night', 'infinite longing' and the seeing of 'ghosts' all feature in Jean Paul's description. Through Jean Paul's linking of Christianity, longing (as a fundamental part of the Christian faith) and romanticism in his theory of poetry, Hoffmann was able to locate his aesthetics of Beethoven's instrumental music within a historical framework.

Christianity, Jean Paul suggests, 'destroyed the sensual world' and replaced it with 'a new spirit world'. The bliss that had (in the past) been associated with the 'earthly present' was projected into a 'heavenly future'; the 'serene happiness of the Greeks' was replaced by 'infinite longing or unspeakable bliss'. As the 'external

¹⁰ Ibid., 36: 'So öffnet uns auch *Beethovens* Instrumentalmusik das Reich des Ungeheuren und des Unermeßlichen. Glühende Strahlen schießen durch dieses Reiches tiefe Nacht, und wir werden Riesenschatten gewahr, die auf- und abwogen, enger und enger uns einschließen und alles in uns vernichten; nur nicht den Schmerz der unendlichen Sehnsucht, in welcher jede Lust, die schnell in jauchzenden Tönen emporgestiegen, hinsinkt und untergeht; und nur in diesem Schmerz, der – Liebe, Hoffnung, Freude in sich verzehrend, aber nicht zerstörend – unsre Brust mit einem vollstimmigen Zusammenklänge aller Leidenschaften zersprengen will, leben wir fort und sind entzückte Geisterseher'.

¹¹ See Section 4.1.3. below.

¹² Written over some ten years (1794 – the 12th of August 1804), the *Vorschule der Ästhetik* was first published in Hamburg by Friedrich Perthes in 1804 (3 volumes). A second edition quickly became necessary due to the work's success, but the political situation in Hamburg, which was at that point under French rule, made it impossible for Perthes to publish the planned second edition in 1811. Jean Paul extensively revised the work from the end of March 1812 until the 15th of November of the same year, and the second edition was published by Cotta in Stuttgart at the end of May 1813. A third edition was not published during Jean Paul's lifetime, but he collated and published the growing amount of additional material as *Kleine Nachschule zur ästhetischen Vorschule* in the *Kleine Bücherschau* in 1825 (see also Norbert Miller, 'Anmerkungen', *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1963), 5, 1197-8). See also Carl Dahlhaus' discussion of this passage in *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Roger Lustig (Chicago, 1989), 55-6.

world' had collapsed, the 'spirit' could only turn to the inner. The abandonment of the external world, in turn brought with it the abandonment of the 'finiteness' of 'bodies'; the 'spirit' saw 'ghosts' in 'the broad night of infinity'. The 'monstrous and the immeasurable opened up their depths' and there, 'man remained, more often fearful than hopeful':

One can deduce the origin and character of all of the newer poetry from Christianity with such ease that one might as well call the romantic [poetry] the Christian. Like a day of judgement Christianity destroyed the entire sensual world with all its charms, compressed it into a burial mound, into steps to heaven and put a new spirit world into its place. Demonology became the true mythology of the corporeal world, and devils as seducers roamed in men and statues of gods. All earthly present had escaped into a heavenly future. What remained now for the poetic spirit after this collapse of the external world? – That into which it collapsed, the inner. The spirit stepped into himself and his night and saw ghosts. But as the finiteness only hung on bodies, and as in ghosts everything is infinite or without end, so in poetry the realm of the infinite flowered over the burnt ruins of finiteness. Angels, devils, saints, the blessed and the infinite had no bodily form or bodies of gods. Instead the monstrous and the immeasurable opened up their depths. In place of the serene happiness of the Greeks appeared either infinite longing or unspeakable bliss – the time- and boundless damnation – the fear of ghosts that shudders at the sight of itself – the dreamy contemplative love – the boundless renunciation of monks – the platonic and neoplatonic philosophy.

In the broad night of infinity man remained, more often fearful than hopeful. Even in itself, fear is more powerful and richer than hope [...] because the imagination finds more images for fear than for hope. [...] Hell was painted with flames; heaven was at best defined by music, which in turn causes indefinite longing. Thus astrology was full of dangerous powers. Thus superstition was more often threatening than enticing.¹³

¹³ Jean Paul, 'Quelle der romantischen Poesie', *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1963), 5, 93-4: 'Ursprung und Charakter der ganzen neueren Poesie läßt sich so leicht aus dem Christentume ableiten, daß man die romantische ebensogut die christliche nennen könnte. Das Christentum vertilgte, wie ein Jüngster Tag, die ganze Sinnenwelt mit allen ihren Reizen, drückte sie zu einem Grabeshügel, zu einer Himmels-Staffel zusammen und setzte eine neue Geister-Welt an die Stelle. Die Dämonologie wurde die eigentliche Mythologie der Körperwelt, und Teufel als Verführer zogen in Menschen und Götterstatuen; alle Erden-Gegenwart war zu Himmels-Zukunft verflüchtigt. Was blieb nun dem poetischen Geiste nach diesem Einsturze der äußern Welt noch übrig? – Die, worin sie einstürzte, die *innere*. Der Geist stieg in sich und seine Nacht und sah Geister. Dah aber die Unendlichkeit nur an Körpern haftet und da in Geistern alles unendlich ist oder

According to Hoffmann, Beethoven's instrumental music allows us to gain access to this 'inner' 'realm of the monstrous and immeasurable'; our 'spirit' steps inside itself, and in this 'deep night' experiences 'infinite longing' as it beholds 'ghosts'. It is through this constructed Christian history that Hoffmann is able to assert the sublimity of Beethoven's music:

Beethoven's music moves the levers of terror, of fear, of horror, of pain, and awakes that particular infinite longing that is the nature of romanticism. That is why he is a purely romantic – and precisely because of that a truly musical – composer, and it may stem from this that he succeeds less with vocal music, which does not allow for indefinite longing and instead merely presents affects defined by words as having been felt in the realm of the infinite, and that his instrumental music rarely speaks to the masses.¹⁴

Beethoven's music is sublime because it 'works with powerful blows, is compelling and seizes the soul irresistibly'.¹⁵ It can, to use the theories of Michaelis, 'objectively' be called sublime, because it arouses the sublime 'through its inner structure, independently of emotional expression', 'like untamed Nature that triggers sublime feelings'.¹⁶ Through its sublimity, Beethoven's instrumental music awakens

ungeendigt: so blühte in der Poesie das Reich des Unendlichen über der Brandstätte der Endlichkeit auf. Engel, Teufel, Heilige, Selige und der Unendliche hatten keine Körper-Formen und Götter-Leiber; dafür öffnete das Ungeheuer und Unermeßliche seine Tiefe; statt der griechischen heitern Freude erschien entweder unendliche Sehnsucht oder die unaussprechliche Seligkeit – die zeit- und schrankenlose Verdammnis – die Geisterfurcht, welche vor sich selber schaudert – die schwärmerische beschauliche Liebe – die grenzenlose Mönchs-Entsagung – die platonische und neuplatonische Philosophie.

In der weiten Nacht des Unendlichen war der Mensch öfter fürchtend als hoffend. Schon an und für sich ist Furcht gewaltiger und reicher als Hoffnung [...] weil für die Furcht die Phantasie mehr Bilder findet als für die Hoffnung. [...] Die Hölle wurde mit Flammen gemalt, der Himmel höchstens durch Musik bestimmt, die selber wieder unbestimmtes Sehnen gibt. So war die Astrologie voll gefährlicher Mächte. So war der Aberglaube öfter drohend als verheißend'.

¹⁴ Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 36: 'Beethovens Musik bewegt die Hebel des Schauers, der Furcht, des Entsetzens, des Schmerzes und erweckt jene unendliche Sehnsucht, die das Wesen der Romantik ist. Er ist daher ein rein romantischer (eben deshalb ein wahrhaft musikalischer) Komponist, und daher mag es kommen, daß ihm Vokalmusik, die unbestimmtes Sehnen nicht zuläßt, sondern nur durch Worte bestimmte Affekte als in dem Reiche des Unendlichen empfunden darstellt, weniger gelingt und seine Instrumentalmusik selten die Menge anspricht'. Significantly, instrumental music is able to express 'unbestimmtes Sehnen' ('indefinite longing'), whereas for Jean Paul, even instrumental music was mediated through image.

¹⁵ Johann Georg Sulzer, 'Erhaben', *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1771), 341: 'das Erhabene würkt mit starken Schlägen, ist hinreissend und ergreift das Gemüt unwiderstehlich'. Obviously this statement was not made in connection with Beethoven's music!

¹⁶ Christian Friedrich Michaelis, 'Einige Bemerkungen über das Erhabene in der Musik', *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, 1 (1805), col. 180: 'die Musik kann [...] durch ihre innre Einrichtung, unabhängig vom Gefühlsausdruck, das Gefühl des Erhabenen zu erregen suchen [...]. [In diesem] Fall kann man sie selbst, objektiv, erhaben nennen, wie die rauhe Natur, welche erhabene Gefühle wirkt' ('music can seek to arouse the sublime through its inner structure, independently of emotional

‘that particular infinite longing that is the nature of romanticism’, which in turn, as we have seen, is equated with Christianity. But it may be because of this that ‘his instrumental music rarely speaks to the masses’; Michaelis suggests that ‘because the sublime does not gently nestle itself against the senses and the powers of the imagination and instead can only appeal through its inappropriateness to either and its extreme significance for the intellect, foolish, weak and [intellectually] limited individuals are not receptive to it. It turns only to men whose spirit and heart are of the noblest intellect’.¹⁷

4.1.2. Hoffmann’s Metaphors as Linked Narrative

The five specific metaphors found in Hoffmann’s review of the Fifth both underline and narrate this Christian/romantic/sublime dynamic, and in this respect they all serve the same purpose (see Table 1). In terms of their imagery however, these five metaphors fall into two categories: those that evoke a voice or being, and those that adopt the imagery of the sublime in Nature (light and fire). There would therefore appear to be a break that makes it impossible to see the metaphors as constituting a coherent narrative, but I would suggest that this break is an essential component of Hoffmann’s design: the ‘kind being’ becomes first the ‘spirit-voice’ and then the ‘terrible voice’, before a transfiguration (at the very end of the third movement) of the symphony to ‘work-as-force-like-Nature’ (‘radiant, blinding sunlight’; ‘fire’).

expression [...]. [In this] case one can call her herself, objectively, sublime, like untamed Nature that triggers sublime feelings’.

¹⁷ Ibid., 180: ‘eben, weil das Erhabene sich nicht dem Sinn und der Einbildungskraft freundlich anschmiegt, sondern nur in seiner Unangemessenheit für beide, und in seiner hohen Bedeutung für die Vernunft, wohlgefallen kann, sind leichtsinnige, kraftlose, eingeschränkte Gemüther nicht dafür empfänglich. Es wendet sich nur an Menschen von Geist und Herz im edelsten Verstande’. One recalls Hoffmann’s assertion in *Don Juan* that ‘only the poet understands the poet’ (E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Don Juan*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel [München, 1960], 74: ‘nur der Dichter versteht den Dichter’).

Movement	Metaphor	Bar Nos.
I	‘Like a kind being, which, glowing and lighting up the deep night, travels through the clouds, a theme now enters that was merely touched on by the horn in Eb in bar 59 of the first part’. ¹⁸	179-86
II	‘Hereupon the lovely (and yet substantial) theme of the <i>Andante</i> in Ab major (in 3/8), which is played by the viola and violoncello, sounds like a fair spirit-voice that fills our breast with comfort and hope’. ¹⁹	1-
III	‘These dull, dissonant beats, appearing like a strange and terrible voice, arouse the horror of the extraordinary – of the fear of ghosts’. ²⁰	324-73
IV	‘The entire orchestra enters with the glorious, jubilant theme of the final movement [...] like a radiant, blinding sunlight, that suddenly illuminates the deep night’. ²¹	1-
	‘The complete calming of the soul, brought about by several closing figures, is cancelled out by these chords – which are reminiscent of the single strikes in the Allegro of the symphony – striking singly amidst rests, and the listener is once again tensed even through these last chords. They appear like a fire that one believed subdued and that continues to flare up again in bright flames’. ²²	432-44

Table 1: Metaphors in Hoffmann’s Review of Beethoven, op. 67

Once again, it is Music perceived as voice/being that leads the listener within (and into) the supernatural spirit realm.²³ As the listener is drawn in by the

¹⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie’, 40-1: ‘wie eine freundliche Gestalt, die glänzend, die tiefe Nacht erleuchtend, durch die Wolken zieht, tritt nun ein Thema ein, das im 59. Takte des ersten Teils von dem Horn in Es nur berührt wurde’.

¹⁹ Ibid., 43: ‘wie eine holde Geisterstimme, die unsre Brust mit Trost und Hoffnung erfüllt, tönt hierauf das liebliche (und doch gehaltvolle) Thema von dem *Andante* in As dur 3/8 Takt, welches Bratsche und Violoncello vortragen’. Note: italics follow the 1963 critical edition.

²⁰ Ibid., 47: ‘diese dumpfen Schläge ihres Dissonierens, wie eine fremde, furchtbare Stimme wirkend, erregen den Schauer des Außerordentlichen – der Geisterfurcht’.

²¹ Ibid., 47-8: ‘wie ein strahlendes, blendendes Sonnenlicht, das plötzlich die tiefe Nacht erleuchtet’.

²² Ibid., 50: ‘die vollkommene Beruhigung des Gemüts, durch mehrere aneinander gereihete Schlußfiguren herbeigeführt, wird durch diese einzeln in Pausen angeschlagenen Akkorde, welche an die einzelnen Schläge in dem Allegro der Symphonie erinnern, wieder aufgehoben und der Zuhörer noch durch die letzten Akkorde aufs neue gespannt. Sie wirken, wie ein Feuer, das man gedämpft glaubte und das immer wieder in hell auflodernden Flammen in die Höhe schlägt’.

²³ See also my discussion of this idea in Chapter 2.

voice/being, he beholds the ‘deep secrets’ of music,²⁴ a music that challenges Nature not through (or as) imitation, but by being itself a ‘force out there’, a ‘force-like-Nature’. What is interesting here, is the way in which the voice/being changes; initially set up as redemptive force it is revealed (in the metaphor in the third movement) as the same ‘strange and terrible voice’ that underpins the whole work.²⁵ There is consequently a sense of seduction: on its first evocation (in the 1st movement), the listener hears/beholds a ‘kind being’ that ‘illuminates the dark night’ (bars 179-86). This ‘being’ is a symbol of safety and direction; caught in the turmoil of the 1st movement it provides comfort – the sense of hope that we (as listeners) may not perish. It is however, as yet silent – a being we *behold*.

This sense of comfort and hope that is implied in the first metaphor is made explicit when the theme of the Andante is described as ‘like a fair spirit-voice’: ‘hereupon the lovely (and yet substantial) theme of the Andante in Ab major (in 3/8), which is played by the viola and violoncello, sounds like a fair spirit-voice *that fills our breast with comfort and hope*’.²⁶ But even here, there is a sense of threat, as the listener perceives that at any moment, the ‘terrible spirit’ could step forward once more: ‘it is as if at any moment the terrible spirit that seized and frightened the soul in the [opening] Allegro, would step menacingly out of the cloud in which he

²⁴ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Ombra adorata!’, *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 33: ‘ihre tiefen Geheimnisse’.

²⁵ Hoffmann signals this belief by stating that Beethoven’s maintaining of the C in the timpani despite it being dissonant with the main harmony ‘is explained by the character that he sought to give the whole. These dull, dissonant beats, appearing like a strange and terrible voice, arouse the horror of the extraordinary – of the fear of ghosts’ (E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie’, 47: ‘warum der Meister das zum Akkord dissonierende C der Pauke bis zum Schluß gelassen, erklärt sich aus dem Charakter, den er dem Ganzen zu geben strebte. Diese dumpfen Schläge ihres Dissonierens, wie eine fremde, furchtbare Stimme wirkend, erregen die Schauer des Außerordentlichen – der Geisterfurcht’). It is in this understanding of the (potentially) turbulent surface as being governed by an underlying rationally ordering principle that Hoffmann appears to draw on the eighteenth-century view of the literary ode, following J. A. P. Schulz’s association of (Pindaric) ode and the symphony in Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*. See also Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The Jupiter Symphony*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge, 1993). Sisman places great emphasis on Schulz’s association of the sublime Ancient Greek ode and the sublime in the symphony. Carl Dahlhaus, in his *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music* (trans. Mary Whittall [Oxford, 1991]), takes this association further (chronologically) and discusses it in relation to Hoffmann’s review. Dahlhaus sees the influence of the ode extend as far as Hoffmann’s style of writing, speaking of his ‘dithyrambic tone’ (Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven*, 69). Unlike Sisman, Dahlhaus does not comment on the influence of Burke’s *Enquiry* on the application of the sublime to the symphony.

²⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie’, 43: ‘wie eine holde Geisterstimme, *die unsre Brust mit Trost und Hoffnung erfüllt*, tönt hierauf das liebliche (und doch gehaltvolle) Thema von dem Andante in As dur 3/8 Takt, welches Bratsche und Violoncello vortragen’. Emphasis added.

disappeared, and the friendly beings, which surrounded us comfortingly, would take flight at the sight of him'.²⁷

Consequently, the comfort of the Andante may be a mask, and indeed is revealed as such as the 'sense of foreboding' is re-awakened in the third movement – an 'uncanny feeling' manifests itself, the 'longing' becomes 'fear', and finally, in the timpani, the listener hears the 'strange and terrible voice': 'these dull, dissonant beats, appearing like a strange and terrible voice, arouse the horror of the extraordinary – of the fear of ghosts'.²⁸ However, at this point Hoffmann appears unable (or unwilling) to pursue this supernatural voice further, instead switching to a discussion of phrase expansion and motivic development within the movement, and the return of rhythmic cells.

At first this change of approach jars, as, to use Ian Bent's terminology, Hoffmann moves from the 'base layer [...] that narrates the listener's perceptual experience'²⁹ (and in which the metaphors are employed) to the 'second layer' of

²⁷ Ibid., 44: 'es ist, als träte der furchtbare Geist, der im Allegro das Gemüt ergriff und ängstete, jeden Augenblick drohend aus der Wetterwolke, in der er verschwand, hervor, und entflöhen dann vor seinem Anblick schnell die freundlichen Gestalten, welche tröstend uns umgaben'. It is an image that is not dissimilar the flight of the 'noble images' in Wackenroder's 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers'. In this despairing 'letter' Wackenroder had written: 'but oh, when I stand on this foolhardy height and my evil spirit seeks me out with arrogant pride in my feeling for art and with impudent elevation above other men, then, then such dangerous, slippery chasms suddenly open all around me from all sides; all the holy, high images leap from my art and escape back into the world of other, better men and I lie stretched out, shunned, and feel in the service of my goddess – I know not how – like a foolish, vain idolater' (W. H. Wackenroder, 'Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers', *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst*, ed. Wolfgang Nehring [1799; reprint, Stuttgart, 1973], 88: 'aber ach! wenn ich auf dieser verwegenen Höhe stehe und mein böser Geist mich mit übermütigem Stolz auf mein Kunstgefühl und mit frecher Erhebung über andre Menschen heimsucht, – dann, dann öffnen sich auf einmal rings um mich her auf allen Seiten so gefährliche, schlüpfrige Abgründe, – alle die heiligen, hohen Bilder springen ab von meiner Kunst und flüchten sich in die Welt der andern, bessern Menschen zurück, – und ich liege hingestreckt, verstoßen und komme mir im Dienste meiner Göttin – ich weiß nicht wie – wie ein törichter, eitler Götzendiener vor'). Despite the similarity of image, Wackenroder's description of music as idol is of course directly opposed to Hoffmann's view.

At this point in Hoffmann's writing there is a marked, even forced, difference between the 'terrible spirit' and the 'fair spirit-voice', as if he felt he was moving away from his sense of terror. Hoffmann writes that nevertheless it is, 'the course of this theme [...] the continued juxtaposition of the hard [major] keys of Ab and C [as well as] the chromatic modulations' that 'again express the character of the whole, and precisely because of this the Andante is a part of it' (E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 44: 'aber selbst der Gang dieses Themas, welches As dur, B moll durchläuft und dann erst ins As zurückkehrt, das stete Aneinanderrücken der harten Tonarten As und C, die chromatischen Modulationen – sprechen wieder den Charakter des Ganzen aus, und eben deshalb ist dies Andante ein Teil desselben').

²⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 47: 'diese dumpfen Schläge ihres Dissonierens, wie eine fremde, furchtbare Stimme wirkend, erregen den Schauer des Außerordentlichen – der Geisterfurcht'.

²⁹ Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century, Volume Two*, 141.

‘retrospective analysis’³⁰ of the movement. But Hoffmann’s change is not the result of a lack of consistency; instead it marks a logical point and dramatic purpose. At the end of Hoffmann’s ‘base layer’ description of the third movement the listener is left in ‘fear of ghosts’, confronted by ‘a strange and terrible voice’, recalling Jean Paul’s view of man stranded ‘in the broad night of infinity [...] more often fearful than hopeful’. It is into this uncertain emptiness that the finale strikes ‘like radiant, blinding sunlight’. The switch to the ‘second layer’ thus prolongs the listener or reader’s abandonment ‘in the broad night of infinity’; it expands his sense of longing.

Using the final two metaphors, Hoffmann frames his description of the final movement with images of light: the first (‘like radiant, blinding sunlight’) closes the first sentence of the section; the second (‘they appear like a fire that one believed subdued’) closes the last. It is a highly significant move. Firstly, it marks an explicit description of the symphony in terms of the sublime in Nature.³¹ Secondly, it suggests that the metaphorical voice/being was a tool that served to draw the listener into the spirit-realm *in order* to confront him with the symphony’s sublime power. Thirdly, it re-introduces one of the most powerful images of faith at the bleakest moment of his description. As Elaine Sisman has pointed out, through renewed interest in Longinus, the opening of Genesis became the ‘touchstone of sublimity’ in the eighteenth century:

After [Longinus], the sentence “And God said ‘let there be light’; and there was light” became the permanent touchstone of sublimity; after him, the thunderbolt as analogy to the effect of the sublime became a standard trope.³²

What Hoffmann does here then, is to transfer this sublime/divine power onto Beethoven. In the words of R. Murray Schafer, ‘man wrestles with wild forces and seeks to civilize them. Beethoven’s music reflects this struggle between the natural elements and the human will, this new-found desire to aspire to a position of control previously held by the Creator alone’.³³ With Hoffmann’s images of light Beethoven’s music does more than reflect; Beethoven himself becomes the Creator in the realm of music.

³⁰ Ibid., 142: ‘over this base layer is a second layer: the retrospective analyses of the first and third movements that immediately follow the stream-of-consciousness analysis in each case’.

³¹ See Section 4.1.3. below.

³² Sisman, *Mozart, The Jupiter Symphony*, 14.

³³ R. Murray Schafer, *E. T. A. Hoffmann and Music*, 80.

4.1.3. On the Imagery of the Sublime in Hoffmann's Metaphors

I have already suggested that the principal metaphors Hoffmann employs for the first and second movements (see Table 1) mark something of a seduction of the listener by Music's supernatural voice/being. The listener is not immediately confronted by the perceived sublime power of Beethoven's music *within these metaphors* (it is, of course, quite another matter in the general description of the first movement). Hoffmann's description of the theme in bars 179-86 as a 'kind being, which, glowing and lighting up the deep night, travels through the clouds', and of the opening of the second movement as sounding 'like a fair spirit-voice', provide a gentle imagery reminiscent of his account of Mozart's music earlier in the same review; perhaps in adopting the imagery of a more familiar music, the seduction becomes easier – we trust what (we think) we know:

Love and wistfulness sound in beloved voices; the night of the spirit world rises in a bright crimson shimmer, and in unspeakable longing we follow the beings, which beckon us kindly into their midst, flying through the clouds in the eternal dance of the spheres.³⁴

The 'kind being' that lights up the 'deep night' is of course an image that we have already encountered in Jean Paul's description of 'romantic poetry'; it is one of the 'ghosts' that 'the spirit' saw when he 'stepped into himself'. Despite this obvious debt, Hoffmann unusually suppresses the sense of horror that this image had in Jean Paul's description, instead emphasising the 'comfort and hope' that it brought to the listener caught 'in the broad night of infinity'. The sublime is therefore signalled through the sense of the infinite that accompanies the appearance of a being lacking 'bodily form'.³⁵

Hoffmann's description of the third movement however, brings together the violent imagery of the sublime that is found throughout his discussion of the first movement and the supernatural voice/being that he identified in his first two metaphors. The third movement reactivates 'those presentiments of the marvellous

³⁴ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 35-6: 'Liebe und Wehmut tönen in holden Stimmen; die Nacht der Geisterwelt geht auf in hellem Purpurschimmer, und in unaussprechlicher Sehnsucht ziehen wir den Gestalten nach, die freundlich uns in ihre Reihen winken, in ewigen Sphärentanze durch die Wolken fliegen'.

³⁵ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 93: 'the spirit stepped into himself and his night and saw ghosts. But as the finiteness only hung on bodies, and as in ghosts everything is infinite or without end, so in poetry the realm of the infinite flowered over the burnt ruins of finiteness. Angels, devils, saints, the blessed and the infinite had no bodily form or bodies of gods'.

spirit realm with which the themes of the Allegro assaulted the soul of the listener'.³⁶ Hoffmann intersperses his analytical discussion of the unfolding of the musical structure with images of growing horror, culminating in the identification of the 'terrible voice' in the transition to the finale. Thus the hesitant start of the 'basses' in bar 160 appears 'uncanny' to Hoffmann, although he does acknowledge that some may find it amusing: 'in the second part the basses begin the theme twice and stop again; the third time it continues. To some this may seem amusing, in the author it awakened an uncanny feeling'.³⁷ The fragmented return of the opening material in bar 236ff. sees the 'restless longing' of the original statement of the material heightened to 'fear'; the orchestra and the listener are amalgamated into one body under threat: 'the agitated longing that the theme carried within itself is now heightened to fear, which forcibly constricts the breast; only single, fragmented sounds escape from it'.³⁸

There follows a description of bars 323 to the start of the final Allegro, a passage that Hoffmann can only attach meaning to by evoking its uncanny effect as standing for the whole of the work: 'why the master left the C of the timpani that is dissonant with the chord until the end, is explained by the character that he sought to give the whole'.³⁹ As 'these dull, dissonant beats, appearing like a strange and terrible voice, arouse the horror of the extraordinary – of the fear of ghosts', the listener is left, to return to Jean Paul, 'in the broad night of infinity [...] more [...]

³⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 45: 'mainly it is the suitable modulations, cadences in the dominant major chord, the root of which is picked up by the bass as the tonic of the following theme in the minor and the theme itself, that always merely expands by a few bars, which vividly express the character of Beethoven's music as indicated above by the author, and once again excite that agitation, those presentiments of the marvellous spirit realm with which the themes of the Allegro assaulted the soul of the listener' ('es sind hauptsächlich die eignen Modulationen, Schlüsse in dem Dominanten-Akkord Dur, dessen Grundton der Bass als Tonika des folgenden Thema in Moll aufgreift – dies sich immer nur einige Takte erweiternde Thema selbst, die den Charakter Beethovenscher Musik, wie ihn Rez. oben angab, lebhaft aussprechen, und jene Unruhe, jene Ahnungen des wunderbaren Geisterreichs, womit die Sätze des Allegro des Zuhörers Gemüt bestürmten, von neuem aufregen').

³⁷ Ibid., 46: 'im zweiten Teil fangen die Bässe das Thema zweimal an und halten wieder ein, zum dritten Mal geht es weiter fort. Manchem mag das scherzhaft vorkommen, dem Rez. erweckte es ein unheimliches Gefühl'.

³⁸ Ibid.: 'die unruhvolle Sehnsucht, welche das Thema in sich trug, ist jetzt bis zur Angst gesteigert, die die Brust gewaltsam zusammenpreßt; ihr entfliehen nur einzelne abgebrochene Laute'. See also Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics: Aesthetic Dilemmas and Resolutions During the Composer's Lifetime* (Cambridge, 1986), 136: 'here Hoffmann seems to confuse listener and orchestra, but perhaps this was an intentional oversight'.

³⁹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 47: 'warum der Meister das zum Akkord dissonierende C der Pauke bis zum Schluß gelassen, erklärt sich aus dem Charakter, den er dem Ganzen zu geben strebte'.

fearful than hopeful'.⁴⁰ The transition to the final movement thereby becomes the focus of the mediation between work and 'spirit realm'. As the third movement draws to a close with the strange timpani-based transition to the Finale, Hoffmann clearly feels that the symphony has once again attained that supernatural spirit realm. But if linguistically Hoffmann's description at this point echoes Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, the interpretation of musical repetition as signifying the sublime is more indebted to the writings of Burke and Michaelis.

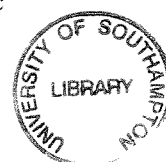
In his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, Edmund Burke had put a new emphasis on terror in his discussion of the sublime, a category he associated with pain, danger, power, darkness, solitude and vastness.⁴¹ Burke had linked repeated sound to a growing tension and expectation that was 'capable of the sublime' in bringing the experience 'to the verge of pain'.⁴² He wrote:

When the ear receives any simple sound, it is struck by a single pulse of the air, which makes the ear-drum and the other membranous parts vibrate according to the nature and species of the stroke. If the stroke be strong, the organ of hearing suffers a considerable degree of tension. If the stroke be repeated pretty soon after, the repetition causes an expectation of another stroke. And it must be observed, that expectation itself causes a tension. [...] Here the effect of the sounds is considerably augmented by a new auxiliary, the expectation. But though after a number of strokes, we expect still more, not being able to ascertain the exact time of their arrival, when they arrive, they produce a sort of surprise which increases the tension still further. For I have observed that when at any time I have waited very earnestly for some sound, that returned at

⁴⁰ Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, 93-4: 'in der weiten Nacht des Unendlichen war der Mensch öfter fürchtend als hoffend'.

⁴¹ 'Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible [...] or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime' (Burke, 'Of the Sublime', *Enquiry*, 39). Elaine Sisman has described Burke's sublime as being one 'of the supernatural, dark, disordered, painful, terrifying sort' (Sisman, *Mozart, The Jupiter Symphony*, 16). It was to find its way into German thinking in a number of guises: it was published in Germany in translation by Riga in Leipzig in 1773 and influenced Kant's formulation of the sublime (*Critique of Judgement*, 1790). In England, Burke's *Enquiry* stimulated a passion for terror that was to lead, amongst others, to the so-called 'Gothic' literary works. Burke's original work, Kant's response and the English Gothic tales were all influences on Hoffmann's work. On Hoffmann's influences, see also, Gerhard Schulz, 'Hoffmann', *Die Deutsche Literatur zwischen Französischer Revolution und Restauration*, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (München, 1989), vol. 7, bk. 2, 419-25 and Ian Bent, 'Hermeneutics and Music: The Beginnings', *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century, Volume Two*, 14-19.

⁴² One can thus locate the roots of Hoffmann's metaphysical interpretation in Enlightenment scientific enquiry.



intervals, (as the successive firing of a cannon) though I fully expected the return of the sound, when it came, it always made me start a little; the ear drum suffered a convulsion, and the whole body consented with it. The tension of the part thus increasing at every blow, by the united forces of the stroke itself, the expectation, and the surprise, it is worked up to such a pitch as to be capable of the sublime; it is brought just to the verge of pain.⁴³

Unlike Burke, who was here writing on sounds rather than music, Michaelis saw that the use of repetition could also express the sublime in music: ‘the imitation of the inflexible and the unalterable, and the holding and piling up of dissonances is only used in music either to express the sublime or to intensify the impression and make the music piquant. This always causes a certain degree of unrest and pain, which in turn arouses the feeling of being alive and heightens the joy experienced upon calming’.⁴⁴ Despite appearing in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* some five years before Hoffmann’s review of Beethoven’s Fifth, Michaelis’ description accurately captures the effect of the transition to the Finale; the gradual increase in tension and pain, finally leading to a sense of joy/revelation at the entry of the Allegro. According to Michaelis, there is however a danger in repetition: ‘the unchanged, uniform holding of musical notes or chords, or their monotonous repetition, may not last too long if it should not become unbearable to us’.⁴⁵ Consequently the ‘blows’ of the timpani in the transition express the sublime, both in their repetition and in their becoming dissonant to the changing harmony, whilst the first violins’ changing play with the opening theme increases tension through a build-up of expectation, and at the same time provides melodic interest, thus addressing the potential threat of boredom.

The ‘terrible’ moment of the transition is shattered as ‘the entire orchestra enters with the glorious, jubilant theme of the final movement [...] like a radiant, blinding sunlight, that suddenly illuminates the deep night’. The darkness is swept away and the listener is blinded by the glorious opening of the final movement. At

⁴³ Burke, ‘The Artificial Infinite’, *Enquiry*, 140.

⁴⁴ Christian Friedrich Michaelis, ‘Ein Versuch, das innere Wesen der Tonkunst zu entwickeln’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 8 (1806), col. 676: ‘daher die Nachahmung des Starren und Unveränderlichen, daher das Aushalten und Häufen der Dissonanzen in der Musik nur gebraucht wird, theils um das Erhabene auszudrücken, theils um den Eindruck zu schärfen und die Musik pikant zu machen; diess erregt immer in gewissem Grade Unruhe und Schmerz, wodurch das Lebensgefühl erregt, und bey der eingetretenen Beruhigung die Freude erhöht wird’.

⁴⁵ Ibid.: ‘das unveränderte, gleichförmige Aushalten musikalischer Töne oder Accorde, oder das einförmige Wiederholen derselben darf nicht zu lange dauern, wenn es uns nicht unerträglich werden soll’.

first glance, it is an image that seems to destroy the careful construction of the spirit realm, something that is underlined when Hoffmann appears to deliberately distance himself from this imagery: having thus described the opening, he writes:

Now once more a new theme enters, consisting of crotchets interspersed with triplets, which in rhythm and character differs entirely from the previous [ones] and once again pushes and surges forward like the subjects of the first allegro and the minuet:

[Music example, bars 44-9]

Through this theme and through its further execution through A minor to C major the soul is again put into the mood of presentiment that had momentarily left it amidst the exulting and rejoicing.⁴⁶

But whilst Hoffmann clearly did not see his imagery of the opening of the final movement as piercing sunlight to be part of the ‘sense of foreboding’ that he perceived in the symphony as a whole, it is nevertheless an image that figured explicitly in Burke’s *Enquiry*, and as such is part of the overall dynamic as it supports the sense of the sublime. Burke had written:

Mere light is too common a thing to make a strong impression on the mind, and without a strong impression nothing can be sublime. But such a light as that of the sun, immediately exerted on the eye, as it overpowers the sense, is a very great idea.⁴⁷

The opening of the final movement of Beethoven’s symphony is therefore sublime because, in its likeness to blinding sunlight, it overpowers the listener’s sense, leaving him unable to integrate his ‘impressions into a [coherent] whole’.⁴⁸ And it is in this respect that ‘blinding sunlight’ can, after all, be seen as part of the ‘deep night’ of the supernatural spirit realm. For, as Burke pointed out, ‘extreme light, by overcoming

⁴⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie’, 48: ‘nun tritt abermals ein neues, aus Viertelsnoten mit untermischten Triolen bestehendes Thema ein, das, rücksichts seines Rhythmus und seines Charakters, ganz von den frühern abweicht, und wieder drängt und treibt, wie die Sätze des ersten Allegro und der Menuett: [music example, bars 44-9]. Durch dieses Thema und durch seine weitere Ausführung durch A moll nach C dur wird das Gemüt wieder in die ahnungsvolle Stimmung versetzt, die bei dem Jauchzen und Jubeln augenblicklich aus ihm wich’.

⁴⁷ Burke, ‘Light’, *Enquiry*, 80.

⁴⁸ Michaelis, ‘Einige Bemerkungen über das Erhabene’, col. 179: ‘the feeling of the sublime is aroused by music when the powers of the imagination are elevated to the boundless, the immeasurable and insurmountable. This occurs when such feelings are aroused that make the integration of the impressions into a [coherent] whole either entirely impossible, or extremely difficult’ (‘das Gefühl des Erhabenen wird durch die Musik erregt, wenn die Einbildungskraft zum Grenzenlosen, Unermeßlichen, Unüberwindlichen erhoben wird. Diese geschieht, wenn solche Empfindungen erregt werden, welche das Zusammenfassen der Eindrücke zu einem Ganzen entweder ganz verhindern, oder doch sehr erschweren’).

the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in its effect exactly to resemble darkness'.⁴⁹

Crucially though, this overwhelming of the senses is achieved as the musical work is clothed in terms that were seen as signifiers of the sublime in Nature, and 'the passion caused by the great and sublime in *Nature*, when those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul in which all its motions are suspended with some degree of horror'.⁵⁰ In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it'.⁵¹ It would be wrong however, to suggest that Hoffmann was attempting to justify Beethoven's symphony as product of Nature in an eighteenth-century sense: we are not dealing with a suggestion of imitation. Instead, the image of Nature is borrowed for the symphony to show *it* as a force *like* Nature; a power that had previously been reserved for Nature is here usurped by the sublime symphony.

This transfiguration of the symphony is rounded off with the evocation of a different kind of light in the final metaphor, as Hoffmann likens the final chords to a resurging fire: 'they appear like a fire that one believed subdued and that continues to flare up again in bright flames'. It is an image that brings together Burke's view of the sublime as residing in single blows (in this case resurging chords) and light. Whilst Burke does not specifically discuss fire, the resurging flames undoubtedly constitute 'a quick transition from light to darkness, or from darkness to light', which he considered to have 'yet a greater effect' than light of inferior strength to the sun, which moved 'with greater celerity'.⁵² It is then with a blinding light that is both like darkness and the supreme signifier of sublime Nature that the symphony itself becomes a sublime force.

But the greatest connection between Burke and Hoffmann is found in the latter's emphasis on the closing chords of the symphony as generating a renewed tension:

The complete calming of the soul, brought about by several end figures, is cancelled out by these chords – which are reminiscent of the single strikes in

⁴⁹ Burke, 'Light', *Enquiry*, 80.

⁵⁰ Burke here refers the reader back to Part I, sections iii, iv and vii.

⁵¹ Burke, 'Of the Passion Caused by the Sublime', *Enquiry*, 57.

⁵² Burke, 'Light', *Enquiry*, 80.

the Allegro of the symphony – striking singly amidst rests, and the listener is once again tensed even through these last chords.⁵³

We recall Burke's view of repeated 'strokes' causing expectation that in turn led to a tension being generated in the listener ('it must be observed, that expectation itself causes a tension'). When the expected strokes arrive, 'they produce a sort of surprise, which increases the tension still further'.⁵⁴ As the strokes continue, the tension increases and 'the expectation, and the surprise, it is worked up to such a pitch as to be capable of the sublime; it is brought just to the verge of pain'.⁵⁵ Crucially for the underlying dynamic of Hoffmann's reading though, this increase of tension and resultant appearance of the sublime extends beyond the end of the sequence of sounds: 'even when the cause has ceased, the organs of hearing being often successfully struck in a similar manner, continue to vibrate in that manner for sometime longer; this is an additional help to the greatness of the effect'.⁵⁶ In this manner, Hoffmann's reading of the Fifth interprets the work as a succession of events that seize the listener with 'unnameable longing' and draw him into the 'marvellous spirit realm':

But the soul of every reflective listener will surely be deeply and profoundly seized by a *single* continuing feeling that is precisely this longing, unnameable and full of presentiment, and will be held within it until the final chord. Indeed, for some moments after it he will be unable to step out of the marvellous spirit realm where pain and pleasure formed in tones enveloped him.⁵⁷

⁵³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 50: 'die vollkommene Beruhigung des Gemüts, durch mehrere aneinander gereihte Schlußfiguren herbeigeführt, wird durch diese einzeln in Pausen angeschlagenen Akkorde, welche an die einzelnen Schläge in dem Allegro der Symphonie erinnern, wieder aufgehoben und der Zuhörer noch durch die letzten Akkorde aufs neue gespannt'.

⁵⁴ Burke, 'The Artificial Infinite', *Enquiry*, 140.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ludwig van Beethoven, 5. Sinfonie', 50: 'aber das Gemüt jedes sinnigen Zuhörers wird gewiß von *einem* fortdauernden Gefühl, das eben jene unnenbare, ahnungvolle Sehnsucht ist, tief und innig ergriffen und bis zum Schlußakkord darin gehalten; ja noch manchen Moment nach demselben wird er nicht aus dem wundervollen Geisterreiche, wo Schmerz und Lust in Tönen gestaltet ihn umfingen, hinaustreten können'.

4.2. The Daemonic Voice as Challenge to Sonata Structure:

Beethoven's Trio op. 70, no. 2

In Chapter 2, I discussed how Jean Paul had established the experience of music as a point of rupture in perceived reality, a gap through which Music speaks as supernatural voice.⁵⁸ I then suggested that the nature and workings of this voice had much in common with Goethe's conceptualisation of the daemonic force.⁵⁹ In this section I will propose that the first movement of Beethoven's piano trio op. 70, no. 2 is a striking example of these ideas in relation to a specific musical work.

The first movement, an *Allegro ma non troppo* in 6/8, is preceded by a slow introduction, *Poco sostenuto*, in 4/4. The opening material of the slow introduction then returns three times as the sonata structure unfolds: firstly, just before the second subject is heard; secondly, in the same place in the recapitulation, and finally, as part of the coda. The resultant juxtaposition of contrasting material readily lends itself to a reading in terms of the daemonic supernatural voice. Speaking of this movement in his 1813 review of the trio, E. T. A. Hoffmann described the return of the opening material of the slow introduction within the sonata allegro as a supernatural 'apparition', breaking through the 'artificial fabric' that is the sonata structure.⁶⁰

However, taking Hoffmann's review as a whole, his discussion of the returning material was inconsistent, for whilst he spoke of the return of the material just before the second subject in mystical terms, he glossed over the full-blown return of the opening in the coda with mere description: 'before the close, the introductory phrase [Satz] returns in common time, but after it has lasted a mere nine bars, the 6/8

⁵⁸ See Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1960), 1, 775-6 and my discussion in Chapter 2.

⁵⁹ See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175-6, and Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ It is interesting that Hoffmann's response to such a formal design was neither historicizing nor one of surprise. Charles Rosen has pointed out similar structures in Mozart's Viola Quintet in D major, K. 593 and Haydn's symphonies nos. 97 and 103 (the *Drumroll*). He goes on to suggest – not implausibly – that one of these works inspired Beethoven to use a similar design in op. 70, no. 2. See Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York, 1980), 243. There Rosen mentions op. 70, no. 2 and Haydn's symphony no. 103 as the most famous examples of the reappearance of material from the slow introduction later in the Allegro, 'renotated in the new rhythm' (Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 243). Strangely Rosen fails to mention it again when he adds: 'reappearances of the introduction in the original tempo later in the movement are also to be found: the *Drumroll* Symphony offers an example of this as well, as do Mozart's Viola Quintet in D major, K. 593, and Beethoven's *Pathétique* Sonata, op. 13' (ibid). See also Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London, 1976), 348.

and the main theme return, with a shortened version of which the Allegro closes'.⁶¹ Quite why Hoffmann did not pursue the implications of his evocation of the supernatural is unclear, and, to some extent at least, beside the point. The link had been made and the weight of cultural associations that Hoffmann brought into play in doing so overpowers his inconsistency in its application. For, as I shall argue, Hoffmann's evocation of a supernatural presence at a moment of fracture in the musical surface is not coincidental; instead, it marks the appearance in music criticism of ideas of Music's supernatural voice that had already impacted in literature: it locates both Jean Paul's notion of the supernatural musical voice and Goethe's daemonic within a specific musical text. In thus evoking a supernatural model for interpretation, one may challenge the paradigm of heroic struggle and overcoming that has been attached to so much of Beethoven's work.⁶²

Referring to the first return of the material from the slow introduction (bars 53-63), Hoffmann had written:

In the manner in which the phrase is placed here, it sounds like an unexpectedly occurring chorale, which suddenly breaks through the artificial fabric and agitates the soul like a strange and marvellous apparition. – Only a practised ear will immediately recognize the opening section, so entirely different, so new does it appear [...].⁶³

Three things are important here: 1) the interrupting phrase is identified as 'chorale', the rest as 'artificial fabric', thereby establishing an opposition of 'chorale' and 'artificial fabric'; 2) the 'chorale' has the strength to break through *and act on* the listener; 3) an experienced listener ('a practised ear') will recognize the material to be taken from the opening of the movement, in other words, it evokes a sense of past.

⁶¹ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios Op. 70', *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 135: 'noch vor dem Schlusse kehrt der Einleitungssatz im ganzen Takt wieder, nachdem er aber nur neun Takte gedauert, tritt der 6/8 Takt und das Hauptthema wieder ein, mit dem in der Abkürzung das Allegro schließt'. Hoffmann's review 'Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios Op. 70' was first published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 15, no. 9 on the 3rd of March 1813 (cols. 141-54), with four pages of music examples. Together with the 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Hoffmann revised this review to form the essay 'Beethovens Instrumentalmusik' published as part four of the *Kreisleriana* in volume one of the *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (Bamberg, 1814).

⁶² On Beethoven criticism, the heroic paradigm and Beethoven's music, see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 2000).

⁶³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios Op. 70', 133: 'so wie der Satz hier gestellt ist, klingt er wie ein unerwartet eintretender Choral, der das künstliche Gewebe plötzlich durchbricht, und wie eine fremde, wunderbare Erscheinung das Gemüt aufregt. – Nur ein geübteres Ohr wird augenblicklich den Einleitungssatz wiedererkennen, so ganz anders, so neu erscheint er [...]'.

Following its first hearing, in the first eight bars of the introductory *Poco sostenuto* section, the material that Hoffmann described as ‘chorale’ with reference to bars 53-63 occurs three more times, as outlined in Table 2 below:

Section No.		Location within Sonata Structure	Bar Nos.
1	Interruption before the 2 nd subject	Exposition	53-63
2	Interruption before the 2 nd subject	Recapitulation	164-74
3	Return of the <i>Poco sostenuto</i> opening (as ‘Tempo I’)	Coda	223-31

Table 2: Returns of the Opening ‘Chorale’ Material Within the Sonata Allegro of op. 70, no. 2

The location of the first interruption is significant; having been heard at the opening of the movement, the material reoccurs just before the second subject temporarily displacing it.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the same happens in the recapitulation. However, it is the final appearance of the ‘chorale’ material that is the most dramatic: breaking into the coda in its original 4/4 metre (bars 223-31), it quite literally throws the movement off balance. Despite a two-bar link that appears to mark some kind of attempt at re-orientation on the part of the ‘worldly’ (bars 232-3), the 1st subject is unable to assert itself and the movement closes with it gradual fragmentation (234-41).⁶⁵

⁶⁴ For an alternative reading of the relationship between the ‘chorale’ material and the 2nd subject see Wolfgang Osthoff, ‘Die langsamen Einleitungen in Beethovens Klaviertrios (op. 1 Nr. 2; op. 121a; op. 70 Nr. 2)’, *Beethovens Klaviertrios, Symposion München 1990*, ed. Rudolf Bockholdt and Petra Weber-Bockholdt, Veröffentlichungen des Beethoven-Hauses in Bonn, vol. 4, no. 9 (München, 1992), 119-29. Wolfgang Osthoff reads the material of bars 53-63 as part of the 2nd subject group. He writes: ‘with the suggested primary substance this slow introduction does not refer to the main theme of the subsequent allegro, but to the group of the secondary theme. This means that its first idea (bars 53-63) is anticipated by the *Poco sostenuto* and, in the shape of the slow introduction, even inserts itself before the close of the movement (bar 223ff.)’ (Osthoff, ‘Die langsamen Einleitungen in Beethovens Klaviertrios’, 123: ‘diese langsame Einleitung [bezieht sich] mit der angedeuteten primären Substanz nicht auf das Hauptthema des folgenden Allegro, sondern auf die Gruppe des Seitensatzes. D.h. dessen erster Gedanke [T. 53-63] wird von dem *Poco sostenuto* vorweggenommen und schiebt sich in der Form der langsamen Einleitung sogar noch einmal vor den Schluß des Satzes [T. 223ff.]’). Furthermore, Osthoff sidesteps a crucial distinction for the interpretation of the function of the returning material when he adds, by way of a footnote, ‘it is a purely academic question, whether one lets the ‘actual’ secondary theme begin with bar 53 or bar 64’ (Osthoff, ‘Die langsamen Einleitungen in Beethovens Klaviertrios’, 128n: ‘es ist eine rein akademische Frage, ob man das “eigentliche” Seitenthema mit T. 53 oder T. 64 beginnen läßt’).

⁶⁵ That this is in itself suggestive of a particular narrative will be considered in relation to the coda.

These returns of the ‘chorale’ interrupt the progress of the sonata structure, producing a tension between the unfolding of, in Hoffmann’s words, a worldly, ‘artificial’ sonata structure, and an ‘otherworldly’ musical voice that threatens its progress. But what led Hoffmann to identify this opposition in these terms? After all, establishing a duality of this sort appears to go against his own assertion that music, in the sense of a *whole* work, is able to open up the ‘realm of the infinite’.⁶⁶ Unexpectedly, a possible answer to this question is to be found in Hoffmann’s article on ‘Old and New Church Music’, published in 1814, one year after the Beethoven review.⁶⁷

4.2.1. ‘Old and New Church Music’ and Music’s Ancient Voice

At the heart of this much-quoted essay lies Hoffmann’s opposition of an ancient simplicity and poise with a modern ‘melodic verve’. The former reflects music’s origin in faith and status as ‘pure cult’; in contrast the ‘melodic verve’ is theatrical in origin and as such is not only a mark of secularisation, but also of a betrayal of music’s true nature through an opportunistic pursuit of fashionable effect.

Hoffmann contrasts the two poles of the antique and the modern, the pagan and the Christian, and represents them as the plastic (sculpture) and the musical. Christianity destroyed the plastic and created music and ‘that art closest to it’, painting.⁶⁸ The origin of music and the Christian faith are thus closely fused, with the result that ‘according to her inner, typical nature, music is [...] religious cult, and her origin is purely to be sought, and found, in religion, in the church’.⁶⁹ Hoffmann identifies Palestrina as the pinnacle of this sacred music, crediting him with ushering in the ‘the most wonderful period of church music (and therefore of music as a

⁶⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 35: ‘das Reich des Unendlichen’, quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 67.

⁶⁷ E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Alte und neue Kirchenmusik’, *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 209–35.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 212: ‘das Christentum vernichtete jene [die Plastik] und schuf diese [die Musik], sowie die ihr zunächst stehende Malerei’ (‘Christianity destroyed the former [sculpture] and created the latter [music], as well as that art closest to it, painting’).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: ‘ihrem innern, eigentümlichen Wesen nach, ist daher die Musik, wie eben erst gesagt wurde, religiöser Kultus, und ihr Ursprung einzig und allein in der Religion, in der Kirche, zu suchen und zu finden’.

whole)⁷⁰ The greatness of Palestrina's music was the result of his faith: Palestrina is 'simple, truthful, childish, devout, strong and mighty – truly Christian – in his works'.⁷¹ His is 'truly music from another world'.⁷² 'The masters of that time kept themselves free of all embellishments, and sought merely to be truthful in pious simplicity, until, more and more, the melodic verve that the compositions took caused the first deviations from that deep seriousness'.⁷³ Thus sacred music began to be polluted by secular influences as composers bowed to fashion, especially from the theatre, and began to 'carry worldly pomp into the sacred artefact'.⁷⁴ Music that had in the past been characterized by 'truthfulness and strength' is now characterized by 'affectation and weakness'.⁷⁵ Whilst in the past the lack of instruments aided a 'natural' simplicity as it ensured a simple 'vocal' melodic writing, it is not the rise of greater instrumental ability (which itself is to be treasured) that carried the 'worldly pomp into the sacred artefact'. Instead, the blame lies with composers who bowed to popularist temptation, attempting to dazzle audiences with inappropriately ornate writing that, in borrowing from the theatre, was thus not only unsuitable for church music, but went against its very nature as 'pure cult'.

As 'pure cult', this ancient, true music had the power to wield a supernatural strength. Hoffmann credited it with the power to 'seize [the soul] with unnameable

⁷⁰ Ibid., 214: 'mit Palestrina hub unstreitig die herrlichste Periode der Kirchenmusik (und also der Musik überhaupt) an, die sich beinahe zweihundert Jahre bei immer zunehmendem Reichtum in ihrer frommen Würde und Kraft erhielt' ('without a doubt, the most wonderful period of church music [and therefore of music as a whole] began with Palestrina. Growing ever richer, it maintained its dignity and strength for nearly two hundred years').

⁷¹ Ibid., 216: 'Palestrina ist einfach, wahrhaft, kindlich, fromm, stark und mächtig – echtchristlich in seinen Werken, wie in der Malerei *Pietro von Cortona* und unser alter *Dürer*; sein Komponieren war Religionsübung' ('Palestrina is simple, truthful, childish, devout, strong and mighty – truly Christian – in his work, as in painting *Pietro of Cortana*, and our dear *Dürer*; his composing was religious practice').

⁷² An expression Hoffmann credits the Italians with: '*musica dell' altro mondo*' ('Alte und neue Kirchenmusik', 215).

⁷³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Alte und neue Kirchenmusik', 217: 'die Meister der damaligen Zeit erhielten sich rein von allem Schmuck, und trachteten nur dahin, in frommer Einfalt wahrhaftig zu sein, bis nach und nach der melodische Schwung, den die Kompositionen nahmen, die ersten Abweichungen von jenem tiefen Ernst bereitete'.

⁷⁴ Ibid.: 'wie wenig Einfluß aber damals das Theater auf die Kirche hatte, oder vielmehr, wie es dem Meister gar nicht in den Sinn kommen konnte, weltlichen Prunk ins Heiligtum zu tragen, zeigen die Kirchenwerke dieses Komponisten [*Alessandro Scarlatti*], die, unerachtet ihres melodischen Schwunges, doch, rücksichtlich der kühnen Akkordenfolge und der innern Kraft, sich an Palestrinas Werke anschließen' ('but just how little influence the theatre had on the church at that time, or rather, how it could not occur to the master to carry worldly pomp into the sacred artefact, is shown by the religious works of this composer [*Alessandro Scarlatti*], which, ignoring their melodic verve, follow Palestrina's work in view of their bold chord sequences and inner strength').

⁷⁵ Hoffmann contrasts the 'old truthfulness and strength' ('[die alte] Wahrhaftigkeit und Kraft') with the modern 'affectation and weakness' ('[der] modernen Geziertheit und Weichlichkeit') ('Alte und neue Kirchenmusik', 219).

force and lift it up to the highest'.⁷⁶ Thus, he claimed, 'harmony becomes image and expression of the community of ghosts, the union with the eternal, the ideal that sits in solitary splendour above and yet includes us'.⁷⁷

I am not suggesting that Hoffmann thought of Beethoven's trio Op. 70, no. 2 as a sacred work, but the opposition that Hoffmann describes between the ancient sacred style and the newer, secularised style, can be seen to work in Beethoven's movement. Certainly the material that Hoffmann identifies as 'chorale' rings true with many of his signifiers of the 'true' ancient style of church music. The poised, stepwise motion of the 'chorale' evokes the 'canto fermo' that Hoffmann cites as a paradigm of melodic writing.⁷⁸ The 'chorale' is devoid of embellishments (all the more obvious as the first subject draws so heavily on them), it lacks 'melodic verve' and its harmony is simple, even if its tonal region is in marked contrast (see Example 1).

The material that Hoffmann likened to a 'chorale' in Beethoven's op. 70, no. 2 is thus a signifier of music's true origin, the ancient voice of the eternal that grasps through the 'artificial fabric' that is the sonata form. In its simplicity, it 'spurns everything worldly': becoming the 'image and expression of the community of ghosts, the union with the eternal, the ideal that sits in solitary splendour above and yet includes us', the 'chorale', this 'music from another world', 'breaks through the artificial fabric' as 'strange and marvellous apparition', 'agitates the soul', and seizing it 'with unnameable force [...] [lifts] it up to the highest'. Consequently, despite being characterized by an ancient, pious simplicity, the 'chorale' shows Music's voice to be once again both powerful and destructive. Grasping through the 'artificial fabric' it violently relocates the listener's soul in its supernatural realm. If the

⁷⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Alte und Neue Kirchenmusik', 214: 'ohne allen Schmuck, ohne melodischen Schwung, folgten meistens vollkommene, konsonierende Akkorde aufeinander, von deren Stärke und Kühnheit das Gemüt mit unnennbarer Gewalt ergriffen und zum Höchsten erhoben wird' ('usually, without any embellishment, without melodic verve, consonant triads followed one another, by the power and boldness of which the soul is seized with unnameable force and lifted up to the highest').

⁷⁷ Ibid., 215: 'und so wird der Akkord, die Harmonie, Bild und Ausdruck der Geistergemeinschaft, der Vereinigung mit dem Ewigen, dem Idealen, das über uns thront und doch uns einschließt'. Note Hoffmann's elision of 'chord' and 'harmony' to describe what we would call Palestrina's counterpoint.

⁷⁸ Of the melodic writing of this ancient music, Hoffmann had written, 'the course of the individual voices is reminiscent of the *canto fermo*' ('Alte und neue Kirchenmusik', 215: 'der Gang der einzelnen Stimmen erinnert an den *Canto fermo*').

resultant experience is pleasurable, then this is symptomatic of the ambiguous allure that reveals Music's supernatural voice to be daemonic.⁷⁹



Example 1: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: 'chorale', bars 53-63

In marked contrast to the ancient simplicity of the 'chorale', the first subject, with its strangely forced, angular melodic writing, appears almost as a parody of the 'melodic verve' that Hoffmann describes. Furthermore, it is highly embellished, using both trills and written out turn-like figures (motif y, see Example 2).



Example 2: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: 1st Subject

The second theme of the first subject group (bars 40-6) and the transitional material in bars 47-51 further add semiquavers to those characteristics, above, that distinguish the music of the sonata structure proper against the 'chorale'. Being perhaps the most obvious signifier of 'melodic verve' next to the angularity of the first subject, semiquavers occur in a variety of guises, including in the shape of the strangely demented-sounding accompaniment in bars 40-6; in the form of the delicate ornamental runs of the second subject (bars 64-71); and both as transitional material

⁷⁹ We recall the addictive coming together of violence and pleasure in the daemonic narrative of Hoffmann's *Don Juan* (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.).

(e.g. in bars 47-51), and as dynamic accompanying material (e.g. in the development section). Significantly though, in their treatment throughout the form, melodic angularity, trills, turn-like figures and semiquaver-writing become signifiers of difference that, when compared to the 'chorale' material, establish the surrounding sonata structure as 'artificial fabric'. In the following discussion I shall refer to these motivic materials collectively as 'signifiers of artificiality'.

To sum up the argument thus far: the first movement's 'chorale' sections mark a gap within the form through which Music speaks as supernatural voice. The sonata structure, for Hoffmann the 'artificial fabric', is equivalent to Jean Paul's worldly 'reality'; the 'chorale' sections analogous to a supernatural voice. Like Goethe's daemonic, this voice penetrates 'everything that limits us'⁸⁰ – in this sense the formal frame of the sonata structure – and, having marked its 'gap', powerfully impacts within the worldly reality. The 'chorale' therefore both opens the gap through which the daemonic supernatural voice sounds and is itself that voice.

4.2.2. 'Motivic Contamination' and the Closure of the 'Gap'

The motivic aspects I have just isolated as 'signifiers of artificiality' do not merely serve to characterize the opposition of 'chorale' and 'artificial fabric'; in addition they generate a narrative dynamic in the interaction of materials. On each of its four appearances, the supernatural 'chorale' interrupts without transition, only to find the 'gap' through which it sounds gradually closed as the 'signifiers of artificiality' appear within it, gradually usurping the 'chorale's' otherness and thereby closing the 'gap' through which it sounds. These signifiers are the motivic healing mechanism with which the 'artificial fabric' mends its cut.⁸¹ I shall refer to this process of placing the 'signifiers of artificiality' within the 'chorale' and thereby blocking it out as 'motivic contamination'.

Let us consider the transition to the second subject (see Example 3). The pivotal moment occurs in bar 63. Having begun what appeared to be another statement of the 'chorale' in bar 61, the piano part briefly rests on a trill on C, before a

⁸⁰ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar'.

⁸¹ Obviously on its first hearing the 'chorale' material is not perceived as interruption as it marks the opening of the work.

quick run up to F reintroduces the semiquaver motion that had been interrupted in bar 52 and leads into the second subject (bar 64), effectively shutting out the supernatural voice. As in Hoffmann's discussion of church music, it is the 'melodic verve' (of the 'signifiers of artificiality') that causes 'the first deviations from that deep seriousness' (the 'chorale'), and with the foregrounding of these 'deviations' comes the closure of the gap through which the supernatural voice sounds.

53

62

f *p* *p* *molto legato* *p* *pp* *p* *tr* *p dolce* *tr*

Example 3: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: bars 53-67

In the recapitulation this 'motivic contamination' is even more pronounced:

164

f *p* *pp* *p* *pp* *p molto legato* *p* *pp*



Example 4: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: bars 164-178

In the first interruption by the chorale, the gap had closed within one bar (bar 63, although the left hand of the piano in bar 62 already hints at a change of texture) and a clear statement of the opening of the ‘chorale’ melody had been discernable in the right hand of the piano part. In bars 173-4 however, what had been a stepwise downward motion in dotted crotchets in the pianist’s right hand in bar 62, becomes a semiquaver upward motion in bar 173, resulting in a closure of the gap over two bars. But this apparently greater ingression of the ‘artificial fabric’ into the gap of the supernatural voice is not, as it may at first appear, the result of a weakening of the supernatural voice. It is, in fact, the opposite: a blocking out of the voice that had previously been effected within one bar, now takes two. Furthermore, what had been an embellished upward leap of a third in bars 63-4, is extended to a compound third. Precisely at the moment when the second subject should be ‘grounded’,⁸² facilitating the closure of the structure, we find the signifiers of that structure flamboyantly leaping upwards, asserting their difference in the face of the supernatural threat. Tonally ‘grounded’ it may be, but it is perhaps significant for our narrative of the interaction of the worldly and the supernatural that this assertion of the home key through the tonal assimilation of the second subject should occur precisely at that moment when the sonata structure manages, at least temporarily, to overcome the supernatural ingressions of the ‘chorale’;⁸³ the artificial structure resolves its

⁸² James Webster, ‘Sonata Form’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 17, col. 498, quoted in Susan McClary, ‘Narrative Agendas in “Absolute” Music: Identity and Difference in Brahms’s Third Symphony’, *Musicology and Difference*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley, 1993), 332. McClary adopts Webster’s term in her construction of a sonata form that ‘replicates with uncanny accuracy the narrative paradigms of myth delineated by narratologists such as Vladimir Propp and Jurij Lotman’ (McClary, ‘Narrative Agendas in “Absolute” Music’, 332-3).

⁸³ Not coincidentally both of these ingressions are in key areas that challenge the stability of the tonic: first G flat major, then C flat major.

difference in response to the threat of destabilization. The ‘artificial fabric’ may have succeeded for the moment, but the chorale returns one more time, this time literally inserted into the movement in its original metre.

4.2.3. The Coda, the Heroic Paradigm and Jean Paul’s ‘Hesperus’

With Beethoven a sonata-form movement is also the ‘story of a theme’ – the first theme – and the exciting last chapter of the story is told in the coda.⁸⁴

Joseph Kerman is here referring implicitly to the construction of heroic narratives that have become so deeply ingrained in studies of Beethoven’s works. As Scott Burnham has pointed out in his discussion of the Beethovenian heroic coda, in such narratives the ‘exciting last chapter of the story’ of the first theme is marked by the assertion of that theme over the preceding material. The result is the triumph of a protagonist or hero, both associated with and identified as the first subject.⁸⁵ It is a move that depends on what Kerman terms ‘thematic completion’; he asserts that ‘thematic “completion” – to pick what is perhaps the most convenient term – should be regarded as the centrally important feature of Beethoven’s codas of the second period’.⁸⁶

I evoke the heroic paradigm for several reasons. There is a long and well-documented tradition of viewing moments of surface fracture such as the ‘chorale’ material in this movement as challenging a hero/protagonist, thereby marking them for ‘grounding’ by the hero’s will.⁸⁷ Within this paradigm, the key of E flat major has special significance, largely as a result of the *Eroica*. It is a key that figures prominently in Beethoven’s output for piano trio but, as Peter Cahn has pointed out, ‘none of these [works] appear suited to confirming the frequently evoked aura of E flat major as a heroic tonality. Rather the opposite could be said to be true’.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Joseph Kerman, ‘Notes on Beethoven’s Codas’, *Beethoven Studies*, ed. Alan Tyson (Cambridge, 1982), 3, 149-50.

⁸⁵ See Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*.

⁸⁶ Kerman, ‘Notes on Beethoven’s Codas’, 151.

⁸⁷ In recent years this aspect of sonata forms has become a fundamental part of feminist critiques of such structures. See, for example, Susan McClary, ‘Narrative Agendas in “Absolute” Music’.

⁸⁸ Peter Cahn, ‘Zu Beethovens Klaviertrio in Es-Dur op. 70 Nr. 2’, *Beethovens Klaviertrios, Symposium München 1990*, ed. Rudolf Bockholdt and Petra Weber-Bockholdt, Veröffentlichungen des Beethoven-Hauses in Bonn, vol. 4, no. 9 (München, 1992), 130: ‘allerdings erscheint keines von ihnen geeignet, die oft beschworene Aura von Es-Dur als heroischer Tonart zu bestätigen. Eher ließe sich das Gegenteil behaupten’.

Viewed in this light, the first movement of op. 70, no. 2 throws something of a spanner into the works: it is a movement in a key strongly associated with heroism that sharply highlights opposition to the main theme, only to deny that theme a sense of triumph over its opposition.⁸⁹ It suggests the need for an alternative narrative.

Burnham suggests that what he terms Beethoven's heroic style music 'resolv[es] (or combin[es])' the 'urge to be subsumed in a greater organic whole' and the 'urge to be passionately individual and self-assertive' by removing the 'world order against which the hero defines himself – one hears only the hero, the self, fighting against his own element'.⁹⁰ For Burnham, this suggests 'that there is no world beyond the piece'.⁹¹ But if this is the case, then the ingressions of the 'chorale' material challenge this heroic paradigm by suggesting that there is in fact a world outside the formal boundaries of the sonata structure. Furthermore, rather than reinstating a world order that allows the hero to define himself, the 'chorale' material, as 'strange and marvellous apparition', becomes a signifier of Jean Paul's eternal spirit realm. Consequently, the world it suggests is *otherworldly*, its sense of 'past' undermining the heroic teleology of the sonata structure. As such, it destabilizes the very condition of the hero's existence. It is in this abandonment of the heroic condition that the movement's alternative narrative lies.

As the end of the recapitulation is reached, the movement appears to run on into the original development section as – surely not accidentally – it is the combined signifiers of the 'artificial fabric', the trill (in the shape of an angular motivic fragment of the first subject) and the semiquaver embellishment that are once again

⁸⁹ It is perhaps this aspect of the work that has seen it banished into the shadow of op. 70, no. 1. Cahn cites a variety of nineteenth-century sources that view op. 70, no. 2 critically because of its diversity of material (see Cahn, 'Zu Beethovens Klaviertrio in Es-Dur', 131-2). As Cahn points out, this is, of course, something that Hoffmann too, noted in his review when he wrote, 'despite the elements from which this movement is fashioned being more diverse than one is otherwise accustomed in Beethoven's music – as the second theme bears little relation to the first, and the third theme (taken from the introduction) appears entirely foreign – so everything nevertheless stands strong, and from one mould. The truly musical listener will grasp the admittedly complex progress of the Allegro easily, even if some things may perhaps not be immediately clear to the more inexperienced ear' (E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios Op. 70', 135: 'unerachtet die Elemente, aus denen dieser Satz geschaffen, verschiedenartiger sind, als man es sonst bei Beethovenscher Musik gewohnt ist, da der zweite Satz des Allegros mit dem ersten wenig verwandt ist, und das dritte, der Einleitung entnommene Thema vollends fremdartig erscheint: so steht doch alles in einem Gusse kräftig da, und der wahrhaft musikalische Zuhörer wird leicht den freilich komplizierten Gang des Allegros auffassen, wenn auch vielleicht dem ungeübteren Ohr manches im Anfange nicht deutlich werden könnte'). I would, however, dispute Cahn's suggestion that this marks a critical stance against the work on Hoffmann's part.

⁹⁰ Burnham, *Beethoven Hero*, 121.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

developed (bars 207-10). However, in bars 211-19, the trill figure is removed and the momentum of the movement seems to halt in an apparently static circling of the same two-bar phrase. After four repetitions, the piano breaks the cycle with a downward arpeggio figure (bars 219-22) that is quite literally brushed aside by the final appearance of the chorale material (see Example 5).

209

213

(8)

217

(8)

221

Tempo I

Tempo I

227

cresc. *p* *tr* *3*

232 **Tempo II**

f *sf* *p* *tr*

Tempo II

cresc. *f* *sf* *p* *tr*

237

dim. *tr* *p*

dim. *tr* *p*

dim. *tr* *p* *3* *3* *3* *3*

Example 5: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: bar 209 to the end of the movement

Where this moment differs from the earlier occurrence identified by Hoffmann is in that it returns not only melodically but also metrically. Bars 223-31 mark a full return of the first eight bars of the opening slow introduction of the movement, albeit set somewhat differently and with an extra bar inserted (bar 230). It is with this opposition of contrasting metres (4/4 and 6/8) that we return once more to Jean Paul's *Hesperus* and the construction of the experience of music as a point of

rupture in perceived reality, creating a gap through which ‘all tones’ speak as daemonic voice.⁹²

Jean Paul describes this experience of music as the ‘witching hour of the past’,⁹³ but just like that hour, music’s opening up of the spirit realm is a transient event that allows the experience of something timeless. Similarly, the occurrences of the ‘chorale’ within Beethoven’s sonata structure break through the ‘real’, worldly structure and, in their simplicity, incongruity and evocation of an ‘ancient’ sacred style, suggest that what we are hearing is a timeless supernatural voice. However, the worldly experience of this voice is limited to the length of time for which the gap in reality is kept open. As we saw in the previous section, this time is brief, as the worldly reality (the ‘artificial’ sonata structure) closes the gap.

What had, in *Hesperus* been a voice speaking with the ‘diction of verse’ is here a voice speaking in an alien metre. In *Hesperus*, Music’s supernatural voice appears first as a ‘wistful memory’, before being heard as a ‘cracked voice’ speaking ‘with the diction of verse’.⁹⁴ As the voice is heard ‘with the diction of verse’ it confronts the listener with grief and loss and his heart breaks, leading to a sense of sublime revelation. Within Beethoven’s movement, the second and third occurrences of the ‘chorale’ material (in the exposition and the recapitulation) merely evoke the past metre, occurring, as they do, as rewritten memories within the new 6/8 metre.⁹⁵ On its final hearing however, its return to the 4/4 metre marks the occurrence of a supernatural voice whose metre is different from that which surrounds it. Just as this change of diction in *Hesperus* triggered Viktor’s heart to break as he grieved for past loss, so here, the change of metre evokes a literal return of the past and causes the first subject to break.

Once again, a few bars into the return, the signifiers of the ‘artificial fabric’ appear (bars 228-31), much as they did in the slow introduction, attempting to assert

⁹² Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 776: ‘alle Töne schienen die überirdischen Echo seines Traumes zu sein, welche Wesen antworteten, die man nicht sah und nicht hörte’ (‘all tones seemed to be the celestial echo of his dream, answered by beings that one neither saw nor heard’). See also my discussion of this passage in Chapter 2, Section 2.2..

⁹³ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, 948: ‘[die] Geisterstunde der Vergangenheit’.

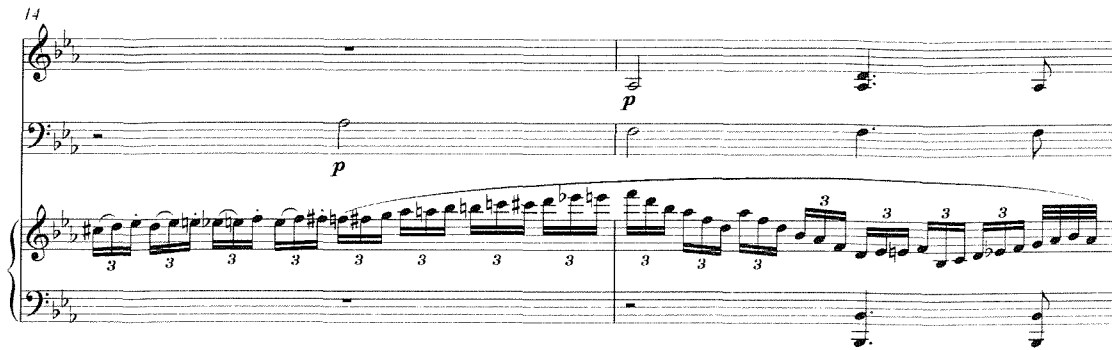
⁹⁴ Ibid.: ‘every time it felt within him as if a breaking voice spoke to him from a distant region whose voice had the diction of *verse*’ (italics, Jean Paul: ‘allemal [wars] in ihm, als wenn ihn aus einer fernen Gegend eine brechende Stimme anredete, deren Worte den Silbenfall von *Versen* hatten’). Jean Paul, like Hoffmann in this review, associates the supernatural voice with a ghostly presence.

⁹⁵ Hoffmann acknowledges the ‘chorale’ as evoking a sense of past when he states that ‘only a practised ear will immediately *recognize* the opening section’ (E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios’, 133: ‘nur ein geübtes Ohr wird augenblicklich den Einleitungssatz *wiedererkennen*’ [emphasis added]).

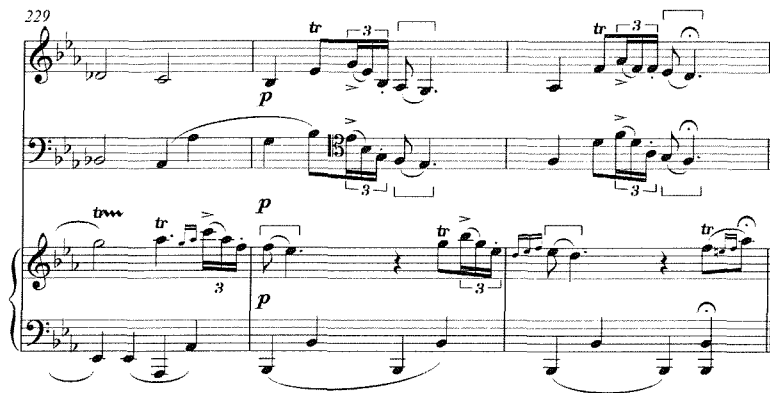
their identity and thereby resist the supernatural voice, but a change has taken place (see Example 6). Whereas in the slow introduction, the appearance of the semiquaver triplet figures marked an increasing sense of expectancy (bars 7-15), gradually leading into the first subject, here (bars 229-31) there is a feeling of closure, of an unravelling texture. The change is subtle: what was a rising chromatic motion now falls (see brackets, Example 6).

Despite the motivic contamination now lasting four bars, there is no sense in bars 228-31 of successfully blocking out the supernatural voice. Unable either to rise towards a statement of the first subject (as the slow introduction had done), or to lead towards the second subject (as in bars 61-3 or 172-4), the material grinds to a halt (bar 231). It is something of a nodal moment; the daemonic supernatural voice of (and signified by) the 'chorale' and the 'artificial fabric' through which it sounds are in the balance. Bars 232-33 isolate the 'artificial fabric' and, as the daemonic supernatural voice withdraws, we are left observing how the worldly form will react. What does return is a gradual fragmentation of the first subject, and as it does so, it withdraws more and more into the past by presenting fragments of its past unity. The daemonic supernatural voice, signifier of the eternal infinite, has possessed the 'worldly' sonata structure and fragmented its sense of self, leaving it robbed of its heroic forward drive and instead reflecting on its past. Ironically it is at this point, if one extends the comparison with *Hesperus*, that a sense of sublime revelation is attained.

The musical score for Example 6 is presented in two systems. The first system, labeled with a '7' at the beginning, covers bars 7 through 15. It features a piano introduction with a semiquaver triplet figure. The second system, labeled with a '12' at the beginning, covers bars 12 through 15. It shows the first subject, which is a rising chromatic motion. The score is written for piano and violin, with dynamics ranging from piano (p) to forte (f). The key signature is B-flat major, and the time signature is 3/4.



Example 6a: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: bars 7-15



Example 6b: Beethoven op. 70, no. 2, i: bars 229-31

4.2.4. Epilogue

Expanding on Hoffmann's evocation of the supernatural and drawing explicit parallels to Jean Paul's *Hesperus* has taken us to an interesting point. If the fragmentation of the 1st subject in the first movement of op. 70, no. 2 is read as the breaking of the heart and the grieving for past loss (or, a lost past) that music triggers in the listener in *Hesperus*, then Beethoven's piece enacts the *experience* of listening to music. Its narrative becomes one of the interaction of the listening subject, the self (the 'artificial form', represented by the 1st subject), and Music (the 'chorale'). It is music about Music.

Chapter 5

Music's Daemonic Voice, Female Vocality and the Female Body in the late Eighteenth- and early Nineteenth-century Lied

1	Der Mondenschein verwirret Die Täler weit und breit, Die Bächlein, wie verirret, Gehn durch die Einsamkeit.	The moonlight bewilders The valleys far and wide; As if lost, the brooks Lead through the loneliness.
2	Da drüben sah ich stehen Den Wald auf steiler Höh, Die finstern Tannen sehen In einen tiefen See.	Over there I saw stand, The forest on a steep height; The sinister pine trees look Into a deep lake.
3	Ein Kahn wohl sah ich ragen, Doch niemand, der es lenkt, Das Ruder war zerschlagen, Das Schiffelein halb versenkt.	A small boat I thought I saw jutting, Yet no-one who steers it; The oar was smashed, The little boat half sunk.
4	Eine Nixe auf dem Steine Flocht dort ihr goldnes Haar, Sie meint' sie wär alleine, Und sang so wunderbar.	A nymph on the rocks Plaited there her golden hair; She thought she was alone, And sang so miraculously.
5	Sie sang und sang, in den Bäumen Und Quellen rauscht' es sacht Und flüsterte wie in Träumen Die mondbeglänzte Nacht.	She sang and sang, in the trees And springs it murmured gently, And whispered as in dreams The moon-touched night.
6	Ich aber stand erschrocken, Denn über Wald und Kluft Klangen die Morgenglocken Schon ferne durch die Luft.	But I stood there, shocked, For over forest and crags The morning bells sounded, Already distant through the air.
7	Und hätt ich nicht vernommen Den Klang zu guter Stund, Wär nimmermehr gekommen Aus diesem stillen Grund'. ¹	And had I not heard The sound in time, Would never have returned From that silent valley.

Joseph von Eichendorff's poem, 'Der stille Grund' ('The Silent Valley'), written in 1835, has at its centre the (implicitly masculine) narrator's encounter with a

¹ Joseph von Eichendorff, 'Der stille Grund'. The poem is dated 19th of June 1835 (see Joseph von Eichendorff, *Joseph von Eichendorff, Gedichte*, vol. 1, bk. 2 of *Joseph von Eichendorff, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, Neue Edition*, ed. Harry Fröhlich [Tübingen, 1994], 623). 'Der stille Grund' was first published in 1837 in *Deutscher Muselalmanach*, ed. Adelbert von Chamisso (Leipzig, 1837) and in *Gedichte von Joseph Freiherrn von Eichendorff* (Berlin, 1837).

daemonic voice that sounds through a female body (in this case, a nymph).² The poem's scene is established through a romanticised landscape: the twilight of the moon, the stretching valleys and the rivers apparently randomly finding their way ('wie verirret' ['as if lost'], stanza 1, line 3) speak of a nature that is lost, confused, dream-like.³ It marks an elision of sublime landscape and the narrator's own thoughts, as ultimately it is he who is lost in a dream-like landscape. The pine-trees are a symbol of permanence, of stability, but also an unfathomable, sinister and mocking audience to his plight. It is not by chance that Eichendorff juxtaposes the forest and the deep lake ('einen tiefen See' ['a deep lake'], S. 2, L. 4); both were perceived as ancient unfathomable places likely to confront man with unknown threats (that were all the more threatening as they relied on man's imagination).⁴ The narrator sees what he believes to be a boat, but rather than a comforting companion it is empty, the shattered oar speaking of man's failure at the hands of an as yet unidentified threat. The vessel's sunken state marks a process of reclamation on the part of Nature.

Eichendorff's poem presents us with a double seduction: one seduction has already happened, the second is unfolding. The key is the half-sunken boat; its shattered oar is symbolic of the loss of life that had previously occurred. It carries the weight of absence: whoever may have steered at one time is no longer present. That time, like the duration of the nymph's song is unspecified – timeless in fact – her song both of that event and already of the next: the narrator of the poem, had he not been 'saved' by the sounding church bells, would have been the next victim. The ethereal beauty of the nymph is suggested by her golden hair and her lack of engagement with the scene so far described, but both her isolation and the physicality of her hair fade into the distance as it is her voice that is emphasized. She believes herself to be alone,

² The precedents for the seductively singing nymph, and the resultant association of the female voice with a threat to the masculine (listening) subject go back into antiquity. The earliest and most famous examples are the songs of the Sirens and Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*. See Charles Segal, 'The Gorgon and the Nightingale: The Voice of Female Lament and Pindar's *Pythian Ode*', *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism, 17 (Cambridge, 1994), 17-34. For a detailed discussion of the figure of the nymph in western culture, including early literature, see Anna Maria Stuby, *Liebe, Tod und Wasserfrau: Mythen des Weiblichen in der Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1992).

³ Henceforth I shall abbreviate stanza as 'S' and line as 'L', e.g. S. 1, L. 3.

⁴ One recalls Jean Paul's statement that 'even in itself, fear is more powerful and richer than hope [...] because the imagination finds far more images for fear than for hope' (Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller [München, 1963], 5, 94: 'schon an und für sich ist Furcht gewaltiger und reicher als Hoffnung [...] weil für die Furcht die Phantasie viel mehr Bilder findet als für die Hoffnung'). See also my discussion of this passage in Chapter 4.

or rather, the narrator believes her to believe herself alone. As her otherworldly ('wunderbar' ['miraculous'], S. 4, L. 4) voice rings out, it merges and reverberates with the sound of Nature 'as in dreams' ('wie in Träumen', S. 5, L. 3). Otherworldly voice, seductive physical beauty, the sound of Nature and the dream-state elide and envelop the narrator. Time appears suspended, the length of her song unspecified ('sie sang und sang' ['she sang and sang'], S. 5, L. 1) and one senses the narrator's own remove into the supernatural realm he is witnessing. This erotically charged supernatural reverie is only, and significantly, broken by the sound of the church bells, as the physical representation of the narrator's faith breaks the spell.

The nymph's voice is revealed as daemonic through the elision of meaning that occurs on 'Morgenglocken / Schon ferne' ('morning bells ... / Already distant', S. 6, L. 3-4) in the poem's sixth stanza:

6	Ich aber stand erschrocken, Denn über Wald und Kluft Klangen die Morgenglocken Schon ferne durch die Luft.	But I stood there, shocked, For over forest and crags The morning bells sounded, Already distant through the air.
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The narrator is shocked ('erschrocken', S. 6, L. 1) both at the morning bells sounding *already*, and at them sounding already *distant*; he is startled that it is already morning and that the bells sound from far away. It is a juxtaposition characteristic of the daemonic – we recall Goethe's definition:

It seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space.⁵

The nymph's song is thus daemonic because it distorts both worldly time and space: it transfixes the narrator by the lake ('stand' ['stood'], S. 6, L. 1) and as he stands there listening, it removes him from any worldly sense of time. In 'Der stille Grund', song is suggested as the private utterance of the supernatural female: 'Sie meint' sie war alleine' ('She thought she was alone', S. 4, L. 3).⁶ Its ultimate

⁵ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175: 'es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus'.

⁶ A similar representation of a nymph's song can be found in Ludwig Tieck's *Sehr wunderbare Historie von der Melusina*. In Tieck's story the nymph Melusina is able to live normally as a beautiful woman for six days of the week. On Sundays however, she reverts to her nymph-form. The knight Reymund marries Melusina unaware that she is a nymph and has to swear an oath, never to seek to find her on Sundays. Gradually he is fed rumours of his wife's infidelity and, using his sword, makes a hole

ambiguity however, is that, in the words of the narrator, the valley is silent ('Wär nimmermehr gekommen / Aus diesem stillen Grund' ['Would never have returned / From that silent valley'], S. 7, L. 3-4). The nymph's song is thus not entirely worldly, both audible to the narrator and yet silent, its daemonic nature rending the fabric of worldly existence. As such it threatens to overwhelm the masculine subject with its power and is only itself defeated by Christian faith, signified in Eichendorff's poem by the church bells.

The daemonic characteristics of the nymph's voice are present in Eichendorff's poem from the very beginning. The use of the words 'verwirret' ('bewilders', S. 1, L. 1), 'verirret' ('lost', S. 1, L. 3) and 'Einsamkeit' ('loneliness', S. 1, L. 4) in the first stanza gives a sense not only of space and distance, but of a bewildering loneliness, a suspension or breakdown of time and therefore, by extension, of civilization.⁷ Nature as it is presented in stanza two dwarfs the narrator and acts as stage for his confrontation with the nymph's daemonic voice. The third and fourth stanzas juxtapose the ambiguously sketched 'Kahn' ('small boat', S. 3, L. 1) with the erotic physicality of the nymph. 'Ein Kahn wohl' ('A small boat I thought', S. 3, L. 1) suggests a no longer quite recognizable, decaying wreck, and

in the door to Melusina's private chamber. As he looks in he beholds his wife 'from her [head] to her navel a beautiful woman, but then ending in the tail of a colourful speckled snake [...]. [...] Holding a zither in her hand, Melusina sang:

"Murmur and cry, you water fountains,
In the silent loneliness;
The deliverance is still far [away],
My tears add to your waves.

Oh, when will you end, grief [of mine],
Take from me my disgrace?
The punishment is always awake,
No-one can turn the evil fate."

At these words she wept floods of tears and Reymund was most deeply moved and shaken' (Tieck, *Sehr wunderbare Historie von der Melusina*, in *Undinenzauber: Von Nixen, Nymphen und anderen Wasserfrauen*, ed. Frank Rainer Max [Stuttgart, 1991], 46-7: 'wie sie von oben bis auf den Nabel ein schönes Weib sei, dann aber in den Schweif einer bunten gesprengten Schlange endigte [...]. [...] Melusina sang, indem sie eine Zitter in der Hand hielt: "Rauscht und weint, ihr Wasserquellen, / In der stillen Einsamkeit, / Die Erlösung ist noch weit, / Meine Tränen mehren eure Wellen. // Ach! wann wirst du, Trauer, enden, / Von mir nehmen meine Schmach? / Immer ist die Strafe wach, / Keiner kann das böse Verhängnis wenden". Bei diesen Worten vergoß sie einen Strom von Tränen, und Reymund war auf das innigste bewegt und erschüttert').

The *Sehr wunderbare Historie von der Melusina* was first published in 1800.

⁷ The sense of distorted time is heightened by the first verse being in the present tense, with the remainder of the poem being in the past. There are two exceptions: the first is the third line of the second verse, which again reverts to the present, as 'die finstern Tannen sehen' ('the sinister pine trees look'). However, it seems likely that this is to give the rhyme with 'stehen' in line one of the second stanza. The second exceptions are in the descriptions of the 'Kahn' in stanza 3. Both 'lenkt' (S. 3, L. 2) and 'versenkt' (S. 3, L. 4) are in the present. Again the rhyme structure of the poem would appear to be the reason.

thereby a sense of absence; it implies a lost past. At the same time it suggests past violence and the ultimate failure of man (civilization). The nymph's 'goldnes Haar' ('golden hair', S. 4, L. 2) is both a signifier of her body and an erotic fetish that establishes her as 'object'.⁸ Thus rendered static, her body is immediately eclipsed by her voice, emphasized through the repetition of 'sang' ('sang') in stanzas four and five ('Und sang so wunderbar. // Sie sang und sang ...' ['And sang so miraculously. // She sang and sang ...', S. 4, L. 4-S. 5, L. 1]).⁹ As well as suggesting the hypnotic effect of the nymph's voice on the narrator, the lingering on 'sang' tells of the narrator's paradoxical longing for that which nearly destroyed him – the nymph's lost song. The repetition at once presents the nymph's song as ambiguous in duration and as timeless, especially with its grammatically ambiguous elision with the sounds of the surrounding landscape:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>5 Sie sang und sang, in den Bäumen
 Und Quellen rauscht' es sacht
 Und flüsterte wie in Träumen
 Die mondbeglänzte Nacht.</p> | <p>She sang and sang, in the trees
 And springs it murmured gently,
 And whispered as in dreams
 The moon-touched night.</p> |
|---|--|

Echoing with Nature, the nymph's song suggests the perceived bond between woman and uncivilized Nature: fictional encounters with nymphs, mermaids, and other supernatural women were frequently set in areas of isolation or transition, such as forest clearings, seashores, or at the edges of lakes.¹⁰ As Anna Maria Stuby has argued, this represents what she terms the 'borderline situation of the feminine' in

⁸ The representation of nymphs as having long flowing hair dates back to the Middle Ages, but reached 'the height of fetishization' (Stuby, *Liebe, Tod und Wasserfrau*, 44: 'den Höhepunkt der Fetischisierung') in the 19th century: 'she receives long flowing, mostly golden hair that equally evokes the fawningly undulating movement of the waves, the erotic pleasure of gently rocking oneself, and the fatal noose, the shackle, the net in which fisherman, hunter and boatman ensnare themselves' (Stuby, *Liebe, Tod und Wasserfrau*, 44: 'sie erhält langes, fließendes, meist goldenes Haar, das die schmeichlerisch ondulierende Bewegung der Wellen, die erotische Lust des sanften Sich-Wiegens ebenso evoziert wie die todbringende Schlinge, die Fessel, das Netz, in dem sich Fischer, Jäger, Schiffer verfangen'). Not surprisingly, Stuby sees the Pre-Raphaelite paintings of late-Victorian England as particularly representative of this idea.

⁹ I here differentiate between the female body as subjected to the masculine gaze and thereby reduced to an 'object', and a voice that erupts from that body and resists containment. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones have described the relationship between female body and voice thus: 'like the body from which it emanates, the female voice is construed as both a signifier of otherness and a source of sexual power, an object at once of desire and fear' (*Embodied Voices*, 3). See also Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devises': The Exotic, the Erotic, and the Feminine", *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston, 1998), 26-42 and Dunn's description of 'the cultural fantasy of the Siren' as presenting 'woman as eroticized voice-object' (Leslie C. Dunn, 'Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness and the Feminine', *Embodied Voices*, 50-64). Dunn here borrows the terminology of Lacan (see 'Ophelia's Songs', 60, n. 32).

¹⁰ See Stuby, *Liebe, Tod und Wasserfrau*, 68.

contemporaneous culture.¹¹ The nymph thus stands for woman's access to pre-civilized wilderness at the edge of masculine civilization and culture. Mapped onto the domestic sphere, the fear is one of female regression within a masculine-controlled civilization, a regression that would threaten the masculine subject and risk effeminising him.¹² In Eichendorff's poem the vehicle for this regression (as well as its signifier) is the nymph's (woman's) song.

This threatening female body, through whose physical beauty sounds the even greater danger of a daemonic musical voice stands in stark contrast to the contemporaneous understanding of women in domestic musical performance as representing the musical ideal. Appearing as it did though, in the fiction, poetry and song consumed by just that domestic circle, the representation of the daemonic female voice presents us with an uneasy coexistence of representations of the female body and vocality in literary and musical supernaturalism and performance practice. The distinction is one between music *of* women (especially with a supernaturalist plot) and music *for* women. The former, the representation of woman's song within song, presents the female body as seductive supernatural threat that utilizes its unearthly daemonic voice to bring about the destruction of the implicitly masculine listening subject. The latter, the female practice of song, binds woman firmly into the all too worldly reality of the bourgeois domestic circle. Here woman became the manifestation of the musical ideal, woman's accomplishment in music a reflection of music's beauty; the act of gazing at the performer both an acknowledgement of woman's domesticity and the (masculine) observer's culture and control. Considering the genre of the Lied in the context, and against the backdrop of domestic music making, this chapter takes the form of three case studies that together illuminate the workings of the daemonic as an aesthetic category within these apparently conflicting representations and practices.

The case studies gradually take us into the late 18th- and early 19th-century bourgeois music room. I begin with the literary figure of the Loreley. Drawing both on literary works and Johann Hoven's setting of Heinrich Heine's version of the tale, the figure of the Loreley serves to illustrate the representation of song as a daemonic voice that sounds through the supernatural female body. The second study will use

¹¹ Ibid.: 'die Grenzsituation des Weiblichen'.

¹² On the subject of the effeminising threat of women's song (especially of 'exotic' women), see Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Forreine Conceites and Wandering Devises'".

Heine's 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', again in Hoven's setting, to illustrate woman's perceived susceptibility to Music's supernatural voice, an association of woman, music and the occult that drew heavily on Christian demonic (as opposed to daemonic) imagery. The chapter concludes with a study of Schubert's settings of Schiller's 'Laura am Klavier'. Here Music's daemonic voice emerges from the fragile stability of the figure of the 'woman at the piano', as musical performance reveals the idealized woman as the conduit of Music's daemonic voice.

Before turning to these studies however, I shall briefly outline domestic (and especially female) vocal performance practices in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This shall act as the frame of reference against which sections two and three define themselves and to which I shall return in section four.

5.1. Women in Domestic Musical Performance in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries

Whilst women making music was by no means a new phenomenon in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the momentous social changes at the end of the eighteenth century and the resultant rise of the bourgeoisie effectively created an entirely new social class eager to display its cultural advancement in the form of music making.¹³ Furthermore, traditional women's duties found themselves relocated from the home into the factory.¹⁴ In the leisure time that resulted, music provided an ideal diversion, and one that had the added benefit of making a young lady more attractive to a potential suitor. As such, musical 'Bildung' (education) was part of an educational matrix that was at the service of the development of the 'cultivated housewife',¹⁵ thereby 'inscrib[ing] women's primary roles within the patriarchal

¹³ This led to the publication of repertoire specifically aimed at the bourgeois female audience, both in collections and women's periodicals. See Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), 203-54.

¹⁴ 'At some point during the eighteenth century, the story goes, the spindle and loom were pried from her fingers, and all the "bustling labor" of the previous century – the candle and soap-making, the tailoring, millinery, straw-weaving, lace-making, carding and wool-sorting, flax-beating, dairy and poultry work – were removed piecemeal to the factories', Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995), 160-1, quoted in Head, 'Music for the Fair Sex', 209.

¹⁵ Sabine Schumann, 'Das "lesende Frauenzimmer"', *Die Frau von der Reformation zur Romantik*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bonn, 1980), 138-69, quoted in Head, 'Music for the Fair Sex', 217.

family as wife, mother, and daughter'.¹⁶ At the same time however, certain fears about music's power to raise the passions meant that the attainment of musical training and the nature of the repertoire used for that purpose was carefully monitored. As Heather Hadlock has pointed out: 'if music prepared girls for their adult roles by providing a channel for adolescent passions, its power also threatened to work too well, luring girls off the prescribed path between "sensibility" and respectable adulthood. One detects echoes of old warnings about the morally hazardous qualities of music, especially for young women'.¹⁷ Repertoire for women consequently emphasized naturalness and ease of performance, as playing sought to resemble 'the "not-playing" depicted in so many contemporary paintings of women seated at keyboard instruments, touching but not pressing the keys'.¹⁸ But this stylistic limitation spoke not only of the perceived threat to the female performer, but also of the restrictions placed upon the spheres where women could perform. With very few exceptions, women of this class could not, and did not become professional musicians.¹⁹ Public performance and all the stylistic complexities associated with it were not deemed seemly for a young lady. The Lied, always thought essentially a chamber genre, therefore provided the ideal medium for female domestic performance, combining as it did, voice and instruments with an established history of appropriateness for women, such as keyboard instruments and lute or (later) guitar.²⁰ As late as 1802, Heinrich Christoph Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* describes a genre frequently targeted at amateurs and whose primary function was recreational:

And because the Lied is the only artistic product of modern music with which every individual, even without special training [*Kunstbildung*], can amuse themselves with song, or find respite from the pressures of unpleasant feelings, it needs no evidence to show what an important artistic product of the union of poetry and music the Lied is.²¹

¹⁶ Head, 'Music for the Fair Sex', 210.

¹⁷ Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), 520.

¹⁸ Ibid., 511. Hadlock's comments relate to the playing of the glass harmonica: 'the armonica, requiring the most minimal motion, promised pure sound that would call attention neither to the sonorous material nor to the body that acts upon it. The erasure of both performer and instrument made this the ideal medium for women's music' (ibid., 509).

¹⁹ See Marcia J. Citron, 'Women and the Lied, 1775-1850', *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana, 1987), 224-48.

²⁰ It was not until the 1840s that regular public Lied recitals were held.

²¹ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802; reprint Kassel, 2001), 903: 'und weil in der modernen Musik das Lied das einzige Kunstprodukt ist, wodurch jedes Individuum auch ohne besondere Kunstbildung sich durch Gesang vergnügen, oder sich im Drange seiner unangenehmen

However, when related specifically to women, there was more to singing than the enhancement of social gatherings and the display of 'Bildung' to a potential suitor, as German pedagogy suggested that a child brought up hearing his/her mother singing would grow up to be a better citizen.²² Given this level of importance placed on woman/the mother for the moral well-being both of her immediate circle and, ultimately, the nation as a whole, any suggestion that her voice may destabilize the status quo would have had disastrous consequences. This, however, is exactly what the literature and poetry of this period flirted with, and it is to this re-emergence of the siren that I shall now turn.

5.2. The Loreley and the Re-emergence of the Siren

1	Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten, Daß ich so traurig bin; Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten, Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.	I know not what it should mean, That I am so sad; A fairy-tale of olden times, I cannot get out of my mind.
2	Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt, Und ruhig fließt der Rhein; Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt Im Abendsonnenschein.	The air is cool and it is getting dark, And calmly the Rhine flows; The tip of the hill sparkles In the evening sunshine.
3	Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet Dort oben wunderbar; Ihr gold'nes Geschmeide blitzet, Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar.	The most beautiful maiden sits Up there miraculously; Her golden jewellery flashes, She combs her golden hair.
4	Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme, Und singt ein Lied dabei; Das hat eine wundersame, Gewaltige Melodei.	She combs it with a golden comb, And at the same time sings a song; That has a wondrous, Powerful melody.

Empfindungen Erleichterung verschaffen kann, so bedarf es keines Verweises, welch ein wichtiges Kunstprodukt der vereinigten Poesie und Musik das Lied sey'.

²² See also Citron, 'Women and the Lied', 227 and Head, 'Music for the Fair Sex'.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe
Ergreift es mit wildem Weh;
Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe,
Er schaut nur hinauf in die Höh'. | The boatman in the little boat,
It seizes with a wild ache;
He sees not the rocky cliffs,
He looks only to the height. |
| 6 | Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn;
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen
Die Lore-Ley gethan. ²³ | I believe the waves swallow
Boatman and boat in the end.
And that with her singing
The Lore-Ley has done. |

Like Eichendorff's 'Der stille Grund', Heinrich Heine's 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten' (1824) tells of the destruction of a male protagonist on hearing a female voice.²⁴ The narrator is afflicted by a strange sadness, whose meaning he does not understand; an ancient fairy tale ('Märchen', S. 1, L. 3) troubles him.²⁵ It is dusk and the Rhine flows calmly. The last light illuminates the top of a mountain, on which 'the most beautiful maiden' sits, combing her hair. Again, as in Eichendorff's poem, this simple, feminine action (albeit a stereotypical construct of masculine fantasy) effectively negates the Loreley's physical presence and allows her voice to

²³ Heinrich Heine, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten', *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1975), vol. 1, bk. 1, 207, 209. Note that this poem is often falsely referred to as 'Die Lorelei'.

²⁴ 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten' is the second poem in the eighty-eight-poem cycle *Die Heimkehr*, written in 1823-4 and first published as part of *Buch der Lieder* by Hoffmann und Campe in Hamburg in 1827.

²⁵ In my reading of Heine's poem I take the 'Märchen' to be the tale of the Loreley. For an alternative reading see Dieter Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine: "... Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten ...". Dichtung zwischen Märchen und Wirklichkeit', *Heine Jahrbuch*, 8 (1969), 3-18. Arendt argues that Heine's use of the term constituted a frame: 'the fairy tale frame as content [...] encloses a picture, an ideal-picture or wish-picture; it is the stylised wish-girl that haunts his work, that is loved unrequitedly once and for all, and remains unattainable. [...] The fairy tale [...] is as frame simultaneously the cipher for an inadequate reality; but a disillusioning irony already plays around the corners of the fairy tale illusion' (Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine', 6-7: 'der Märchen-Rahmen umschließt als Inhalt ... ein Bild, ein Ideal-Bild oder Wunsch-Bild; es ist das stilisierte Wunsch-Mädchen, das durch sein Werk geistert, das ein für allemal unglücklich geliebt wird und unerreichbar bleibt. [...] Das Märchen [...] ist als Rahmen zugleich Chiffre für eine inadäquate Wirklichkeit; die Märchen-Illusion aber wird bereits umspielt von einer desillusionierenden Ironie'). Arendt argues that in 'filling' this frame with the recent and fashionable figure of the Loreley, it is romanticism itself that becomes the 'fairy tale of olden times': 'for Heine it was not only historically, but also intentionally close to hand [...] to fill the frame with the romantically-fashionable name of the Loreley; but with the representative name he simultaneously transforms historically not too distant, and hyper-historically always near and enticing romanticism into a "fairy tale of olden times"' (Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine', 17: 'für Heine war es nicht nur historisch, sondern intentionell naheliegend [...], den Rahmen mit dem romantisch-modischen Namen der Loreley zu füllen, aber mit dem repräsentativen Namen verwandelt er nun zugleich die geschichtlich nicht allzu ferne und übergeschichtlich stets nahe und verlockende Romantik in ein "Märchen aus alten Zeiten"'). I agree with Arendt that the use of the term signals loss, although I would not attach that sense of loss to romanticism (see my reading below).

It is worth noting that Arendt credits Heine with making the connection between the Loreley and the idea of a 'Märchen' independently of Clemens Brentano (see below). Although Brentano's *Rheinmärchen* – in which the Loreley is re-figured from his original poem of 1802 – were written around 1810 (i.e. earlier than Heine's poem), they were not published until 1846-7.

carry: the repetitive movement shifts attention from the constant to the developmental: she sings a song with a 'wondrous, powerful melody' ('wundersame, / Gewaltige Melodei', S. 4, L. 3-4). Enthralled by her song, the boatman passing below pays no attention to the dangers of the cliff and appears to pay with his life.²⁶ 'And that, with her singing, / The Lore-Ley has done' ('Und das hat mit ihrem Singen / Die Lore-Ley gethan', S. 6, L. 3-4). Heine's closing remark is laconic, almost a moralizing summation of the poem, perhaps a deliberately classical allusion to frame his 'fairy tale'.²⁷

The Loreley and her song emerge ambiguously from the mists of the history Heine constructs. The poem is racked by ambiguity; the tale rises, wraith-like in the narrator's consciousness. He does not know its meaning, but recounts it anyway. Even the outcome of the tale is thrown into question as Heine adds 'I believe, the waves swallow boatman and boat in the end' ('Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen / Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn', S. 6, L. 1-2). Perhaps, one may conclude, the tale recounts itself through the narrator rather than being recounted by him. It, like the Loreley's song, is the daemonic voice that has found its mouthpiece; inexplicable and confusing, yet compulsively desirable, it breaks into the narrator's consciousness and offers glimpses of the Loreley and her song, whilst robbing the narrator of the certainty of understanding, and thereby attaining, either. Perhaps though, the tale is *itself* the Loreley's song, ancient, timeless, and recounted for no reason other than that it will not go away. Within this uncertainty only the destructive power of the Loreley's song is certain.

²⁶ The ambiguity of ending with 'Ich glaube' ('I believe', S. 6, L. 1) has been the subject of much debate in Heine scholarship. Arendt, for example, typically interprets the ambiguity of the fisherman's fate as a 'highly conscious stance' ('hochbewußte Haltung') and therefore evidence of Heine's irony: 'the gesture of the apparent lack of knowledge as to the end of the "fairy tale of olden times" in reality betrays a highly conscious stance, the stance of an irony that anticipates its own fate in play, and thereby overcomes it in earnest' (Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine', 18: 'der Gestus der scheinbaren Unwissenheit in bezug auf den Ausgang des 'Märchen aus alten Zeiten' verrät in Wirklichkeit eine hochbewußte Haltung, die Haltung nämlich einer das eigene Schicksal im Spiel vorwegnehmenden und damit im Ernst überwindenden Ironie').

²⁷ I consider this move to be classical both due to its sense of balance and, with a certain irony on on Heine's part, as a reference to the Enlightenment need for objective/scientific reasoning and explanation.

5.2.1. The Loreley Before Heine

In writing his 'Lore-Ley' poem, Heine did not invent a fairy-tale; the 'fairy-tale' he referred to was in fact neither old nor indeed a fairy-tale. In 1802, as part of the second volume of his novel *Godowi*, Clemens Brentano had published a poem telling of a young girl called Lore Lay.²⁸ In the poem, Lore Lay is as an 'enchantress' ('Zauberin', S. 1, L. 2) who seduces men with her beauty, whilst longing for the one who 'betrayed' and left her ('Mein Schatz hat mich betrogen' ['My beloved has betrayed me'], S. 11, L. 1). The poem ends with Lore Lay plunging to her death in the Rhine. Brentano claimed to have invented the tale on seeing a rock at Bacharach by the Rhine, known as the 'Lurley' and famed locally for its echo, adding in a footnote to his poem: 'this rock, known as the Lore Lay, stands at Bacharach. All passing boatmen call to it, and delight in the repeating echo'.²⁹ The rock was indeed known for its echo, even though its name was 'Lurley' rather than Brentano's claimed 'Lore Lay', and appears to have inspired several local legends.³⁰ Ignace Feuerlicht mentions Konrad Celtes writing around 1500 of the local belief that the caves of the Lurley rock are inhabited by what Feuerlicht calls 'forest deities', with Freher's *Origines Palatinae* of 1612 assigning the voice of the echo to 'forest nymphs and oreads'.³¹ Significantly though, none of these sources ascribe the echo's voice to a

²⁸ For the text of the poem, see Appendix 2.1. A second version of the poem, entitled *Lureley*, was found amongst Brentano's handwritten documents. See 'Anmerkungen', *Clemens Brentano, Gedichte, Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*, ed. Wolfgang Frühwald, vol. 1 of *Clemens Brentano, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Jürgen Behrens et al. (Stuttgart, 1968), 1051-2 (henceforth abbreviated to *Clemens Brentano, Werke*, 1).

In its varied artistic and critical reception, the spelling of the maiden that Brentano invented has varied considerably. Brentano used 'Lore Lay' in his poem, 'Lureley' in his *Rheinmärchen*; Eichendorff used 'Lorelei', which has become the accepted modern spelling; von Loeben used 'Loreley', whilst Heine's spelling was 'Lore Ley'. Throughout my discussion, I shall use the old version of the modern spelling, 'Loreley'.

²⁹ *Clemens Brentano, Werke*, 1, 115: 'bei Bacharach steht dieser Felsen, Lore Lay genannt, alle vorbeifahrende Schiffer rufen ihn an, und freuen sich des vielfachen Echos'.

³⁰ There seems no consensus on the meaning of the rock's name. 'Ley' means rock, but the discrepancies arise in the interpretation of 'Lur'. According to Ignace Feuerlicht, some have taken it to mean 'loud' or 'sounding' (Ignace Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Loreley": Legend, Literature, Life', *The German Quarterly*, 53 (1980), 84), whilst the meaning he favours takes "'Lur" as denoting "Luren", gnomes, goblins, elfins, inhabitants of the rock, who once were thought to produce the echo. Thus, "Lurley" means "elfin rock"' (ibid.). A third interpretation, dismissed by Feuerlicht as 'rather strained' (ibid.), takes 'luren' as an old form of 'lauern', 'to wait', i.e. the rock where one waits (for the echo). This is cited by Bernd Kortländer in his edition of Heine's *Buch der Lieder* (see 'Kommentar', Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, ed. Bernd Kortländer [1827; reprint, Stuttgart, 1998], 341) and is also adopted by the Heine *Gesamtausgabe* edited by Manfred Winfuhr (see Pierre Grappin, *Apparat*, vol. 1, bk. 2 of *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr [Hamburg, 1975], 881).

³¹ Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Loreley"', 82.

single being. Furthermore, there are no legends of the Lurley rock dating from the 18th century. To all intents and purposes then, Brentano's claim is difficult to refute and scholarship has so far been unable to do so.³² Brentano returned to the figure of the Loreley in his 'Rheinmärchen' of 1811 (published in the two-volume collection of 'Märchen' of 1846-7). Here though, in a marked departure from his earlier poem, 'Frau Lureley' is a good and beautiful water nymph.

Following the publication of Brentano's poem the tale of the seductive maiden Loreley started to appear in writings dealing with the Lurley rock. In 1811, drawing on Brentano, 'the historian Niklas Vogt explained the echo as the voice of beautiful woman who had enchanted all men except the one she loved, and who therefore threw herself into the Rhine. [...] Only a few years later, obviously realizing that Brentano had invented the story, Vogt discarded most of it'.³³ Unlike Vogt, Aloys Schreiber, a professor of aesthetics and author of a popular travel guide, happily expanded on his earlier, limited account in the second edition of his popular *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein* of 1818.³⁴ The second edition includes three accounts of the 'legend': in the first the Lurley rock is described as having been inhabited by an undine, who lured boatmen to their deaths with her calls. An appendix to the guide speaks of the 'maiden on the Lurley', 'who in ancient times often sat on the rock and whose "heavenly" singing enchanted the boatmen to such a degree that they lost their lives on the reefs or in the vortex of the Rhine. When a posse of the palsgrave tried to capture her, she disappeared in sudden tidal waves. Since that time, that is the third version of the alleged folk legend, she was no longer seen nor was her song heard, but she still inhabited the rock and teased the passing boatmen by mimicking their talks'.³⁵ Heine is known to have read Schreiber's *Handbuch* during his stay at Bonn and drew from it both the connection between the singing of the maiden/nymph and shipwrecks, and key terms for his poem.³⁶

³² See 'Anmerkungen', *Clemens Brentano, Sämtliche Werke*, 1, 1051.

³³ Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Lorelei"', 83.

³⁴ See also Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Lorelei"', 83. The first edition of the *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein* dated from 1811.

³⁵ Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Lorelei"', 83.

³⁶ Ibid. According to Feuerlicht, Heine took the book out of the university library in the winter semester of 1819/20. See also Bernd Kortländer, 'Kommentar', Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder*, 341, and Pierre Grappin, *Apparat*, 882.

Eichendorff was most probably the next writer to link the name of the Lurley rock to a beautiful but ultimately destructively threatening woman.³⁷ In his poem, 'Es ist schon spät, es wird schon kalt' ('It is already late, it is getting cold') of 1811 or 1812, 'Lorelei' is a witch who lives in a castle overlooking the Rhine.³⁸ The poem takes the form of a dramatic dialogue between the Lorelei and a rider who finds her in a wood that ends with the rider unable to escape the forest. As in Brentano's 'Lore Lay', Eichendorff's Lorelei is not a nymph, nor is there any mention of her singing. One further poem preceded Heine's: Otto Heinrich von Loeben's poem dates from 1821 and takes the form of a monologue.³⁹

5.2.2. Johann Hoven's Setting of Heine's 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten'

6	<p>Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn; Und das hat mit ihrem Singen Die Lore-Ley gethan.</p>	<p>I believe the waves swallow Boatman and boat in the end. And that with her singing The Lore-Ley has done.</p>
---	---	--

The final stanza of Heine's 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten' famously assigns blame with more certainty than it is able to name the crime.⁴⁰ Whatever the fate of the boatman might have been, Heine leaves the reader in no doubt that it was the Loreley that caused that fate. More significantly for the purpose of this study though, she has 'done' this 'with her singing' ('mit ihrem Singen', S. 6, L. 3). The destructive power of Music's voice here finds its conduit in the form of 'the most beautiful maiden' ('Die schönste Jungfrau', S. 3, L. 1), the Loreley.

Just as Heine's poem in some ways attains meaning at its close (however ambiguous that might be), so the end of Johann Hoven's setting of Heine's verse proves to be its key.⁴¹ In setting the last two lines of the poem, Hoven repeats from

³⁷ *Joseph von Eichendorff, Gedichte*, ed. Peter Horst Neumann (Stuttgart, 1997), 167. Feuerlicht appears more certain; see 'Heine's "Lorelei"', 82-3.

³⁸ The poem was first published in Eichendorff's novel *Ahnung und Gegenwart. Ein Roman* (Nürnberg, 1815), and appeared in Eichendorff's *Gedichte* (Berlin, 1837) as 'Waldgespräch' ('Forest Conversation').

³⁹ Once again the spelling of the name changed, becoming 'Loreley'.

⁴⁰ The ambiguity introduced by 'ich glaube' ('I believe' [emphasis added]) has widely been read as an example of Heine's irony. See for example Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine' and Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Lorelei"'.

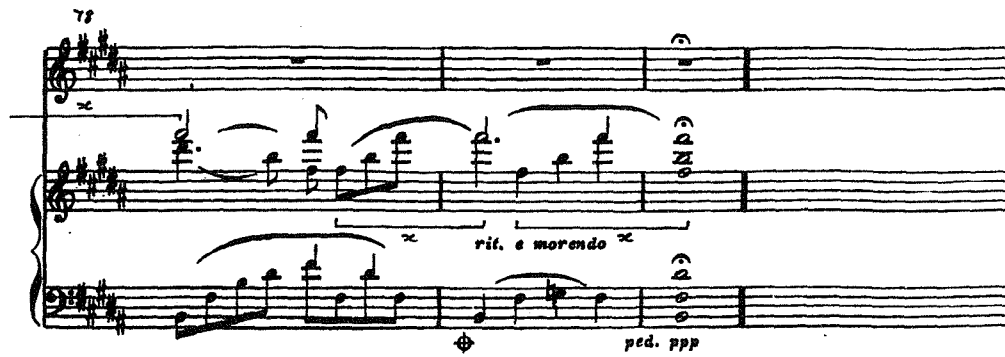
⁴¹ Johann Hoven's setting of Heine's 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten' was to become the second song of his mammoth eighty-eight-song cycle of Heine's *Die Heimkehr*, published in 1851 by the kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Vienna. I refer to this edition throughout. In this

'mit' ('with', S. 6, L. 3) onwards, resulting in 'und das hat mit ihrem Singen die Lore-Ley gethan, mit ihrem Singen die Lore-Ley gethan' ('and that with her singing the Lore-Ley has done, with her singing the Lore-Ley has done', bars 70-7). Whilst linguistically this leads to a repetition both of 'Singen' ('singing') and 'Lore-Ley', it is on the former that Hoven places his emphasis (see Example 7, bars 70-80). The figure in the right hand of the piano part on 'Singen' ('singing', bars

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line (soprano) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff).
 System 1 (bars 65-70): The vocal line begins with the word 'und das'. The piano part features a complex texture with multiple voices. Dynamic markings include *f*, *dimin.*, *pp*, and *ritard.*.
 System 2 (bars 71-73): The tempo is marked *Largo* and *Lento*. The vocal line continues with 'hat mit ih - rem Sin - gen die Lo - re - Ley ge -'. The piano part has a more sustained texture. Dynamic markings include *p* and *rit.*.
 System 3 (bars 74-80): The tempo is marked *Sehr langsam*. The vocal line continues with 'than, mit ih - rem Sin - gen die Lo - re - Ley ge - than.'. The piano part features a more active texture. Dynamic markings include *animato*, *rit.*, *pp*, *Adagio*, and *ped.*.

edition, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten' is subtitled, 'Die Lore-Ley', and as such was also published as '39. Werk' ('39th work') by Haslinger in Vienna.

Johann Hoven was the pseudonym of the Court Councillor and baron Johann Vesque von Püttlingen (1803-83). On Vesque von Püttlingen, see Helmut Schultz, *Johann Vesque von Püttlingen*, Forschungsarbeiten des musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Leipzig, 1 (Regensburg, 1930).



Example 7: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 65-80

72 and 75), labelled (motive) x in Example 7, reoccurs throughout the song in loose connection with the Loreley. It is only in these last few bars however, that a specific connection to the singing of the Loreley is made. Note especially the pause after 'Singen' ('singing') on motive x in bar 75 (note that here motive x occurs in altered form, overstepping the octave). With this connection, the repeated appearance of motive x, like the tale the narrator recounts, attains meaning. It is the supernaturally powerful voice of the Loreley; simultaneously object of desire and cause of terrible destruction clothed in a musical figure of deceptive innocence. Its daemonic nature becomes apparent in its ambiguous rise from the musical texture to a point where it completely dominates the entire song (bars 55-70, see below), remaining alluring and desirable to the narrator even as it destroys him. This dramatic emphasis of the Loreley's singing shifts the blame away from her body and onto her voice. It is this voice, thus identified with motive x, that rings on in the piano postlude (bars 77-80): even as the musical texture appears to unwind, the Loreley's voice sounds on, eclipsing both that of the narrator and the tale he tells.

Hoven's setting, like Heine's 'Märchen', emerges from an ambiguous mist. The song begins with an insistent rhythmic cell on F sharp (motive y, see Example 8). Harmonically ambivalent, this pitch is revealed to be 5 of the tonic B minor that

governs the first 19 bars of the song (see Example 8).⁴² These 19 bars serve

Langsam. 1. Die Lore-Ley. 20. Werk, bei Haslinger in Wien.

Lento. *Sempre pp*

4

7

10

Ich weiss nicht, was soll es be - deu - ten,

dass ich so trau - rig hin; ein Mär - chen aus al - ten

⁴² Note that motive *y* usually occurs with an upbeat quaver. The motive also occurs in single-cell form (labelled *y*¹).

15
Zei - - ten, das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.

16

19
Die Luft ist kühl und es dun - - kelt, und

Noch langsamer.
Adagio.
legato
a tempo.
pp ritardando
ped.

Example 8: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 1-21

multiple purposes. At their most basic, they set the first stanza of the poem, but it is in the way they comment on that stanza, and indeed on the whole text, that they derive their power. The inexorable presence of motive *y* throughout these bars (retrospectively) signals the Loreley's lasting presence in the narrator's consciousness. Relentless yet devoid of meaning, motive *y* metonymically stands for the Loreley herself: her motives (in the other sense of the word) are never revealed, whilst her memory eclipses any other thought. It is around this duality that Heine's narrator circles and within which he is ultimately trapped: 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es

bedeuten' ('I know not what it should mean', S. 1, L. 1) and 'Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn' ('I cannot get out of my mind', S. 1, L. 4).

Motive y is entirely non-progressive, a motivic fragment that makes up the debris of the narrator's consciousness from which both his song and the memory of the past must rise and against which both must define themselves. The palindromic shape of motive y, its underscoring with a sparse, near-ostinato (whose chromatic descending 4^{ths} suggest the lament) and its pausing in bar 6 and subsequent resumption in the same bar speak of compulsive repetition. The 'Märchen' repeats and is repeated in a never-ending circle; it is both obsessing to the narrator and obsessive in its action.⁴³ Hoven's setting of the opening line (bars 7-9) speaks of these very meanings. The narrator enters with motive y on the same pitch as that motive, emphasizing its declamatory tone. Only on the last two syllables of the last word, 'bedeuten' ('mean', S. 1, L. 1) does he manage to haul himself away both from its pitch and its rhythm.⁴⁴

Motive x, signifier of the Loreley's song, is heard twice within this bleak soundscape (bars 15 and 18). The words immediately preceding its appearance are significantly 'Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn' ('I cannot get out of my mind', S. 1, L. 4). The 'Märchen' that so obsesses the narrator is, in Hoven's setting, revealed to be the Loreley's song/voice itself, signified by motive x and emerging from the musical texture like a long-lost, distant call. For the listener however, like the 'Märchen' itself for the narrator, motive x at this point carries no meaning; it is a moment of eruption from the stasis of motive y, an abstract sign of hidden turmoil. But the daemonic power of the Loreley's song has made itself felt, summoning the narrator to abandon his current state and revisit the past once more. Consequently motive y attempts to resume again in bar 18, but collapses into a stereotypical 'wave' pattern that evokes the calm flow of the Rhine. Bar 19 therefore marks a moment of fracture within the song, as motive y is abandoned and the tonic B minor gives way to B major, which functions as the tonic for the remainder of the song. As surprising as

⁴³ Schubert's setting of Heine's 'Still ist die Nacht, es ruhen die Gassen', better known as 'Der Doppelgänger' comes to mind here. Hoven's opening shares both tonality and mood with Schubert's setting and one may speculate as to whether Hoven embedded a further layer of meaning in his allusion to Schubert's song, especially as he was to set the same song as no. 20 of his cycle.

⁴⁴ The fact that throughout the song the narrator frequently begins on that F sharp, whilst in one sense predictable given its function as 5 of the tonic, also signals his continued effort to escape motive y and its associated meanings.

this change is, it had already been prefigured in bar 12: there, Hoven set the 'alten' ('olden') of 'Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten' ('A fairy-tale of olden times', S. 1, L. 3), with a B major chord. Although at the time heard primarily as a chromaticism (linking the D natural to the E of the inner voice, bars 12-13), this chord already hints at the middle section. B minor is therefore associated with the present, whilst B major is associated with the past that the narrator shall recount. The textural and harmonic fracture of bars 18-19 consequently marks the narrator's break through the present as he once more revisits the past (tale) that haunts him and will not let him be.

What is striking here is the way in which Hoven views the Rhine scene that Heine paints. The move to tonic major and the tranquil, stereotyped 'waves' of the piano accompaniment (starting bar 19), whilst on the one hand explicitly setting 'ruhig fließt der Rhein' ('calmly flows the Rhine', S. 2, L. 2), on the other speaks of an attempt to recapture or at least glimpse the innocence of a perceived idyllic past (see Example 9). As such, it is itself a commentary on the tragic delusion of the

19 *Noch langsamer.*
Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt, und

pp ritardando
Adagio.

legato *a tempo.*
ped.

22
ruhig fließt der Rhein; der Gipfel des Berges

25
fun - - kelt im A - bend - son - nen - schein;
ppp
ped.

Example 9: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 19-27

narrator. In his juxtaposition of the narrator's lyrical melodic spans when speaking of the past with the fragmented utterances of the present seen in the first section, Hoven further emphasizes the association of the past with an idyll characterized by lyricism. It is out of this idealizing gaze into the past that the Loreley's body emerges.

Having modulated to the dominant (F sharp major), Hoven emphasises both the height of the rock and the marvellous appearance of 'Die schönste Jungfrau' ('the most beautiful maiden', S. 3, L. 1, bars 28-31; see Example 10). This use of register, evoking quasi-celestial bells, tapped into contemporaneous views of high

28
Die schönste Jung - frau si - tzet dort o - ber wun - der -
ppp
31
bar; ihr gold' - nes Geschmei - de bli - tzet, sie
cresc.
ppp

34
 kämmt ihr gold' - nes Haar; sie kämmt es mit gold' - nem
 37
 Kam - me, und singt ein Lied da - bei; das
 poco ritard.

Example 10: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 28-39

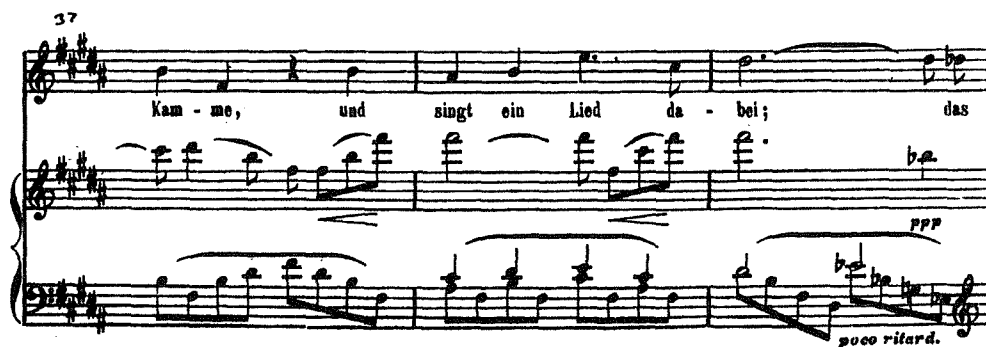
register as a symbol of purity.⁴⁵ In so doing, it combines tone painting with gross misunderstanding of the Loreley's nature on the narrator's part, the acoustic innocence of the setting ironically distanced from the events that are about to unfold. The Loreley's body remains fixed by the narrator's gaze, immobilized in the 'feminine' action of combing her hair (not coincidentally, both her hair and comb are gold; at once precious and inert). Her body is thus negated by the idealizing (and desiring) contemplation to which it is subjected. Her voice however, refuses to be contained and in turn binds both narrator and boatman, destroying both. The result is a circle of possession in which the female body is fixed by the male gaze, but is able to transcend the immobility that that gaze imposes by binding the (masculine) gazing subject with its voice and thereby ultimately destroying it: robbed of its dynamism, the masculine subject ceases to be able to define itself and consequently disintegrates. The Loreley's daemonic voice therefore reveals the destabilizing power assigned to female vocality.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See for example, Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies'.

⁴⁶ As we shall also see in my discussion of Schubert's setting of Schiller's 'Laura am Klavier' (Section 5.4.), the narrator's error is his belief that the object of his desire can be contained purely visually, ignoring (or at least underestimating) the power of her voice.

Importantly, this passage (beginning in bar 28) also marks the first appearance of motive x in this part of the song. Whilst the narrator describes the Loreley's body and in so doing seeks to (re)contain her, her song is already at work in the accompaniment. Consequently, in bar 29, motive x for the first time becomes linked explicitly with the Loreley, appearing twice on 'sitzet / Dort oben wunderbar' ('sits / Up there miraculously', S. 3, L. 1-2). Only retrospectively can the listener grasp the subtlety of Hoven's setting: whilst the narrator attempts (once more) to grasp the Loreley physically, her voice rings out both enticing him and laughing at his failure. Her voice is thus empowered with a dynamism that her static body lacks.⁴⁷

Moving from the description of the physical appearance of the maiden to her song, setting 'Das hat eine wundersame, / Gewaltige Melodei' ('That has a wondrous, / Powerful melody', S. 4, L. 3-4), Hoven slips from B major (to which he had returned through bars 35-7) to A flat major, using the enharmonic pivot note of D sharp/E flat in bar 39 (see Example 11). There is a striking split here between the sudden move to a truly alien tonality and the continued lyrical, idealizing tone that characterizes the narrator's song.⁴⁸ Again, as in other parts of the song, the Loreley's voice is signified by motive x (bars 41-3), but its relatively sparse use at this point suggests the subtlety of Hoven's setting.⁴⁹ Rather than 'setting' the Loreley's



⁴⁷ Static that is apart from her combing and singing. A similar near-stasis will be discussed in relation to the piano-playing Laura below.

⁴⁸ The tonality is not as alien as it appears: A flat major is the enharmonically re-written major version of the relative minor to B major.

⁴⁹ The figure in the right hand of the piano part in bars 45-6, whilst derived from x, is not a 'true' version of the motive.

40
hat ei-ne wun-der-sa-me, ge-wal-ti-ge Me-lo-

43
dei, das hat ei-ne wun-der-sa-me, ge-
cresc. *p* *f animando*

46
Schnell.
wal-ti-ge Me-lo-dei. Den Schif-fer im klei-nen
Allegro agitato.
ff *mf*

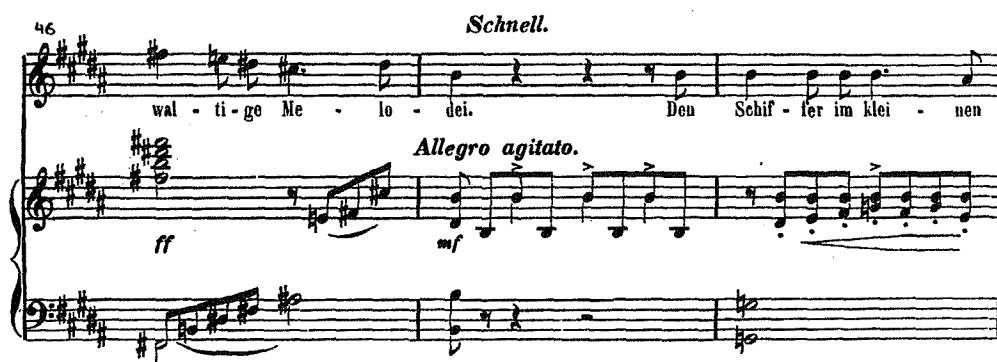
Example 11: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 37-48

song, Hoven demonstrates its *effect*; rather than presenting the listener with a 'Gewaltige Melodei' ('Powerful melody', S. 4, L. 4), the very lack of such a melody reveals both the power of the Loreley's song and her lasting influence on the narrator. The lyricism of the narrator's vocal line reveals the powerful attraction of the Loreley's song; the enharmonic modulation suggests the recollection of the voice as transformative event in the narrator's psyche. Even in the knowledge of the danger of her voice – a knowledge we can assume both from the first stanza and its setting – the narrator's tone speaks of its allure more than of its danger. The A flat section thus shows both the power of the Loreley's song and the degree to which it still controls the narrator: merely recalling her song causes the narrator to abandon his tonal centre

of B major/minor and assume an alien, 'Other' voice that one can deduce to be that of the Loreley. Whether one goes as far as claiming A flat to *be* the tonality of the Loreley's song or not, the fact remains that recalling her song brings with it the othering of the self – the narrator – as he abandons his tonality to submit to a alien voice.⁵⁰

As in the setting of the final stanza, textual reference to the Loreley's song/singing causes Hoven to repeat part of the text, here 'Das hat eine wundersame, / Gewaltige Melodei' ('That has a wondrous, / Powerful melody', S. 4, l. 3-4, repeated in bars 43-7). The final line ('Gewaltige Melodei' ['Powerful melody']) moves back to the narrator's B major. This move, largely achieved enharmonically in bar 45, suggests less a violent assertion of the narrator's will over the power of the Loreley's song than an ambivalent slippage that questions just to what extent the B major/minor area is free from the influence of the Loreley's voice. If there is implicit violence here, it lies in the recollection of the boatman's fate, signalled explicitly by the *allegro agitato* section beginning in bar 47.

The *allegro agitato* (bars 47-54) overlays multiple narrative strands: the quasi tremolando describes the surging waters around the Loreley's rock, whilst simultaneously portraying the emotional anguish of the narrator; the poem's text describes the boatman's transfixed gaze at the Loreley (see Example 12). This emotional involvement of the narrator is curious, given his supposed ironic distance



⁵⁰ I have already referred to the history of this othering of the masculine subject on hearing a foreign/alien voice.

49. Schif - fe er - greißt es mit wil - dem Weh; er

52. schaut nicht die Fel - sen - rif - fe, er schaut nur hinauf in die

55. *Sehr langsam.*
Höh'! Ich
Adagio.
ffp *pp* *sempre stringendo*

Example 12: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten': bars 46-57

from the unfolding story.⁵¹ In this way Hoven appears to suggest the narrator to be himself the boatman, recounting his own fate. What this does not account for however, is the uncertainty that opens the last stanza; if the narrator really is the boatman, he would be certain. I suggest two possible readings here: firstly, that the narrator is the boatman and that his uncertainty reveals an attempt to distance himself from his own past. One imagines the narrator obsessively recounting his tale, but in so doing losing a sense of certainty of the events. Here then, the anguish of the narrator over the boatman's fate is the anguish over his own. The second reading suggests the boatman as the narrator's double, attracted to the Loreley as he once was

⁵¹ On the reading of the end of 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten', see Arendt, 'Heinrich Heine' and Feuerlicht, 'Heine's "Lorelei"'.

and, given the setting of the A flat major section, still is. The narrator's emotional outburst in the allegro agitato section is then more complex: it reflects the horror at beholding his double, jealousy at his place being assumed by another, and alienation from the unfolding scene.⁵² The 'Ich glaube' ('I believe', S. 6, L. 1) of the last stanza then suggests not so much uncertainty in general as to the boatman's fate, but is instead a wry comment on what awaits the boatman based on the narrator's own experience; more of an 'I guess' than an 'I believe'.

Section No	Bar Nos.	Performance direction	Text	Key
I	55-7	Sehr langsam	Höh'! / Ich	D major
	58-60	Bewegter	glaube, die Wellen verschlingen, am Ende Schiffer und	
II	61-70	Sehr schnell	Kahn; / Und das	B major
	71-5	Langsam (Lento)	hat mit ihrem Singen / Die Lore-Ley getan, mit ihrem Singen	
	75-80	Sehr langsam (Adagio)	die Lore-Ley gethan	

Table 3: Section Divisions of 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten', bars 55-80.

Hoven subdivides the last stanza into two larger sections, which subdivide into a total of five subsections (see Table 1). The first section sets 'Ich glaube die Wellen verschlingen / Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn' ('I believe the waves swallow / Boatman and boat in the end', S. 6, L. 1-2); the second 'Und das hat mit ihrem Singen / Die Lore-Ley gethan' ('And that with her singing / The Loreley has done', S. 6, L. 3-4).⁵³ Both sections are united by an increasing dramatization of motive x, which effectively takes over the accompaniment's texture entirely in bars 55-70, signifying the destructive presence of the Loreley's daemonic voice all the more insistently as the

⁵² On the literary figure of the double, see Andrew J. Webber, *The Doppelgänger: Double Visions in German Literature* (Oxford, 1996). Discussion of the double in relation to music seems inexorably linked to Schubert's setting of Heine's 'Still ist die Nacht, es ruhen die Gassen' ('Der Doppelgänger'). Especially noteworthy in this context are Richard Kramer, 'Schubert's Heine', *19th-Century Music*, 8 (1985), 213-25; Joseph Kerman, 'A Romantic Detail in Schubert's Schwanengesang', *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, ed. Walter Frisch (Lincoln, 1986), 48-64; David L. Code, 'Listening to Schubert's Doppelgängers', *Music Theory Online*, 1 (1995), retrieved November 2004 (<http://www.societymusictheory.org/mto/issues/mto.95.1.4>), and Richard Kurth, 'Music and Poetry, a Wilderness of Doubles: Heine – Nietzsche – Schubert – Derrida', *19th-Century Music*, 21 (1997), 3-37.

⁵³ Hoven elides sections I and II on the word 'Kahn' ('boat'), bar 61, just as 'Höh' in bar 55 elides the 'sehr langsam' with the preceding allegro agitato.

poem's text veers towards uncertainty (see Example 13). Underlying this

55 *Sehr langsam.*

Adagio.

Ich!

Ich

pp

sempre stringendo

58 *Bewegter.*

glau - be, die Wel - len ver - schlin - gen am En - de Schif - fer und

agitato

f

c1 Sehr schnell.

Kahn -

Allegro molto.

ff

af

65

und das

f

dimin.

pp

ritard.

Example 13: Hoven, 'Ich weiß nicht was soll es bedeuten', bars 55-70

foregrounding of motive x is an acceleration in musical subsections, building towards the sinking of the boat: *sehr langsam – bewegter (agitato) – sehr schnell*. Hoven's setting thereby displays a certainty as to the boatman's fate that Heine's poem lacks, whilst laying the blame firmly with the Loreley's voice (motive x). Again, as in bars 39-45 the tonal area slips, this time to D major. Harmonically the boatman appears placed at a distance from the narrator; quite literally he and his fate are suggested as 'Other' – a double whose fate the narrator beholds from a distance. But this distance is an illusion. That the boatman's fate was also that of the narrator is suggested by them temporarily sharing the same (distant) tonal area: both the narrator's 'ich' and the 'Schiffer' are set within the same D major tonality (bars 55-60).

In the last two subsections, *langsam – sehr langsam*, the narrator overcomes direct involvement to reveal the source of the Loreley's destructive power: her singing (see Example 7). But if superficially this apparent distancing from the old 'Märchen', together with an underlying move from the bleak opening B minor to the closing B major appears to suggest some kind of overcoming of the daemonic power of the Loreley's voice, then Hoven's setting exposes this to be a false hope. The yearning setting of the second 'Singen' ('singing, bar 75, Example 7) significantly lingers on G sharp – enharmonically the A flat that marked the daemonic power and seductive appeal of the Loreley's song earlier in the song. The narrator thus betrays his continuing longing for the Loreley's voice. Not coincidentally it is the signifier of that voice, motive x, that rings on after the narrator's own voice has died away (bars 77-80). Rather than having overcome the threat of the Loreley's daemonic voice and the obsessive revisiting it triggers, in recounting the 'Märchen', the narrator has opened the way for the Loreley's song to sound once more, ultimately eclipsing both him and his tale.

5.3. Woman Seduced: 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer'

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | »Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer,
Der Mond schaut zitternd hinein;
Da draußen singt es und klingt es,
Wie Walzermelodein. | »The maiden sleeps in the chamber,
Trembling, the moon looks in;
Out there it sings and sounds
Like waltzes' melodies. |
| 2 | »Ich will mal schaun aus dem Fenster,
Wer drunten stört meine Ruh'.
Da steht ein Todtengerippe,
Und fidelt und singt dazu: | »I'll have a look from the window
Who disturbs my rest down there.
There stands a skeleton
And fiddles and sings: |
| 3 | »Hast einst mir den Tanz versprochen,
Und hast gebrochen dein Wort,
Und heut ist Ball auf dem Kirchhof,
Komm mit, wir tanzen dort. | »Once you promised me a dance,
And you broke your word,
And today there's a ball in the church-
yard,
Come with me, we will dance there. |
| 4 | »Die Jungfrau ergreift es gewaltig,
Es lockt sie hervor aus dem Haus;
Sie folgt dem Gerippe, das singend
Und fidelnd schreitet voraus. | »It seizes the maiden powerfully,
It lures her out of the house;
She follows the skeleton, that singing
And fiddling strides ahead. |
| 5 | »Es fidelt und tänzelt und hüpfet,
Und klappert mit seinem Gebein,
Und nickt und nickt mit dem Schädel
Unheimlich im Mondenschein.« ⁵⁴ | »It fiddles and dances and leaps,
And rattles with its bones,
And nods and nods with its skull
Uncannily in the moonlight.« |

Heinrich Heine's poem 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' ('The maiden sleeps in the chamber'), the twenty-second poem of his set *Die Heimkehr*, strikingly demonstrates woman's perceived susceptibility both to Music's daemonic voice and the supernatural by situating a daemonic musical voice within a narrative of demonic supernaturalism (i.e. demonic in the Christian sense). Heine's fiddling skeleton builds on the demonic imagery of the Christian 'Totentanz' motif, the tradition of viewing dance as anti-religious symbol of deviance, and the ambiguous elision of a lover returned from the dead, Death, the Devil and the demon fiddler. Within this demonic narrative, Music's voice daemonically impacts as an otherworldly, irresistible force that both animates the dead and seduces and kills the living. Reversing the gender roles of musical seduction to threaten woman, Music's daemonic voice, here sounding through the demonic appearance of a fiddling skeleton, 'powerfully' seizes the

⁵⁴ Heinrich Heine, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1975), vol. 1, bk. 1, 233. Heine first published this poem, which later became no. 21 of *Die Heimkehr*, as part of a set of thirty-three poems serialized in *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter fürs Herz* in March 1824. It appeared in *Der Gesellschafter*, no. 49 (26th of March 1824, p. 243) and has been dated Spring 1824 (see Pierre Grappin, *Apparat*, 888; 906-7).

maiden of the poem ('gewaltig', S. 4, L. 1), and 'lures her out of the house' ('lockt sie hervor aus dem Haus', S. 4, L. 2). The threat of this daemonic Music is all the more real as, unlike in the poems discussed in the previous section, it does not sound from a *mythologized* fictional female body but instead impacts on a 'real' (albeit fictional) woman. Supernatural daemonic Music consequently stands as direct threat to society, as Heine's poem shows the vulnerability of the domestic sphere, on the perceived stability of which bourgeois society had only recently established itself.⁵⁵

Taking Heine's poem in its setting by Johann Hoven as example, this section considers the portrayal of Music's daemonic voice as a force acting on the passive female body within a narrative of demonic horror.

5.3.1. The Passive Body and Heine's Literary Precedents

At the very opening of the poem, the maiden is reduced to an object: 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' ('The maiden sleeps in the chamber', S. 1, L. 1). She is contained within her bed, her sleep-state signifying that twilight area of consciousness of which the nineteenth century was so fond. Even when she eventually moves (stanza four), there is a sense of passivity, as her movement is controlled by Music's daemonic voice; it is to Music that Heine assigns agency, as it 'seizes the maiden powerfully' ('Die Jungfrau ergreift es gewaltig', S. 4, L. 1) and 'lures her out of the house' ('lockt sie hervor aus dem Haus', S. 4, L. 2). There is thus an inertia to the maiden's movement as she merely 'follows' Music's daemonic voice (S. 4, L. 3).

This reduction of the female body to object was already an established tradition within horror literature, and indeed is one that continues into the present day. Both 'Wilhelms Geist' ('Wilhelm's Ghost') from Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* and Bürger's notorious ballad 'Lenore' have been suggested as precedents and possible sources of inspiration for Heine.⁵⁶ With woman reduced to object (both

⁵⁵ On the rise of the 'Bürgertum' in Germany with specific weighting towards issues of gender see Ute Frevert, ed., *Bürgerinnen und Bürger: Geschlechterverhältnisse im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 77 (Göttingen, 1988).

⁵⁶ Pierre Grappin, *Apparat*, 905-7. Heine was familiar with Bürger's ballad since his school days (see Grappin, *Apparat*, 905).

Herder translated 'Wilhelms Geist' from the Scottish original (see Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. Edward Walford [London, n.d.], 339). It tells of the ghost of the title,

in the genre as a whole and in Heine's poem specifically), the emphasis shifts to the forces that act upon her.⁵⁷ It is here that Heine's poem differs radically from its predecessors. Both 'Wilhelm's Geist' and 'Lenore' largely rely on dialogue to tell their story – supplemented further in the latter by overwhelming visual details. In marked contrast, Heine's poem contains very little speech; apart from the skeleton's demand in stanza three the poem consists entirely of the narrator's description.⁵⁸ Instead, Heine assigns agency to a daemonic musical voice.⁵⁹

visiting his beloved Gretchen in her bedroom. Desperately she asks him whether there is still room for her in his grave, to which he answers no. As day breaks the ghost has to leave and in grief, Gretchen dies (see Gottfried Herder, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, ed. Heinz Rölleke, 2 vols. [1778-9; reprint, 2 vols. in 1, Stuttgart, 1975], 357-9). Herder's first published version of the ballad appeared in 1773 in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (see Gottfried Herder et al., *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*, ed. Hans Dietrich Irmscher [1773; reprint, Stuttgart, 1968], 41-3). *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* appeared posthumously at Cotta in Tübingen in 1807, edited by Johann von Müller.

Bürger's 'Lenore' is closer to, and in many ways surpasses, the horror of Heine's poem. Lenore is visited at night by the beloved she believed unfaithful (also named Wilhelm); he asks her to join him, for they will marry that night. As they ride through the night, Lenore seems remarkably unaware of ghostly shapes or the unnatural speed of Wilhelm's horse, merely growing impatient with Wilhelm's repeated question 'is my beloved frightened of the dead' ('Graut Liebchen auch vor den Toten')? As they arrive at a graveyard Wilhelm turns back into a skeleton before her eyes and she dies in horror, surrounded by dancing spirits (see Gottfried August Bürger, *Gottfried August Bürger, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Günter and Hiltrud Häntzschel [München, 1987], 178-88). An early version of 'Lenore' dates from 1773 (the ballad was first mentioned in a letter of the 19th of April 1773); the first published version appeared in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* of 1774 (pages 214-26). See also 'Anmerkungen', *Gottfried August Bürger, Sämtliche Werke*, 1210-16. The influence of 'Lenore' was far-reaching. On its impact on English Gothic fiction for example, see E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762-1800*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism, 12 (Cambridge, 1995), 141-2.

⁵⁷ On the passive female body, here specifically in relation to early music, see Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devices'". See also Section 5.1. above.

⁵⁸ Only the narrator's question to himself ('Ich will mal schaun aus dem Fenster, / Wer drunten stört meine Ruh'') ['I'll have a look from the window / Who disturbs my rest down there.'], S. 2, L. 1-2) could possibly be considered as additional speech, but it acts more as rhetorical question to the audience that generates further tension, and is certainly not heard by other characters in the poem. It has to be noted though, that these lines could equally well be taken to be spoken by the maiden, woken by the music and stepping to the window to discover its source. Examining the history of the poem's text provides few clues that could lead to the resolution of this ambiguity of voices. As already noted, I follow the *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*. There, quotation marks are opened at the beginning of each stanza, but only closed at the end of the final stanza. Grappin notes: 'Hk 22 [i.e. *Die Heimkehr*, no. 22] is the song announced in Hk 21, [S. 2]: 'Do you know the old little song', and is therefore placed in quotation marks' (Grappin, *Apparat*, 906: 'Hk 22 ist das in Hk 21, V. 2 angekündigte Lied: "Kennst du das alte Liedchen" und wird daher in Anführungszeichen gesetzt'). The first publication of the poem, in *Der Gesellschafter* omitted these quotation marks. In both versions, the reader remains free to come to his/her own conclusion regarding the number of voices within the poem, as both versions effectively suggest one narrative voice within which one may or may not hear other voices speaking directly.

⁵⁹ One of the few essays examining the use of music in literary horror is Frits Noske's study of music in English Gothic fiction, 'Sound and Sentiment: The Function of Music in the Gothic Novel', *Music & Letters*, 62 (1981), 162-75.

5.3.2. Heine's Daemonic Music and Hoven's Waltz

The music that Heine embeds within his narrative is unquestionably daemonic. First heard from within a house, there is no suggestion of its source, but it seems pleasurable: it 'singt ... und klingt ... / Wie Walzermelodei'n' ('sings and sounds / Like waltzes' melodies', S. 1, L. 3-4). Drawn to the sound the narrator looks out of the window and beholds a skeleton ('Todtengerippe', S. 2, L. 3) that fiddles and sings. At this point there is a strictly gendered division: beyond being drawn to the window by the waltz's sound (suggesting his question to be more one of curiosity and mild annoyance than the result of weakness), the narrator is able to resist the musical sound and merely voyeuristically gazes at the unfolding scene; the maiden on the other hand is seized powerfully by it and drawn out of the house. The final line ('Unheimlich im Mondenschein' ['Uncannily in the moonlight'], S. 5, L. 4) thus tells not only of the appearance of the skeleton, but also of its cavorting and fiddling. All the hallmarks of the daemonic force are then present: what in one sense appears pleasurable is equally revealed as horrific, intruding powerfully before withdrawing back into the supernatural.

But it is not only Music *in* the poem that is daemonic; the poem is *itself* a daemonic Music: in the preceding poem of *Die Heimkehr*, number twenty-one, 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen' ('How can you sleep so calmly'), Heine had evoked an 'alte[s] Liedchen' ('old little song', S. 2, L. 1) as a thinly veiled threat of physical violence:

1	Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen, Und weißt, ich lebe noch? Der alte Zorn kommt wieder, Und dann zerbrech ich mein Joch.	How can you sleep so calmly, And know that I still live? The old rage returns, And then I break my yoke.
2	Kennst du das alte Liedchen: Wie einst ein tochter Knab' Um Mitternacht die Geliebte Zu sich geholt in's Grab?	Do you know the old little song: How once a dead boy At midnight, fetched his beloved Into his grave?
3	Glaub' mir, du wunderschönes, Du wunderholdes Kind, Ich lebe und bin noch stärker, Als alle Todten sind! ⁶⁰	Believe me, you lovely, You wondrously fair child, I live and am still stronger Than all the dead [together]!

⁶⁰ As with 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', I here use the text as given in the *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* (vol. 1, bk. 1, 231).

'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' (No. 22) acts out the scenario described in the middle stanza of this, the preceding poem in the collection ('Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen', No. 21): 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' is in fact the 'old little song' ('alte Liedchen') to which the narrator of the preceding poem refers. The daemonic nature of this 'old little song' becomes apparent in the manner and effect of its return. The appearance of the poem immediately following 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen' within Heine's set itself marks a rending of the cycle's fabric, as the poem as 'Liedchen', like the skeleton of which it tells, rises out of the past (it is both 'old' and of the previous poem) and sounds once more. Having briefly broken through in 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen', it here breaks through the cycle as a whole.

Hoven's setting of both poems suggests precisely this sense of daemonic return by using the macabre little waltz in B minor that sets the middle stanza of 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen' (poem number twenty-one), as the 'Walzermelodein' that set 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' (see Example 14a and 14b).⁶¹ However, in so doing, Hoven does not create the connection between no. 21 and no 22. Instead he

12 noch, der al - te Zorn kehrt wie - der, und dann zer-brech' ich mein Joch; kennst du das al - te

13 Liedchen? *Allegro.* 8va

14 *pp* *f*

15 *pp* *f*

16 *pp* *f*

17 *pp* *f*

18 *pp* *f*

19 *pp* *f*

20 *pp* *f*

21 *pp* *f*

22 *pp* *f*

23 *pp* *f*

⁶¹ Marcus Imbsweiler has termed the resulting structure 'double songs' ('Doppellieder'). See Marcus Imbsweiler, 'Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, *Die Heimkehr*', CD liner notes to Hoven, *Die Heimkehr*, vol. 1 (Signum, SIG X104-00, 2000), 5.

25

Wie einst ein tochter Knab' — um Mit - ter-nacht die Ge - lieb -

8va

p *pp*

34 *Langsamer.* *Erstes Zeitmass.*

8va

te zu sich ge - holt in's Grab? Glaub' mir, du wun - der - schö - nes, du wunder-hol-des

f *colla parte* *pp* *f* *p*

Tempo primo.

Example 14a: Hoven, 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen': bars 12-41

8va

pp *fz* *fz* *fz* *pp*

Allegro.

8

pp *fz* *fz* *fz* *pp*

Example 14b: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 1-15

illustrates musically a relationship already present in the poetic text.⁶² By reusing previously heard material in the setting of 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', Hoven also makes explicit a connection implicit in Heine's poems: that the return

⁶² The connection between the poems extends to the belief that they were written at the same time (see Grappin, *Apparat*, 905: '[no. 21] must have been written immediately together with [no.] 22 as it is an explicit continuation, or rather, addition' ['[Hk 21] muß unmittelbar mit Hk 22 zusammen entstanden sein, da dieses eine ausdrückliche Weiterführung bzw. Ergänzung ist']).

marks both a sense of past and of future: the 'alte[s] Liedchen' returns to haunt the narrator of *Die Heimkehr* as an echo from the past, whilst simultaneously also functioning as a fantasy projection of a nightmare future. It is of the past both because it is 'old' and because the narrator *had evoked it* as a threat in the previous poem (stanza 2); it projects a nightmare future because – read as a continuation of no. 21 – the narrator imagines himself returning from the dead to claim and thereby murder the maiden who had spurned him in life.⁶³ In his settings Hoven goes even further, suggesting the skeleton to *be* the narrator of poems twenty-one and twenty-two through the use of D major. In so doing he effectively splits the narrator of poem twenty-two into two (narrator and skeleton), thereby evoking the powerful and uncanny image of the double.⁶⁴ The strangely hollow appearance of a tonic D major chord inflected with a B flat as the beginning of the skeleton's 'song' in 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer' (bars 71-79, Example 15) at first jars, but the connection is

71 „Hast einst den Tanz mir ver-sprochen, und hast ge-brochen dein

78 Wort – und heut' ist Ball auf dem Kirch-hof, komm mit, wir

pp

cresc. f cresc.

Example 15: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 71-84

⁶³ Note that the time elapsed between the end of no. 21 and the beginning of no. 22 is unclear.

⁶⁴ This move gains relevance by the close proximity within the cycle of what has perhaps become *the* poetic evocation of the double, Heine's 'Still ist die Nacht, es ruhen die Gassen' (no. 20), commonly known following Schubert's setting as 'Der Doppelgänger'. On the 'real' background to the figure in Heine's no. 20 and Heine's fascination with the idea of the double see Grappin, *Apparat*, 904-5. For a comprehensive discussion of the figure in German Romanticism see Andrew J. Webber, *The Doppelgänger*.

striking: D major was the key of the apparently confident outer sections of the previous poem, boldly threatening the 'wunderschönes Kind' ('lovely / ... child', S. 3, L. 1-2) with the 'alte Liedchen'.⁶⁵ In the following song the narrator's key of D has become morbidly inflected with the flattened sixth borrowed from the tonic minor as it signifies his skeletal double.⁶⁶ This 'contaminated' D major continues to haunt the setting of 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', once more appearing in connection with the skeleton towards the end of the song (bars 136-143, Example 16).⁶⁷ The

Example 16: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 132-44

narrator thus finds himself observing a macabre fantasy of displacement in which he watches himself returning from the dead in the form of the fiddling skeleton, to take the 'wunderholdes Kind' ('wondrously fair child') of poem twenty-one, here figured as the sleeping 'Jungfrau' ('maiden'). Poem twenty-two thereby allows the narrator the fantasy of a 'victory' of seduction that so obviously eludes him. Ironically though, in imagining his power over the maiden in death, he reveals his own

⁶⁵ It should be noted that there are two possible readings for the appearance of the chord of D. I suggest it as a breakthrough of the tonic D major of the setting of poem twenty-one, inflected with the B-flat taken from the tonic minor and morbidly signifying the skeleton as the re-animated narrator. The chord could however, equally be seen on a local level as dominant of G minor (i.e. as a dominant preparation for a key that is then sidestepped), with the B-flat then taken from the implicit tonic G minor.

⁶⁶ There is of course a certain irony inherent in Heine's poem in as much as the narrator not only finds his rest (!) disturbed by a skeleton (i.e. the dead), but finds that skeleton to be himself!

⁶⁷ I shall return to these bars below.

weakness in life and thereby undermines his claim, voiced at the end of poem twenty-one, of being 'still stronger / Than all the dead [together]' ('noch stärker, / Als alle Todten sind', S. 3, L. 3-4). Consequently, the daemonic nature of the waltz is suggested in terms of the structure of the two poems and their settings by the way in which it first powerfully interrupts the melodic unity of number twenty-one, before returning both as echo of the past and projection of the future in number twenty-two. The music of the waltz is thus timeless, supernatural, glimpsed at a moment of fracture as its daemonic voice rends the fabric of worldly reality. The shock is that having been evoked as 'alte[s] Liedchen' – little more than a spooky tale – it becomes 'real'.

In addition to its local meaning within the poems themselves, Heine's fiddling skeleton fuses varied and macabre cultural meanings and traditions. At its core lies the custom of the Totentanz, or Danse Macabre, that arose in the fourteenth century in the wake of devastating epidemics of bubonic plague.⁶⁸ Representations of the trope show processions of living beings led by skeleton-like figures, usually to a house of the dead. Despite its demonic imagery of the walking dead, the custom of the Totentanz was encouraged by the religious authorities as it was believed to underline their teachings of the importance of leading a moral life and being ready for death at all times. Early representations of the Totentanz show a preference for wind instruments to accompany the 'dance', but by the early 17th-century the violin appears as the preferred instrument of Death.⁶⁹ It is a move that owes much to the violin's association with dance, and the warnings of religious authorities against dancing: as the 'modern' violin established itself and became more powerful in sound, it found widespread use for the accompaniment of dances, and 'the instrument became fixed in the popular imagination as *the* dance instrument'.⁷⁰ As the Christian churches warned of the sinful implications of dance, the violin's link to sin and death seemed

⁶⁸ My account of the Totentanz tradition is indebted to Rita Steblin's broad study of the topic in her article "'Death as Fiddler": The Study of a Convention in European Art, Literature and Music', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (Winterthur, 1990), 271-322. Pointing to the immensity of the literature on the topic, Steblin draws attention to Reinhold Hammerstein's *Tanz und Musik des Todes: Die mittelalterlichen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben* (Bern, 1980) (Steblin, 'Death as Fiddler', 272, n. 2). For a briefer and more recent survey and a detailed bibliography on the subject, see Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, 'Totentanz', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil* (Kassel, 1998), 9, cols. 682-91.

⁶⁹ On the varied instruments depicted in the Totentanz, see Steblin, 'Death as Fiddler'.

⁷⁰ Steblin, 'Death as Fiddler', 276.

inevitable. It was a connection that received renewed relevance in the early nineteenth century in the wake of the phenomenal success of Paganini.⁷¹

The general waltz-rhythm (and the performance direction 'Im Walzer-Tempo') aside, Hoven signals the dance/death duality through the juxtaposition of two contrasting motivic ideas, labelled x and y in Example 17 (bars 1-29).⁷² The

The musical score for Example 17 is presented in four systems, each with a piano (p) and violin (v) staff. The first system (bars 1-7) begins with a piano introduction marked 'Allegro.' and 'pp'. The violin enters with a wavy line indicating a tremolo. The second system (bars 8-15) continues the waltz rhythm with dynamic markings from 'pp' to 'fs'. The third system (bars 16-22) shows a 'cresc.' in the piano part and a 'pp' in the violin part. The fourth system (bars 23-29) ends with a 'dimin.' in the piano part and a 'pp' in the violin part, followed by a 'ped.' marking in the piano part.

Example 17: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 1-29

⁷¹ See also John Sugden, *Niccolò Paganini: Supreme Violinist or Devil's Fiddler?* (Tunbridge Wells, 1980). Heine himself left several detailed descriptions of Paganini's performances in his *Reisebilder* (1826-31) and *Florentinische Nächte* (1836). See also the discussion of these texts in Steblin's 'Death as Fiddler', 281-2 and Chapter 6, below.

⁷² The trope of the Totentanz is also alluded to by the addition of the title 'Der Tänzer' ('The Dancer') in the 1851 edition of Hoven's setting published by the kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Vienna. Note that Heine's original bore no such title.

recurring acciaccatura motive x, first heard at the opening of the song is strongly suggestive of the grotesque contorted movements of the skeleton's capering (see especially stanza 5), resuming after a notable absence on 'heut ist Ball auf dem Kirchhof' ('today there's a ball in the churchyard', S. 3, L. 3, bar 80 onwards), whilst at the same time evoking mocking laughter. Its 6-5 motion is similar to the B-flat to A motion over D/F-sharp in bars 72-77 (see Example 15), suggesting the skeleton's song as a slowed-down derivative of its dance. In hinting at diabolical laughter, motive x is therefore the more overtly demonic motive, being contrasted with a motive that evokes an equally uncanny 19th-century horror: the automaton.⁷³ In its lengthy periods of repetition and unceasing circling around basic tonic/dominant harmony, the mechanical motive y (Example 117) presents the whirling of a mechanical toy.⁷⁴ This is no well-oiled, delightful machine of the Enlightenment however, but a warped, malfunctioning mechanical horror, prone to abandoning its mechanical material (e.g. bars 72-119), reshaping it (e.g. compare bar 7 with bar 30 or 130-1, Example 18), only to fragment at the closure of the song (bars 155-70, Example 26). But this is no song about a music machine; instead the mechanical toy



Example 18: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 7, 30 and 130-1

is revealed as demonic horror in the figure of the skeleton.⁷⁵ Its mechanical sound is thus the uncanny 'waltzing' of a soulless, lifeless object (the skeleton), animated by

⁷³ On the horror of the automaton in German romanticism, and its contrast to the Enlightenment view of mechanical devices see Carolyn Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), 465-530, and Carolyn Abbate, 'Outside the Tomb', *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, 2001), 185-246.

⁷⁴ The repetition of motive y is reminiscent of Schubert's hurdy-gurdy in the final song of *Die Winterreise* ('Der Leiermann'), but here heightened to diabolical parody. Rather than suggesting the stasis of death heard in 'Der Leiermann', Hoven's 'mechanism' presents a macabre revelry.

⁷⁵ In the early nineteenth century what one might call recreational terror – horror as entertainment – was strongly linked to machines, most notably in the popular phantasmagoria. On the background to phantasmagoria and their possible influence on theatre design see Anthony Newcomb, 'New Light(s) on Weber's Wolf's Glen Scene', *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge, 1995), 61-88.

Music's daemonic supernatural voice, and constantly at risk of lapsing into the macabre capering suggested by motive x. The skeleton is thus figured as a nightmarish puppet, controlled and animated by Music just as much as it uses Music to lure the maiden: Music's daemonic voice once again acts on its conduit just as much as it acts on others through him/her. It is as this macabre source of animation that Music's daemonic voice seizes the maiden and lures her into the realm of the supernatural.

Hoven enacts the maiden's seduction by Music's daemonic voice and her removal into the supernatural around the tonal poles of B major and B minor. B minor is heard at the opening of the song and in the resurgent interruption of the opening material in bars 48-55 (see Examples 17 and 19 respectively). Within the

44

Wal - zer - Me - lo - dei'n.

pp fs

50

„leb will mal

8va

fs sf ppp

Example 19: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 44-56

song, B minor acts as general signifier of the supernatural. The B major version of the waltz heard in bars 28-47 and 56-63 (setting the first stanza and the first two lines of the second stanza respectively, see Example 20) signifies the supernatural waltz

heard from the 'safety' of the/a house (i.e. the maiden's chamber and the room of the

23

p *dimin.* *pp*
ped.

30

Die Jung - frau schläft in der Kam - mer, der Mond schaut

leggiero *ppp*

37

zit - ternd hin - ein; da draus - sen singt es und klingt es; wie

ppp

44

Wal - zer - Me - lo - dei'n.

pp *fs*

50

„leh will mal

fs *sf* *ppp*

57

sehan'n aus dem Fen - ster, wer drun - ten stört mei - ne Ruh'?' da

Example 20: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 23-63

narrator, although whether these are one and the same rooms or even houses is not clear). It is a safety that proves deceptive however, as the house offers no protection to the sleeping maiden. Once the skeleton is glimpsed (bars 63-7, Example 21) B major is abandoned, as the power of the supernatural B minor proves greater. From then on, the contaminated D major acts as primary contrasting key area. In thus allowing B minor to triumph, Hoven suggests the failure of the tonic major and its associated symbolism of domestic safety (i.e. the safety of the bedroom). If B major had wanted to establish itself it fails in the face of the power of the supernatural B minor.

The key of B minor is explicitly linked to the daemonic Music that sounds through the skeleton for the first time in bars 68-71 (Example 21): having glimpsed

57

sehan'n aus dem Fen - ster, wer drun - ten stört mei - ne Ruh'?' da

64

steht ein Tod - ten - ge - rip - pe, und fie - delt und singt da - zu: ersee.

Example 21: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 57-77

the skeleton to a chord of G (here as VI of B major) in bars 64-5, the harmony slips to B minor via a diminished seventh chord (bars 66-7) as the skeleton 'fiddles and sings' ('fidelt und singt', S. 2, L. 4, bars 68-71). The contaminated D major that marks the beginning of the skeleton's speech/song in bars 72-78 ('Hast einst mir den Tanz versprochen, / Und hast gebrochen dein Wort' ['Once you promised me a dance, / And you broke your word'], S. 3, L. 1-2) leads into an increasingly dizzying version of motive x, that reveals the waltz as the (dance) Music that animates the dead: 'Und heut ist Ball auf dem Kirchhof, / Komm mit, wir tanzen dort' ('And today there's a ball at the churchyard, / Come with me, we will dance there', S. 3, L. 3-4, bars 80-7, Example 22). The passage culminates in a terrifyingly boisterous restatement of the

25
tan - zen dort.¹⁴
8va
ff fff possible fz fz
ped. ped.

92
Die Jung-frau er - greift es ge - wal-
8va
sf p
ped. ped.

Example 22: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 71-98

opening waltz material (the first 8 bars), marked *fff possible* (bars 88-95).⁷⁶ This fearsome return of the opening unleashes the full power of Music's daemonic voice on the sleeping maiden, raises her from her bed and kills her as it does so. Consequently, as it seizes her ('Die Jungfrau ergreift es gewaltig' ['It seizes the maiden powerfully'], S. 4, L. 1, bar 96 onwards, Example 23), the key of B minor already marks her as being of the supernatural.

52
Die Jung-frau er - greift es ge - wal-
8va
sf p
ped. ped.

⁷⁶ The only difference to the first eight bars, apart from the dynamic marking, is an added C sharp in the left hand of the piano part in bars 90-1 and 94.

92

tig, es lockt sie her - vor aus dem Haus, die Jungfrau er - greift es ge-

cresc. cresc.

106

wal - - tig, es lockt sie her - vor aus dem Haus; sie folgt dem Ge-

staccato

f p cresc.

Example 23: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', bars 92-112

At this stage however, she has not yet achieved dance, the strangely pulsating accented appoggiaturas of bar 96-107 suggesting a lurching movement that needs to be subsumed into the dance of which the skeleton speaks (S. 3, L. 3-4; see Example 23). The accented appoggiaturas are of course reminiscent of the pattern that sets the skeleton's song in bars 72-7 (Example 22), thereby connecting the skeleton's song and the maiden's initial movement.⁷⁷ She dramatically attains dance on Hoven's repetition of 'Sie folgt dem Gerippe, das singend / Und fidelnd schreitet voraus' ('She follows the skeleton, that singing / And fiddling strides ahead', S. 4, L. 3-4) in bars 119-26, as the description of the following maiden is set to the accompaniment that previously underscored 'Da draußen singt es und klingt es, / Wie Walzermelodein' ('Out there it sings and sounds, / Like waltzes' melodies', S. 1, L. 3-4; see Example 24b). Bars 120-5 re-use the accompaniment of bars 40-5, their differences lying in the former's modulation to F sharp minor (bar 121 onwards), whilst even the melodic

⁷⁷ By extension then, the maiden's appoggiatura figure connects to motive x.

lines are closely related (see Example 24a and 24b, bars 39-46 and 119-26). The

37

zit - ternd hin - ein; da draus - sen singt es und klingt es; wie

44

Wal - zer - Me - lo - dei'n.

Example 24a: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 37-49

113

rip - pe, das sin - - gend und sie - delnd schrei - tet vor - aus; sie

120

folgt dem Ge - rip - pe, das sin - - gend und sie - delnd schrei - tet vor-



Example 24b: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 113-131

supernatural is thus no longer viewed/heard from the 'safety' of the domestic sphere, as the maiden has joined the skeleton's dance, a move Hoven further dramatizes by unleashing the twirling motive *y* in bar 120, having withheld it since bars 95.

The maiden effectively disappears from the poem at this point; from the song she vanishes amidst the whirling of motive *y* in bars 126-34 (Example 25). The last

Example 25: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 126-137

stanza belongs to the skeleton, as 'It fiddles and dances and leaps, / And rattles with its bones, / And nods and nods with its skull / Uncannily in the moonlight' ('Es fidelt und tänzelt und hüpfet, / Und klappert mit seinem Gebein, / Und nickt und nickt mit

dem Schädel / Unheimlich im Mondenschein', S. 5).⁷⁸ But having lured its prey into the supernatural, Music predictably abandons its conduit;⁷⁹ as the (re)animating waltz fragments (bars 155-68, Example 26), the apparition vanishes with a crack (bars 169-70), as the demonic skeleton, the maiden and Music's daemonic voice vanish from the worldly sphere.

The image displays a musical score for three systems of staves. The first system, starting at bar 152, features a vocal line with the lyrics 'Mon - den - schein.' and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes dynamics 'p', 'dimin.', and 'p'. The second system, starting at bar 159, continues the piano accompaniment with dynamics 'pp' and 'pp'. The third system, starting at bar 166, shows the piano accompaniment with dynamics 'ppp' and 'ff', and a vocal line marked '8va'.

Example 26: Hoven, 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer': bars 152-170

⁷⁸ Note the striking use of A minor on the word 'Schädel' ('skull', S. 5, L. 3) in bars 146-7, eerily suggesting the glimpse of the nodding skull in the moonlight.

⁷⁹ See also my discussion of E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Don Juan* and Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie* in Chapter 2.

5.4. The Female Performer as Conduit for Music's Daemonic Voice:

Schiller's 'Laura am Klavier' and Schubert's Settings

Indeed, one of the great fears about music as regards women was its impact on their sexuality. [...] The fear of music is a fear of feminine eruption, of a musical 'she' who ceases to charm us, who in effect denaturalizes 'herself', losing 'her' simplicity, becoming complex, astonishing, and more like a man.⁸³

Mapping the fragile state of gender-policing surrounding music that Richard Leppert here identifies in 18th- and 19th-century England onto the same period in German culture reveals another fear lurking in its shadow: what if woman were to regress through performance to a Music that is *itself* 'she'? German aesthetics had already gendered the musical ideal feminine, and the power that was afforded to this musical ideal has already been demonstrated; supernatural, inexplicable, seductive and impossible to resist, Music's voice gendered feminine truly was daemonic.⁸⁴ What would happen if woman were to usurp the power of this ideal Music?

5.4.1. Schiller's 'Laura am Klavier'

Superficially, Schiller's poem 'Laura am Klavier' ('Laura at the Piano') belongs to an established line of poems, both before and after Schiller, that make the 'at the piano' scene their poetic subject.⁸⁵ Arguably aimed chiefly at the women of the time, these poems idealized both Music and woman's music making in the home, whilst simultaneously firmly prescribing the permissible perimeters within which that music making could function.⁸⁶ What is striking in Schiller's poem is the way in which it challenges these conventions of domestic performance; it speaks of the way in which fears attached to women in late 18th- and early 19th-century culture also applied to music. The music that Schiller portrays is no diversion for 'idle hours'; it draws in the performing woman (Laura), and using her as its conduit, erases the

⁸³ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, 1993), 69.

⁸⁴ See my discussion of E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Don Juan* and Kleist's *Die heilige Cäcilie* in Chapter 2.

⁸⁵ See for example Max Friedlaender, 'Lieder an das Klavier', *Das deutsche Lied im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1902), vol. 1, bk. 1, 379-81.

⁸⁶ See also Matthew Head, 'Music for the Fair Sex'.

masculine listening subject's agency. In thus removing Laura from the worldly, Music is portrayed as a powerfully destructive force that disrupts the worldly status quo, both freeing Laura from the prescribed limits of female accomplishment, putting her beyond the reach of the narrator/lover and itself taking his position as the controlling influence over the female subject. The price Laura pays is that in the process she is destroyed. The power, inexplicability and ambiguity of this action marks it out as daemonic, and Music thus becomes the narrator's daemonic double.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Wenn dein Finger durch die Saiten
 meistert –
 Laura, itzt zur Statue entgeistert,
 Itzt entkörperst steh' ich da.
 Du gebietest über Tod und Leben,
 Mächtig, wie von tausend Nervgeweben
 Seelen fordert Philadelphia –</p> | <p>When your finger⁸⁷ masters through the
strings,
Laura, now thunderstruck, a statue,
Now incorporeal I stand there.
You command over life and death,
Mighty, as Philadelphia demands
Souls from a thousand nervous fibres.</p> |
| <p>2 Ehrerbietig leiser rauschen
 Dann die Lüfte, dir zu lauschen
 Hingeschmiedet zum Gesang
 Stehn im ew'gen Wirbelgang,
 Einzuziehn die Wonnefülle,
 Lauschende Naturen stille,
 Zauberin! mit Tönen, wie
 Mich mit Blicken, zwingst du sie.</p> | <p>Then, in reverence, the breezes
Murmur more quietly [so as] to listen to
you.
Wrought into song,
Eavesdropping natures stand still
In the eternal twirling path,
To draw in the abundant bliss.
Sorceress! You compel them with music,
As you compel me with your glances.</p> |
| <p>3 Seelenvolle Harmonien wimmeln,
 Ein wollüstig Ungestüm,
 Aus ihren Saiten, wie aus ihren
 Himmeln
 Neugebor'ne Seraphim;
 Wie, des Chaos Riesenarm entronnen,
 Aufgejagt vom Schöpfungssturm die
 Sonnen
 Funkelnd fahren aus der Nacht,
 Ströhm't der Töne Zaubermacht.</p> | <p>Soulful harmonies throng
An ecstatic impetuousness,
From their strings, like new-born
Seraphim from their heavens.
Like the suns, escaped from the giant
arm of chaos,
Driven forth by the storm of creation,
Flew sparkling out of the night,
[Thus] flows music's sorcerous might.</p> |

⁸⁷ The singular of 'finger' appears strange in this context. It would appear to be the result of the opening rhyme: 'deine Finger' (i.e. the plural) would have not only resulted in a disruption of the flow (which in itself could have been prevented by writing 'dein'), but would have required the change from 'meistert' to 'meistern', thereby destroying the rhyme with 'entgeistert'. This is however, only a hypothesis.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4 Lieblich itzt, wie über glatten Kiesel
 Silberhelle Fluten rieseln, –
 Majestätisch prächtig nun
 Wie des Donners Orgelton,
 Stürmend von hinnen itzt wie sich von
 Felsen
 Rauschende schäumende Gießbäche
 wälzen,
 Holdes Gesäusel bald,
 Schmeichlerisch linde
 Wie durch den Espenwald
 Buhlende Winde,
 Schwerer nun und melancholisch düster
 Wie durch toter Wüsten
 Schauernachtgeflüster,
 Wo verlор'nes Heulen schweift,
 Tränenwellen der Kozytus schleift.</p> | <p>Sweetly now, like silver-bright waves
 Trickle over smooth pebbles,
 Majestically glorious now,
 Like thunder's organ sound;
 Storming forth now, as roaring,
 Foaming waterfalls surge over rocks;
 Sweet murmurs then,
 Fawningly gentle,
 Like courting winds
 Moving through the aspen woods.
 Heavier now, and melancholically dark,
 Like whispering through dead deserts on
 a horrific night,
 Where lost crying drifts,
 [And] Cocytus drags waves of tears.</p> |
| <p>5 Mädchen, sprich! Ich frage, gib mir
 Kunde,
 Stehst mit höhern Geistern du im
 Bunde?
 Ist's die Sprache, lüg mir nicht,
 Die man in Elysen spricht?⁸⁸</p> | <p>Maiden, speak! I ask, tell me:
 Are you in league with higher spirits?
 Is this the language – do not lie to me –
 That one speaks in Elysium?</p> |

Schiller's poem takes the form of an (implicitly) masculine narrator addressing the piano-playing Laura, who may or may not be his beloved (certainly the narrator's gushing tone suggests that he would like her to be). The poem is written in the first person, encouraging the reader to imagine following the narrator's gaze and reconstruct 'Laura at the Piano' in his own mind. As such, the poem appears to reduce Laura to the static object of adoration that one so frequently encounters in both literary and visual descriptions of female performance in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. But it is this visual stasis that reveals the enormity of Music's power, for if Laura is contained by the narrator visually (the poem opens and closes with direct addresses to her), Music erupts through her acoustically. The result is a dual layer of meaning in the poem. Taking one layer, it tells of Laura's mastery at the piano, commanding and binding Nature with her performance and reducing the narrator to a mindless statue. As she plays, the music moves through a series of stock images of 18th-century music aesthetics – largely of the sublime – culminating in melancholy and horror. The only way the narrator can explain her power is to assume her to be in league with the supernatural; he asks whether the music she plays is the language of

⁸⁸ Friedrich Schiller, 'Laura am Klavier', *Friedrich Schiller, Werke und Briefe*, ed. Otto Dann et al. (Frankfurt a. M., 1992), 1, 230-1.

Elysium. The lack of an answer to the narrator in this layer makes it clear that this reading at face value is as incomplete as the narrator's understanding. The second layer takes the visual containment of Laura by the narrator and the narrator's own admittance of powerlessness ('itzt zur Statue entgeistert, / Itzt entkörperst steh' ich da' ['now thunderstruck, a statue, / Now incorporeal I stand there'], S. 1, L. 2-3) from the first layer as a double erasure: Laura becomes the conduit of Music's daemonic voice, just as mindless as the narrator who looks on her. Whilst Laura's playing evokes the horror of an automaton controlled by a supernatural force, the narrator finds himself robbed of his agency, left gushing about the power of Music. But as he speaks of the music he actually hears he finds himself seduced by its voice and discarded in an otherworldly wasteland that the music suggests to him. His suspicion that Laura may be in league with higher spirits is a classicist's underestimation of Music's daemonic power (a power that has, after all, just affected him); his question as to whether music is the language of Elysium reveals his fatal lack of understanding.

At first, the narrator appears enraptured by the music ('itzt zur Statue entgeistert, / Itzt entkörperst steh' ich da' ['now thunderstruck, a statue, / Now incorporeal I stand there'], S. 1, L. 2-3). I would argue however, that key moments in the poem suggest that this effect the music has on him has nothing to do with his own enthusiastic listening; in fact, that one may go so far as calling the narrator fundamentally unmusical. The narrator speaks of 'eavesdropping natures' that stop 'to draw in the abundant bliss'. Laura 'compel[s] them with music' as she compels him with her glances ('mit Tönen, wie / Mich mit Blicken, zwingst du sie' ['You compel them with music, / As you compel me with your glances'], S. 1, L. 13-14).⁸⁹ Two things are important here: firstly, the narrator himself is not compelled by the music, he is perhaps not even listening. Secondly, his reaction to Laura is visual, he looks, or rather, gazes. At the end of the poem, the narrator asks, 'Is this the language [...] / That one speaks in Elysium' ('Ist's die Sprache [...] / Die man in Elysen spricht?', S. 4, L. 3-4). If he really was listening to the music, or rather, if he was truly musical (in the terms argued by, for example Hoffmann), he would know. The question would be superfluous if the narrator himself could access the 'Elysium' that music opened up. Both the narrator's reference to 'eavesdropping natures' and his

⁸⁹ Emphasis added.

final question speak of his own exclusion. That the Music that sounds through Laura nevertheless affects him is due to its daemonic nature.⁹⁰

But the narrator's reduction to an 'incorporeal' 'statue' has further implications. In being 'thunderstruck, a statue' ('zur Statue entgeistert', S. 1, L. 2), the narrator is rendered motionless, static; left attempting to describe the motion that surrounds him, a motion that is significantly – at least superficially in the eyes of the narrator – controlled by Laura, who thereby is labelled active.⁹¹ The implications for such a reversal of gender relations from the passive woman/active man duality should not be underestimated.⁹² Schiller emphasises this further in his choice of words. 'Entgeistert' literally translates as 'thunderstruck', implying a rooting to the ground that unceremoniously grounds the narrator's masculine agency. At the same time, it means 'robbed of spirit', suggesting the loss of the 'Geist' that the aesthetics of the time attached so much importance to as a means for rationality and masculine control. The narrator is consequently robbed both of his control over his surroundings (especially Laura) and of a way of comprehending music. Importantly, in overcoming spirit as means for the intellectual 'grasping' of music, Music's daemonic voice resists containment, and through it, so does Laura. At the same time, the narrator is also 'entkörper't' ('incorporeal', S. 1, L. 3), removed from his body. If this double-remove (spirit and body) at first appears to suggest a move into something of a Jean-Paulian wasteland, his subsequent statements make clear that he does not glimpse the infinite in the sense that, for example, Jean Paul and E. T. A. Hoffmann advocated. Instead, in being removed from his body, he loses his gender: he is robbed of his masculinity, and therefore his identity. Affected but not understanding, his exclusion both from the bodily (worldly) and the spiritual mark not only a complete grounding of his masculine agency but a negation: the hell he glimpses in stanza three is that of his own impotence.

⁹⁰ Speaking of the daemonic nature of music Goethe said, 'an effect issues from her which rules everything, and which no one is able to account for' (Goethe in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden, 1975), 358: 'es geht von ihr eine Wirkung aus, die alles beherrscht und von der niemand in stande ist, sich Rechenschaft zu geben').

⁹¹ Of course, both Laura and the Music that works through her can be read as 'active', this ambiguity itself being a daemonic oscillation of meaning (see also below).

⁹² It is for this reason that the narrator can only understand Laura's power by attributing it to 'spirits'. Again, his lack of understanding is apparent.

5.4.2. Schubert's Two Versions of Schiller's 'Laura am Klavier'

Schubert set 'Laura am Klavier' twice, both in March 1816, but both share enough material to be better thought of as two versions of the same setting rather than two different, entirely unrelated settings. Both versions incorporate recitatives into the song's structure – a striking move that may nevertheless owe as much to the precedents of Zumsteeg and to Schubert's theatre work at the time as it does to Schiller's poem. The most fundamental difference between Schubert's versions is in the treatment of the piano introduction. The first version begins with a 6-bar piano introduction. This introduction then forms the melodic basis of the narrator's 'song' (as opposed to his recitatives), which is in turn accompanied by the left-hand figure of the original introduction (see Example 27a and 27b). The result is something of a contemporaneous domestic idyll: one imagines the narrator standing by his beloved Laura and joining her in song (this much is, at least, suggested by the melodic treatment).

Mäßig

4

Recit

Wenn dein

Example 27a: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, First Version, bars 1-6

20

Wie oben

Ehr - er - bie - tig lei - se rau - schen dann die Luf - te dir zu lau - schen,

p

Example 27b: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, First Version, bars 20-3

In the second version however, on which my study shall focus, Schubert radically challenges this performance idyll. The piano introduction is expanded to 13 bars and, crucially, returns unaltered at the close of the song.⁹³ At no point does the narrator sing Laura's melody (or rather, the melody of her piano introduction), and the left-hand accompaniment that had been used so liberally in the first version, now becomes specifically linked to Laura and the power of Music. The result is a much more complex reading of Schiller's work, and perhaps one suggestive of a narrative that would have been entirely alien to the poet.⁹⁴

As in my reading of the poem above, Schubert's second version tells of the alienation and impotence of the narrator, and, at first glance, of Laura's control and mastery. Significantly though, Laura herself becomes a tool for a daemonic musical voice that erases her agency just as it erases the narrator's and, using Laura as conduit, itself plays both with the narrator and plays the music he hears. The result is a kind of dual feminine threat that is not entirely unrelated to my dual reading of the poem (see above). On one level, Laura as she appears to the narrator both toys with and transgresses the boundaries of female domestic performance and containment. She transgresses her gender and becomes 'more like a man'.⁹⁵ On the other level, unnoticed by the narrator, it is Music's daemonic voice that achieves this transgression. Implicitly gendered female – as it often was – Music's daemonic voice becomes the enticing, threatening and finally destroying feminine Other. In this reading, Schubert's second version tells of a double destruction: Laura has already fallen under Music's spell, she has paid the price of which contemporary writings on female performance so frequently warned.⁹⁶ Having thus 'erased' Laura, we witness the narrator's destruction.⁹⁷ It is on this second level that I base my reading of Schubert's song. Consequently I shall speak of 'Laura' when meaning Music's daemonic voice working through Laura's body, in order to signal that the action that 'visually' at least appears to be controlled by Laura is in fact controlled by Music.

⁹³ The only alteration is the lengthening of the final chord.

⁹⁴ Friedlaender speaks of the 'modest musical taste of our poets' (*Das deutsche Lied im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, bk. 1, xxxviii: 'geringen musikalischen Geschmack unserer Dichter'), and cites Schiller as saying 'in matters of music I have little ability or understanding' (ibid.: 'in Angelegenheiten der Musik habe ich wenig Kompetenz und Einsicht'). The question therefore arises to what extent the narrator is Schiller himself, suffering under his lack of understanding.

⁹⁵ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 69.

⁹⁶ Excessive indulgence of music was seen to lead to selfish and antisocial behaviour, distancing the player from their surroundings and worst case leading to illness and death. See Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies' and Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*.

⁹⁷ Again it is typical of many narratives of the time to focus on the fate of a male protagonist.

Therefore whilst physically Laura, as female performer, appears endowed with masculine agency, it is Music that is assigned this strength. Laura (without inverted commas) thus features as visual object, Music's conduit; woman reduced to automaton.

5.4.3. Schubert's Second Version of 'Laura am Klavier'

The 13-bar introductory piano section with which Schubert begins his second version of 'Laura am Klavier' stands both within and outside of the framework of the song; it is both an introduction and separate miniature piano 'piece' (see Example 28, bars 1-13). In its elegance and grace, the simple opening 4-bar phrase complies with

The musical score for Schubert's 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version, bars 1-13, is presented in three systems. The first system (bars 1-5) is marked 'Mäßig' and 'p'. The second system (bars 6-9) is marked 'fp'. The third system (bars 10-13) is marked 'Recit.' and 'Wenn dein', with dynamics 'fp' and 'p'. The score shows a simple opening 4-bar phrase in the first system, which is repeated in the third system.

Example 28: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 1-13

contemporaneous ideals of female music-making, but as the 'piece' unfolds, it transcends the limitations of the piano repertoire for women in several key moments of eruption (to borrow Leppert's term). As the opening four bars are repeated, apparently merely transposed up an octave with a wider spread of the left hand

accompaniment, bar 6 dramatizes the chromatically altered F natural in the right hand as a signifier of deviance. The doubling of the F natural at the octave and the subsequent octave doubling of the melody as far as bar 7 already suggested by the left hand texture in bar 5, breaks down one of the primary ideals of feminine music making – its effortlessness – with the physical, ‘masculine’ gesture of octave doubling. The teasing halt on F sharp minor in bar 8 suggests a deliberate playing with the constraints imposed on female music making. At the same time, it flags up a pitch that becomes associated with Laura herself in both its major and minor modes (see below). What at first appears to be a straight-forward, ‘compliant’ 4 + 4 structure is exploded by a masculine, physical piano writing and harmonic deviation. But whilst both suggest Laura’s power and control, she (and the musical voice that works through her) are at this point still contained within the bounds of the regularity of the 4 + 4 structure. It is this constraint that the final five bars of the opening ‘piece’ breaks through.⁹⁸ The flamboyant, quasi-operatic gesture of bars 9 and 10 rends the structural regularity and erupts as pure show. Unrelated to previous material, these bars are pure whim, an assertion of will that gives Laura’s musical material a masculine control, whilst at the same time demonstrating an assured manipulation of masculine expectation. As such, it assigns masculine agency to the female subject, whether one reads this as Laura herself, or the (feminine) daemonic musical voice that works through her. Given this, the closing 3-bar material, referring back to the initial 4 + 4 opening appears coquettish, a teasing reference to the material before ‘Laura’s’ (i.e. Music’s) eruption. Aware of the boundaries it has transgressed, Music ironically pretends that everything is as it was and should be. The result is a degree of strength assigned to Laura by Music that proves unbridgeable for the narrator.

Schubert sets the opening three lines of the poem as recitative, a startling move that at once separates the narrator from Laura by the nature of his utterance; more ‘nearly speech’ than ‘nearly music’ its jagged writing, leaves the narrator stammering in the light of ‘Laura’s’ assured melodic beauty (see Example 29, bars 13-17):⁹⁹

⁹⁸ It is worth pointing out that this expansion of regular phrase structure in a moment of eruption functions more to show that Music has the power to do so, than as a general rule for the remaining song. Much of the remaining work is entirely regular in phrase structure. It is altogether more frightening that the regularity could break down at any time than that it does so on a regular basis.

⁹⁹ The result is a formal hybrid that could in part be the result of Schubert’s work for stage around that time, but could perhaps more plausibly be seen to look back to the songs and ballads of Zumsteeg. It is

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Wenn dein Finger durch die Saiten
meistert –
Laura, itzt zur Statue entgeistert,
Itzt entkörperst steh' ich da.</p> | <p>When your finger masters through the
strings,
Laura, now thunderstruck, a statue,
Now incorporeal I stand there.</p> |
|--|---|



Example 29: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 13-17

This apparently straightforward acknowledgement of the power of Music in fact projects three narrative strands: it tells of Laura's ability, significantly speaking of her mastery ('meistert', S.1, L.1), Music's power (it 'entgeistert' and 'entkörperst' the narrator), and the narrator's hopelessly incompatible position. Thus 'entkörperst steh' ich da' ('incorporeal I stand there', S. 1, L. 3) is set to arguably the most confident-sounding cadence of the whole song, ironically locating the narrator in the 'wrong' key: G major. The musical setting thereby explicitly locates the narrator in a different (tonal) area to the object of his desire (A major, being the key of Laura's 'piece', is the key most strongly associated with her).

A fragment of the opening piano 'piece' interrupts the narrator's self-description. Seizing on the narrator's tonal area of G major, this return may at first suggest subservience, but this is dispelled as 'Laura' manipulates the harmony away from G, coming to rest on V of E minor. The narrator returns in recitative (bars 21-5), this time describing Laura's power by comparing her to Philadelphia and, moving towards C sharp minor, he again finds himself harmonically removed (see Example 30).

certainly striking that one of Zumsteeg's most elaborately disjointed structures in this respect, also employing recitatives, should be a setting of another Schiller Laura-poem, 'Die Entzückung an Laura'.

16
Sta - tu - e ent-gei - stert, jetzt ent - kör - pert steh ich da.

20
Du ge - bie - test ü - ber Tod und Le - ben,

23
mäch - tig wie von tau - send Nerv - ge - we - ben See - len for - dert Phi - la - del - phi - a.

Example 30: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 16-25

Beginning in bar 26, the 'Etwas langsamer' section returns to A major with a 2-bar linking passage. For the first time settled in Laura's tonic of A major for any length of time, the narrator describes a naïvely-idyllic scene where Nature's sounds quieten and 'eavesdropping natures' halt in their hustle and bustle to listen to Laura's music (see Example 31).¹⁰⁰ There is no sense here though, that the narrator has

26 **Etwas langsamer**
Ehr - er - bie - tig lei - serrau - schen dann die Lüf - te, dir zu lau - schen,

¹⁰⁰ Echoing the textual emphasis on pausing, this section brings with it an at least temporary sense of harmonic stability.

32 hin - ge - schmie - det zum Ge - sang stehn im ew' - gen Wir - bel - gang, ein - zu - ziehn die

37 Won - ne - fül - le, lau - schen - de Na - tu - ren, stil - le, / zu - be - rin! mit

43 Iö - nen, wie mich mit Bli - cken, zwingst du sie. See - len - vol - le Har - mo -

47 nie - en wim - meln, ein wol - lü - stig Un - ge - stüm, aus ih - ren Sai - ten,


51 wie aus ih - ren Him - meln neu - ge - bor - ne Se - ra - phim; wie des


Recit.

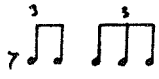
cresc. *p* *pp* *mf* *f* *ff* *fz*


Example 31: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 26-54

himself attained Laura's tonality; instead, it is the piano (obviously associated with Laura and controlled by Music) that has led him back from his remote C sharp minor

to Laura's A major. Further developing the idea of a teasing presence, 'Laura' momentarily allows him to share her tonality, as the narrator finds himself abandoning his formalized recitative and submitting to the fluidity of 'Laura's' music. Most importantly though, this section is subtly sensualized, with its gently rocking quaver motion (bars 28-41) and the juxtaposition of the two tonal areas associated with Laura: F sharp major/minor (in this case minor) and A major on 'einzuzieh'n die Wonnefülle' ('To draw in the abundant bliss', S. 1, L. 11 [bars 36-7]). For the first time, this section suggests that there are others apart from the narrator who are drawn to Laura, and the resulting suggestion of jealousy on the part of the narrator (more explicit in Schubert's setting than in Schiller's poem) finally erupts from the idyll on 'Zauberin! mit Tönen, wie / Mich mit Blicken zwingst du sie' ('Sorceress! You compel them with music, / As you compel me with your glances', S. 1, L. 13-14 [bars 42-5]). This section is a crucial one for the portrayal of the narrator. The other 'natures' ('Lauschende Naturen', S. 1, L. 12) are bound to Laura through (her) music; the narrator (only) through her 'glances'. The association of music and magic is suggestive of Laura's transgression of worldly boundaries, her supernatural power able to 'bind' and command Nature. The result is a deep bond that the visual connection she has with the narrator ('glances') cannot compete with. However, unlike the narrator, we know the situation to be reversed: Laura only appears to command Nature; it is the daemonic voice that works through her that can command Nature. This association of Laura's piano music and sorcery is made explicit musically by Schubert's re-introduction at this point of the  rhythm explicitly associated with Laura's 'piece' (bars 1-2, 5-6 and 18-19, see Examples 28 and 29), a link that will assume increasing importance (see below). In bars 46-54, this rhythm is

transformed into the more emphatic  figure, arising from the connection of the flight of 'Seelenvolle Harmonien' ('Soulful harmonies', S. 2, L. 1 [bars 46-7]) and Seraphim, the ecclesiastical connection emphasized by the increased rhythmic 'flight' of the triplet rhythm (see Example 31).

The sudden break into recitative jolts, cruelly exposing the emphatic waxing of the narrator, the empty pomp of the words underlined by the theatricality of the musical utterance (see Example 32, bars 54-58). Retrospectively, the  passage seems to ironically humour the narrator's enthusiasm (bars 46-54). As if to

underline the forcedness of this change in texture, the 7  rhythm returns in the



53 **Recit.**
 Sc - ra - phim; wie des Cha - os Rie - sen-arm ent -
 ron - nen, auf - ge - schreckt vom Schöp - fungs-sturm die Son - nen fun - kelnd fuh - ren aus der

56
 Nacht, strömt der Tö - ne / au - ber - macht.

58 **Im Takte**
 Nacht, strömt der Tö - ne / au - ber - macht.

Example 32: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 53-61

setting of 'strömt der Töne Zaubermacht' ('flows music's sorcerous might', S. 2, L. 8 [bars 58-61]). This is in many ways the key line of the poem as the power of music remains associated with Laura's 'piece', the textless opening that excluded the narrator.

In bar 62, the piano (i.e. 'Laura') again dictates the transition, and again the narrator's vocal line follows the prompt. As the narrator turns directly to describing the music that is being played he finds himself, perhaps unknowingly, seduced and drawn into a place that he himself likens to the underworld: Cocytus ('Kozytus', bars 86-7) was one of the rivers of Hades (the ancient Greek underworld). Almost naïvely, the narrator follows the juxtaposition of different musical moods and feelings that, in their juxtaposition, would themselves make a musical nonsense were they not governed by some underlying purpose: Music's seduction, alienation and ultimately abandonment of the narrator (see Example 33).

62 **Sanft, beinahe die vorige Bewegung**

Lieb-lich jetzt wie ü-ber glat-ten Kie-seln sil-ber-hel-le... Flu-ten-rie-seln, ma-je-stä-tisch

pp *ff*

68

prä-ch-tig nun wie des Don-ners Or-gel-ton, stür-mend von hin-nen jetzt, wie sich von

73

fel-sen rau-schen-de schäu-men-de Gieß-bä-che wäl-zen, hol-des Ge-säu-sel bald,

decresc. *p*

77 **allmählich abnehmend**

schmeich-le-risch lin-de, wie durch den Es-pen-wald buh-len-de Win-de, schwe-rer nun und me-lan

p

81

cho-lisch dü-ster wie durch to-ter Wü-sten Schau-er-nacht-ge-flü-ster, wo ver-lor-nes

cresc.



Example 33: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 62-88

The gradual circling of seduction is represented musically by the way in which this section continually recycles its initial musical material: the melodies of bars 63-6 re-sets that of bars 67-70; that of bars 76 and 77 is derived from bar 66; bars 78, 79 and 86-7 are a contraction of the melodic contour of bars 63-6, whilst bars 80 and 81 underline the move to a darker mood by seizing on a fragment of the melodic contour, reducing it to a falling third. The narrator's naïvety is signalled musically by the detail of the tone painting, for example the setting of 'glatten' ('smooth', S. 2, L. 9) on a repeated pitch (bar 64) or the 'wave pattern' that sets 'Silberhelle Fluten rieseln' ('Silver-bright waves / Trickle', S. 2, L. 10 [bars 65-6]), and by the vocal line's (and thereby the narrator's) unquestioning subjugation to the piano-music's mood-swings.

As the music of the section unfolds, the narrator's path is dictated by Music as it moves through a repertoire of musical tropes; again one senses the presence of a music that unfolds ironically, knowingly playing with the narrator's limited musical knowledge. The music the narrator hears and describes, as well as the accompaniment of the song (to which) he sings thus moves from being 'Lieblich' ('Sweetly', S. 2, L. 9 – Arcadian imagery) to 'Majestätisch, prächtig' ('Majestically glorious', S. 2, L. 11 – noble/military). Thereby signalling a growing power it becomes 'Stürmend' ('Storming', S. 2, L. 13), demonstrating its strength, before it seduces and comforts, becoming 'Schmeichlerisch linde' ('Fawningly gentle', S. 2, L. 16). Having thus bound the narrator, the music becomes 'Schwerer' and 'melancholisch düster' ('Heavier [...] and melancholically dark', S. 3, L. 1), removing him from the worldly and leading to images of horror ('Schauernachtgeflüster' and 'verlor'nes Heulen' ['whispering [...] on a horrific night' and 'lost crying'], S. 3, L. 2-3) and finally hell ('Kozytus' ['Cocytus'], S. 3, L. 4). The narrator's abandonment and loneliness is signalled by the melody fixing on a monotone ('Wie durch toter Wüsten Schauernachtgeflüster / Wo ver...' ['Like

whispering through dead deserts on a horrific night / Where lost ...'], bars 82-84), a standard technique symbolic of death in the song-writing of the time.¹⁰¹ Once he is abandoned in this way, his position of isolation is sealed by the piano's repetition of the cadence of bar 87 in bar 88, and the pause over the last chord of bar 88; this repeated cadence is the frame that contains the narrator.¹⁰²

The narrator's final, startled sounding recitative (bars 89-93) appears to bring him back to 'reality': addressing Laura directly ('Mädchen, sprich ... Elysen spricht' ['Maiden, speak ... speaks in Elysium'], S. 4, L. 1-4) he would seem to have overcome his isolation. It is Schubert's setting that suggests that he has in fact not done so: despite a rapid move through A major, B minor, G major and D major, the narrator remains in bar 93 on the same chord that located him at the moment of his greatest remove (bar 86): V of A major (see Example 34).

89 **Recit.**
Mäd-chen sprich! Ich fra - ge, gib mir Kun - de, stehst mit hö - hern Gei-tern du im Bun - de? Ist's die

92
Spra - che, lüg mir nicht, die man in E - ly - sen spricht?

Example 34: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version: bars 89-93

With the narrator's startled re-awakening comes his final attempt to assert his masculine agency over both Laura and Music. These attempts take the form of a series of commands; the first two, 'Mädchen, sprich' ('Maiden, speak', S. 4, L. 1 [bar 89]) and 'gib mir Kunde' ('tell me', S. 4, L. 1 [bar 90]), are separated by the slightly softer 'ich frage' ('I ask', S. 4, L. 1 [softer as it asks rather than commands]). But if

¹⁰¹ Reichardt's 'Erlkönig' and Schubert's 'Death and the Maiden' are notable examples of this technique (although Schubert's 'Death' does expand beyond a single pitch, he begins on a single pitch).

¹⁰² This process of possession, drawing into the supernatural and finally abandonment is not unlike the fate of Johannes Kreisler in Hoffmann's 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub' (see Chapter 1).

this already signals uncertainty on the part of the narrator as to the extent of his power over Laura, it is the final command, 'lüg mir nicht' ('do not lie to me', S. 4, L. 3 [bar 92]), that clearly shows the narrator's recognition of his failure. In acknowledging that Laura may lie to him, the narrator shows both his recognition that he only sees a fraction of Laura and that what he sees may deceive him. Schubert signals the pain of the narrator's recognition through the appoggiatura on 'lüg' ('lie', bar 92). In even suspecting that Laura is in league with higher spirits, ironically occurring on a V-I cadence on the narrator's 'own' key of G major (bars 91-2),¹⁰³ the narrator recognizes Laura's remove from his influence. At the same time, we recognize that the supernatural (Music) has taken his place (G major). I use the idea of sight quite deliberately, because it is precisely through the split between the visual and the musical that Laura (and 'Laura') achieves her power over the narrator: we recall the narrator's own exclamation, 'You compel them with music, / As you compel me with your glances' ('mit Tönen, wie / Mich mit Blicken, zwingst du sie', S. 1, L. 13-14).

The narrator's final question, 'Ist's die Sprache [...] / Die man in Elysen spricht' ('Is this the language [...] / That one speaks in Elysium', S. 4, L. 3-4 [bars 91-3]), remains unanswered. Although the harmony resolves (onto I of A major, bar 94), the resolution does not include the narrator. Instead, Laura's introductory 'piece' repeats (bars 94-106, see Example 35), so although she answers in as much as we hear a (musical) utterance, she does not answer the narrator's pleading question. The unaltered repetition of Laura's earlier 'piece' shows the irrelevance of the narrator's utterances. His question is left to be answered by the listener (i.e. us), but whatever our answer may be, Schubert's setting assigns a decisiveness and understanding to us that the narrator lacks. Therefore whatever the outcome, it reveals the narrator's own inadequacy.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ See bar 15 and my commentary above.

¹⁰⁴ Although Laura's 'piece' returns to all intents and purposes unaltered, Schubert made a number of subtle changes to the inner parts of bars 98-100 and the phrasing and notation of bar 97. Compare bars 5-7, Example 28.



Example 35: Schubert, 'Laura am Klavier', D 388, Second Version, bars 93-106

The way we now hear that earlier material is fundamentally changed: what had appeared originally to be merely pushing the boundaries of accomplishment and questioning female containment, or coquettishly teasing, now appears mocking, its very assuredness laughing in the face of the abandoned narrator. The apparently 'innocent' gesture of return in the final three bars of the 'piece' stands as ambiguous reminder of the dangerously destructive powers that lie hidden under a seemingly calm musical surface. In this sense the 'daemonic circle' between Music and woman closes, for as we have seen at the beginning of this section, it was this very fear of an eruption from within that was projected onto women themselves.

Chapter 6

Performance and the Daemonic

6.1. Heine, Paganini and the Daemonic Performance Effect

[Paganini's] figure shrouded itself in sinister shadows, from the dark of which his music wailed in slicing, woeful tones. Sometimes, when the small lamp that hung over him cast its meagre light onto him, I glimpsed his paled face, on which youth had not yet entirely been extinguished. His attire was strange, divided into two colours, one yellow and one red. Heavy chains weighed upon his feet. Behind him a face moved whose physiognomy suggested the jolly nature of a ram, and at times I saw long, hairy hands that, as it seemed, belonged to it, grasp helpfully into the strings of the violin upon which Paganini played. Sometimes they guided the hand in which he held his bow, and then a bleating laughter of applause accompanied the tones that poured out of the violin ever more painfully and bloody. These were tones like the song of the fallen angels that had wooed the daughters of the earth, and, having been banished from the realm of the blessed, descended to the underworld with shamefully flushed faces. These were tones in whose bottomless depth glowed neither comfort nor hope. When the saints in heaven hear such tones, the praise of God dies on their paling lips and they cover their devout heads, weeping. At times, when the obligatory goat's laughter bleated amongst these melodic tortures, I also glimpsed some small women, who nodded their ugly heads in malicious amusement [...]. Then sounds of anguish and a terrible sighing and sobbing surged from the violin, as one had never heard on Earth, and as, perhaps, one will never hear again on Earth, other than in the valley Jehosaphat, when the colossal trombones of judgement sound and the naked corpses crawl out of their graves and await their fate ... But suddenly the tortured violinist did a bow-stroke, a madly despairing stroke, that, rattling, his chains burst apart and his uncanny accomplice vanished together with the sneering fiends.¹

¹ Heinrich Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, in *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1994), 5, 218-19: 'die Gestalt des Meisters umhüllte sich [...] in finstere Schatten, aus deren Dunkel seine Musik mit den schneidensten Jammertönen hervorklagte. Nur manchmal, wenn eine kleine Lampe, die über ihm hing, ihr kümmerliches Licht auf ihn warf, erblickte ich sein erleuchtetes Antlitz, worauf aber die Jugend noch immer nicht erloschen war. Sonderbar war sein Anzug, gespalten in zwey Farben, wovon die ein gelb und die andre roth. An den Füßen lasteten ihm schwere Ketten. Hinter ihm bewegte sich ein Gesicht, dessen Physionomie auf eine

Superficially, this extract from Heinrich Heine's *Florentinische Nächte* ('Florentine Nights') presents a picture of Paganini familiar even some one hundred and sixty years after the death of its protagonist: images of devilry and witchcraft surround the violinist imprisoned on a galley as punishment for murdering his beloved, and it is this image of the 'devil's fiddler' that has endured into our time. 'You see, my friend', the painter Lyser tells Max in *Florentinische Nächte*,² 'when [Paganini] was Kapellmeister in Lucca, he fell in love with a theatre-princess, was jealous of some little Abbate, was perhaps cuckolded, stabbed his unfaithful Amata in the good Italian manner, was put onto the galley in Genua [...] and finally sold himself to the devil to escape [and] to become the best violinist'.³ However, whilst it is easy enough to extrapolate the familiar 'demonic' image of Paganini from Heine's story, the Paganini-episode of *Florentinische Nächte* as a whole presents a much more complex

lustige Bocksnatur hindeutete, und lange haarigte Hände, die, wie es schien, dazu gehörten, sah ich zuweilen hülfreich in die Saiten der Violine greifen, worauf Paganini spielte. Sie führten ihm auch manchmal die Hand womit er den Bogen hielt, und ein meckerndes Beyfall-Lachen akkompagnirte dann die Töne, die immer schmerzlicher und blutender aus der Violine hervor quollen. Das waren Töne gleich dem Gesang der gefallenen Engel, die mit den Töchtern der Erde gebuhlt hatten, und, aus dem Reiche der Seligen verwiesen, mit schaamglühenden Gesichtern in die Unterwelt hinabstiegen. Das waren Töne in deren bodenloser Untiefe weder Trost noch Hoffnung glimmte. Wenn die Heiligen im Himmel solche Töne hören, erstirbt der Lob Gottes auf ihren verbleichenden Lippen und sie verhüllen weinend ihre frommen Häupter! Zuweilen, wenn in die melodischen Qualnisse dieses Spiels das obligate Bockslachen hineinmeckerte, erblickte ich auch im Hintergrunde eine Menge kleiner Weibsbilder, die bößhaft lustig mit den häßlichen Köpfen nickten [...]. Aus der Violine drangen alsdann Angstlaute und ein entsetzliches Seufzen und Schluchzen, wie man es noch nie gehört auf Erden, und wie man es vielleicht nie wieder auf Erden hören wird, es seye denn im Thale Josaphat, wenn die kolossalen Posaunen des Gerichts erklingen und die nackten Leichen aus ihren Gräbern hervorkriechen und ihres Schicksals harren ... Aber der gequälte Violinist that plötzlich einen Strich, einen so wahnsinnig verzweifelden Strich, daß seine Ketten rasselnd entzweysprangen und sein unheimlicher Gehülfe, mitsammt den verhöhrenden Unholden, verschwanden'.

Florentinische Nächte was published by Heine in both French and German. The German version first appeared serialized in *Cottas Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* in April and May 1836, before being published in book form by Campe in July 1837 (see also Manfred Winfuhr, 'Entstehung und Aufnahme', *Florentinische Nächte*, 854-92).

² Max is one of the central characters of *Florentinische Nächte*, commonly understood to be Heine himself. The painter Lyser is not a fictional character. Johann Peter Lyser (1803-70), whose real name was Ludwig Peter August Burmeister, was an active painter and writer (see Friedrich Hirth, *Johann Peter Lyser: Der Dichter, Maler, Musiker* [München, 1911], and Manfred Winfuhr, 'Erläuterungen', *Florentinische Nächte*, 979). Lyser and Heine were in close contact between the autumn of 1829 and the spring of 1831.

³ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 214-15: 'denn sehen Sie, Freund, als er zu Lukka Kapellenmeister war, verliebte er sich in eine Theaterprinzessin, ward eifersüchtig auf irgend einen kleinen Abbate, ward vielleicht kokü, erstach auf gut italienisch seine ungetreue Amata, kam auf die Galeere zu Genua, und [...] verschrieb sich endlich dem Teufel um loszukommen, [und] um der beste Violinspieler zu werden'.

As fantastic as it seems today, this tale, embedded by Heine in his narrative, was a common part of the nineteenth-century Paganini myth. The vision of the enchained captive fiddling under the guidance of the devil (the 'uncanny accomplice') was therefore merely a literary manifestation of perceived fact. On the Paganini myth, see John Sugden, *Niccolò Paganini: Supreme Violinist or Devil's Fiddler* (Tunbridge Wells, 1980).

portrait of the virtuoso, one that suggests him not so much as a demonic, but rather as a daemonic phenomenon.

Heine was to explicitly describe Paganini as daemonic in his report on the musical season of 1844.⁴ Comparing the violin virtuoso Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst with Paganini, Heine writes:

[Ernst] is the true heir of Paganini, he inherited the enchanting violin with which that son of Genoa knew to move the stones, nay even rocks. Certainly Paganini, who with the quiet stroke of his bow now led us to the sunniest heights, now let us look into horrifying depths, possessed a far more daemonic strength; but his lights and shadows were sometimes too harsh, the contrasts too sharp, and his most grandiose natural utterances had often to be seen as artistic errors.⁵

Whilst Heine's phrase 'dämonische Kraft' could undoubtedly be translated as 'demonic strength', a number of points suggest that what Heine had in mind appears to have been the daemonic rather than the diabolical. Firstly, the juxtaposition of 'dämonisch' and 'Kraft' are strongly reminiscent of Goethe's concept of the daemonic individual, characterized, we recall, by an 'ungeheure Kraft' (an 'immense strength');⁶ 'dämonisch' in the sense of diabolical rarely comes with the same association at this time. Secondly, we again encounter the juxtaposition of conflicting effects, here the light and shade symbolic of heaven and hell, which are such a fundamental part of the discourse of the daemonic. Thirdly, the imagery of Paganini's playing moving 'stones, nay even rocks' corresponds to Goethe's claim that the daemonic individual exerted an 'unbelievable force' even on 'the elements' (i.e. Nature).⁷

⁴ 'Musikalische Saison von 1844' became an appendix to *Lutezia*.

⁵ Heine, 'Anhang: Musikalische Saison von 1844, 25.4.1844', *Lutezia*, in *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1990), vol. 14, bk. 1, 134-5: '[Ernst] ist der wahre Nachfolger Paganinis, er erbte die bezaubernde Geige, womit der Genueser die Steine, ja sogar die Klötze zu rühren wußte. Paganini, der uns mit leisem Bogenstrich jetzt zu den sonnigsten Höhen führte, jetzt in grausenvolle Tiefen blicken ließ, besaß freilich eine weit dämonischere Kraft; aber seine Schatten und Lichter waren mitunter zu grell, die Contraste zu schneidend, und seine grandiosesten Naturlaute mußten oft als künstlerische Mißgriffe betrachtet werden'.

⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 177.

⁷ Ibid.: 'sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente' ('they exert an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements'). In the imagery of Nature moving at the musician's command, Heine here clearly alludes to the Orpheus myth: 'a hill there was, and on the hill a wide-extending plain, green with luxuriant grass; but the place was devoid of shade. When here the heaven-descended bard [Orpheus] sat down and smote his sounding lyre, shade came to the place.'

Finally, the fickle working of the daemonic is implicitly present in Paganini's inconsistency of performance. For, whilst Paganini constitutes the peak of violin playing for Heine, he was also, in the eyes of Heine, capable of the worst possible performance. Heine writes, 'I have heard no one play better, but also at times no one worse, than Paganini'.⁸ On the one hand, this ambiguity and unpredictability is undoubtedly closely linked to Heine's own, strangely mystical views of the violin, which he maintains is subject to 'almost human moods', as it 'stands, so to speak, in a sympathetic rapport with the mood of the player' and echoes 'the smallest displeasure, the slightest vibration of the soul, a [mere] breath of feeling'.⁹ In another sense however, the unpredictability of Paganini's performances can be seen as one further manifestation of his daemonic nature, for, as Goethe spoke of Grossherzog Karl August, 'in [him the daemonic] was in the degree that no one could resist him',¹⁰ but 'when the daemonic spirit left him and only the human remained, then he did not know what to do with himself and he was in a bad way'.¹¹

Amidst its explicitly diabolical imagery, even the extract at the top of this chapter contains a strong sense of the daemonic. Paganini is not, as Lyser claimed, freed by his 'uncanny accomplice'; the 'heavy chains' that weigh on his feet are broken by Paganini's own attempt to overcome his torment. Paganini is a 'tortured

There came the Chaonian oak, the grove of the Heliades, the oak with its deep foliage, the soft linden, the beech, the virgin laurel-tree, the brittle hazel, the ash, suitable for spear-shafts, the smooth silver-fir, the ilex-tree bending with acorns, the pleasant plane, the many-coloured maple, river-haunting willows, the lotus, lover of pools, the evergreen boxwood, the slender tamarisk, the double-hued myrtle, the viburnum with its dark-blue berries. You also, pliant-footed ivy, came, and along with you tendrilled grapes, and the elmtrees, draped with vines; the mountain-ash, the forest-pines, the arbutus-tree, loaded with ruddy fruit, the pliant palm, the prize of victory, the bare-trunked pine with broad, leafy top [...]. [...] Such was the grove the bard had drawn, and he sat, the central figure in an assembly of wild beasts and birds' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976], bk. 10, line 86f).

⁸ Heine, *Lutezia*, no. 55 (20.3.1843), *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 14, bk. 1, 47: 'ich habe niemand besser, aber auch zu Zeiten niemand schlechter spielen gehört wie Paganini'.

⁹ 'The violin is an instrument that possesses almost human moods and stands, so to speak, in a sympathetic rapport with the mood of the player. Here the smallest displeasure, the slightest vibration of the soul, a [mere] breath of feeling, finds an immediate echo, and that seems to stem from the fact that the violin, so tightly pressed to our chest, also senses our heartbeat' (Heine, *Lutezia*, no. 55 [20.3.1843], 47: 'die Violine ist ein Instrument, welches fast menschliche Launen hat und mit der Stimmung des Spielers sozusagen in einem sympathetischen Rapport steht: das geringste Mißbehagen, die leiseste Gemüterschütterung, ein Gefühlshauch, findet hier einen unmittelbaren Wiederhall, und das kommt wohl daher, weil die Violine, so ganz nahe an unsere Brust gedrückt, auch unser Herzklopfen vernimmt'). Strikingly, Heine's view of the violin echoes the aesthetics of the eighteenth-century German clavichord cult.

¹⁰ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden, 1975), 358: 'beim verstorbenen Großherzog war es in dem Grade, daß niemand ihm widerstehen konnte'.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 359: 'wenn ihn der dämonische Geist verließ, und nur das Menschliche zurückblieb, so wußte er mit sich nichts anzufangen und er war übel daran'.

artist' suffering under the ingression of the otherworldly. The music that results from this ingression is not of our world, its sound is one 'never heard on Earth' and perhaps not to be heard again until the Day of Judgement.¹² It is music of pain, despair and shame that bleeds from the violin as both performer and instrument are held in an anguished twilight of otherworldly Music. Only the will to survive enables Paganini to overcome its ingression, as his 'madly despairing bow-stroke' shatters his chains and banishes 'his uncanny accomplice together with the sneering fiends'. 'A pity, a pity, a string has snapped', an observer comments.¹³ Chains and string, 'uncanny accomplice' and music merge in a daemonic matrix as the snapping of the string silences Music, banishes the 'uncanny accomplice', frees Paganini from enslavement, and returns Heine's narrative to the reality of the concert hall. Heine suggests that the 'uncanny accomplice' under whom Paganini suffers is not, as Lyser believed, the devil, but Music; the pact with the devil is the popular attempt at explaining Music's daemonic power: the devil becomes a kind of shorthand, as in Heine the daemonic is fused with, and to some extent denoted by the diabolical.

Heine's Paganini episode in *Florentinische Nächte* suggests a three-fold association of the performer and the daemonic: the performer becomes both conduit to Music's daemonic voice and a daemonic individual, whilst the performance he gives in turn has a daemonic effect. Paganini's wasted, diabolical appearance is a dramatic device through which Heine unfolds a variety of episodes in which different and contradictory aspects of the Paganini myth are illuminated. Both in themselves and in their juxtaposition these episodes suggest Paganini as daemonic performer, as their contradictory imagery gradually removes the virtuoso and his performance from signification: like Goethe's daemonic, Paganini '[manifests himself] in contradictions'.¹⁴ Paganini's appearance on stage is unfathomable, merely sketched in the form of contradictory musings on his physique and manner. Images of love, despair, hell, transcendence, madness, artistry and supernatural power circumscribe Paganini's performance more than they describe it. Interspersed both with the

¹² See Joel 3.2 (Revised Standard Version): 'I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgement with them there, on account of my people and my heritage Israel, because they have scattered them among the nations, and have divided up my land [...]'.
¹³ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 219: 'schade, schade, eine Saite ist ihm gesprungen'.

¹⁴ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'he thought he discovered something in Nature [...] that only manifested itself in contradictions' ('er glaubte in der Natur [...] etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte').

audience reaction and the narrative frame of *Florentinische Nächte*, Heine's Paganini description captures the essence of daemonic performance: inexplicable and powerful, the daemonic performance overwhelms the listener and takes them beyond themselves just as it delights, threatens and confuses them; the performer remains at once the embodiment of agency and an empty shell.

Some two years before the publication of *Florentinische Nächte* and mere months after Heine attended the concert given by Paganini that was to form the basis of his account,¹⁵ Goethe suggested the daemonic as the cause for the extraordinary effect of Paganini's performances: 'in Paganini', Goethe claimed, '[the daemonic] shows itself to a high degree, whereby he then produces such a great effect'.¹⁶ Paganini is here suggested both as a conduit of the daemonic (the daemonic 'shows itself' in him), and, with reference to his 'great effect', spoken of in terms reminiscent of Goethe's definition of the daemonic individual: 'an immense strength emanates from [such individuals], and they exert an unbelievable force on all creatures'; 'the masses are attracted to them', just as the 'combined moral forces are powerless against them'.¹⁷ Goethe's definition of the daemonic individual is reflected in the ambivalence felt towards Paganini: it was Paganini's great effect, brought about in

¹⁵ Heine heard and met Paganini in Hamburg in June 1830. In all likelihood, he attended a concert on the 12th of June 1830, the first of three concerts Paganini gave there. Paganini and Heine also met several times for dinner at that time (see Manfred Winfuhr, 'Erläuterungen', *Florentinische Nächte*, 975-8). It speaks for the resonance of Heine's description of the violinist that the Paganini episode of *Florentinische Nächte* was published independently of the rest of *Florentinische Nächte* on numerous occasions. It appeared in the *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt* (4-6.5.1836); *Aurora* (25.5, 1.6 and 3.6.1836); *Lesefrüchte. Gesammelt, herausgegeben und verlegt von J. J. C. Pappe* (Hamburg, 1836) as 'Paganini, portraitiert von H. Heine', and in *Baltische Blüthen für Herz und Geist* (Wismar, 20.9 and 22.9.1837) as 'Paganini. Eine Charakteristik von H. Heine'.

¹⁶ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: 'bei Paganini zeigt [...] sich [das Dämonische] im hohen Grade, wodurch er denn auch so große Wirkungen hervorbringt'.

¹⁷ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: 'this daemonic appears most terrible when it emerges above all else in one man. [...] They are not always the most excellent people, be it in spirit or in talents, [and they] seldom recommend themselves through their good-heartedness; but an immense strength emanates from them, and they exert an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements, and who can say how far such an effect will reach? All the combined moral forces are powerless against them; it is in vain that the brighter part of humanity wishes to make them suspect as deceived or as swindlers: the masses are attracted to them. Rarely or never may one find contemporaries of their kind, and they cannot be overcome by anything other than the universe with which they have started their fight itself' ('am furchtbarsten [...] erscheint dieses Dämonische, wenn es in irgendeinem Menschen überwiegend hervortritt. [...] Es sind nicht immer die vorzüglichsten Menschen, weder an Geist noch an Talenten, selten durch Herzensgüte sich empfehlend; aber eine ungeheure Kraft geht von ihnen aus, und sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente, und wer kann da sagen, wie weit sich eine solche Wirkung erstrecken wird? Alle vereinten sittlichen Kräfte vermögen nichts gegen sie; vergebens, daß der hellere Teil der Menschen sie als Betrogene oder als Betrüger verdächtig machen will, die Masse wird von ihnen angezogen. Selten oder nie finden sich Gleichzeitige ihresgleichen, und sie sind durch nichts zu überwinden als durch das Universum selbst, mit dem sie den Kampf begonnen').

Goethe's eyes by the emergence of the daemonic within him that was the cause for his legendary popularity, despite the suspicions of some as to the musical value of his performances.

What one fails to find in Goethe's writings and conversations though, and what Heine's Paganini-episode in *Florentinische Nächte* provides, is a narration of Paganini's daemonic effect itself.

In the following section, I suggest that Heine's *Florentinische Nächte* provide evidence for the existence of the daemonic within the discourse surrounding Paganini – arguably *the* musical figure most explicitly associated with the demonic in the wider musical consciousness. I then turn to Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's Grand Caprice op. 26, a transcription in all but name of Schubert's Lied 'Erkönig' for solo violin. Goethe's ballad, Schubert's Lied and Ernst's caprice form the subject of an investigation of the changing workings of the daemonic and Music's daemonic voice from poetic text to textless performance.

6.1.1. Paganini in *Florentinische Nächte*

Paganini figures extensively in Heine's journalistic writings on music as the benchmark of violin playing:¹⁸ 'Vieuxtemps', Heine writes for example, 'stands somewhere in the middle of that particular ladder on whose peak we once glimpsed Paganini'.¹⁹ It is in the earlier novel, *Florentinische Nächte*, however, that Heine delivers a virtuoso account of Paganini's performance that blends his own experience of hearing Paganini with a near Hoffmannesque description of the effect of Paganini's playing.

The narrative frame of *Florentinische Nächte* consists of the conversations of a young man, Maximilian (Max), and a dying woman, Maria, over a series of nights in Florence. The Paganini section takes the form of a lengthy digression that interrupts the first of these nights: prompted by Maria's question, 'do you love

¹⁸ These articles were originally written for and published by the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg in the years 1840-8, before being published in book-form as *Lutezia* in 1854.

¹⁹ Heinrich Heine, *Lutezia*, no. 33 (20.4.1841), *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1988), vol. 13, bk. 1, 127: 'Vieuxtemps steht etwa auf der Mitte jener Leiter, auf deren Spitze wir einst Paganini erblickten'. Note that the mention of Paganini is in the past tense due to his death in 1840.

Paganini?’²⁰ Max launches into an account that begins with mere physical description and ends in the metaphysical transfiguration of Paganini to a ‘sublime image of divinity’.²¹ Max’s waxing is rudely interrupted by the arrival of Maria’s doctor, who finds that she has fallen asleep. Max is left feeling sheepish.²²

Heine’s narrative subdivides as follows:

Section No.	Section Function	Description
1	Frame, merges into	The appearance of Paganini, based on Lyser’s painting, merges into
2	Reminiscence	a reminiscence of seeing Paganini in Hamburg with Lyser.
3	The Concert	Paganini’s appearance on stage that evening
4	Musical Vision I	Paganini murders his beloved
5	Interruption (i)	Applause
6	Musical Vision II	Paganini in chains, playing his violin aided by the devil
7	Interruption (ii)	Max’s neighbour addresses him
8	Musical Vision III	Paganini, dressed as a monk, unleashes the demons imprisoned by Solomon
9	Interruption (iii)	Max borders madness and is forced to block out Paganini’s playing to save himself
10	Musical Vision IV	Paganini as ‘sublime image of divinity’ at the centre of the cosmos
11	Interruption (iv) and reversion to frame	Max is brought out of his fantasy by the arrival of the doctor

Table 4: Overview of the Paganini Episode of *Florentinische Nächte*

6.1.2. Whose Voice? Paganini and the Question of Agency

The experience of Paganini’s playing triggers a series of four musical visions that are, in Max’s words, the ‘transfiguration of the tones’²³ into ‘images and situations’.²⁴ Forming a progression that gradually erases the worldly and culminates in an otherworldly image of the cosmos, the musical visions beheld during Paganini’s recital break down the surrounding reality, and draw and finally remove the listener

²⁰ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 213: ‘lieben Sie Paganini? frug Maria’.

²¹ Ibid., 221: ‘ein erhabenes Götterbild’.

²² ‘Maximilian, who, emerged in the phantoms of his own speech, had not noticed that Maria had long since fallen asleep, bit his lip morosely’ (Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 222: ‘Maximilian, welcher, versunken in den Phantasmen seiner eignen Rede, gar nicht gemerkt hatte, daß Maria schon lange eingeschlafen war, biß sich verdrießlich die Lippen’). I shall return to the significance of Maria falling asleep below.

²³ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 219: ‘die Tranfigurazion der Töne’.

²⁴ Ibid., 217: ‘sichtbare Gestalten und Situationen’.

into an otherworldly realm. The effect of Paganini's performance is thus daemonic because it penetrates 'everything that limits us' (i.e. our worldly reality), it 'act[s] at will with the necessary elements of our existence [and] pull[s] time together and expand[s] space'.²⁵

However, if Paganini is here suggested as daemonic agency in his own right, then this is thrown into doubt when Max claims that such 'transfiguration of the tones' is a regular part of his experience of music: 'you know my musical second face, my ability to see the correct musical figure at every tone I hear; and so it came that Paganini *also* brought images and situations before my eyes with every stroke of his bow, that he told me all kinds of shrill stories in sounding hieroglyphics'.²⁶ The musical visions that seize the listener and remove him from the worldly are suggested as something inherent in *music*, not in Paganini's performance; they are the effect and the signifier of Music's daemonic voice.²⁷ Paganini, one is encouraged to conclude, is the conduit of that voice.²⁸

However, if Paganini is the mere conduit of an otherworldly voice, the fact that the subject of the musical visions Max experiences is Paganini himself, not, as is frequently the case in narratives that speak of Music in terms of the daemonic, the musical events of the work(s) performed, becomes a problem. Consequently Paganini channels Music's daemonic voice whilst himself becoming its subject, and in thus distorting Music's daemonic voice within him, Paganini becomes a daemonic individual.²⁹ We recall that according to Goethe, the daemonic is itself attracted to

²⁵ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus'.

²⁶ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 217: 'was mich betrifft, so kennen Sie ja mein musikalisches zweites Gesicht, meine Begabniß, bey jedem Tone, den ich erklingen höre, auch die adäquate Klangfigur zu sehen; und so kam es, daß mir Paganini mit jedem Striche seines Bogens *auch* sichtbare Gestalten und Situationen vor die Augen brachte, daß er mir in tönender Bilderschrift allerley grelle Geschichten erzählte'. Emphasis added.

²⁷ The fact that not everyone has Max's 'ability' of seeing music as 'images and situations' remains unexplained. Max merely suggests that he is not the only one who experiences music in such a way when he claims that 'there are, after all, people for whom the tones themselves are merely invisible signatures, within which they hear colours and figures' (Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 214: 'giebt es doch Menschen denen die Töne selber nur unsichtbare Signaturen sind, worin sie Farben und Gestalten hören').

²⁸ Paganini is further suggested to be under an otherworldly control when, beholding the virtuoso bowing at the start of the concert, Max wonders: 'has he learned these bows from an automaton' (Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 216: 'hat er diese Komplimente einem Automaten abgelernt?')?

²⁹ It is important to bear in mind that just because one is subject to the daemonic does not make one a daemonic individual. The daemonic is itself attracted to powerful individuals, in whom it then manifests itself as a predominant trait. See Goethe's conversation with Eckermann from the 8th of March 1831: 'the daemonic gladly throws itself into distinguished individuals' (Eckermann,

powerful characters, and if it ‘emerges above all else in one man’,³⁰ he assumes some of its properties and thereby becomes a ‘daemonic individual’.³¹ The music that Paganini plays is both Music’s daemonic voice and the utterance of a daemonic individual.

6.1.3. Paganini’s Appearance as Signifier of the Daemonic

When the reader initially encounters Paganini in Heine’s story, promenading by the Alster pavilion in Hamburg, the description is at first glance more of the diabolical, demonic image of the violinist than it is of the daemonic:

He wore a dark grey coat that came down to his feet, as a result of which his figure appeared to be very tall. The long black hair fell to his shoulders in twisted locks and formed something of a dark frame around the pale, corpse-like face on which grief, genius and hell had carved their indelible marks.³²

This sense of the diabolical is further heightened when Paganini is next described, giving a concert that same evening. There Paganini has become a ‘dreadful bizarre figure’:³³

A dark figure appeared that seemed to have climbed out of the underworld. This was Paganini in his black outfit. The black tailcoat and the black vest of a terrible cut, as it might be prescribed by hellish etiquette at the court of Proserpine; the black trousers flapping frightfully around the thin legs. The long arms seemed longer still as he held the violin in one hand and the bow in the other, nearly touching the ground as he dug out his outrageous bows.³⁴

Gespräche, 358: ‘so wirft sich [...] das Dämonische gern in bedeutende Individuen’). See also *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177 (see n. 17).

³⁰ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: ‘am furchtbarsten [...] erscheint dieses Dämonische, wenn es in irgendeinem Menschen überwiegend hervortritt’.

³¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: ‘eine dämonische Natur’. See also *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177 (see n. 17).

³² Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 215: ‘er trug einen dunkelgrauen Oberrock, der ihm bis zu den Füßen reichte, wodurch seine Gestalt sehr hoch zu seyn schien. Das lange schwarze Haar fiel in verzerzten Locken auf seine Schultern herab und bildete wie einen dunklen Rahmen um das blasse, leichenartige Gesicht, worauf Kummer, Genie und Hölle ihre unverwüstlichen Zeichen eingegraben hatten’.

³³ *Ibid.*, 216: ‘wie mußte mich erst des Abends im Concerte seine schauerlich bizarre Erscheinung überraschen’.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: ‘endlich aber, auf der Bühne, kam eine dunkle Gestalt zum Vorschein, die der Unterwelt entstiegen zu seyn schien. Das war Paganini in seiner schwarzen Galla. Der schwarze Frack und die schwarze Weste von einem entsetzlichen Zuschnitt, wie er vielleicht am Hofe Proserpinens von der höllischen Etikette vorgeschrieben ist. Die schwarzen Hosen ängstlich schlotternd um die dünnen Beine. Die langen Arme schienen noch verlängert, indem er in der einen Hand die Violine und in der

This 'demonic' image of Paganini is, however, only one of five contradictory descriptions Heine provides. The moment Paganini begins to play, the 'images and situations'³⁵ appear before Max's eyes that form the 'shrill stories' within which Paganini 'himself with his violin playing acted as the main character'.³⁶ As each of these visions gives a different account of the violinist, they gradually erode any sense of the 'real' Paganini and thus gradually remove him from signification; Paganini, like the daemonic, 'only manifests [himself] in contradictions and can therefore not be brought together under a term, let alone a word'.³⁷

Paganini appears before Max as a young man, a wasting prisoner, a monk and as a 'sublime image of divinity'.³⁸ The descriptions could not be more different: in the first vision, 'hair carefully arranged in little curls plays around' the face of the young violinist, which 'blossoms young and rosy, and glows with gentle sweetness'.³⁹ In the next vision, his face has 'paled', but 'youth had not yet entirely been extinguished'.⁴⁰ In the shape of the monk he is hardly recognizable, the 'unkempt features half hidden by the hood, a rope around his waist, barefoot, a lonely defiant figure [...] on a protruding cliff top by the sea'.⁴¹ He has become a 'terrible minstrel' whose eyes sparkle with 'mocking delight in destruction'.⁴² It seems he is murmuring 'ancient and accursed spells' and as his 'thin, naked arm juts out of the sleeves of his habit' he appears 'even more like a sorcerer'.⁴³ As he unleashes demons from the sea with his playing, his cowl falls back 'and the curly hair, blowing in the wind,

anderen den Bogen gesenkt hielt und damit fast die Erde berührte, als er vor dem Publikum seine unerhörten Verbeugungen auskramte'.

³⁵ Ibid., 217: 'sichtbare Gestalten und Situationen'.

³⁶ Ibid.: 'grelle Geschichten [...] in denen] er selber immer mit seinem Violinspiel als die Hauptperson agierte'.

³⁷ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: 'er glaubte in der Natur [...] etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte und deshalb unter keinen Begriff, noch viel weniger unter ein Wort gefaßt werden könnte'.

³⁸ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 221: 'ein erhabenes Götterbild'.

³⁹ Ibid., 217: 'die sorgsam in kleinen Löckchen frisirten Haare umspielten sein Gesicht, das ganz jung und rosig blüdete, und von süßer Zärtlichkeit erglänzte'.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 218: '[ich erblickte] sein erbleichtes Antlitz, worauf aber die Jugend noch immer nicht erloschen war'.

⁴¹ Ibid., 219: 'das verwilderte Antlitz halb verhüllt von der Kaputze, einen Strick um die Hüfte, baarfüßig, eine einsam trotzigte Gestalt, stand Paganini auf einem felsigen Vorsprung am Meere und spielte Violine'.

⁴² Ibid., 220: 'in den Augen des entsetzlichen Spielmanns funkelte eine [...] spöttische Zerstörungslust' ('in the eyes of the terrible minstrel sparkled a [...] mocking delight in destruction').

⁴³ Ibid.: 'seine dünnen Lippen bewegten sich so grauenhaft hastig, daß es aussah als murmelte er uralte verrückte Zaubersprüche, womit man den Sturm beschwört und jene bösen Geister entfesselt, die in den Abgründen des Meeres gefangen liegen. Manchmal, wenn er, den nackten Arm aus dem weiten Mönchsärmel lang mager hervorstreckend, mit dem Fidelbogen in den Lüften fegte: dann erschien er erst recht wie ein Hexenmeister, der mit dem Zauberstab den Elementen gebietet'.

[surrounds] his head like black snakes'.⁴⁴ Heine thus presents Paganini as a terrifying amalgamation of violinist, monk, sorcerer and transsexual Medusa.

In his final appearance, Paganini has changed so much that he is even harder to recognize than in the third vision. Max sees 'a glowing sphere' floating in space, 'on which stood, gigantic and proud, a man who played the violin':⁴⁵

In the features of the man I recognized Paganini, only grown ideally beautiful, heavenly transfigured, smiling conciliatorily. His body blossomed in the strongest masculinity; a light blue robe enveloped the ennobled limbs; in shimmering curls the black hair cascaded over his shoulders; and as he stood there safe and secure – a sublime image of divinity – and bowed his violin, it was as if all creation obeyed his tones. He was the man-planet around whom the cosmos moved, resounding with measured solemnity and blessed rhythms.⁴⁶

Max believes to hear 'the song of the spheres of which poets and visionaries have told so much that is enrapturing',⁴⁷ only to recognize it as 'the dying echo' of Paganini's playing.⁴⁸ Paganini not only becomes one with the resounding rhythm of the cosmos, but seemingly displaces God Himself as the music of the spheres that writers such as Jean Paul saw as sign of God is revealed to be the echo of Paganini's playing.⁴⁹ Elevated to divinity, Paganini the daemonic being is reminiscent of the Greek daimones.⁵⁰

The interruption of Max's description of Paganini's playing by the arrival of Maria's doctor emphasises the inability to identify one image of Paganini; by not

⁴⁴ Ibid.: 'in dem rasenden Beschwörungseifer, fiel [ihm] die Kaputze zurück, und die lockigen Haare, im Winde dahinflatternd, umringelten sein Haupt wie schwarze Schlangen'.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 221: 'in der Mitte des Raumes schwebte eine leuchtende Kugel, worauf riesengroß und stolzerhaben ein Mann stand, der die Violine spielte'.

⁴⁶ Ibid.: 'in den Zügen des Mannes erkannte ich Paganini, nur idealisch verschönert, himmlisch verklärt, versöhnungsvoll lächelnd. Sein Leib blühte in kräftigster Männlichkeit, ein hellblaues Gewand umschloß die veredelten Glieder, um seine Schulter wallte, in glänzenden Locken, das schwarze Haar; und wie er da fest und sicher stand, ein erhabenes Götterbild, und die Violine strich: da war es als ob die ganze Schöpfung seinen Tönen gehorchte. Er war der Mensch-Planet um den sich das Weltall bewegte, mit gemessener Feyerlichkeit und in seligen Rhythmen erklingend'.

⁴⁷ Ibid.: 'war es der Sphärenengesang, wovon Poeten und Seher so viel Verzückendes berichtet haben'?

⁴⁸ Ibid., 222: 'die Choräle [...] die ich für Sphärenengesang halten konnte, waren eigentlich nur das verhallende Echo jener Violinentöne' ('those chorales [...] that I could take for the song of the spheres were in truth only the dying echo of those violin tones').

⁴⁹ It is a highly ambiguous move that establishes the previously demonised virtuoso as divine being. Nevertheless it is possible to read the section not as Paganini displacing God, but as Max mistaking Paganini's playing for the (divine) music of the spheres. However one chooses to interpret Heine's prose, what remains is that Paganini is suddenly elevated to a divine being.

⁵⁰ 'The Greeks counted such daemonic beings amongst the half-gods' (Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: 'dämonische Wesen solcher Art rechneten die Griechen unter die Halbgötter').

reverting to the physical description of Paganini bowing and leaving the stage, for example, Heine leaves his descriptive circle open. The reader, like Max, is startled out of something like a dream in which conflicting images of Paganini blurred together and is left wondering where the ‘truth’ lay.

From the beginning of Heine’s Paganini episode, we already know of the near impossibility of capturing a true likeness of the violinist. ‘All [the portraits of Paganini] do not bear any similarity’, Max asserts, ‘they make him uglier or more beautiful; never do they show his true character’.⁵¹ Only at speed and by a near madman can Paganini be captured on paper:

I believe only one person was able to bring the true physiognomy of Paganini to paper; he is a deaf painter called Lyser who, in his inspired madness, captured the head of Paganini so well in a few strokes of chalk that one at once laughs at and is shocked by the truth of the drawing. [...] Only in shrill black, rapid strokes could those fantastic features be captured, which appeared to belong more to the sulphurous shadow-world than the sunny world of life.⁵²

‘The devil guided my hand’ the artist asserts, ‘sniggering mysteriously’;⁵³ in Lyser’s mind at least, Paganini is in cahoots with the devil. Lyser himself however, hardly constitutes the voice of truth; he is suggested as a strange twilight figure, almost as otherworldly as the subject of his drawing and perhaps due to this, able to capture its appearance. The belief in Paganini’s link to the devil that led to the ‘true’ representation of Paganini’s character in Lyser’s drawing does not sit easily with Paganini’s transformation to the ‘sublime image of divinity’ in Heine’s story;⁵⁴ instead of ‘proving’ the ‘true’ Paganini one way or another, it mystifies him further.

In the contradictions of his appearances and the near inability of containing even his physical appearance, Paganini embodies the very essence of the daemonic: near undefinability. He, like the daemonic, is a ‘terrible being’⁵⁵ that exerts ‘an

⁵¹ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 214: ‘die [Portraits sind ihm] alle nicht ähnlich [...]; sie verhäßlichen oder verschönern ihn, nie geben sie seinen wirklichen Charakter’.

⁵² Ibid.: ‘ich glaube es ist nur einem einzigen Menschen gelungen, die wahre Physionomie Paganinis aufs Papier zu bringen; es ist ein tauber Maler, Namens Lyser, der, in seiner geistreichen Tollheit, mit wenigen Kreidestrichen den Kopf Paganinis so gut getroffen hat, daß man ob der Wahrheit der Zeichnung zugleich lacht und erschrickt. [...] Nur in grell schwarzen, flüchtigen Strichen konnten jene fabelhaften Züge erfaßt werden, die mehr dem schweflichten Schattenreich, als der sonnigen Lebenswelt zu gehören scheinen’.

⁵³ Ibid.: “‘Der Teufel hat mir die Hand geführt’ sagte mir der taube Maler, geheimnißvoll kichernd” (“the devil guided my hand”, the deaf painter told me, sniggering mysteriously’).

⁵⁴ Ibid., 221: ‘ein erhabenes Götterbild’.

⁵⁵ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 176: ein ‘furchtbare[s] Wesen’.

unbelievable force on all creatures'.⁵⁶ 'Paganini' thus becomes just as much of a tag to name the inexplicable (and therefore unnameable) as Goethe's 'daemonic' itself. Ultimately Heine's narrative leaves us with a set of impressions, dream-images that are reflections on rather than definitions of Paganini. In short, the erasure of Paganini's 'true' appearance leaves us with a sense of his effect.

6.1.4. Paganini's Daemonic Performance Effect

The daemonic power of Paganini's performance manifests itself in a series of immediate and long-term effects on the listener. The visions that the listener experiences immediately rupture time as he finds himself transported to Paganini's past, beholding the performer in his youth with his beloved (Musical Vision I). The fact that the past to which Paganini's playing takes the listener is fictional only further underlines the daemonic nature of his music as even the 'reality' that the listener sees may be untrue. The second vision, of Paganini imprisoned on a galley, also relocates the listener into Paganini's (fictional) past, but whilst both the first and the second vision are set in a recognizably worldly reality (i.e. in a room in Lucca and a galley in Genua), in the latter the worldly sphere is in itself ruptured as the devil and his servants have stepped out of the underworld.

If one takes these visions at face value, as Max does in experiencing them, one is faced with multiple daemonic distortions of reality: the removal of the reality of the concert hall and the relocation of the listener into the past; the distortion of the past and the presentation of a fictional past as truth; and the rupture of the fictional worldly past and the ingression of the diabolical.

In the third musical vision (Paganini as monk), the listener continues his gradual removal from the worldly as the worldly past gives way to a fantasy landscape of myth. Paganini is glimpsed atop a cliff, but the nature of the description marks the landscape as otherworldly; what the listener beholds is an otherworldly mockery of a worldly landscape:

It was, I suspected, the time of dusk. The sunset flowed over the wide expanse of sea that coloured ever redder and murmured ever more solemnly [...]. The redder the sea became, the paler the sky waned, and when finally the surging

⁵⁶ Ibid., 177: 'Sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe'.

sea looked like crimson blood the sky was ghostly bright, as white as a corpse, and the stars jutted out large and menacing ... and these stars were black, black as glistening coal.⁵⁷

The unleashing of the mythological demons by Paganini's playing further adds to the daemonic distortion of time and space:

Finally I believed to hear something like jubilation at being freed, and I saw the heads of the unchained demons rise from the bloody waves: beasts of fantastic ugliness, crocodiles with bats' wings, snakes with antlers, monkeys wearing shells as hats, seals with patriarchal long beards, women's faces with breasts in place of cheeks, green camel heads, twilight beings of incomprehensible combinations, all staring with cold wise eyes and grasping at the fiddling monk with their fins.⁵⁸

In the final musical vision, the distortion is so great that all sense of the worldly has vanished: 'these tones unfolded themselves calmly, surging and swelling majestically [...], and everything around had expanded wider and higher to a colossal space that could not be grasped by the physical eye, but only by the eye of the spirit'.⁵⁹ Within this vast space, Paganini stands on a huge sphere: 'was this sphere the sun? I do not know'.⁶⁰ The daemonic rupture and distortion of time and space that is the result of Paganini's music remains beyond comprehension.

In their contradictions the contrast between the final two visions – the juxtaposition of repulsion and madness on the one hand and ecstatic worship on the other – encapsulates the daemonic nature of Paganini's music. As the visions have unfolded, Max has become increasingly detached from the reality of the concert hall:

⁵⁷ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 219-20: 'es war, wie mich dünkte, die Zeit der Dämmerung, das Abendroth überfloß die weiten Meeresfluten, die immer röther sich färbten und immer feyerlicher rauschten [...]. Je röther das Meer wurde, desto fahler erbleichte der Himmel, und als endlich die wogenden Wasser wie lauter scharlachgrelles Blut aussahen, da ward droben der Himmel ganz gespenstischhell, ganz leichenweiß, und groß und drohend traten daraus hervor die Sterne ... und diese Sterne waren schwarz, schwarz wie glänzende Steinkohlen'.

⁵⁸ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 220: 'endlich glaubte ich gar wie Jubel der Befreyung zu vernehmen, und aus den rothen Blutwellen sah ich hervortauchen die Häupter der entfesselten Dämonen: Ungethüme von fabelhafter Häßlichkeit, Krokodylle mit Fledermausflügeln, Schlangen mit Hirschgeweihen, Affen bemützt mit Trichtermuscheln, Seehunde mit patriarchalisch langen Bärten, Weibergesichter mit Brüsten an die Stelle der Wangen, grüne Kamelköpfe, Zwittergeschöpfe von unbegreiflicher Zusammensetzung, alle mit kalt klugen Augen hinglotzend und mit langen Floßtatzen hingreifens nach dem fiedelnden Mönche'.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 221: 'diese Töne entfalteten sich ruhig, majestätisch wogend und anschwellend [...]; und alles umher hatte sich immer weiter und höher ausgedehnt zu einem kolossalen Raume, wie nicht das körperliche Auge, sondern nur das Auge des Geistes ihn fassen kann'.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 'diese Kugel war sie die Sonne? Ich weiß nicht'.

whilst the division between vision one and vision two is clearly defined,⁶¹ the interruption preceding the vision of Paganini as monk is marked by confusion. Max is barely able to comprehend what occurred in the last piece before Paganini resumes his playing and Max once again finds himself relocated: ‘had the string really snapped? I do not know. I only noticed the transfiguration of the tones and suddenly Paganini and his surroundings seemed entirely changed again’.⁶² As the third vision unfolds, ‘Paganini’ (i.e. the Paganini in the vision) increasingly assumes the role of deranged sorcerer and Max finds himself not only caught up in the relentless terror of what he beholds, but fighting for his sanity:

This vision was so confusing that I covered my ears and closed my eyes so as not to go mad. Then the apparition vanished, and when I looked up again I saw the poor son of Genoa in his ordinary appearance, taking his ordinary bows, whilst the audience applauded in raptures.⁶³

Paganini’s daemonic musical utterances have drawn the listener in and brought him to near insanity, but what is significant here is that the affected listener is able to overcome the lure of the daemonic voice. Superficially, this parallels the move of self-preservation seen in Eichendorff’s ‘Der Stille Grund’, but in Heine the strength to block the unfolding daemonic seduction comes from within Max, not, as in Eichendorff, from without.⁶⁴ That Max is able to block out the vision brought about by the daemonic musical voice by closing his eyes demonstrates its visible reality; that he is able to break the spell by blocking out the sound demonstrates its audible cause.

Max’s victory over Paganini’s daemonic music is short-lived however. As Paganini resumes his concert after the interval, Max again finds the ‘transfiguration

⁶¹ ‘At that moment bravo, bravo resounded all around [...]. Divine, my neighbour, the fur trader, exclaimed, picking his ears; this piece alone was already worth two Thaler. When Paganini began to play anew, it became dark before my eyes’ (Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 218: ‘in diesem Augenblick aber erscholl von allen Seiten: Bravo! Bravo! [...] Göttlich! rief mein Nachbar, der Pelzmakler, indem er sich in den Ohren kratzte, dieses Stück war allein schon zwey Thaler werth. Als Paganini aufs neue zu spielen begann, ward es mir düster vor den Augen’). The juxtaposition of the fur trader calling Paganini’s playing divine and the frequently diabolical imagery of Max’s visions is of course another aspect of the daemonic nature of Paganini’s playing (note also Heine’s biting depiction of the Hamburg audience).

⁶² Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 219: ‘war wirklich die Saite auf der Violine gesprungen? Ich weiß nicht. Ich bemerkte nur die Transfiguration der Töne, und da schien mir Paganini und seine Umgebung plötzlich wieder ganz verändert’.

⁶³ Ibid., 221: ‘diese Erscheinung war so sinnerverwirrend, daß ich, um nicht wahnsinnig zu werden, die Ohren mir zuhielt und die Augen schloß. Da war nun der Spuk verschwunden, und als ich wieder aufblickte sah ich den armen Genueser in seiner gewöhnlichen Gestalt, seine gewöhnlichen Complimente schneiden, während das Publikum aufs entzückteste applaudirte’.

⁶⁴ On Eichendorff’s ‘Der Stille Grund’, see Chapter 5.

of the tones'⁶⁵ working on him and declares Paganini to be a 'sublime image of divinity'.⁶⁶ The contrast to the previous section could not be more marked: the 'terrible minstrel'⁶⁷ has become an object of enraptured idolization. Horror has given way to delight and worship as the daemonic music that sounds through Paganini has seduced the listener through its contradictory images. Note how the terrifying 'sounds of anguish [... that] one had never heard on Earth' that suggested the Day of Judgement in vision two, are here reconfigured as blissful dream-images:⁶⁸

These were sounds that the ear never hears, but only the heart can dream when at night it rests on the heart of the beloved. Perhaps the heart also comprehends them in the light of day when, rejoicing, it emerges itself in the beautiful lines and ovals of a Greek artwork.⁶⁹

At this point Max is interrupted and '[wakes] as if from a dream',⁷⁰ and it is herein that the ultimate power of Paganini's daemonic performance lies: even in narrating the past experience of his music, Max is subject to its power once more. He is removed to a dream world in *merely remembering* that music. Furthermore, it does not just continue to work in him: in recounting the experience of Paganini's music to Maria, its power works through Max and she falls asleep. 'I do not like that sleep', Maria's doctor says;⁷¹ Maria's sleep acts as premonition of her death, and so replicates Paganini's earlier murder of his beloved.

⁶⁵ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 219: 'die Transfigurazion der Töne'.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 221: 'ein erhabenes Götterbild'.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 220: der 'entsetzlich[e] Spielmann'.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 219: 'Angstlaute [...] wie man es noch nie gehört auf Erden'.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 222: 'das waren Klänge, die nie das Ohr hört, sondern nur das Herz träumen kann, wenn es des Nachts am Herzen der Geliebten ruht. Vielleicht auch begreift sie das Herz am hellen lichten Tage, wenn es sich jauchzend versenkt in die Schönheitslinien und Ovalen eines griechischen Kunstwerks ...'. Dots follow the 1994 Hamburg edition.

⁷⁰ Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, 222: 'suddenly a laughing voice was heard, that woke our narrator as if from a dream' (da 'ließ sich plötzlich eine lachende Stimme vernehmen, die unseren Erzähler wie aus einem Traume weckte').

⁷¹ Ibid.: 'dieser Schlaf gefällt mir nicht'.

6.2. Goethe, Schubert, Ernst and the Daemonic Voices of ‘Erlkönig’

Goethe’s ‘Erlkönig’ narrates a nightmare vision of man’s vulnerability to the daemonic.⁷² As a father rides through the night with his son, the child grows fearful of an apparition only he can see and hear, and that he ‘identifies’ as the Erlking. Despite the father’s assurances that what he is seeing is only part of the surrounding landscape, the son’s terror grows, as he exclaims the Erlking has harmed him. The father makes haste, but when he reaches safety the child is dead:

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | <p>Wer reitet so spät durch Nacht und Wind?
 Es ist der Vater mit seinem Kind;
 Er hat den Knaben wohl in dem Arm,
 Er faßt ihn sicher, er hält ihn warm.</p> | <p>‘Who rides so late through night and wind?
 It is the father with his child.
 He has the boy in his arms,
 He holds him safely, he keeps him warm.</p> |
| 2 | <p>Mein Sohn, was birgst du so bang dein Gesicht? –
 Siehst, Vater, du den Erlkönig nicht?
 Den Erlenkönig mit Kron und Schweif? –
 Mein Sohn, es ist ein Nebelstreif. –</p> | <p>My son, why do you hide your face in fear? –
 Father, can you not see the Erlking?
 The Erlking with his crown and tail? –
 My son, it is a streak of mist. –</p> |
| 3 | <p>“Du liebes Kind, komm geh mit mir!
 Gar schöne Spiele spiel ich mit dir;
 Manch bunte Blumen sind an dem Strand;
 Meine Mutter hat manch gülden Gewand.”</p> | <p>“Sweet child, come with me,
 I’ll play wonderful games with you;
 Many a pretty flower grows on the shore,
 My mother has many a golden robe”.</p> |
| 4 | <p>Mein Vater, mein Vater, und hörest du nicht,
 Was Erlenkönig mir leise verspricht? –
 Sei ruhig, bleibe ruhig, mein Kind:
 In dünnen Blättern säuselt der Wind. –</p> | <p>Father, father, do you not hear
 What the Erlking softly promises me? –
 Calm, be calm my child: / The wind is
 rustling in the withered leaves. –</p> |
| 5 | <p>“Willst, feiner Knabe, du mit mir gehn?
 Meine Töchter sollen dich warten schön;
 Meine Töchter führen den nächtlichen Reihn
 Und wiegen und tanzen und singen dich ein.”</p> | <p>“Won’t you come with me, my fine lad?
 My daughters shall wait upon you;
 My daughters lead the nightly dance,
 And will rock, and dance, and sing you to sleep”.</p> |

⁷² Goethe’s ‘Erlkönig’ is also identified as a narrative of the daemonic by Ute Jung-Kaiser in her essay ‘Zur Präsenz des “Dämonischen” in Goethes Ballade zum Erlkönig und ihre Interpretation bei Moritz von Schwind, Ernst Barlach und Franz Schubert’ (*Zeitschrift für Musikpädagogik*, 14 [1989], 3-8). However, whilst Jung-Kaiser’s essay is significant in the connection it makes, her analysis remains frustratingly brief.

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| <p>6 Mein Vater, mein Vater, und siehst du
nicht dort
Erlkönigs Töchter am düstern Ort? –
Mein Sohn, mein Sohn, ich seh es genau:
Es scheinen die alten Weiden so grau. –</p> <p>7 “Ich liebe dich, mich reizt deine schöne
Gestalt,
Und bist du nicht willig, so brauch ich
Gewalt!”
Mein Vater, mein Vater, jetzt faßt er
mich an!
Erlkönig hat mir ein Leids getan! –</p> <p>8 Dem Vater grauset, er reitet geschwind,
Er hält in Armen das ächzende Kind,
Erreicht den Hof mit Mühe und Not;
In seinen Armen das Kind war tot.⁷³</p> | <p>Father, father, can you not see
Erlking’s daughters there in the
darkness? –
My son, I can see it clearly:
It is the old grey willows gleaming. –</p> <p>“I love you, your fair form allures me,
And if you don’t come willingly, I’ll use
force”.
Father, father, now he’s seizing me!
The Erlking has hurt me! –</p> <p>The father shudders, he rides swiftly,
Holding the moaning child in his arms;
With one last effort he reaches home;
The child lay dead in his arms’.⁷⁴</p> |
|--|--|

Goethe’s ballad ‘Erlkönig’ originally formed the opening of the Singspiel *Die Fischerin* of 1782, although it is thought to predate the Singspiel itself.⁷⁵ In the same year, ‘Erlkönig’ assumed an existence independent of its original context when it was published in the *Literatur- und Theater-Zeitung für das Jahr 1782* (Berlin) and subsequently appeared in volume eight of the Leipzig edition of Goethe’s writings;⁷⁶ it is in this independent guise that it is now most familiar. Goethe’s source for the subject of the Erlking was Herder’s abridged translation of a Danish folk-ballad published as ‘Erlkönig’s Tochter’ in Herder’s *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*,⁷⁷ whilst the inspiration for the nightly ride is thought to stem from a journey from Weimar to

⁷³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ‘Erlkönig’, *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gedichte, Vollständige Ausgabe* (Stuttgart, n.d.), 121-2.

⁷⁴ Translation Richard Wigmore (Richard Wigmore, trans., *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* [London, 1992], 205-6).

⁷⁵ See T. Lüttke, ‘Zur Datierung des “Erlkönig”’, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 5 (1884), 331-3. According to Kenneth S. Whitton, ‘Erlkönig’ was written before August 1781 (see Kenneth S. Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert* [Portland, 1999], 204). *Die Fischerin* was produced in the Summer of 1782 for a cultural evening of the Grand Duchess Anna Amalia in a grotto at her new Summer residence in Tiefurt (see also Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert*, 204).

For a (very) brief sense of the variety of forms the term ballad encompasses, see Mary Ellen Brown, ‘Thoughts on the Genre: Ballad’, *Ballads and Boundaries: Narrative Singing in an Intercultural Context*, ed. James Porter and Ellen Sinatra (Los Angeles, 1995), 130-2. See also Georg Scholz, *Die Balladendichtung der deutschen Frühromantik* (Breslau, 1935); Karl Götz, *Die deutsche Ballade in der deutschen Dichtung*, Deutsche Kraft und deutscher Geist (Köln, 1921), and Thomas F. Henderson, *The Ballad in Literature*, The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature (Cambridge, 1912).

⁷⁶ Goethe, *Schriften* (Leipzig, 1789), 8, 157-8.

⁷⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, ed. Heinz Rölleke, 2 vols. (1778-9; reprint, Stuttgart, 1975), 281-2. Herder famously mistranslated the Danish ‘Ellerkonge’ (‘King of the Elves’) as ‘Erlkönig’ (‘King of the Alders’). In musical circles Herder’s ballad is now more familiar in Carl Loewe’s setting as ‘Herr Oluf’.

Tiefurt Goethe made on horse-back in April 1779 with the then seven-year-old son of his friend Charlotte von Stein.⁷⁸

Lawrence Kramer has described 'Erlkönig' as 'an interrogation of the ballad form, a nest of enigmas' whose 'circular form [violates] the blunt narrative linearity of most folk-ballads'.⁷⁹ Both Kramer and Edward T. Cone have pointed to the strangely impersonal frame of the narrator that brings about 'Erlkönig's' 'circular form', and the narrative tone of which appears so diametrically opposed to the event it frames.⁸⁰ The narrator, according to Cone, 'presents [the story] as an uninvolved and disinterested spectator',⁸¹ whilst for Kramer the narrator's is an 'anonymous narrative voice'.⁸² In Kramer's reading, 'the return of the narrative voice for the final stanza is presented as circular symmetry that distances the death of the child through Romantic irony'.⁸³ 'The distancing process is completed in the last line, which moves from evocation to flat statement, and from the present into the past'.⁸⁴ My reading of 'Erlkönig' foregrounds the problem of the narrator's distance from the tale he recounts and questions why he assumes that stance.

I propose that 'Erlkönig' consists of two voices: the narrator and the Erlking, and that the tale the narrator tells is of his own loss.⁸⁵ The narrator is the father who, to borrow Kramer's words, '[laments] the failure of paternal power'⁸⁶ in light of the daemonic presence of the Erlking. The ballad thus becomes a part of a compulsive recounting of past experience in search for an understanding that can never be found.

⁷⁸ See Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert*, 204. On the biographical background to the creation of 'Erlkönig' see also Christopher H. Gibbs, "'Komm, geh' mit mir": Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', *19th-Century Music*, 19 (1995), 117-18.

⁷⁹ Lawrence Kramer, *Music and Poetry: The Nineteenth Century and After* (Berkeley, 1984).

⁸⁰ Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley, 1974).

⁸¹ Cone, *The Composer's Voice*, 6.

⁸² Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 156.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁸⁵ My reading differs therein from the models proposed by Cone in *The Composer's Voice*. Whilst acknowledging that there may be others, Cone suggests four possible readings of the voices in 'Erlkönig': 1) one voice: that of the narrator, who quotes the three characters; 2) two voices: an interlocutor and a responder (who quotes the characters); 3) four voices: the narrator and the characters, who speak for themselves; and 4) five voices: an interlocutor, a responder and the characters (see *The Composer's Voice*, 7). Kramer implicitly reads 'Erlkönig' as consisting of four voices; an 'anonymous narrative voice' and 'the dramatic voices of the father, son, and Erlking' (Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 156). Note that Jung-Kaiser suggests there being only the father and son (i.e. two characters), as the Erlking represents the daemonic ('Zur Präsenz des "Dämonischen"', 4). It is not clear whether she equates characters with voices.

⁸⁶ Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 149. Note that Kramer does not explicitly refer to the daemonic in connection with Goethe, although he writes of Schubert's setting of 'Erlkönig' that 'Schubert [...] raises questions about the daemonic aspects of the imagination', and specifically of the triple-forte exclamation on 'Gewalt' 'at this point both the daemon lover and his beloved exclaim at the contact between them' (Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 159 and 160 respectively).

The Erlking's voice haunts this recounted tale as a presence unheard by the father, yet sounding.

Several aspects of Goethe's ballad suggest the narrator to be the father. The first concerns the use of punctuation to separate the voices speaking (or, in the case of the father and son, being quoted): both the words of the father and those of the son are separated by dashes, those of the Erlking by quotation marks.⁸⁷ However, the words of the narrator and those of the father are not separated in any way, thereby suggesting the speakers to be one, and the speech of the father in stanzas 2, 4 and 6 to be self-quotation.⁸⁸

Two further clues are to be found specifically in the final stanza:

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|--|--|
| <p>8 Dem Vater grauset, er reitet geschwind,
 Er hält in Armen das ächzende Kind,
 Erreicht den Hof mit Mühe und Not;
 In seinen Armen das Kind war tot.</p> | <p>The father shudders, he rides swiftly,
 Holding the moaning child in his arms;
 With one last effort he reaches home;
 The child lay dead in his arms'.</p> |
|--|--|

Unlike the implication of the visibly physical in the translation of the first line as 'The father *shudders*', the German 'grausets' describes a *feeling* of horror or terror, in other words, it is not something that would be visible to a detached, *observing* narrator. Knowing that the father feels 'Grausen' therefore implies the narrator to be the father.⁸⁹ Furthermore there is the startling move from the present into the past tense in the final stanza. This move suggests that the ballad is not a story of the present, as may be implied up to that point, but one of the past revisited; it is not the description of an event unfolding, but of an event that has already occurred. The tale thus becomes one that continues to be *as if* in the present – a past that cannot be overcome.⁹⁰ The narrator's apparent detachment thereby becomes a conscious mode of distancing the past events, an attempt at containing the supernatural power of the Erlking. We recall from *Dichtung und Wahrheit* that Goethe himself attempted such containment in his encounter with the daemonic:

⁸⁷ I shall return to the significance of this differentiation below.

⁸⁸ The fact that they are separated by the gap between stanzas is not a factor as other stanzas are additionally separated by punctuation marks.

⁸⁹ The only alternative that would account for the narrator's knowledge were he not the father would be if the father had told him his feelings; an interpretation that is less than satisfactory.

⁹⁰ The opening line thereby becomes something of a rhetorical gesture, an invitation for return.

This being [...] I called daemonic, after the example of the Ancients and those who had been aware of something similar. I sought to save myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit.⁹¹

The 'image' Goethe 'escaped behind' was that of Egmont, whom he 'changed' to reflect his experience of the daemonic.⁹² The fact that Goethe frames the description of 'his' Egmont by the account of his 'discovery' of the daemonic on the one hand and his identification of daemonic individuals on the other, suggests that the figure of Egmont, even in his altered form, was unable to contain the power of the daemonic. I suggest that the Erlking is equally an 'image' for the inexplicable force that Goethe termed daemonic.⁹³

The opening stanza of 'Erlkönig' sets up a clear opposition of Nature versus man, the former signified by the night and wind of the first line ('Nacht und Wind', S. 1, L. 1), the latter by the protective circle symbolized by the father's arm, holding the child safely and keeping him warm (S. 1, L. 3-4). The appearance of the Erlking in the third stanza immediately shatters this duality as he appears as both visible in Nature, yet supernatural, a creature both of this world and utterly alien, visible to the child yet invisible to the father.⁹⁴ Uncannily, the Erlking is thus *both*, and therein lies the key to his daemonic nature: he manifests himself in contradictions.⁹⁵ The daemonic, we recall, is 'something in Nature [...] that only manifested itself in

⁹¹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: 'dieses Wesen [...] nannte ich dämonisch, nach dem Beispiel der Alten und derer, die etwas Ähnliches gewahrt hatten. Ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete'.

⁹² Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 176: 'allein zu meinem Gebrauch mußte ich ihn [...] umwandeln' ('alone for my use I had to change him [...]'). For the full account of Egmont in connection with the daemonic, see *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 176-7.

⁹³ Reading the Erlking as a conscious binding of the daemonic into a figure (or 'image') would mean that Goethe practiced this conscious distancing from the daemonic some 20 years before he later admits to having done so. This could also lead to the interesting if ultimately biographically irrelevant 'identification' of the narrator-father as Goethe. A more fruitful analysis of this elision would adapt Cone's discussion of the composer's persona and identify the narrator's 'persona' as being merely *one* persona assumed by the author (see Cone, *The Composer's Voice*, 17-18).

⁹⁴ The Erlking has often been taken to be the hallucination of the child (see Christopher Gibbs' summary of the problematical descriptions of the narrative of 'Erlkönig' that 'are actually interpretations. [...] Commentators consistently refer to a storm, a wild ride, the songs of the Erlking, and a sick child, even though Goethe mentions none of them' [Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 122]). I suggest however, that the dialogue between father and child in stanza two speaks against this. If the child were unwell, the father's question would not be one of puzzlement ('Mein Sohn, was birgst du so bang dein Gesicht?' ['My son, why do you hide your face in fear?'], S. 2, L. 1).

⁹⁵ This reading of the Erlking as embodying 'both' rather than dualities is fundamental to Gibbs' psychoanalytical reading (see 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig' and Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.). My reading differs, however, in as much as I do not take the identification of the Erlking as embodying 'both' in a psychoanalytical sense, but rather identify it as one of the key signifiers of the daemonic.

contradictions and can therefore not be brought together under a term, let alone a word'.⁹⁶

The Erlking's voice slices into the poem's narrative (and, of course, the child's consciousness); it quite literally ruptures the poem's reality, occurring, as it does, where no voice ought to be possible (we have, after all, just had the existence of the otherworldly Erlking dismissed by the rational explanation of the father [S. 2, L. 4]). The only speech enclosed in quotation marks, the Erlking's voice is the only voice to fall outside the narrator-father's account: it is at once part of the text in terms of the child's reference to it, but simultaneously outside of the text as is it not the voice of the narrator-father, nor is it heard or referred to by him. The only reference of the narrator-father to the Erlking's voice is in his recounting the questions of his son, and, as Lawrence Kramer has remarked, these questions are 'pleas for a sharing of perception' that the father is unable to answer.⁹⁷ 'The father can neither see (stanza 2, 6), hear (st. 4), nor feel (st. 7) what his son does'.⁹⁸ The ambiguously heard-unheard/present-absent appearance of the Erlking's voice thus signifies his daemonic, contradictory ability to cut into the worldly fabric. He, like the daemonic, is a 'terrible being' able to 'penetrate everything that limits us [...], to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence'.⁹⁹ A seductive Other whose vivid, sensual promises are in marked contrast to the bleak nocturnal landscape Goethe alludes to, the Erlking is able to step between father and son, being at once distant from the former and close to the latter.¹⁰⁰ Goethe signals the distance of the Erlking from the narrator-father by separating their speech by dashes (as he does the distance between father and son); the lack of such dashes between the speech of the child and that of the

⁹⁶ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175: '[etwas] in der Natur, [...] das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte und deshalb unter keinen Begriff, noch viel weniger unter ein Wort gefaßt werden könnte'.

⁹⁷ Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 148.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 149. Kramer goes on to observe that 'when the son dies, the image of the body in the father's arms only repeats as narrative the separation already presented as voice' (ibid.).

⁹⁹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: 'everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence [...]. This being – that could step between any others, that appeared to separate [them], [yet] unite them – I called daemonic [...]. I sought to save myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit' ('alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten [...]. Dieses Wesen, das zwischen alle übrigen hineinzutreten, sie zu sondern, sie zu verbinden schien, nannte ich dämonisch [...]. Ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete').

¹⁰⁰ Kramer vividly describes the Erlking as a 'threatening false father' (*Music and Poetry*, 148). To what extent the fatally unbridgeable gap between father and child is due to the Erlking is not clear. I would suggest, however, that its sense of alienation is entirely in keeping with the appearance of the daemonic.

Erlking at once suggests the Erlking's proximity to the son, the immediacy of his power over the child and the son's liminal state, whilst adumbrating the Erlking's ultimate victory. Yet even at the end, the Erlking remains 'beyond intellect or reason'.¹⁰¹ The ballad's ultimate slippage into the past marks the only certainty in the father's account: 'das Kind war tot'. One is left with a feeling of horror at the apparent senselessness of the scene that has unfolded (the 'Grausen' of the father perhaps?); what remains therefore, is the Erlking's daemonic effect.

In this section I shall discuss Goethe's 'Erlkönig' in one of its more unusual musical manifestations: Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's transcription for solo violin (as Grand Caprice op. 26) of Schubert's setting of the poem. I suggest that the daemonic voice present in Goethe's poem through the figure of the Erlking continues to sound in Ernst's transcription, but there becomes one with Music's daemonic voice, as the vocal line becomes a purely instrumental 'voice' sounding through the violin. Transferred onto Music writ large and executed on the violin, Goethe's daemonic Erlking here exists in and comments on the matrix of devilry, the daemonic and violin playing discussed with reference to Paganini in the previous section.

6.2.1. Schubert's 'Erlkönig': Background and Reception

Schubert's setting of "Erlkönig" is most probably to be dated October 1815.¹⁰² Initially circulated in hand-written copies, the song was first offered for sale at a house concert on the 1st of December 1820, before being finally published on commission as Op. 1 by Cappi and Diabelli on the 2nd of April 1821.¹⁰³ The first public performance of 'Erlkönig' was on the 7th of March 1821 at the annual benefit concert organized by the Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen (Society of the Ladies of Nobility for the Promotion of the Good and Useful) held in the Kärntner-Theater in Vienna. Anselm Hüttenbrenner

¹⁰¹ Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 2nd of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 356: 'the daemonic is that what may not be resolved by intellect or reason' ('das Dämonische, [...] ist dasjenige, was durch Verstand und Vernunft nicht aufzulösen ist').

¹⁰² See Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert*, 135.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 145. Note that on page 115, Whitton gives the publication date as March 1821. By this time the song had already been turned down by Breitkopf & Härtel, who furthermore returned the song to the composer Franz Schubert in Dresden, 'who wrote an indignant letter saying he would never have composed such "trash"' (Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert* [Cambridge, 2000], 80)!

accompanied Johann Michael Vogl, whilst Schubert turned pages.¹⁰⁴ The performance was an enormous success, with, in the words of Schubert's friend Josef von Spaun, composer and singer awarded 'rapt attention and general tempestuous applause by the large audience', and 'Erlkönig' having to be repeated at the audience's request.¹⁰⁵ As Christopher Gibbs writes,

'Erlkönig' essentially launched Schubert's public career. It quickly overshadowed all previous settings of Goethe's text, and the number of its performances, reviews, reworkings, and editions during the 1820s and 30s far surpassed that of any other *Kunstlied*. The label 'composer of "Erlkönig"' repeatedly attaches to Schubert's name in criticism, lexicons and other private writings.¹⁰⁶

However, if the public greeted the song with immediate enthusiasm, and it was to 'remain [Schubert's] preeminent work throughout the nineteenth century',¹⁰⁷ Schubert's 'Erlkönig' equally sparked a fierce debate over the manner, and appropriateness, of its setting.¹⁰⁸ For earlier writers, Schubert's setting was misguided as its music overwhelmed Goethe's poem, leading to a fundamental clash with the 'traditional' German Lied-aesthetic, adhered to by leading exponents of song such as Goethe's close friend Karl Friedrich Zelter and close to Goethe's own tastes in *Lieder*, that sought to underline but never to distract from the poetic text. It is this that perhaps caused an anonymous critic in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* to declare Schubert less suited for 'real song' (i.e. strophic settings), than for 'continuously composed pieces [...] with an independent, sometimes excessively full accompaniment'.¹⁰⁹

The nineteenth-century critical reception of Schubert's 'Erlkönig' from the 1840s onwards is succinctly summarized by Franz Brendel's assertion that 'the music

¹⁰⁴ See Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 77-9. See also Anselm Hüttenbrenner's account in *Franz Schubert, Lieder*, vol. 1, bk. a of *Franz Schubert, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Walter Dürr (Kassel, 1970), xx.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 78.

¹⁰⁶ Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 120. See also Gibbs' doctoral dissertation, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig: Reception and Reworkings of a Schubert Lied' (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1992).

¹⁰⁷ Gibbs, 'German Reception: Schubert's Journey to Immortality', *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge, 1997), 243.

¹⁰⁸ See Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig'. Gibbs argues that 'the structure and rhetoric of the critical debate [surrounding Schubert's setting] "act out" the uncanny forces at work in Schubert's song' (Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 117). The account that follows is indebted to Gibbs' article.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Gibbs, 'German Reception', 244. Gibbs suggests that the critic may have been Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (Gibbs, 'German Reception', 319, n.9).

itself is excellent, but as a setting of this poem it is bungled'.¹¹⁰ An increasingly clear differentiation between ballad and lied found Schubert's setting at odds both with the ballad aesthetic and with Goethe's 'model ballad':¹¹¹

Schubert gives us a picture of the whole at once, and not as in a ballad in which the action develops and builds gradually. [...] With Goethe the latter is obviously the case: he begins the narration very simply and gives no emphasis to the words of either father or son.¹¹²

Furthermore, comparison with Carl Loewe's setting of 'Erlkönig' led to the contrasting of Schubert's supposedly 'human', implicitly southern, seductive Erlking with Loewe's uncanny, northern Erlking.¹¹³ By the middle of the nineteenth century, most critics favoured Loewe's setting, which was seen both as a superior ballad and as truer to Goethe's depiction of the Erlking.¹¹⁴

Goethe's reaction, or rather lack of it, to Schubert's 'Erlkönig' has been the subject of much puzzlement, motivated perhaps by disbelief that the great poet did not hail the great composer.¹¹⁵ In 1816, Josef von Spaun sent a volume of Goethe-settings by Schubert, including 'Erlkönig', to the poet with an introductory letter seeking Goethe's recognition of Schubert's songs. The songs were returned without comment. Our limited knowledge of Goethe's opinion of Schubert's 'Erlkönig' is based on two accounts of its performance by Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient on 24th of April 1830.¹¹⁶ After Schröder-Devrient's performance, Goethe is supposed to have said, 'I have heard this composition before, when it didn't say anything to me at all, but, performed like that, then the whole becomes a visible picture'.¹¹⁷ Johann

¹¹⁰ Franz Brendel, 'Zur Einleitung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 22 (1845), 8-9, quoted in Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 120.

¹¹¹ As Gibbs so succinctly puts it: 'the piece Viennese critics hailed in the 1820s and 30s as Schubert's exemplary Lied was in no way considered an exemplary ballad by mid-century German critics' (Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 126). One of the earliest differentiations between ballad and lied was by Johann Vesque von Püttlingen. See Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 121, and Vesque von Püttlingen, 'Über den "Erlkönig" von Schubert', *Monatsschrift für Theater und Musik*, 4 (1858), 585-8.

¹¹² Ludwig Bischoff, 'Die Compositionen von Goethe's "Erlkönig"', quoted in Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 121.

¹¹³ Loewe's setting of 'Erlkönig' was written in 1818 according to Loewe, but has been dated 1817 by Runze following Friedlaender (see Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 125, n.42). It was published in 1824 by Schlesinger in Berlin. According to Gibbs, there may have been an earlier private edition, although no copy is known to exist (ibid.).

¹¹⁴ See Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig', 126.

¹¹⁵ See Whitton's extensive discussion, and attempt at explanation, of Goethe's silence (Whitton, *Goethe and Schubert*, 136-42).

¹¹⁶ Note that Whitton gives both the 23rd and the 24th of April as the date of this performance (*Goethe and Schubert*, 114 and 83 respectively).

¹¹⁷ Goethe, quoted in Max Friedlaender, *Gedichte von Goethe in Compositionen seiner Zeitgenossen*, Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 11 (Weimar, 1896), 141ff., quoted in translation in Whitton, *Goethe*

Gottlieb von Quandt reports Goethe as saying in spring 1826, ‘your Madame [Devrient] was also here a little time ago and sang a *Romanze* [“Erlkönig”] to me – now, one has to say that the composer has expressed the horse’s gallop excellently. It cannot be denied, that in this composition, admired by so many, the eerie is turned to the horrible, especially when the singer has the intention to be heard’.¹¹⁸

6.2.2. Reading Schubert’s ‘Erlkönig’

The ‘problem’ of Schubert’s setting of ‘Erlkönig’ continues to attract critical responses. In her *Unsung Voices* of 1991, Carolyn Abbate echoes 19th-century concerns when she writes that ‘by turning its eyes to dramatic activities, the music [of Schubert’s “Erlkönig”] obscures the strophic structure, and so overwhelms and destroys the tension between dramatic progression and formal design’.¹¹⁹ Schubert’s song here serves as example of through-composed settings of narrative ballads, which ‘[break] free of repetition in order to create musical representations of action sequences, [and in so doing] overwhelm their texts by burying them in musical matter with its own fascination’.¹²⁰ For Lawrence Kramer, Schubert’s setting violates Goethe’s strict, detached return-form by undermining the returned tonic and inviting empathy in the concluding bars.¹²¹ I propose that Schubert’s perceived ‘violations’, both of Goethe’s text and of the ballad-setting tradition, underline the reading that I have suggested above.

Certainly, the musical material that opens Schubert’s ‘Erlkönig’ could be seen as a mere ‘action sequence’, but just as Schubert’s setting presents a music-poetic

and Schubert, 83 (‘ich habe diese Composition früher einmal gehört, wo sie mir gar nicht zusagen wollte, aber so vorgetragen, gestaltet sich das Ganze zu einem sichtbaren Bild’ [German original quoted in Arnold Feil, ‘Goethes und Schuberts “Erlkönig”’, *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy and Soren Meyer-Eller (Pfaffenhofen, 1990), 341]).

¹¹⁸ Goethe, *Goethes Gespräche, zweiter Teil*, ed. Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, vol. 23 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zürich, 1950), 444: ‘unter anderm erwähnte Goethe: Ihre Madame [Devrient (?)] war auch vor kurzem hier und hat mir eine Romanze [“Erlkönig”] vorgesungen – nun, man muß sagen, daß der Komponist [Schubert] das Pferdegetrappel vortrefflich ausgedrückt hat. Es ist nicht zu leugnen, daß in der von sehr vielen bewunderten Komposition das Schauerliche bis zum Gräßlichen getrieben wird, zumal wenn die Sängerin die Absicht hat, sich hören zu lassen’. Note that the additions in square brackets are by Beutler.

¹¹⁹ Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1991), 72.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 148-9, 156-61.

narrative it constitutes a study of the state of mind caused by the narrative it tells. In so doing, Schubert's 'Erlkönig' comments on the artificiality of Goethe's narrative frame, and on the impossibility of evading the power of the daemonic. The opening eight bars present the three motives that make up the anguished, haunted and driven 'worldly' reality of narrator-father and son, and that define it against the music and supernatural realm of the Erlking: the rhythmic motive x, consisting of quaver repeated-note triplets; the rhythmic and melodic motive y, and the ascending chromatic three-note motive z (see Example 36).¹²² The tension generated by the interaction of motives x, y and z is undeniable, and it is this immediate backwards-

Schnell

Example 36: Schubert, 'Erlkönig': bars 1-8

projection of an anxiety whose cause is as yet unknown, motivically tied to the narrative that is to unfold, that collapses the illusion of the uninvolved, distanced narrator and equally suggests narrator and father to be one.¹²³ The anxious underscoring of the narrator's opening signifies the previous knowledge of the tale's

¹²² By setting the words of the father, narrator and son to the same musical material Schubert to some extent disguises the struggle for comprehension between father and son that Goethe stresses in his ballad.

¹²³ Schubert's use of harmony also suggests the elision of father and narrator: the first statement of the father (bars 36-40) is in the same key as the narrator's 'frame' (G minor). Despite departing from the G minor of the framing stanzas in the inner stanzas of the ballad, the statements explicitly heard as being 'of the father' (i.e. his dialogue with his son) can thus be seen as growing from and returning to the G minor that is identified with what one might term the father's 'narrator mode'. Note that Cone suggests the narrator's involvement on the basis of the harmonic areas of the first stanza returning later in the song (see Cone, *The Composer's Voice*, 24-6). He does not however, go as far as eliding narrator and father.

Those literary aspects of Goethe's ballad that in themselves suggest this elision remain in play in Schubert's setting, even though some – most notably those referring to punctuation – would be impossible to grasp on hearing Schubert's setting.

outcome that we recognize the speaker to have at the ballad's end; it speaks of the failure of keeping the daemonic at bay, of the artificiality of the speaker's distance and, by extension, of the illusion of man's safety. Undeniably, Schubert thus pre-empts what is a mere growing sense in Goethe's ballad; what he does not do however – at least in my reading of the ballad – is to alter the fundamental artificiality of the ballad's frame.

If Schubert's treatment of the framing stanzas captures the essential problem of Goethe's confrontation with the daemonic – the attempts at containment and the ultimate failure to do so – then his musical representation of the Erlking as daemonic force is even more acute.¹²⁴ On each of its three appearances, the Erlking's voice appears in a different guise (bars 57-72; 86-96, and 116-23, see Examples 37-9) and each time, the Erlking's music suggests his daemonic nature: it twists the musical material of the 'worldly' realm of the father and son into something more uncanny, at once seductively at odds with the bleakness of the landscape of father and son and recognizable as originating from the 'worldly' material it ruptures. As in Goethe's ballad, Schubert thus places the speech of the Erlking apart as distorted, 'Other' musical textures here act as speech marks; but Schubert goes one further in suggesting the Erlking's daemonic nature: in twisting the 'worldly' musical material yet remaining recognizably linked to it, the Erlking's music is both worldly and otherworldly; it suggests the daemonic Erlking as 'something in Nature', yet alien from it, 'act[ing] at will' in the worldly realm, yet an intruder, a 'terrible being', capable of 'step[ping] between any others'.¹²⁵

The first appearance of the Erlking's song (bars 57-72) is thus more than the appearance of a seductive musical Other (see Example 37). Instead, Schubert effects an unsettling split between vocal line and accompaniment that signifies the Erlking's



¹²⁴ Of course Schubert could not have known Goethe's formulation of the daemonic, as Goethe's writings on the subject were not published during Schubert's lifetime.

¹²⁵ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 175-6: '[etwas] in der Natur'; 'willkürlich [...] schalten'; 'furchtbare[s] Wesen; 'zwischen alle übrigen hinein[treten]'.

57 "Du lie - - bes Kind, komm, geh mit

61 mir! Gar schön - - ne Spie - le spiel... ich mit

65 dir, manch bun - - te Blu - men sind an dem

69 Strand; mei-ne Mut - ter hat... manch gül - den Ge - wand". Mein

Example 37: Schubert, 'Erlkönig': bars 53-72

seductive intent just as much as his power of distortion. A move to Bb major has swept away the strife of the opening 53 bars and the Erlking's voice sounds eerily insistent, with its heavy weighting on dotted minims broken only by ornamental flourishes of varying degrees in bars 64, 70 and 71.¹²⁶ At the same time the strange galloping accompaniment over which the Erlking's vocal line sounds, and that is clearly derived from motive x, appears more like a caricature of the anguished

¹²⁶ Note Schubert's subtle undermining of the father's reassurances in bar 54 as the word 'Nebelstreif' ('streak of mist') marks the arrival of the Bb major of the Erlking: what the father believes to be a streak of mist is musically revealed as the Erlking.

‘worldly’ texture that frames it than the seductive serenade the melody might suggest and thereby constitutes a mocking testimony to the Erlking’s daemonic power. The second time the Erlking’s voice is heard (bars 86-96), his music is more openly luring: having again moved to a major key (this time C), the Erlking’s melody is altogether more delicate, unfolding gracefully above an idyllically undulating accompaniment (see Example 38).¹²⁷ Maintaining the triplet-figure that underpins the song but substituting arpeggiated figuration for the ‘worldly’ motive x, the accompaniment to these bars once again signals the Erlking’s strength.

85
Wind. "Willst, fei - ner Kna - be, du mit mir gehn? mei - ne

89
Töch - ter sol - len dich war - ten schön; mei - ne Töch - ter füh - ren den nächt - li - chen Reihn, und

93
wie - gen und tan - zen und sin - gen dich ein, sie wie - gen und tan - zen und

96
sin - gen dich ein". Mein Va - - ter, mein

Example 38: Schubert, ‘Erlkönig’: bars 85-98

¹²⁷ Note the exclusive use of crotchets and quavers in contrast to bars 57-72.

The final sounding of the Erlking's voice again suggests a split in voice and accompaniment (bars 116-23, see Example 39). As the Erlking first threatens to, and

112
grau. "Ich

117
lie - be dich, mich reizt dei - ne schö - ne Ge - stalt, und bist du nicht

121
wil - lig, so brauch ich Ge - walt". Mein Va - ter, mein

Example 39: Schubert, 'Erlkönig': bars 112-24

then uses force to claim the child, there is no need for further attempts at seduction, for the charade of serenade-like textures (as in bars 87-96).¹²⁸ Alluring melody has here given way to anguished semitonal leanings.¹²⁹ His voice is thus heard freely over the anguished worldly texture of motive x, which becomes at once a signifier of the Erlking's power in the worldly sphere and a psychological projection of horror at the moment of violence (a violence the father can only know through the exclamation of his son in bars 125-31 as he can neither see, hear, nor feel the Erlking).

¹²⁸ The Erlking's initial two intrusions echo the tradition of the lover's serenade at the window of the beloved. I am thinking in particular of the opera buffa tradition of such serenades (see for example Don Giovanni's 'Deh vieni alla finestra' [Canzonetta] in Act II of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*).

¹²⁹ The effect is underscored harmonically as the initial Eb major of the Erlking grates as bII against D minor, and further emphasized by the use of vii^o7 as dominant substitute. This section perhaps most obviously exemplifies the critical tradition of the Erlking's song as being erotically charged. On the debate over the sensuality of Schubert's Erlking see Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig'.

Criticising the music that Schubert assigns to the Erlking as being too enticing, too erotic, and simply not frightening enough, as has frequently been the case, fails to recognize the crucial coexistence of these aspects in the daemonic, and their significance for Schubert's portrayal of the Erlking.¹³⁰ The daemonic was clearly frightening to Goethe, who described it as a 'terrible being' from whom he sought to save himself,¹³¹ just as he credited it with an 'attraktiva' (attractiveness) that was irresistible to the masses.¹³² It is therefore precisely in making his Erlking seductive in tone that Schubert accurately captures his daemonic nature.

6.2.3. Listening to H. W. Ernst's 'Erlkönig' Caprice

Before turning to Ernst's 'Erlkönig' caprice in detail, I shall briefly consider some of the aspects – both specifically musical and more broadly cultural – that would have conditioned its reception in performance: the generic expectations inherent in song-transcription, and in particular in those of 'Erlkönig'; the Grand Caprice in terms of its genre; and the extent to which an audience hearing an instrumental transcription of a song could be expected to be familiar with its poetic text. More broadly I turn to cultural issues surrounding the nineteenth-century violin virtuoso: fears of the mechanical and musical ventriloquism, and the visualization of the demon-fiddler.

¹³⁰ See, for example, Franz Brendel, 'Zur Einleitung'; Johann Christian Lobe, 'Bruchstücke aus einem musikalischen Romane', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 48 (1846), cols. 528-9, and Max Friedlaender, *Beiträge zur Biographie Franz Schuberts* (Berlin, 1889), 25. Significant sections of these sources are given in original and translation in Gibbs, 'Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig'. See also Gibbs, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig', 160-211.

¹³¹ Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 176: 'I sought to save myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit' ('ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete').

¹³² The notion of 'attraktiva' is especially pronounced in Goethe's discussion of daemonic individuals. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe writes 'all the combined moral forces are powerless against [such individuals] [...]: the masses are attracted to them' (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 177: 'alle vereinten sittlichen Kräfte vermögen nichts gegen sie [...]: die Masse wird von ihnen angezogen'). More specifically, Goethe suggests Byron's attractiveness to have been due to the daemonic: 'the daemonic may also have been effective to a high degree in Byron, which is why he also possessed *attraktiva* to a great degree, so that especially women could not resist him' (Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 359: 'auch in *Byron* mag das Dämonische in hohem Grade wirksam gewesen sein, weshalb er auch die Attraktiva in großer Masse besessen, so daß ihm denn besonders die Frauen nicht haben widerstehen können').

6.2.3.1. Transcription and Caprice

When Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst published his transcription of Schubert's 'Erlkönig' as 'Der Erlkönig' (Schubert), Grand Caprice op. 26 in 1854, Schubert's song already possessed a long history of reworking, encompassing all manner of likely and unlikely instruments and musical genres.¹³³ One may somewhat crudely divide these reworkings into those that were aimed at an amateur/*Hausmusik* audience and those that were intended for professional and frequently virtuoso performance. Into the first category belong the only two 'Erlkönig' reworkings published during Schubert's lifetime (both in 1821): an arrangement for guitar and voice by Diabelli, published a mere month after Schubert's original, and Anselm Hüttenbrenner's unlikely-sounding 'Erlkönig' Walzer ('Erlkönig' Waltzes).¹³⁴ The virtuoso category, to which Ernst's caprice belongs, was defined by the appearance of Franz Liszt's Schubert-Lied transcriptions (including 'Erlkönig') at Liszt's Vienna concerts of 1838.¹³⁵ Liszt's arrangements were at once respectful in their treatment of Schubert's originals and brilliant in their rethinking of the songs as feasible and frequently virtuosic works for solo piano. In performing Schubert's songs on his tours, both in their original form and in arrangement, Liszt promoted Schubert's name across Europe, contributing in no small part to the popularity of, and familiarity with, 'Erlkönig'.¹³⁶ In so doing however, Liszt's transcription of 'Erlkönig' appears, according to Gibbs, 'to have displaced Schubert's song as the primary text'.¹³⁷

¹³³ Ernst's 'Der Erlkönig' (Schubert) Grand Caprice op. 26 was published by Spina & Diabelli in 1854 (# 7370) (see Gibbs, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig', 317). Next to reworkings for solo piano, guitar and voice, orchestra, or solo violin, one finds for example, those for piano and psyharmónica (Carl Czerny, ca. 1834; Carl Georg Lickl, ca. 1837), piano and harmonium (Max Oesten, 1850s), and, later in the century, harmonium (August Reinhard, 1884) or zither (Ferdinand Kollmaneck, n.d.). The musical genres covered range from 'straightforward' transcriptions to waltzes, galops and a melodrama. Gibbs' thesis 'The Presence of the Erlkönig' is the seminal account of the history of 'Erlkönig' transcriptions, and the reader is referred to this work for information on any of these reworkings.

¹³⁴ See Gibbs, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig', 296 and 298-303 respectively.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 212-50 (especially 245-50). On Liszt's Schubert reworkings see also Alan Walker, 'Liszt and the Schubert Song Transcriptions', *Musical Quarterly*, 67 (1981), 50-63; Andras Batta, 'Worte ohne Lieder? Franz Liszt's Klavierschreibungen anhand der Schubert-Lieder', *Schubert durch die Brille*, 11 (1993), 65-90, and Detlef Altenburg, 'Poetische Idee, Gattungstradition und Formidee. Zu Liszts Liedtranskriptionen und Symphonischen Dichtungen', *Die Sprache der Musik: Festschrift Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Jobst (Kassel, 1989), 1-24.

¹³⁶ 'By the 1840s [...] "Erlkönig" was simply referred to as "allbekannt" ["known to all"], "weltberühmt" ["world famous"] or "allgemein beliebt" ["popular everywhere"]' (Gibbs, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig', 117-18).

¹³⁷ Ibid., 288.

Despite its much later publication date, Ernst's 'Erlkönig' transcription in fact dates a mere four years after Liszt's: from a letter the violinist wrote in Frankfurt on 22nd November 1842, we can date what was to become the Grand Caprice op. 26 to that year.¹³⁸ Ernst's approach to 'Erlkönig' owes much to Liszt's Lied-transcriptions, so much so in fact, that Ernst's designation of his 'Erlkönig'-transcription as 'caprice' at first appears something of a misnomer.¹³⁹

In the early eighteenth century, the term caprice (or capriccio) as it was applied to music for violin described both technically challenging works for solo violin accompanied by basso continuo or string orchestra and solo cadenzas. From this developed a genre of virtuosic pieces that were also considered suitable as studies and therefore led to capriccio being understood synonymously with etude.¹⁴⁰ The decisive influence on nineteenth-century violin technique was Paganini's 24 Caprices op. 1 (1805); published as studies they increasingly became performance pieces, just as they simultaneously spawned a series of transcriptions and variations (especially no. 24).¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, even in the nineteenth century, the term capriccio failed to denote a specific musical structure; thus the term was, like rhapsody and fantasy, equally applied to potpourris and arrangements of popular opera themes.¹⁴² Confronted with Ernst's Grand Caprice, a mid-nineteenth-century audience could therefore reasonably have expected something of a flamboyant, fantasy-like structure, but Ernst's 'Erlkönig' reworking maintains the structure and length of Schubert's original, re-hearing and translating it at the highest level, rather than using its themes as the basis for a free paraphrase. Like Liszt then, Ernst strives to maintain the spirit of Schubert's original, but Ernst combines this desire with the virtuoso tradition and technical innovations of the violin caprice, especially as embodied by Paganini's op.

¹³⁸ Amely Heller, *H. W. Ernst im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen* (Vienna, 1904), 30. Ernst's was one of three transcriptions of 'Erlkönig' for solo violin from the 1840s, the others being by August Möser (published in 1843) and Baptist von Hunyady (published in 1844).

¹³⁹ For a comparison of Liszt and Ernst's transcriptions see Robin Stowell, 'Vocal Chords: Robin Stowell Examines Ernst's Solo Violin Transcription of Schubert's Song "The Erlking"', *The Strad*, 99 (1988), 781, 783, 785.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. L-G. Guillemain, *Caprices ou étude du violon dédiés aux amateurs* (Vienna, n.d.) and R. Kreutzer, *Études ou caprices*.

¹⁴¹ Composers who have written works based on Paganini's 24th caprice include Liszt, Schumann, Brahms and Rachmaninov.

¹⁴² This meaning was especially applied to piano works, with Heller, Raff and Tausig being notable exponents. See Susanne Schaal, 'Capriccio', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil* (Kassel, 1997), 7, cols. 450-1.

1.¹⁴³ ‘Grand Caprice’ is thus equally an indicator of technical difficulty and an allusion to generic tradition.

6.2.3.2. Listening to ‘Textless’ Song

Given the similarity of approach in Ernst’s and Liszt’s Schubert Lied-transcriptions, the critical discourse that arose in response to Liszt’s transcriptions gives us some indication of how Ernst’s Caprice may have been listened to and understood at the time.¹⁴⁴ The Viennese critic Heinrich Adami gave the following account of Liszt playing his transcription of ‘Erlkönig’:

I do not believe that ‘Erlkönig’ has ever been sung as masterfully and made as deep and powerful an impression on its audience as at this concert where the voice and the accompaniment merged as a direct whole from an inspired artistic soul.¹⁴⁵

In Adami’s writing, Goethe’s text becomes an absent presence: as the voice merges with the accompaniment to form a ‘direct whole’, the text is implicitly present as voice, but simultaneously absent as text. The textual voice thus becomes an abstract musical voice whose very lack of concrete text enables it to sound apparently unmediated from the ‘inspired artistic soul’. Adami’s statement gives an interesting insight into the perceived relationship of poetic and musical text. Implicitly at least, Adami suggests that the poetic text becomes more powerful as abstract musical sound, i.e. that the very specificity of language hinders its deeper penetration of the

¹⁴³ Not all of Liszt’s transcriptions were as faithful to the original as Ernst’s Grand Caprice (see Andras Batta, ‘Worte ohne Lieder?’). Ironically of course, the virtuosity of Liszt’s transcriptions was also inspired by Paganini’s innovations.

¹⁴⁴ Critics were divided over the suitability of the violin for a rendition of ‘Erlkönig’. Responses to Ernst’s transcription appear to have been enthusiastic: one Viennese critic termed the Grand Caprice ‘one of the most interesting violin compositions’, and then went on to say that ‘as performed by Ernst, the “Erlkönig” produces more effect on the violin than the same transcribed on the piano’ (Otto Brusatti, *Schubert im Wiener Vormärz* [Graz, 1978], 148, quoted in Gibbs, ‘The Presence of the Erlkönig’, 317). Hunyady’s transcription on the other hand prompted a critic to suggest that a violin-transcription of ‘Erlkönig’ may provide amusement amongst friends, but was hardly serious art: ‘to perform Schubert’s song on the violin alone is a wonderful idea, and played by an intelligent, ingenious virtuoso in a circle of cheerful friends, might serve as a humorous impromptu. It scarcely, however, need be written down, let alone be published and released’ (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* [1844], 35, quoted in Gibbs, ‘The Presence of the Erlkönig’, 316).

¹⁴⁵ Franz Liszt, *Unbekannte Presse und Briefe aus Wien 1822-1886*, 46-7, quoted in Gibbs, ‘The Presence of the Erlkönig’, 249.

soul.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, Adami's stance highlights a crucial grey area in listening to purely instrumental song transcription, for the question that remains unanswered is whether the 'deep and powerful [...] impression' made by the textless performance of song requires knowledge of the absent text. Put another way, is the 'deep and powerful [...] impression' the result of the listener actively supplying the poetic text as he hears its musical setting, and thereby internalizing the poem's specifics?

Discussing this ambiguous role of the poetic text in instrumental transcription, Gibbs suggests the following model of listening:

Reviews and advertisements suggest that many in the Viennese audiences hearing Liszt's transcriptions knew the original song intimately. As a result, the listener's memory provided the words silently during the performance of a textless reworking. We might still call this reworking a 'Lied' on the condition that the listener assume an unusually active receptive stance, almost as a silent performer in concert with the pianist. The phenomenon is familiar: when a text-less reworking of a vocal composition is presented to an audience that knows the original, an inevitable, though often unconscious, mental process is triggered to provide the missing textual element.¹⁴⁷

I have not been able to verify Gibbs' claims as to the audiences' familiarity with Schubert's original, nor does Gibbs indicate his sources. It appears nigh on impossible to make categorical claims as to whether a nineteenth-century audience would have 'supplied the text' on hearing an instrumental transcription of 'Erlkönig', but one can make educated guesses based on the evidence we have available, and those would, by and large, appear to support Gibbs' claims. Certainly, Schubert's song was extremely popular, especially in Vienna, with both the original and a variety of arrangements enjoying a wide circulation. Familiarity with the poetic text could therefore be, at least to some extent, assumed. Equally significant is Liszt's insistence that the poems' texts be printed above the melody in the solo transcriptions, or at least given at the top of the piece; it suggests that Liszt was encouraging the performer (or reader) of his transcriptions to hear the poetic text in the textless performance. To what extent this familiarity with Schubert's song translated beyond Vienna is somewhat unclear. Certainly, illegal copies of Schubert Lieder were

¹⁴⁶ This was of course a topic widely discussed in German Idealism (see Andrew Bowie, 'German Idealism and the Arts', *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism*, ed. Karl Ameriks [Cambridge, 2000], 239-57).

¹⁴⁷ Gibbs, 'The Presence of the Erlkönig', 269-70.

available as early as 1822 (i.e. a mere year after the publication of 'Erlkönig'), with illegal copies of 'Erlkönig' known to have been offered for sale by Nagel in Hannover around 1834.¹⁴⁸ Goethe's poem itself was of course well known in Germany, having been first published in Berlin in 1782, although familiarity with Goethe's text would not have allowed a listener new to Schubert's music to supply the text on hearing an instrumental transcription.¹⁴⁹

6.2.3.3. Hearing Voices

Listening to Ernst's *Grand Caprice* thus suggests the co-existence of two apparently irreconcilable listening positions; a discourse that can be either texted – heard as a song with the listener mentally supplying the missing ballad – or textless, evocative of a meta-musical narrative. In Ernst's *Caprice*, the daemonic voice of the Erlking that I have identified in my analysis of Schubert's song above at once sounds as the abstract voice of Music and draws the Erlking's words out of the audience. Music's voice sounds through the Erlking's melodic lines and reaches into the listener's memory in order to re-attach the Erlking's text. It is a daemonic move in as much as it is characterized by its impact on the listener and by its distortion of time; it requires the listener to map the past (previous knowledge of Goethe's poem and/or Schubert's setting) onto the present experience. The caprice can thus only become song by seizing the listening subject and drawing him/her into its musical realm.

This suggestion of the musical voice sounding through the performer returns us to the nineteenth-century horror of the automaton.¹⁵⁰ Mechanical toys, music machines and androids, so delightful to the scientific mind of the Enlightenment, had now risen again as terrible mechanical doubles; objects of horror to an age whose religious (or quasi-religious) mysticism recoiled from the scientific enquiry of the eighteenth-century.¹⁵¹ Carolyn Abbate has pointed out that 'nowhere is the

¹⁴⁸ See Christopher H. Gibbs, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Veröffentlichung und zu den frühen Ausgaben von Schubert's "Erlkönig"', *Schubert durch die Brille*, 12 (1994), 33-48.

¹⁴⁹ See my discussion of Goethe's ballad above.

¹⁵⁰ On the horror of the mechanical in relation to music see Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, 2001), 185-246, and the precursor of that chapter, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), 465-530.

¹⁵¹ On the reason for the Romantics' horror of the mechanical, Abbate writes, 'the perfect mechanical man robs us of a prize, our souls, and in so doing injures human individuality and consciousness. In terms of Kantian metaphysics, he erases the transcendent by giving us a mirror-form of the self that can

machinelike status of human beings more clear than in a musical performance in which someone plays (is played by) someone else's work. The performance network can suggest a master voice animating a medium, a human performer'.¹⁵² I would go further and propose that the complex performance network of Ernst's 'Erlkönig' caprice suggests more than one voice sounding through the performer, and thereby enables three differing readings (see Figure 2).¹⁵³

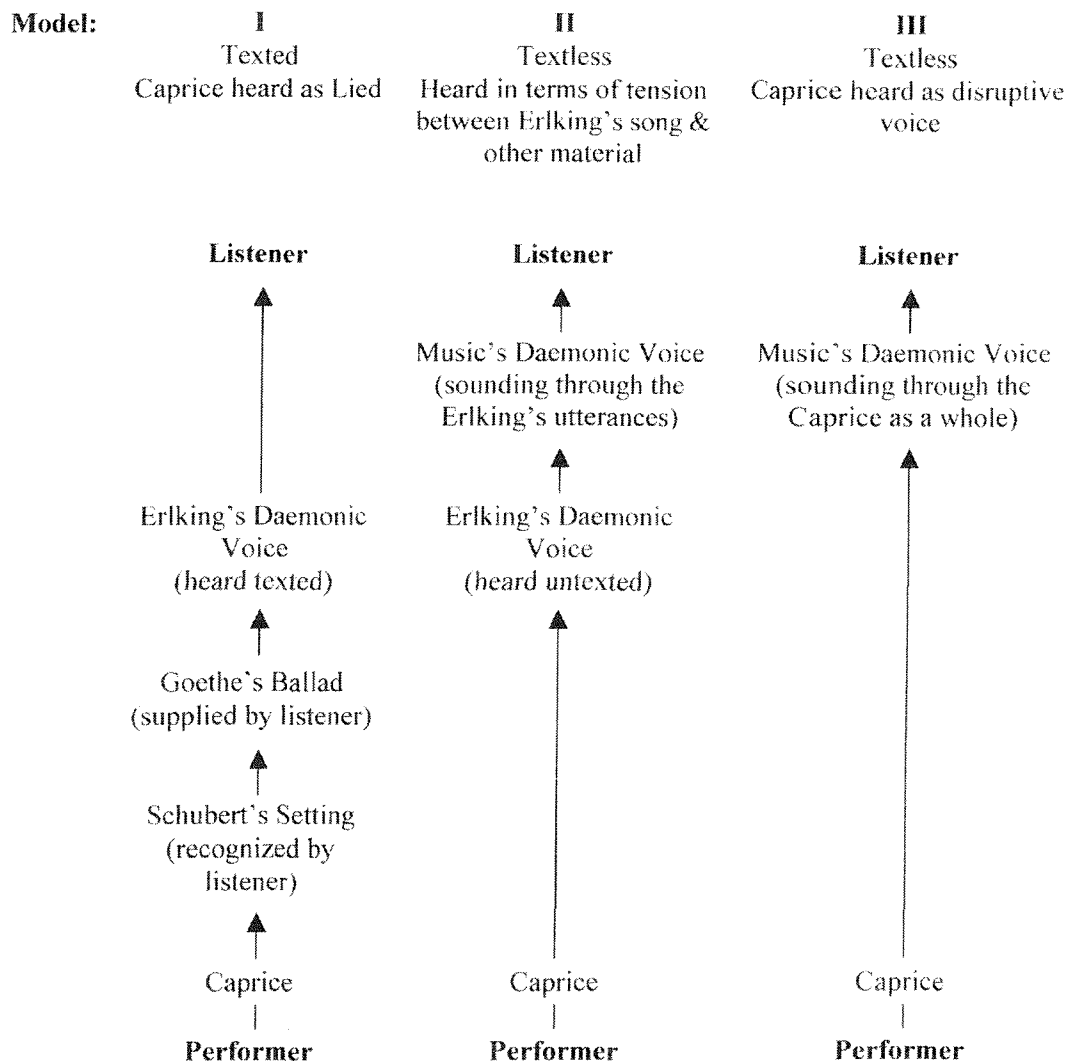


Figure 2: The Voices of Ernst's Grand Caprice op. 26

Figure 1 proposes three ways of hearing Ernst's Grand Caprice in terms of an 'animating voice': in model I, the transcription is heard as Lied; the listener hears

only mechanically sense objects as they appear, having no capacity to go beyond to the inconceivable' (Abbate, 'Outside Ravel's Tomb', 476).

¹⁵² Abbate, *In Search of Opera*, 195.

¹⁵³ By performance network I mean the interaction of performer and audience in a performance situation and the variety of ways in which musical meaning can arise from that interaction.

Ernst's Caprice as transcription of Schubert's song and mentally supplies the ballad's text. The animating voice is Schubert's setting, within which the listener hears Goethe's text and the Erlking's daemonic voice.¹⁵⁴ In model II, the tension between the musical material of the Erlking's song and that which surrounds it, suggests a meta-musical narrative in which the animating voice is Music's, sounding through the disruptive song of the Erlking (I shall discuss this model in detail below). Model III generalizes the inner tensions of the musical material and perceives Music's daemonic animating voice as sounding in the Caprice as a whole. In each case, the animating voice sounds through the performing violinist, working on the audience and affecting both their reception of the piece and their view of the performer. The result is the simultaneous elevation and erasure of the artist.

The understanding of extraordinary performances in terms of the supernatural that was a fundamental part of the reception not only of artists such as Paganini and Ernst, but found a new point of focus in Franz Liszt, casts doubt over the very object of its adoration, for if Paganini really had made a pact with the devil for example, to what extent was the resulting performance his, and to what extent the devil's? The recurring image of the violinist's bow being guided by the devil, and the otherworldly impact of his performances suggests the eclipsing of the performer by the voice that sounds through him. If we picture the image of a violinist (or any other performer) achieving a performance of such technical brilliance that it only begins to be comprehensible by reverting to metaphors of the occult, we are left with a strangely empty vessel. As the sheer technical mastery suggests that what we are hearing just cannot be human, the frantically fiddling performer comes under the suspicion of being a mere automaton animated by an relentless otherworldly voice.

As soulless mechanical horror, the virtuoso violinist also evokes an older and more instrument-specific image: that of the demon fiddler.¹⁵⁵ We have already seen that the performance effect of virtuoso violin music was, both through the figure of Paganini and the long tradition of the association of the violin, Death and the devil in European culture, frequently accounted for in terms of the occult; the violinist

¹⁵⁴ A reading of the Grand Caprice in terms of model one would therefore resemble my reading of Schubert's song above.

¹⁵⁵ On the tradition of Death, the devil and violin playing, see Rita Steblin, 'Death as a Fiddler: The Study of a Convention in European Art, Literature and Music', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (Winterthur, 1990), 271-322.

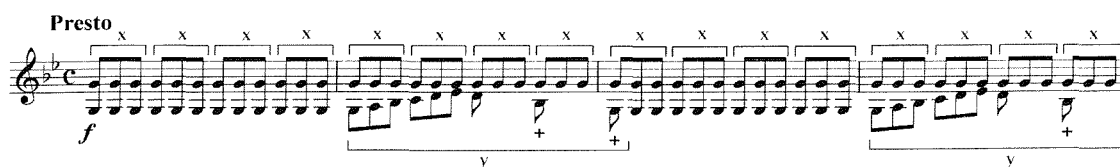
becomes a fearsome sorcerer who unleashes an otherworldly voice through his playing – at once an object of fascination, repulsion and worship.¹⁵⁶

I now turn in more detail to the second of the models I proposed above.

6.2.4. Performing the Daemonic

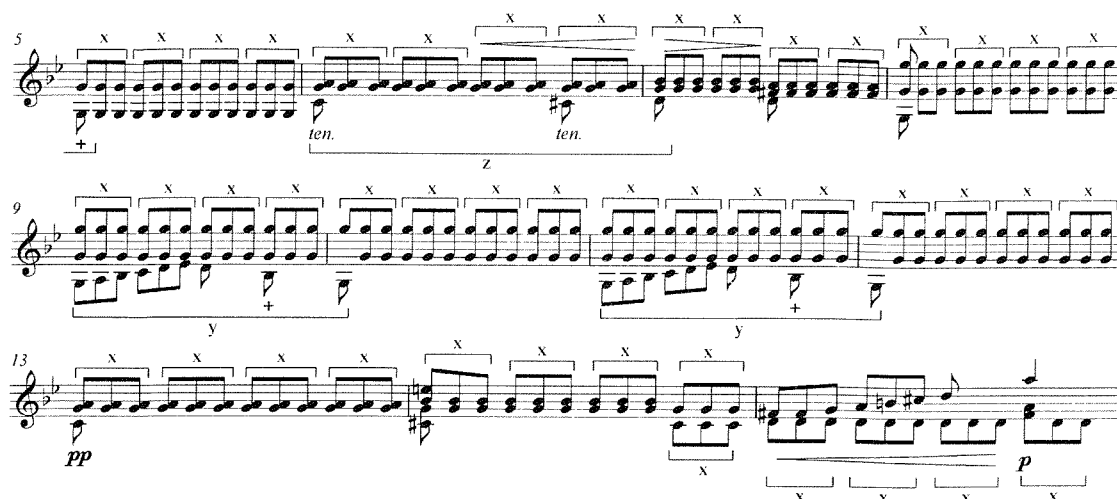
Heard as instrumental, i.e. textless, discourse, Ernst's caprice foregrounds the tension between two contrasting musical textures: one obsessively driven and suggestive of an uncanny machine, the other eerily sinuous, constantly mutating and disrupting. What had in Schubert's song been signifiers of anxiety/danger and an otherworldly force respectively, here comment on the virtuoso performance network. Relentless energy, seemingly impossible, inhuman virtuosity and the sounding of multiple indecipherable voices suggest a performer possessed, animated 'from beyond', and recalls the spectre of a fiddling Death reanimating the dead. Subject to the interruptions of an ever altering, teasing voice, the performing violinist is reduced to the plaything of an alien force that seemingly ruptures his mechanical reality at will. At the same time that the virtuoso performer is rendered its mouthpiece, he unleashes and thereby to some extent at least possesses the alien voices that sound through him.

In its combination of forward momentum (largely the result of the pounding triplets – motive x –, but increased by subtler devices such as the chromatic tension of motive z) and stasis or even circularity (the frequent repetition of the same pitches and the non-progressive motive y), the opening material of Ernst's *Grand Caprice* spools like a clockwork mechanism; it foregrounds the physical exertion of the player, yet generates a sense of compulsive movement that lacks any real feeling of progress (see Example 40).¹⁵⁷ The menacing relentlessness of the opening appears to animate the performer-as-puppet, just as it signifies his animation.



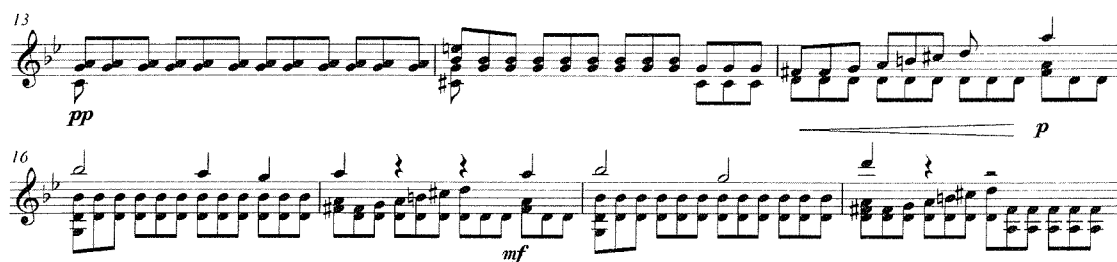
¹⁵⁶ We recall Heine's vision of Paganini as sorcerous monk.

¹⁵⁷ My designation of motives x, y and z is the same as in my discussion of Schubert's original.

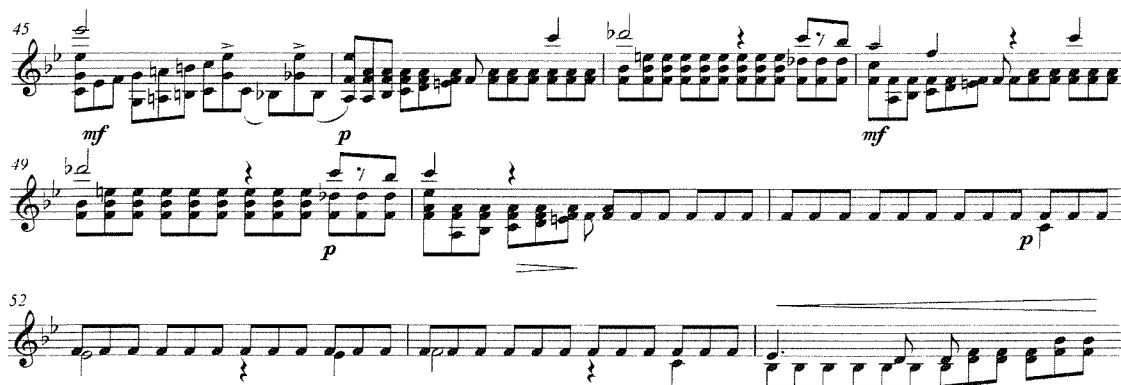


Example 40: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 1-15

Embedded within the grip of mechanical movement is the first suggestion that what appears to animate the performing vessel is itself the manifestation of a controlling master voice: starting in bar 16, melodic fragments are heard, gasping attempts at utterances that remain senseless, seemingly the echo of song (see Example 41). Distinctions of register and harmonic phrasing suggest the presence of multiple voices (see Example 42). The listener senses increasing anguish over questions



Example 41: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 13-19



Example 42: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 45-54

and answers whose meaning the performance he witnesses cannot reclaim (see for example bars 97-112 [Example 43]). Simultaneously signifying the presence of a



Example 43: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 97-112

controlling voice, and suggesting the performer as madman, the fragmented voices act as tears in the mechanical texture. However, these voices remain fragments, sounding through the mechanical texture, but not altering the spooling of the mechanism.

Three moments do, however, achieve just that alteration: the driven texture of motives x, y and z is twisted to accompany a different voice – at once melodious, sensuous, enticing, threatening and horrific. This is the controlling master voice; it is the daemonic voice of Music. Music's voice is heard in bars 57-72, 87-96 and 116-23; each time its character and sound changes, and each time it appears more powerful.

The appearance of Music's voice in bars 57-72 is preceded by a three-bar distortion as the mechanical texture is ruptured (see Example 44). As the melodic



Example 44: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 55-72

pulse slows over bars 55-57 (emphasized by a diminuendo and ritardando marking in bar 56), the left-hand pizzicato on beats 2, 3 and 4 in bar 55, and beats 1 and 3 in bars 56 and 57 suggests a mechanism losing its momentum, malfunctioning even. Rather than grinding to a halt however, the sounding of Music's voice, made all the more eerie and unearthly by the use of harmonics, re-engages the mechanism, but now reinvented as triplet dance-like figure, a pathetic parody of its obsessive former self. As Music's utterance slows down in turn (bar 71), its accompaniment cuts out briefly on the final triplet of bar 71⁴ and, implicitly, on the first triplet of the next bar, only to violently reassert itself in its original form (x), its greater urgency suggesting a more forceful grip on the performer (see Example 44).

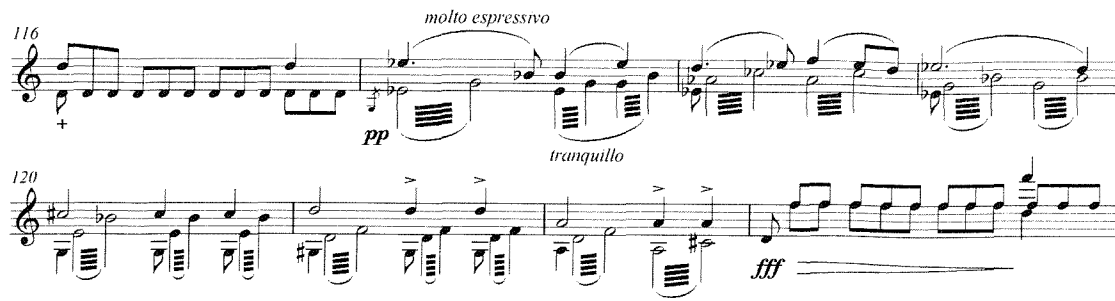


Example 45: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26: bars 86-96

The second time Music's daemonic voice is heard (bars 87-96), its appearance is at once more sudden and effected with less difficulty: rather than distorting the mechanical texture in preparation for its appearance, Music's voice here emerges directly out of the obsessively repeated Gs of bar 86 (see Example 45); distortion in preparation is no longer necessary.¹⁵⁸ Equally suddenly, motive x is transformed into a quietly burbling accompaniment to Music's voice now appearing not as eerie otherworldly sound, but as seemingly harmless, skipping song. Its disappearance is as quick as its appearance: with one final chord it vanishes on the third beat of bar 96 and is immediately replaced by motive x.

Music's voice breaks through once more in bar 116, sounding immediately as independent voice over motive x (see Example 46). Suggesting the increasing power of the daemonic voice, motive x collapses entirely after a mere beat, its triplet figure being abandoned for a shimmering tremolo that is at once threatening and suggestive of the eerie eroticism of the daemonic voice. Like the preceding interruptions, this sounding of Music's voice vanishes in a frantic assertion of motive x, dramatized by an upward octave leap and a triple-forte dynamic marking (the loudest moment in the piece).

¹⁵⁸ There is a notable difference here between Ernst's transcription and Schubert's original: in Schubert's song, the Erlking's voice is clearly heard on the last beat of bar 86 ('willst'), but in Ernst's transcription, the crotchet G that sets 'willst' is not articulated separately, but is 'played out' as part of the repeated quaver-triplet Gs of bar 86. Whilst it would to some extent be technically true to argue that the voice heard in bar 87 actually already sounds on the last beat of the previous bar, this does not reflect the experience of hearing Ernst's caprice. I therefore speak of Music's voice beginning to sound in bar 87.



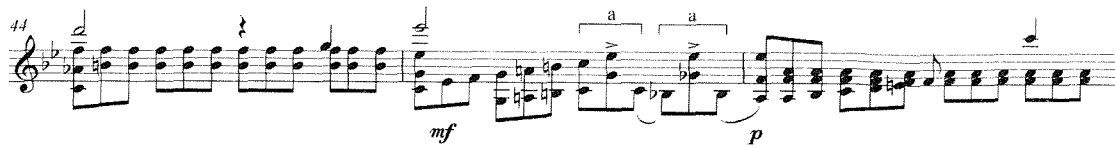
Example 46: Ernst, *Grand Caprice* op. 26: bars 116-23

In 1777, Ange Goudar had described Italian keyboard players as ‘bodies without souls’, ‘machine[s]’, who left their souls on the lids of their clavichords. Only by playing something of their ‘own composition’, could these performers ‘retrieve [their souls]’ and thereby prove their existence, their humanity.¹⁵⁹ It is debatable to what extent the performance of one’s own arrangement achieves the retrieval of one’s soul that Goudar demands. Inevitably, Ernst makes many small changes, but these are all designed to preserve as much as possible of Schubert’s original musical texture. However, there are two specific moments in Ernst’s arrangement that alter Schubert’s original texture without apparent reason, and it is these that mark the performing virtuoso’s attempt to overcome the voice that controls him, to retrieve his soul.

In each case, a C minor chord presented as repeated motive x in Schubert’s original (bars 45 and 141-2) is transformed into a motive (labelled ‘a’ in Examples 47a and c) that dramatically shifts the accent of the music onto the middle of each triplet group (see Examples 47a-d).¹⁶⁰ This moment of resistance temporarily imbalances, but does not overcome either Music’s daemonic voice or the mechanical matrix it projects, as in both cases motive a culminates in motive x. Nonetheless the juxtaposition of motives a, x and the striking recitative in the closing bars of the caprice suggest a reading of broader significance: that the artist’s attempt at originality, Music’s daemonic voice, and the virtuosic, near mechanical textures projected by that voice coexist in musical performance.

¹⁵⁹ ‘I begged him to retrieve [his soul], that is, to play an arietta of his own composition, that I might know that he existed’ (Ange Goudar, *La Brigandage de la musique italienne* [1777; reprint, Geneva, 1972], 84, quoted in Abbate, *In Search of Opera*, 196).

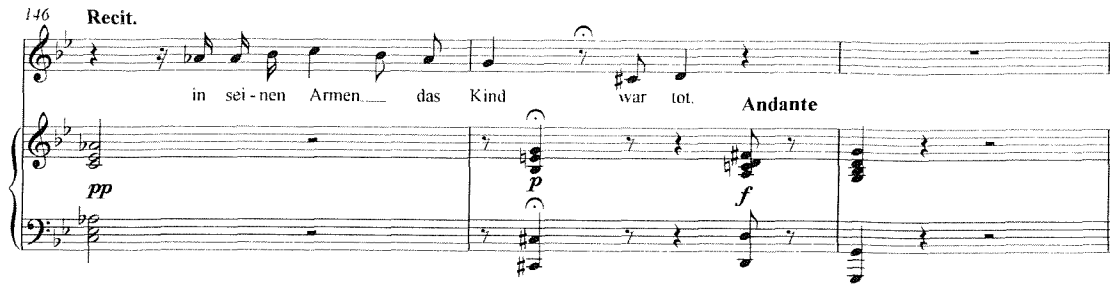
¹⁶⁰ Note that the accent is only written on the first occurrence of motive a in bar 45.



Example 47a: Ernst, Grand Caprice op.26, bars 44-6

Example 47b: Schubert, 'Erlkönig', bars 44-6

Example 47c: Ernst, Grand Caprice op. 26, bars 139-48



Example 47d: Schubert, 'Erlkönig', bars 139-48

In the final bars of Ernst's transcription, motive a both breaks the relentless drive of motive x and emphasizes its obsessive nature, but once more, in bar 145, motive x slows, and this time it does grind to a halt (Ernst dramatizes the moment further by adding a fermata on the chord preceding the recitative). The voice that is heard is the culmination of all those that had gone before – fragmented echoes and interruptive moments. No longer dramatic, seductive or threatening, this voice is assured, factual, a voice of authority. As a delicately plucked diminished seventh gives way to the final two notes of the recitative, a forced-sounding perfect cadence closes the discourse.¹⁶¹ There is no sense here of triumph on either side; neither the performer nor Music's daemonic voice is overcome. The gravity and assuredness of Music's voice in the recitative may suggest its ultimate control over the performer, but it is he who in effect slams the lid.

As textless instrumental work then, Ernst's *Grand Caprice* suggests the richness of creative tensions at the heart of the idea of Music as daemonic voice: its violent intrusions into the worldly reality and its rupturing of musical textures; its apparent senselessness and its seductive allure; its possession of performer and listener alike and its ambiguous possession by the performer.

¹⁶¹ On the artifice of the final closure of 'Erlkönig' see Kramer, *Music and Poetry*, 158-9.

Conclusions

The daemonic re-emerged in the late eighteenth century broadly in the renewed interest in antiquity and specifically in the writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. According to Goethe, the daemonic is a powerful supernatural force to which man is subject. This force is capable of distorting time and space and thus intrudes violently into man's existence. Ambiguous and incomprehensible in its intention, the daemonic is neither good nor evil and manifests itself in contradictions. It can either work on man, or through him; at its most extreme, the daemonic can be dominant to such an extent in a single individual that he assumes some of its characteristics, thereby becoming a daemonic character.

In his discussion of the daemonic in the final part of his autobiographical writings *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Goethe seeks to theorize a force that he believed ultimately exceeded comprehension. Goethe's account there is more abstract, distanced and almost guarded than it is in his conversations with Eckermann or in his correspondence. The Eckermann conversations contain significant accounts of the daemonic in the arts and mention of specific artists in connection with the daemonic, amongst them Mozart and Paganini. Goethe's writings and records of his conversations are thus sufficiently comprehensive to enable the daemonic to be understood as a category of thought, and applied to a variety of sources as an aesthetic category.

Applied to the music and music reception of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the daemonic provides an effective means for the understanding of contemporaneous accounts of music. It informs and usefully illuminates key ideas of the aesthetics of the time: musical supernaturalism (including the association of devilry and music); art and transcendence; the power of Music (writ large) and the effect and addictiveness of the musical experience. The daemonic also accounts for the convergence of apparently irreconcilable dualities in the descriptions of music of that period, such as pain/pleasure, horror/beauty and violence/sensuality.

Locating the daemonic linguistically is frequently complex, as the German language (to this day) does not differentiate between 'dämonisch' meaning demonic and 'dämonisch' meaning daemonic. When the term 'dämonisch' is encountered therefore, a decision has to be made as to whether the demonic or the daemonic is meant. The category of the daemonic can therefore frequently be more easily

identified through the effects described than through direct references to it. Despite this potentially problematic need for interpretation on the part of the reader, descriptions of what late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers termed ‘dämonisch’ nevertheless resonate strongly with the criteria of Goethe’s definition.

The sources discussed in Chapter 2 outline the basic functions of and the key ideas associated with the category of the daemonic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the aesthetics of Jean Paul the world is divided into a worldly, earthly reality and a supernatural spirit realm. Together these two halves constitute what Jean Paul terms the whole. The root of man’s longing in his earthly life is his sense of the incompleteness of that whole. Music mediates these two spheres; it ruptures the worldly reality and sounds as echo of the supernatural realm. Importantly there is a violence inherent in that move, and the confrontation with Music’s voice, whilst pleasurable, equally triggers grief and pain. In this ability to rend the fabric of reality and sound as voice of ambiguous effect and unknown intention Music became daemonic. Represented as idealized woman, Music’s voice transgressed mere strength and violence and became seductive; it gained the ‘attraktiva’ that Goethe identified in daemonic individuals.¹

E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Don Juan* and Kleist’s *Die heilige Cäcilie* demonstrate the fundamental ideas in the discourse surrounding the daemonic and women: the possession of the (female) conduit to act as channel for Music’s voice; the sensuality and eroticism of the woman so possessed (*Don Juan*); the resultant seduction of the implicitly male beholder/listener, and finally the revelation of Music’s power (*Die heilige Cäcilie*) or meaning (*Don Juan*) and the death of the abandoned conduit. Music’s voice was now not just physically threatening but morally destabilising; it presented a direct threat to the male listening subject, a threat only (temporarily) disabled by Music’s retreat into the supernatural and the death of the possessed female subject.² Warnings against the sinfulness of this daemonic musical voice (Wackenroder, ‘Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers’) themselves collapsed in the face of Music’s allure.

¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, 8th of March 1831, quoted in Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, ed. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden, 1975), 359: ‘the daemonic may also have been effective to a high degree in Byron, which is why he also possessed *attraktiva* to a great degree, so that especially women could not resist him’ (‘auch in Byron mag das Dämonische in hohem Grade wirksam gewesen sein, weshalb er auch die Attraktiva in großer Masse besessen, so daß ihm denn besonders die Frauen nicht haben widerstehen können’).

² In the writings of Hoffmann this threat is of course welcomed.

Transferred from literary works to the musical, literary, aesthetic and educational discourse surrounding women and the Lied, the key ideas of Music, woman and the daemonic remain, albeit in amended form. Once again, woman acts as conduit (Schiller, 'Laura am Klavier'). In the case of the mythologized female body, such as the Loreley, the eroticised body acts as vehicle for Music's daemonic voice. Again then, we here find woman represented as erotic object, as well as the familiar narrative of the seduction of the either implicitly or explicitly masculine beholder/listener. Similarly, we encounter the revelation of Music's power, but unlike in *Don Juan*, the purpose of this moment of revelation is not to pass on knowledge of music's meaning to the listener. Instead, Music here acts as direct threat to the masculine listener and to the social stability he polices (Schiller, 'Laura am Klavier').

The other key idea that emerges in the discussion of woman and Music's daemonic voice, and one already touched upon in Kleist's description of musical notation in terms of occult symbols, is the relationship between the diabolical (diabolical) and the daemonic. The sources considered suggest that the daemonic informs and is at work within Romantic images of the diabolic. In Heine's 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer', Music's daemonic voice impacts as an otherworldly, irresistible force that both animates the dead and seduces and kills the living within a narrative that draws on an almost parodistic collage of symbols of the diabolical: dance as anti-religious symbol of deviance, the Christian 'Totentanz' motif, a lover returned from the dead, Death, the Devil and the demon fiddler.

The convergence of diabolic imagery and daemonic working in descriptions of Paganini highlights another key topic: the function of the daemonic in performance. Literary descriptions of musical performance by Jean Paul (*Hesperus*) and Kleist (*Die heilige Cacilie*) had already demonstrated the powers and workings of the daemonic musical voice in performance. Jean Paul suggests a voice that speaks to the listener in a verse-like meter, triggers memories and grief for the past, and finally a moment of revelation. Kleist's musical voice gives a glimpse of the divine and violently passes religious judgement. In Heine's description of Paganini, contradictory images of the performer triggered by his playing gradually remove both the virtuoso and his performance from signification; like Goethe's daemonic,

Paganini ‘manifest[s] [himself] in contradictions’.³ Within this convergence of the diabolic and the daemonic Heine captures the essence of daemonic performance: inexplicable and powerful, the daemonic performance overwhelms the listener and takes them beyond themselves just as it delights, threatens and confuses them; the performer remains at once the embodiment of agency and an empty shell.

The complexity of the daemonic voices within the performance of an instrumental transcription is demonstrated in the study of ‘Erlkönig’ in Goethe’s original, Schubert’s setting and Ernst’s transcription. The daemonic voice present in Goethe’s ballad through the figure of the Erlking continues to sound in Ernst’s transcription. As the vocal line becomes purely instrumental sound in the violin caprice the Erlking’s daemonic voice merges with the daemonic voice of Music. Transferred onto Music writ large and executed on the violin, the daemonic Erlking exists in and comments on the matrix of the diabolic, the daemonic and violin playing. The possible listening positions suggested by hearing Ernst’s Caprice illuminate this interaction in differing ways.

On hearing the Caprice as song, Music’s voice sounds through the Erlking’s melodies and challenges the listener to recall and supply the unheard text. It is a daemonic move in as much as it distorts time, requiring the listener to map past knowledge of Goethe’s ballad and Schubert’s setting onto the present experience. Heard as instrumental, i.e. textless discourse, the sounding of multiple indecipherable voices, relentless drive and near impossible virtuosity suggest a performer possessed, tapping into the image of a fiddling Death reanimating the dead. At the same time as he appears the plaything of an alien voice however, the performer unleashes and thereby to some extent possesses the voice that sounds through him. Once again then, key ideas of the working of the daemonic already encountered return in amended form. The ingression of an alien voice and the forced confrontation with the past recall the narratives of the experience of music in Jean Paul’s *Hesperus*. The possession of the performer is familiar from Hoffmann’s *Don Juan*, Kleist’s *Die heilige Cäcilie* and Schiller’s ‘Laura am Klavier’. However, the suggestion of partial mastery of the musical voice is most clear in discussions of the creative process and

³ Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175: ‘he thought he discovered something in Nature [...] that only manifested itself in contradictions’ (‘er glaubte in der Natur [...] etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte’).

the composer-genius; i.e. they emerge most strongly in the interaction of the daemonic and the masculine.

In contemporary discussions of genius the daemonic musical voice is both mastered by and masters the composer. The daemonic voice of Music manifests itself through the composer and appears in the worldly realm through his works. Seemingly an intermediary between man and the divine, the composer is thus akin to the ancient Greek daimon. What is significant in this fluid relationship between submission to and mastery of an otherworldly voice is its impact on gender roles and boundaries. Sounding through the female conduit, Music's daemonic voice defeminises woman; its effect is one of empowerment, even if, as we have seen, the result is frequently the death of the empowered woman. In the male body Music's daemonic voice has exactly the opposite effect: it robs man of part of his control and thereby feminises him. In terms of gender distinctions then, Music's daemonic voice undermines preconceived boundaries between the sexes.

Similarly, reconsidering the writings of Sulzer, Koch, Heydenreich and Kant in light of the daemonic leads to the breakdown of the distinction between the ideas of genius as gift of Nature and as supernatural possession (i.e. Kivy's Longinian and Platonic models of genius). Whilst in one sense the idea of genius as gift of Nature assigned 'possession' to the artist, effectively making him a 'possessor' in Kivyeian terms, Nature equally worked through the man it so endowed for its own, ambiguous purpose, and in so possessing the man of genius became a daemonic force.

The wider concept of genius most clearly merges with the daemonic through Goethe's discussion of the creative process and his concept of productivity. For Goethe, genius is a productive force that is guided by, and identical in effect to, the daemonic; it manifests itself in and works through daemonic characters, individuals in whom the daemonic is present to such a degree that they assume its characteristics. Drawing Goethe's conceptualization of the daemonic individual and the theories behind Jean Paul's notion of 'Besonnenheit' into an analysis of Hoffmann's 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony yields a complex reading of Beethoven as genius. Beethoven emerges as daemonic individual both actively and passively. The former in the effect he produces through his music (i.e. the breakthrough and removal from the worldly), and the latter as he becomes conduit to a force (be it divine or more ambiguously supernatural) that works through and within him endowing him with genius and self-possession. The ideas of Beethoven as usurper of the daemonic

and as subject to it thus speak of the complexity of agency within late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century conceptualisations of genius.

Locating the daemonic in nineteenth-century music criticism elaborates many of the ideas discussed so far within the context of specific musical works. In E. T. A. Hoffmann's analysis of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony the daemonic illuminates a model both for experiencing and comprehending music in which man/the listener is seduced by Music's daemonic voice sounding in the symphony and is drawn into the infinite spirit realm that Christianity had established in place of the 'sensual world'.⁴ Significant here is that the familiar signs of the daemonic – seizure and violent relocation of the listening subject – do not establish a division within the musical texture, but both serve and maintain the narrative of the sublime that Hoffmann perceives in the symphony as a whole.

In his analysis of the first movement of Beethoven's Piano Trio op. 70, no. 2, Hoffmann suggests the presence of a very different daemonic musical voice; a disruptive, supernatural 'apparition' that breaks through the 'artificial fabric' that is the sonata structure.⁵ Hoffmann's evocation of a supernatural presence at a moment of fracture in the musical surface marks the appearance in music criticism of ideas of Music's supernatural voice that had already impacted in literature: Hoffmann implicitly locates both Jean Paul's notion of the supernatural musical voice (*Hesperus/Die unsichtbare Loge*) and Goethe's daemonic within a specific musical text. Similarly, in evoking the daemonic as model for interpretation, the paradigm of heroic struggle and overcoming that has been attached to so much of Beethoven's work is fundamentally challenged. In contemporary musical analysis, as elsewhere then, the daemonic problematizes established distinctions and categories; it both suggests and accounts for a complexity that is glossed over by established critical terms.

⁴ Jean Paul, 'Quelle der romantischen Poesie', *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1963), 5, 93: 'like a day of judgement Christianity destroyed the entire sensual world with all its charms, compressed it into a burial mound, into steps to heaven and put a new spirit world into its place' ('das Christentum vertilgte, wie ein Jüngster Tag, die ganze Sinnenwelt mit allen ihren Reizen, drückte sie zu einem Grabeshügel, zu einer Himmels-Staffel zusammen und setzte eine neue Geister-Welt an die Stelle').

⁵ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Beethoven, Zwei Klaviertrios Op. 70', *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schriften zur Musik, Nachlese*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1963), 133: 'in the manner in which the phrase is placed here, it sounds like an unexpectedly occurring chorale, which suddenly breaks through the artificial fabric and agitates the soul like a strange and marvellous apparition' ('so wie der Satz hier gestellt ist, klingt er wie ein unerwartet eintretender Choral, der das künstliche Gewebe plötzlich durchbricht, und wie eine fremde, wunderbare Erscheinung das Gemüt aufregt').

Further Study

The major subject area that has, for reasons given earlier, not been covered within my thesis is opera. Further investigation of the daemonic within the period studied in the thesis should consider the possible intersection of the diabolic and the daemonic within early Romantic opera, in particular in the adaptation of folk material. This has proved significant in the Lied (e.g. Heine, 'Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten'; Schiller, 'Laura am Klavier') and it is likely that a study of supernaturalist opera would yield similarly significant material. Equally, the study of opera is likely to expand on the issues of gender and the daemonic addressed in the thesis.

Perhaps more important, however, is the chronological expansion of the topic into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to cover the entire Romantic period in music. The established significance of Nietzsche's categories of the Dionysian and Apollonian and their at least partial overlap with the Goethean daemonic suggests the likelihood of the concepts meeting in the later half of the nineteenth century. This necessitates the investigation of Nietzsche's writings and those of his predecessors, notably Schopenhauer and Kierkegaard, in light of the daemonic. Special emphasis should be placed on music, creativity and supernaturalism. In a narrow sense further study should thus address to what extent the category of the Goethean daemonic impacted and potentially informed Nietzsche's Dionysian. On a larger scale the question to be answered is whether one can argue for the presence of the daemonic in music and music aesthetics into the early twentieth century.

Two further avenues of expansion remain. The study of the representation of music in literature has proved of immense significance for the establishing of the importance of the daemonic in the period under consideration. Further work should therefore address the representation of music in nineteenth-century art. Given the material encountered during the course of the writing of this thesis (especially surrounding Paganini) it is likely that one would find support for the representation of music in literature at the time.

Finally, this project has so far been limited to German-speaking countries. It is well known, however that, next to Goethe, certain of the authors within whose work I have identified the daemonic have been extremely influential in other countries (e.g. Hoffmann in France). It should therefore be considered to what extent the daemonic

might have emerged in the music and music aesthetics of other countries in the nineteenth century.

Appendix 1: Prose

Original Texts and Translations

Appendix 1.1. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: from *Dichtung und Wahrheit*¹

Man hat im Verlaufe dieses biographischen Vortrags umständlich gesehen, wie das Kind, der Knabe, der Jüngling sich auf verschiedenen Wegen dem Übersinnlichen zu nähern gesucht, erst mit Neigung nach einer natürlichen Religion hingeblickt, dann mit Liebe sich an eine positive festgeschlossen, ferner durch Zusammenziehung in sich selbst seine eignen Kräfte versucht und sich endlich dem allgemeinen Glauben freudig hingeben. Als er in den Zwischenräumen dieser Regionen hin und wider wanderte, suchte, sich umsah, begegnete ihm manches, was zu keiner von allen gehören mochte, und er glaubte mehr und mehr einzusehn, daß es besser sei, den Gedanken von dem Ungeheuren, Unfaßlichen abzuwenden. Er glaubte in der Natur, der belebten und unbelebten, der beseelten und unbeseelten, etwas zu entdecken, das sich nur in Widersprüchen manifestierte und deshalb unter keinen Begriff, noch viel weniger unter ein Wort gefaßt werden könnte. Es war nicht göttlich, denn es schien unvernünftig, nicht menschlich, denn es hatte keinen Verstand, nicht teuflisch, denn es war wohlthätig, nicht englisch, denn es ließ oft Schadenfreude merken. Es glich dem Zufall, denn es bewies keine Folge, es ähnelte der Vorsehung, denn es deutete auf Zusammenhang. Alles, was uns begrenzt, schien für dasselbe durchdringbar, es schien mit den notwendigen Elementen unsres Daseins willkürlich zu schalten, es zog die Zeit zusammen und dehnte den Raum aus. Nur im Unmöglichen schien es sich zu gefallen und das Mögliche mit Verachtung von sich zu stoßen. Dieses Wesen, das zwischen alle übrigen hineinzutreten, sie zu sondern, sie zu verbinden schien, nannte ich dämonisch, nach dem Beispiel der Alten und derer, die etwas Ähnliches gewahrt hatten. Ich suchte mich vor diesem furchtbaren Wesen zu retten, indem ich mich, nach meiner Gewohnheit, hinter ein Bild flüchtete.

Am furchtbarsten aber erscheint dieses Dämonische, wenn es in irgendeinem Menschen überwiegend hervortritt. Während meines Lebensganges habe ich mehrere teils in der Nähe, teils in der Ferne beobachten können. Es sind nicht immer die vorzüglichsten Menschen, weder an Geist noch an Talenten, selten durch Herzensgüte sich empfehlend; aber eine ungeheure Kraft geht von ihnen aus, und sie üben eine unglaubliche Gewalt über alle Geschöpfe, ja sogar über die Elemente, und wer kann da sagen, wie weit sich eine solche Wirkung erstrecken wird? Alle vereinten sittlichen Kräfte vermögen nichts gegen sie; vergebens, daß der hellere Teil der Menschen sie als Betrogene oder als Betrüger verdächtig

¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Waltraud Loos, vol. 10 of *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Werke, Kommentare und Register*, ed. Erich Trunz, rev. ed. (München, 1982), 175-7.

machen will, die Masse wird von ihnen angezogen. Selten oder nie finden sich Gleichzeitige ihresgleichen, und sie sind durch nichts zu überwinden als durch das Universum selbst, mit dem sie den Kampf begonnen; und aus solchen Bemerkungen mag wohl jener sonderbare, aber ungeheure Spruch entstanden sein: 'Nemo contra deum nisi deus ipse'.

During this biographical discussion, one has seen – in a long-winded sort of way – how the child, the boy, the youth, sought to get closer to the supersensory; [how he] first looked with fondness to a natural religion, then joined a positive one with affection, furthermore, tried his own strengths through pulling himself together, and finally gladly offered himself to the common belief. When he wandered freely through the areas between these regions, searched, looked around, he encountered many things that did not seem to belong to any [of these regions], and more and more he thought he realized, that it would be better to turn [his] thoughts away from the immense and the incomprehensible. He thought he discovered something in Nature, the inhabited and the uninhabited, with a soul and without a soul, that only manifested itself in contradictions and can therefore not be brought together under a term, let alone a word. It was not divine, because it seemed irrational; not diabolical, because it did good; not angelic, because it often showed *Schadenfreude*. It was like chance, because it gave no evidence of sequence; it was like Providence, because it suggested connection. Everything that limits us seemed penetrable to it; it seemed to act at will with the necessary elements of our existence; it pulled time together and expanded space. It only seemed pleased with itself in the impossible, and discarded everything possible with disdain. This being – that could step between any others, that appeared to separate [them], [yet] unite them – I called daemonic, after the example of the Ancients and those who had been aware of something similar. I sought to save myself from this terrible being by escaping behind an image, as was my habit.

However this daemonic appears most terrible when it emerges above all else in one man. Throughout the course of my life I have been able to observe several, both at close quarters and at a distance. They are not always the most excellent people, be it in spirit or in talents, [and they] seldom recommend themselves through their good-heartedness; but an immense strength emanates from them, and they exert an unbelievable force on all creatures, even the elements, and who can say how far such an effect will reach? All the combined moral forces are powerless against them; it is in vain that the brighter part of humanity wishes to make them suspect as

deceived or as swindlers: the masses are attracted to them. Rarely or never may one find contemporaries of their kind, and they cannot be overcome by anything other than the universe with which they have started their fight itself; and from such comments that strange but immense saying may have originated: 'Nemo contra deum nisi deus ipse'.

Appendix 1.2. Heinrich Heine: from *Florentinische Nächte*²

Die Gestalt des Meisters umhüllte sich [...] in finstere Schatten, aus deren Dunkel seine Musik mit den schneidensten Jammertönen hervorklagte. Nur manchmal, wenn eine kleine Lampe, die über ihm hing, ihr kümmerliches Licht auf ihn warf, erblickte ich sein erbleichendes Antlitz, worauf aber die Jugend noch immer nicht erloschen war. Sonderbar war sein Anzug, gespalten in zwei Farben, wovon die ein gelb und die andre roth. An den Füßen lasteten ihm schwere Ketten. Hinter ihm bewegte sich ein Gesicht, dessen Physionomie auf eine lustige Bocksnatur hindeutete, und lange haarigte Hände, die, wie es schien, dazu gehörten, sah ich zuweilen hülfreich in die Saiten der Violine greifen, worauf Paganini spielte. Sie führten ihm auch manchmal die Hand womit er den Bogen hielt, und ein meckerndes Beyfall-Lachen akkompagnirte dann die Töne, die immer schmerzlicher und blutender aus der Violine hervorquollen. Das waren Töne gleich dem Gesang der gefallenen Engel, die mit den Töchtern der Erde gebuhlt hatten, und, aus dem Reiche der Seligen verwiesen, mit schaumglühenden Gesichtern in die Unterwelt hinabstiegen. Das waren Töne in deren bodenloser Untiefe weder Trost noch Hoffnung glimmte. Wenn die Heiligen im Himmel solche Töne hören, erstirbt der Lob Gottes auf ihren verbleichenden Lippen und sie verhüllen weinend ihre frommen Häupter! Zuweilen, wenn in die melodischen Qualnisse dieses Spiels das obligate Bockslachen hineinmeckerte, erblickte ich auch im Hintergrunde eine Menge kleiner Weibsbilder, die bößhaft lustig mit den häßlichen Köpfen nickten [...]. Aus der Violine drangen alsdann Angstlaute und ein entsetzliches Seufzen und Schluchzen, wie man es noch nie gehört auf Erden, und wie man es vielleicht nie wieder auf Erden hören wird, es seye denn im Thale Josaphat, wenn die kolossalen Posaunen des Gerichts erklingen und die nackten Leichen aus ihren Gräbern hervorkriechen und ihres Schicksals harren ... Aber der gequälte Violinist that plötzlich einen Strich, einen so wahnsinnig verzweifelten Strich, daß seine Ketten rasselnd entzweysprangen und sein unheimlicher Gehülfe, mitsammt den verhöhrenden Unholden, verschwanden.

² Heinrich Heine, *Florentinische Nächte*, in *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke* ed. Manfred Windfuhr, (Hamburg, 1994), 5, 218-19.

[Paganini's] figure shrouded itself in sinister shadows, from the dark of which his music wailed in slicing, woeful tones. Sometimes, when the small lamp that hung over him cast its meagre light onto him, I glimpsed his paled face, on which youth had not yet entirely been extinguished. His attire was strange, divided into two colours, one yellow and one red. Heavy chains weighed upon his feet. Behind him a face moved whose physiognomy suggested the jolly nature of a ram, and at times I saw long, hairy hands that, as it seemed, belonged to it, grasp helpfully into the strings of the violin upon which Paganini played. Sometimes they guided the hand in which he held his bow, and then a bleating laughter of applause accompanied the tones that poured out of the violin ever more painfully and bloody. These were tones like the song of the fallen angels that had wooed the daughters of the earth, and, having been banished from the realm of the blessed, descended to the underworld with shamefully flushed faces. These were tones in whose bottomless depth glowed neither comfort nor hope. When the saints in heaven hear such tones, the praise of God dies on their paling lips and they cover their devout heads, weeping. At times, when the obligatory goat's laughter bleated amongst these melodic tortures, I also glimpsed some small women, who nodded their ugly heads in malicious amusement [...]. Then sounds of anguish and a terrible sighing and sobbing surged from the violin, as one had never heard on Earth, and as, perhaps, one will never hear again on Earth, other than in the valley Jehosaphat, when the colossal trombones of judgement sound and the naked corpses crawl out of their graves and await their fate ... But suddenly the tortured violinist did a bow-stroke, a madly despairing stroke, that, rattling, his chains burst apart and his uncanny accomplice vanished together with the sneering fiends.

Appendix 1.3. E. T. A. Hoffmann: from 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub'³

C-Dur-Terz-Akkord (fortissimo)

“Aber in toller, wilder Lust laßt uns über den offnen Gräbern tanzen. – Laßt uns jauchzen – die da unten hören es nicht. – Heisa – Heisa – Tanz und Jubel, der Teufel zieht ein mit Pauken und Trompeten!”

³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Kreislers musikalisch-poetischer Klub', *Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Fantasie und Nachtstücke*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel (München, 1960), 295-6.

C-moll Akkorde (fortissimo hintereinander fort)

“Kennt ihr ihn nicht? – Kennt ihr ihn nicht? – Seht, er greift mit glühender Krallen nach meinem Herzen! – er maskiert sich in allerlei tolle Fratzen – als Freijäger – Konzertmeister – Wurmdoktor – ricco mercante – er schmeißt mir Lichtscheren in die Saiten, damit ich nur nicht spielen soll! – Kreisler! – Kreisler! raff dich auf! – Siehst du es lauern, das bleiche Gespenst mit den rotfunkelnden Augen – die krallichten Knochenfäuste aus dem zerrissenen Mantel nach dir ausstreckend? – die Strohkrone auf dem kahlen glatten Schädel schüttelnd! – Es ist der Wahnsinn – Johannes, halte dich tapfer. – Toller, toller Lebensspuk, was rüttelst du mich so in deinen Kreisen? Kann ich dir nicht entfliehen? – Kein Stäubchen im Universum, auf das ich, zur Mücke verschrumpft, vor dir, grausiger Quälgeist, mich retten könnte? – Laß ab von mir! – ich will artig sein! ich will glauben, der Teufel sei ein Galanthuomo von den feinsten Sitten! – hony soit qui mal y pense – ich verfluche den Gesang, die Musik – ich lecke dir die Füße, wie der trunkene Kaliban – nur erlöse mich von der Qual – hei, hei, Verruchter, du hast mir alle Blumen zertreten – in schauerlicher Wüste grünt kein Halm mehr – tot – tot – tot – ”

Hier knisterte ein kleines Flämmchen auf – der treue Freund hatte schnell ein chemisches Feuerzeug hervorgezogen und zündete beide Lichter an, um so dem Kreisler alles weitere Fantasieren abzuschneiden, denn er wußte wohl, daß Kreisler sich nun gerade auf einem Punkt befand, von dem er sich gewöhnlich in einen düsteren Abgrund hoffnungsloser Klagen stürzte.

C Major chord (fortissimo)

“But let us dance over the open graves in wild and crazy joy – let us rejoice – those down there won’t hear us. – Hey – hey – dance and merriment, the devil arrives with drums and trumpets!”

C minor chords (repeated, fortissimo)

“Don’t you know him? – Don’t you know him? – Look, he grasps at my heart with a glowing claw! – he disguises himself with all kind of crazy faces – as hunter – concert master – worm doctor – ricco mercante – he throws candle-snuffers into my strings, just so that I may not play! – Kreisler! – Kreisler! rouse yourself! – Can you see it lurking, the pale ghost with the sparkling red eyes – extending its claw-like bony fists towards you from within its torn coat? – shaking the straw crown on the bare, smooth skull! – It is madness – Johannes, be brave. – Crazy, crazy phantom of life, why do you shake me so within your circles? Can I not escape from you? – No little speck of dust in the universe on which I, shrunk to a midget, may save myself from you,

terrifying pest? – Let me be! – I will be good! I will believe the devil is a gentleman with the finest manners! – hony soit qui mal y pense – I curse song, music – I lick your feet like the drunk Caliban – just release me from this torture – hey, hey, loathsome one, you have crushed all my flowers – no blade of grass grows in this terrifying desert – death – death – death – ”

Here a little flame crackled into life – the faithful friend had quickly pulled out a chemical firelighter and lit both lights in order to cut off Kreisler’s fantasizing, for he knew well that Kreisler was currently at a point from which he usually flung himself into a dark abyss of hopeless sorrow.

Appendix 1.4. Jean Paul: from *Hesperus*⁴

Die Ouvertüre bestand aus jenem musikalischen Gekritzel und Geschnörkel – aus jener harmonischen Phraseologie – aus jenem Feuerwerkgeprassel widereinander tönender Stellen, welches ich so erhebe, wenn es nirgends ist als in der Ouvertüre. Dahin passet es; es ist der Staubregen, der das Herz für die großen Tropfen der einfachern Töne aufweicht. Alle Empfindungen in der Welt bedürfen Exordien; und die Musik bahnet der Musik den Weg – oder der Tränenwege.

Stamitz stieg – nach einem dramatischen Plan, den sich nicht jeder Kapellmeister entwirft – allmählich aus den Ohren in das Herz, wie aus Allegros in Adagios; dieser große Komponist geht in immer engern Kreisen um die Brust, in der ein Herz ist, bis er sie endlich erreicht und unter Entzückungen umschlingt.

Horion zitterte einsam, ohne seine Geliebten zu sehen, in einer finstern Laube, in welcher ein einziger verdorrter Zweig das Licht des Mondes und seiner jagenden Wolken einließ. Nichts rührte ihn unter einer Musik allezeit mehr, als in die laufenden Wolken zu sehen. Wenn er diese Nebelströme in ihrer ewigen Flucht um unser Schatten-Rund begleitete mit seinen Augen und mit den Tönen, und wenn er ihnen mitgab alle seine Freuden und seine Wünsche: dann dacht’ er, wie in allen seinen Freuden und Leiden, an andre Wolken, an eine andre Flucht, an andre Schatten als an die über ihm, dann lechzete und schmachtete seine ganze Seele; aber die Saiten stillten das Lechzen, wie die kalte Bleikugel im Mund den Durst ablöscht, und die Töne löseten die drückenden Tränen von der vollen Seele los.

Teurer Viktor! im Menschen ist ein großer Wunsch, der nie erfüllt wurde: er hat keinen Namen, er such seinen Gegenstand, aber alles, was du ihm nennest, und alle Freuden

⁴ Jean Paul, *Hesperus*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1960), 1, 775-6.

sind es nicht; allein er kömmt wieder, wenn du in einer Sommernacht nach Norden siehst oder nach fernen Gebirgen, oder wenn Mondlicht auf der Erde ist, oder der Himmel gestirnt, oder wenn du sehr glücklich bist. Dieser große ungeheure Wunsch hebt unsern Geist empor, aber mit Schmerzen: *ach! wir werden hienieden liegend in die Höhe geworfen gleich Fallsüchtigen.* Aber diesen Wunsch, dem nichts einen Namen geben kann, nennen unsre Saiten und Töne dem Menschengeste – der sehnstichtige Geist weint dann stärker und kann sich nicht mehr fassen und ruft in jammerndem Entzücken zwischen die Töne hinein: ja alles, was ihr nennt, das fehlet mir....

Der rätselhafte Sterbliche hat auch eine namenlose ungeheure Furcht, die keinen Gegenstand hat, die bei gehörten Geistererscheinungen erwacht, und die man zuweilen fühlt, wenn man nur von ihr spricht....

Horion übergab sein zerstoßenes Herz mit stillen Tränen, die niemand fließen sah, den hohen Adagios, die sich mit warmen Eiderdunen-Flügeln über alle seine Wunden legten. Alles, was er liebte, trat jetzt in seine Schatten-Laube, sein ältester Freund und sein jüngster – er hört die Gewitterstürmer des Lebens läuten, aber die Hände der Freundschaft strecken sich einander entgegen und fassen sich, und noch im zweiten Leben halten sie sich unverweset. –

Alle Töne schienen die überirdischen Echo seines Traumes zu sein, welche Wesen antworteten, die man nicht sah und nicht hörte....

The overture consisted of that [particular] musical scribbling and squiggling – of that harmonic phraseology – of that prattling of fireworks of opposing sounding sections that I elevate so, for as long as it is nowhere other than in the overture. There it fits; it is the rain of dust that softens the heart for the great drops of the simpler tones. All feelings in the world require exordia, and the music paves the way for music, or for tears.

Gradually, after a dramatic plan that not every Kapellmeister develops for himself, Stamitz climbed from the ears into the heart, as from the Allegros to the Adagios. Ever more tightly this great composer encircles the breast that contains a heart, until finally he reaches it and enfolds it in raptures.

Horion shivered alone, without seeing his beloved, in a dark pagoda into which a single withered branch let the light of the moon and its racing clouds. Nothing ever moved him more with music than to look into the scurrying clouds. When he accompanied these streams of mist in their eternal flight around our orb of shadows with his eyes and with the tones, and when he gave them all his joys and wishes to take with them, then, as in all his joys and sufferings, he thought of other

clouds, of a different flight, of other shadows than those above him. Then his entire soul thirsted and languished; but the strings quenched the thirsting, like the cold lead ball extinguishes the thirst in the mouth, and the tones loosened the pressing tears from the full soul.

Dearest Viktor! In man there is a great wish that was never fulfilled: it has no name, it seeks its physical object, but everything that you name it, and all [the] joys it is not. Indeed, it returns when, on a summer's night, you look towards the north, or towards distant mountains, or when there is moonlight on earth, or storms in the sky, or when you are very happy. This great monstrous wish lifts our spirit up, but in pain: alas! *Lying here below, we are hurled to the heights like epileptics.* But this wish, to which nothing can give a name, is named for the human spirit by our strings and tones. Then the longing spirit cries more strongly and cannot compose itself and cries in between the tones in wailing rapture: yes, everything that you name, that I lack

The mysterious mortal also has a nameless monstrous fear, which has no physical object, that awakes from heard ghostly apparitions, and that sometimes one feels even when one only talks of it

With silent tears, which no one saw flow, Horion gave his crushed heart to the high Adagios, which lay over his wounds with soft eiderdown wings. Everything that he loved now stepped into his pergola, his oldest friend, and his youngest – he hears the storm wardens of life ring [their bells], but the hands of friendship stretch towards each other and grasp each other, and still in the second life they hold each other without having rotted. –

All tones seemed to be the celestial echo of his dream, answered by beings that one neither saw nor heard

Appendix 1.5. Jean Paul: from *Vorschule der Ästhetik*⁵

Ursprung und Charakter der ganzen neueren Poesie läßt sich so leicht aus dem Christentume ableiten, daß man die romantische ebensogut die christliche nennen könnte. Das Christentum vertilgte, wie ein Jüngster Tag, die ganze Sinnenwelt mit allen ihren Reizen, drückte sie zu

⁵ Jean Paul, 'Quelle der romantischen Poesie', *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Norbert Miller (München, 1963), 5, 93-4.

einem Grabeshügel, zu einer Himmels-Staffel zusammen und setzte eine neue Geister-Welt an die Stelle. Die Dämonologie wurde die eigentliche Mythologie der Körperwelt, und Teufel als Verführer zogen in Menschen und Götterstatuen; alle Erden-Gegenwart war zu Himmels-Zukunft verflüchtigt. Was blieb nun dem poetischen Geiste nach diesem Einsturze der äußern Welt noch übrig? – Die, worin sie einstürzte, die *innere*. Der Geist stieg in sich und seine Nacht und sah Geister. Dah aber die Unendlichkeit nur an Körpern haftet und da in Geistern alles unendlich ist oder ungeendigt: so blühte in der Poesie das Reich des Unendlichen über der Brandstätte der Endlichkeit auf. Engel, Teufel, Heilige, Selige und der Unendliche hatten keine Körper-Formen und Götter-Leiber; dafür öffnete das Ungeheure und Unermeßliche seine Tiefe; statt der griechischen heitern Freude erschien entweder unendliche Sehnsucht oder die unaussprechliche Seligkeit – die zeit- und schrankenlose Verdammnis – die Geisterfurcht, welche vor sich selber schaudert – die schwärmerische beschauliche Liebe – die grenzenlose Mönchs-Entsagung – die platonische und neuplatonische Philosophie.

In der weiten Nacht des Unendlichen war der Mensch öfter fürchtend als hoffend. Schon an und für sich ist Furcht gewaltiger und reicher als Hoffnung ... weil für die Furcht die Phantasie mehr Bilder findet als für die Hoffnung. ... Die Hölle wurde mit Flammen gemalt, der Himmel höchstens durch Musik bestimmt, die selber wieder unbestimmtes Sehnen gibt. So war die Astrologie voll gefährlicher Mächte. So war der Aberglaube öfter drohend als verheißend.

One can deduce the origin and character of all of the newer poetry from Christianity with such ease that one might as well call the romantic [poetry] the Christian. Like a day of judgement Christianity destroyed the entire sensual world with all its charms, compressed it into a burial mound, into steps to heaven and put a new spirit world into its place. Demonology became the true mythology of the corporeal world, and devils as seducers roamed in men and statues of gods. All earthly present had escaped into a heavenly future. What remained now for the poetic spirit after this collapse of the external world? – That into which it collapsed, the inner. The spirit stepped into himself and his night and saw ghosts. But as the finiteness only hung on bodies, and as in ghosts everything is infinite or without end, so in poetry the realm of the infinite flowered over the burnt ruins of finiteness. Angels, devils, saints, the blessed and the infinite had no bodily form or bodies of gods. Instead the monstrous and the immeasurable opened up their depths. In place of the serene happiness of the Greeks appeared either infinite longing or unspeakable bliss – the time- and

boundless damnation – the fear of ghosts that shudders at the sight of itself – the dreamy contemplative love – the boundless renunciation of monks – the platonic and neoplatonic philosophy.

In the broad night of infinity man remained, more often fearful than hopeful. Even in itself, fear is more powerful and richer than hope ... because the imagination finds more images for fear than for hope. ... Hell was painted with flames; heaven was at best defined by music, which in turn causes indefinite longing. Thus astrology was full of dangerous powers. Thus superstition was more often threatening than enticing.

Appendix 2: Poetry

Original Texts and Translations

Appendix 2.1. Clemens Brentano: 'Zu Bacharach am Rheine'¹

1	Zu Bacharach am Rheine Wohnt eine Zauberin, Sie war so schön und feine Und riß viel Herzen hin.	In Bacharach by the river Lived an enchantress fair; Caused many a heart to shiver By charms which she cast there.
2	Und brachte viel zu schanden Der Männer rings umher, Aus ihren Liebesbanden War keine Rettung mehr.	And black dishonour binding For men who bowed the knee, From those strong love bonds finding Escape was not to be.
3	Der Bischoff ließ sie laden Vor geistliche Gewalt – Und mußte sie begnaden, So schön war ihr' Gestalt.	Then in the Bishop's garden She knelt before his grace, Received a bishop's pardon, So beautiful her face.
4	Er sprach zu ihr gerühret: "Du arme Lore Lay! Wer hat dich denn verführt Zu böser Zauberei?"	He spoke: "Whence comes this magic, O Lore Lay, my child? Who cast this evil tragic? How have you been beguiled?"
5	"Herr Bischoff laßt mich sterben, Ich bin des Lebens müd, Weil jeder muß verderben, Der meine Augen sieht.	"Lord Bishop, let me die now For tired of life I am. Who looks into my eye now Unwillingly I damn.
6	Die Augen sind zwei Flammen, Mein Arm ein Zauberstab – O legt mich in die Flammen! O brechet mir den Stab!"	My eyes like fire are burning; A magic wand my arm. That wand, I pray, be spurning And shield me from its harm".
7	"Ich kann dich nicht verdammen, Bis du mir erst bekennt, Warum in diesen Flammen Mein eigen Herz schon brennt.	"My child, speak not of cursing; Confess at once your sin. My own heart you're immersing. What danger my soul's in.
8	Den Stab kann ich nicht brechen, Du schöne Lore Lay! Ich müßte dann zerbrechen Mein eigen Herz entzwei."	Your wand cannot be broken, O Lore Lay, tis true. Believe these words I've spoken, My heart would break in two".

¹ Clemens Brentano, 'Zu Bacharach am Rheine', *Clemens Brentano, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Jürgen Behrens et al. (Stuttgart, 1978), 16, 535-9. Verse translation, Trevor Morgan. Note that the poem as it appears in *Godowi* carries no title.

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|----|---|--|
| 9 | <p>“Herr Bischoff mit mir Armen
Treibt nicht so bösen Spott,
Und bittet um Erbarmen,
Für mich den lieben Gott.</p> | <p>“I pray you, bishop, spare me
And with me do not jest.
Before God now declare me,
Grant mercy, peace and rest.</p> |
| 10 | <p>Ich darf nicht länger leben,
Ich liebe keinen mehr –
Den Tod sollt Ihr mir geben,
Dum kam ich zu Euch her. –</p> | <p>My life has reached its ending
For I can love no more;
And that was my intending
When I came to your door</p> |
| 11 | <p>Mein Schatz hat mich betrogen,
Hat sich von mir gewandt,
Ist fort von hier gezogen,
Fort in ein fremdes Land.</p> | <p>My lover has betrayed me,
I’ll see his face no more.
No longer will he aid me
From distant foreign shore.</p> |
| 12 | <p>Die Augen sanft und wilde,
Die Wangen roth und weiß,
Die Worte still und milde,
Das ist mein Zauberkreis.</p> | <p>My eyes so soft and gentle,
My rosy cheeks aglow,
My voice so ornamental,
All this enchants men so.</p> |
| 13 | <p>Ich selbst muß drinn verderben,
Das Herz thut mir so weh,
Vor Schmerzen möcht ich sterben,
Wenn ich mein Bildniß seh.</p> | <p>These attributes all break me,
My heart feels agony,
I would that death would take me,
When I my picture see.</p> |
| 14 | <p>Dum laßt mein Recht mich finden,
Mich sterben wie ein Christ,
Denn alles muß verschwinden,
Weil er nicht bey mir ist.”</p> | <p>My just desserts now show me.
I’ll die a Christian death.
Gone he who once did know me,
Passed by with my last breath”.</p> |
| 15 | <p>Drei Ritter läßt er holen:
“Bringt sie ins Kloster hin,
Geh Lore! – Gott befohlen
Sei dein bedrückter Sinn.</p> | <p>Three knights the bishop orders,
A convent is their goal.
“Go, Lore, from these borders,
May God redeem your soul.</p> |
| 16 | <p>Du sollst ein Nönnchen werden,
Ein Nönnchen schwarz und weiß,
Bereite dich auf Erden
Zu deines Todes Reis”.</p> | <p>A novice is your calling,
A convent now your home.
In sin no longer falling
From heaven to earth you roam”.</p> |
| 17 | <p>Zum Kloster sie nun ritten,
Die Ritter alle drei,
Und traurig in der Mitten
Die schöne Lore Lay.</p> | <p>Thus to the convent speeding
The knights all three obeyed.
Between them, sad, unheeding,
The Lore Lay was laid.</p> |
| 18 | <p>“O Ritter laßt mich gehen,
Auf diesen Felsen groß,
Ich will noch einmal sehen
Nach meines Lieben Schloß.</p> | <p>“Let me, I do implore you,
Ascend that mountain there.
The castle right before you
Is home to my lover fair.</p> |
| 19 | <p>Ich will noch einmal sehen
Wohl in den tiefen Rhein,
Und dann ins Kloster gehen
Und Gottes Jungfrau seyn.”</p> | <p>O, let me see the water,
The deep mysterious Rhine,
And then I’ll be God’s daughter;
The convent shall be mine”.</p> |

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|----|--|---|
| 21 | Der Felsen ist so jähe,
So steil ist seine Wand,
Doch klimmt sie in die Höhe,
Bis daß sie oben stand. | The rock o'er all prevailing,
Its sides so steep and sheer
The Lore Lay is scaling
With ne'er a hint of fear. |
| 22 | Es binden die drei Ritter,
Die Rosse unten an,
Und klettern immer weiter,
Zum Felsen auch hinan. | The riders tie their horses
Below the fearsome height
And using their resources
Climb, keeping her in sight. |
| 23 | Die Jungfrau sprach: "da gehet
Ein Schifflein auf dem Rhein,
Der in dem Schifflein stehet,
Der soll mein Liebster seyn. | The girl spoke out: "And see now
That boat upon the Rhine.
My love can set me free now,
That love who once was mine. |
| 24 | Mein Herz wird mir so munter,
Er muß mein Liebster seyn"! –
Da lehnt sie sich hinunter
Und stürzt in den Rhein. | My heart with joy is singing,
I draw my final breath".
And from the hillside springing
She plunges to her death. |
| 25 | Die Ritter mußten sterben,
Sie konnten nicht hinab,
Sie mußten all verderben,
Ohn Priester und ohn Grab. | The knights their lives relinquished,
Unable to descend,
Their light of life extinguished.
No priest, no grave, no friend. |
| 26 | Wer hat dies Lied gesungen?
Ein Schiffer auf dem Rhein,
Und immer hat's geklungen
Von dem drei Ritterstein: | Who sang these words confounding?
A sailor on the Rhine
From Three Knights' Rock resounding
By unexplained design. |
| | Lore Lay
Lore Lay
Lore Lay | Lore Lay
Lore Lay
Lore Lay |
| | Als wären es meiner drei. | Three voices always cry. |

Appendix 2.2. Joseph von Eichendorff: 'Der stille Grund'²

1	Der Mondenschein verwirret Die Täler weit und breit, Die Bächlein, wie verirret, Gehn durch die Einsamkeit.	The moonlight bewilders The valleys far and wide; As if lost, the brooks Lead through the loneliness.
2	Da drüben sah ich stehen Den Wald auf steiler Höh, Die finstern Tannen sehen In einen tiefen See.	Over there I saw stand, The forest on a steep height; The sinister pine trees look Into a deep lake.
3	Ein Kahn wohl sah ich ragen, Doch niemand, der es lenkt, Das Ruder war zerschlagen, Das Schiffein halb versenkt.	A small boat I thought I saw jutting, Yet no-one who steers it; The oar was smashed, The little boat half sunk.
4	Eine Nixe auf dem Steine Flocht dort ihr goldnes Haar, Sie meint' sie wär alleine, Und sang so wunderbar.	A nymph on the rocks Plaited there her golden hair; She thought she was alone, And sang so miraculously.
5	Sie sang und sang, in den Bäumen Und Quellen rauscht' es sacht Und flüsterte wie in Träumen Die mondbeglänzte Nacht.	She sang and sang, in the trees And springs it murmured gently, And whispered as in dreams The moon-touched night.
6	Ich aber stand erschrocken, Denn über Wald und Kluft Klangen die Morgenglocken Schon ferne durch die Luft.	But I stood there, shocked, For over forest and crags The morning bells sounded, Already distant through the air.
7	Und hätt ich nicht vernommen Den Klang zu guter Stund, Wär nimmermehr gekommen Aus diesem stillen Grund'.	And had I not heard The sound in time, Would never have returned From that silent valley.

Joseph von Eichendorff: 'The Silent Place'³

1	Bathed in mysterious moonlight Stand valleys broad and wide; The streams with struggling eyesight Need sunlight as their guide.
2	And on the steep, dark hillside The forest stands serene And many gloomy firs provide The lake with cover green.

² Joseph von Eichendorff, *Joseph von Eichendorff, Gedichte*, vol. 1, bk. 2 of *Joseph von Eichendorff, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, Neue Edition*, ed. Harry Fröhlich [Tübingen, 1994], 623.

³ Verse translation, Trevor Morgan.

- 3 And from the water risen
An empty barque appears!
No rudder, smashed the mizzen;
No helmsman the boat steers
- 4 A nymph, her sweet voice ringing,
Plaited her golden hair.
So wonderful her singing,
Was she of me aware?
- 5 Her song rang through the moonbeams
And made the night rejoice
And trees and springs as though in dreams
Both wondered at her voice.
- 6 Afraid, alone I stood there,
Then through the wooded dell,
Borne on the fresh and pure air,
I heard the morning bell.
- 7 Had I not heard the bell sound
And quick my path retrace,
I would have still been spellbound
Within that silent place.

Appendix 2.3. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: 'Erlkönig'⁴

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | Wer reitet so spät durch Nacht und
Wind?
Es ist der Vater mit seinem Kind;
Er hat den Knaben wohl in dem Arm,
Er faßt ihn sicher, er hält ihn warm. | ‘Who rides so late through night and
wind?
It is the father with his child.
He has the boy in his arms,
He holds him safely, he keeps him warm. |
| 2 | Mein Sohn, was birgst du so bang dein
Gesicht? –
Siehst, Vater, du den Erlkönig nicht?
Den Erlenkönig mit Kron und Schweif? –
Mein Sohn, es ist ein Nebelstreif. – | My son, why do you hide your face in
fear? –
Father, can you not see the Erlking?
The Erlking with his crown and tail? –
My son, it is a streak of mist. – |
| 3 | “Du liebes Kind, komm geh mit mir!
Gar schöne Spiele spiel ich mit dir;
Manch bunte Blumen sind an dem
Strand;
Meine Mutter hat manch gülden
Gewand.” | “Sweet child, come with me,
I’ll play wonderful games with you;
Many a pretty flower grows on the shore,
My mother has many a golden robe”. |

⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ‘Erlkönig’, *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gedichte, Vollständige Ausgabe* (Stuttgart, n.d.), 121-2. Translation Richard Wigmore (Richard Wigmore, trans., *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* [London: Gollancz, 1992], 205-6).

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 4 | <p>Mein Vater, mein Vater, und hörest du nicht,
Was Erlenkönig mir leise verspricht? –
Sei ruhig, bleibe ruhig, mein Kind:
In dürren Blättern säuselt der Wind. –</p> | <p>Father, father, do you not hear
What the Erlking softly promises me? –
Calm, be calm my child:
The wind is rustling in the withered leaves. –</p> |
| 5 | <p>“Willst, feiner Knabe, du mit mir gehn?
Meine Töchter sollen dich warten schön;
Meine Töchter führen den nächtlichen Reihn
Und wiegen und tanzen und singen dich ein.”</p> | <p>“Won’t you come with me, my fine lad?
My daughters shall wait upon you;
My daughters lead the nightly dance,
And will rock, and dance, and sing you to sleep”.</p> |
| 6 | <p>Mein Vater, mein Vater, und siehst du nicht dort
Erlkönigs Töchter am düstern Ort? –
Mein Sohn, mein Sohn, ich seh es genau:
Es scheinen die alten Weiden so grau. –</p> | <p>Father, father, can you not see
Erlking’s daughters there in the darkness? –
My son, I can see it clearly:
It is the old grey willows gleaming. –</p> |
| 7 | <p>“Ich liebe dich, mich reizt deine schöne Gestalt,
Und bist du nicht willig, so brauch ich Gewalt!”
Mein Vater, mein Vater, jetzt faßt er mich an!
Erlkönig hat mir ein Leids getan! –</p> | <p>“I love you, your fair form allures me,
And if you don’t come willingly, I’ll use force”.
Father, father, now he’s seizing me!
The Erlking has hurt me! –</p> |
| 8 | <p>Dem Vater grauset, er reitet geschwind,
Er hält in Armen das ächzende Kind,
Erreicht den Hof mit Mühe und Not;
In seinen Armen das Kind war tot.</p> | <p>The father shudders, he rides swiftly,
Holding the moaning child in his arms;
With one last effort he reaches home;
The child lay dead in his arms’.</p> |

Appendix 2.4. Heinrich Heine: ‘Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten’

*(Die Heimkehr, 2)*⁵

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|---|--|--|
| 1 | <p>Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten,
Daß ich so traurig bin;
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten,
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.</p> | <p>I know not what it should mean,
That I am so sad;
A fairy-tale of olden times,
I cannot get out of my mind.</p> |
| 2 | <p>Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fließt der Rhein;
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenschein.</p> | <p>The air is cool and it is getting dark,
And calmly the Rhine flows;
The tip of the hill sparkles
In the evening sunshine.</p> |

⁵ Heinrich Heine, ‘Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten’, *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1975), vol. 1, bk. 1, 207, 209.

3	Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet Dort oben wunderbar; Ihr gold'nes Geschmeide blitzet, Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar.	The most beautiful maiden sits Up there miraculously; Her golden jewellery flashes, She combs her golden hair.
4	Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme, Und singt ein Lied dabei; Das hat eine wundersame, Gewaltige Melodei.	She combs it with a golden comb, And at the same time sings a song; That has a wondrous, Powerful melody.
5	Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe Ergreift es mit wildem Weh; Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe, Er schaut nur hinauf in die Höh'.	The boatman in the small boat, It seizes with a wild ache; He sees not the rocky cliffs, He looks only to the height.
6	Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn; Und das hat mit ihrem Singen Die Lore-Ley gethan.	I believe the waves swallow Boatman and boat in the end. And that with her singing The Lore-Ley has done.

Heinrich Heine: 'I do not know what it means'

(*The Homecoming*, 2)⁶

1	I do not know what it means that I am so sadly inclined; There is an old tale and its scenes that Will not depart from my mind.
2	The air is cool and darkling, And peaceful flows the Rhine; The mountain top is sparkling, The setting sunbeams shine.
3	The fairest maid is reclining In wondrous beauty there; Her golden jewels are shining, She combs her golden hair.
4	With a golden comb she is combing, And sings a song so free, It casts a spell on the gloaming, A magical melody.

⁶ Verse translation, Hal Draper (Hal Draper, *The Complete Poems of Heinrich Heine: A Modern English Version by Hal Draper* [Oxford, 1982], 76-7).

- 5 The boatman listens, and o'er him
 Wild-aching passions roll;
 He sees but the maiden before him,
 He sees not reef or shoal.
- 6 I think, at last the wave swallows
 The boat and the boatman's cry;
 And this is the fate that follows
 The song of the Lorelei.

Appendix 2.5. Heinrich Heine: 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen'

(*Die Heimkehr*, 21)⁷

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen,
Und weißt, ich lebe noch?
Der alte Zorn kommt wieder,
Und dann zerbrech ich mein Joch. | How can you sleep so calmly,
And know that I still live?
The old rage returns,
And then I break my yoke. |
| 2 | Kennst du das alte Liedchen:
Wie einst ein todter Knab'
Um Mitternacht die Geliebte
Zu sich geholt in's Grab? | Do you know the old little song:
How once a dead boy
At midnight, fetched his beloved
Into his grave? |
| 3 | Glaub' mir, du wunderschönes,
Du wunderholdes Kind,
Ich lebe und bin noch stärker,
Als alle Todten sind! | Believe me, you lovely,
You wondrously fair child,
I live and am still stronger
Than all the dead [together]! |

Heinrich Heine: 'How can you sleep in peace now'

(*The Homecoming*, 21)⁸

- 1 How can you sleep in peace now
 Knowing I live and wake?
 The anger of old comes upon me,
 My fetters bend and break.
- 2 Do you know how the old song has it?
 The dead lad rose up brave,
 Embraced his love at midnight
 And drew her into his grave

⁷ Heinrich Heine, 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen', *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1975), vol. 1, bk. 1, 231.

⁸ Verse translation, Hal Draper (Hal Draper, *The Complete Poems of Heinrich Heine*, 85).

- 3 Believe me, child of beauty,
Dear girl with golden head:
I live, and have more strength than
The strength of all the dead!

Appendix 2.6. Heinrich Heine: ‘Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer’
(Die Heimkehr, 22)⁹

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | »Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer,
Der Mond schaut zitternd hinein;
Da draußen singt es und klingt es,
Wie Walzermelodein. | »The maiden sleeps in the chamber,
Trembling, the moon looks in;
Out there it sings and sounds
Like waltzes’ melodies. |
| 2 | »Ich will mal schaun aus dem Fenster,
Wer drunten stört meine Ruh’.
Da steht ein Todtengerippe,
Und fidelt und singt dazu: | »I’ll have a look from the window
Who disturbs my rest down there.
There stands a skeleton
And fiddles and sings: |
| 3 | »Hast einst mir den Tanz versprochen,
Und hast gebrochen dein Wort,
Und heut ist Ball auf dem Kirchhof,
Komm mit, wir tanzen dort. | »Once you promised me a dance,
And you broke your word,
And today there’s a ball in the church-
yard,
Come with me, we will dance there. |
| 4 | »Die Jungfrau ergreift es gewaltig,
Es lockt sie hervor aus dem Haus;
Sie folgt dem Gerippe, das singend
Und fidelnd schreitet voraus. | »It seizes the maiden powerfully,
It lures her out of the house;
She follows the skeleton, that singing
And fiddling strides ahead. |
| 5 | »Es fidelt und tänzelt und hüpfet,
Und klappert mit seinem Gebein,
Und nickt und nickt mit dem Schädel
Unheimlich im Mondenschein.« | »It fiddles and dances and leaps,
And rattles with its bones,
And nods and nods with its skull
Uncannily in the moonlight.« |

Heinrich Heine: ‘The maiden sleeps in her chamber’
(The Homecoming, 22)¹⁰

- 1 “The maiden sleeps in her chamber,
The moonlight trembles there;
Outside, singing and ringing,
A waltz tune floats on the air.

⁹ Heinrich Heine, ‘Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer’, *Heinrich Heine, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Manfred Winfuhr (Hamburg, 1975), vol. 1, bk. 1, 233.

¹⁰ Verse translation, Hal Draper (Hal Draper, *The Complete Poems of Heinrich Heine*, 85-6).

- 2 'I'll take a look through the window:
Who breaks my rest with this stir?'
A skeleton stands in the moonlight
And fiddles and sings to her:
- 3 'A dance you promised to give me,
You broke your word instead;
Tonight there's a ball in the churchyard,
Come with me and dance with the dead!'
- 4 Enchantment draws the maiden
Spellbound past the door;
She follows, the skeleton paces
Singing and fiddling before.
- 5 It fiddles and skips and dances
And rattles its bones in tune;
Its skull is weaving and bobbing
In the baleful light of the moon."

Appendix 2.7. Friedrich Schiller: 'Laura am Klavier'¹¹

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Wenn dein Finger durch die Saiten
meistert –
Laura, itzt zur Statue entgeistert,
Itzt entkörperst steh' ich da.
Du gebietest über Tod und Leben,
Mächtig, wie von tausend Nervgeweben
Seelen fordert Philadelphia –</p> | <p>When your finger masters through the
strings,
Laura, now thunderstruck, a statue,
Now incorporeal I stand there.
You command over life and death,
Mighty, as Philadelphia demands
Souls from a thousand nervous fibres.</p> |
| <p>2 Ehrerbietig leiser rauschen
Dann die Lüfte, dir zu lauschen
Hingeschmiedet zum Gesang
Stehn im ew'gen Wirbelgang,
Einzuziehn die Wonnefülle,
Lauschende Naturen stille,
Zauberin! mit Tönen, wie
Mich mit Blicken, zwingst du sie.</p> | <p>Then, in reverence, the breezes
Murmur more quietly [so as] to listen to
you.
Wrought into song,
Eavesdropping natures stand still
In the eternal twirling path,
To draw in the abundant bliss.
Sorceress! You compel them with
music,
As you compel me with your glances.</p> |

¹¹ Friedrich Schiller, 'Laura am Klavier', *Friedrich Schiller, Werke und Briefe*, ed. Otto Dann et al. (Frankfurt a. M., 1992), 1, 230-1.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>3 Seelenvolle Harmonien wimmeln,
 Ein wollüstig Ungestüm,
 Aus ihren Saiten, wie aus ihren
 Himmeln
 Neugebor'ne Seraphim;
 Wie, des Chaos Riesenarm entronnen,
 Aufgejagt vom Schöpfungssturm die
 Sonnen
 Funkelnd führen aus der Nacht,
 Ströht der Töne Zaubermacht.</p> | <p>Soulful harmonies throng
 An ecstatic impetuousness,
 From their strings, like new-born
 Seraphim from their heavens.
 Like the suns, escaped from the giant
 arm of chaos,
 Driven forth by the storm of creation,
 Flew sparkling out of the night,
 [Thus] flows music's sorcerous might.</p> |
| <p>4 Lieblich itzt, wie über glatten Kiesel
 Silberhelle Fluten rieseln, –
 Majestätisch prächtig nun
 Wie des Donners Orgelton,
 Stürmend von hinnen itzt wie sich von
 Felsen
 Rauschende schäumende Gießbäche
 wälzen,
 Holdes Gesäusel bald,
 Schmeichlerisch linde
 Wie durch den Espenwald
 Buhlende Winde,
 Schwerer nun und melancholisch düster
 Wie durch toter Wüsten
 Schauernachtgeflüster,
 Wo verlор'nes Heulen schweift,
 Tränenwellen der Kozytus schleift.</p> | <p>Sweetly now, like silver-bright waves
 Trickle over smooth pebbles,
 Majestically glorious now,
 Like thunder's organ sound;
 Storming forth now, as roaring,
 Foaming waterfalls surge over rocks;
 Sweet murmurs then,
 Fawningly gentle,
 Like courting winds
 Moving through the aspen woods.
 Heavier now, and melancholically dark,
 Like whispering through dead deserts on
 a horrific night,
 Where lost crying drifts,
 [And] Cocytus drags waves of tears.</p> |
| <p>5 Mädchen, sprich! Ich frage, gib mir
 Kunde,
 Stehst mit höhern Geistern du im
 Bunde?
 Ist's die Sprache, lüg mir nicht,
 Die man in Elysen spricht?</p> | <p>Maiden, speak! I ask, tell me:
 Are you in league with higher spirits?
 Is this the language – do not lie to me –
 That one speaks in Elysium?</p> |

Friedrich Schiller: 'Laura at the Piano'¹²

- 1 When your fingers hold sway over the strings,
Laura, I stand there, now dumbfounded, as if turned into a statue,
Now disembodied.
You have command over life and death,
As mighty as Philadelphia,
Drawing the souls from a thousand sensitive beings.
- 2 In reverence the breezes whisper more softly,
So as to listen to you;
Riveted by the music,
Nature, listening silently,
Stops in her whirling course
To take in the abundant delights.
Enchantress! With sounds you enthrall her,
As you enthrall me with your eyes.
- 3 Soulful harmonies,
Sensual and impetuous,
Teem from her strings, like new-born seraphim
From their heaven.
- 4 As the flashing suns shot from the night,
Escaping the giant arm of Chaos,
Driven away by the storm of creation,
So the magic power of music pours forth.
- 5 Sweetly now, as clear, silvery water
Ripples over smooth pebbles;
Now with majestic splendour,
Like the thunder's organ tones;
Now raging forth, like rushing, foaming torrents
Surging from rocks;
Now sweetly murmuring,
Gently coaxing, like wooing breezes
Wafting through the aspen woods.
- 6 Now heavier, dark with melancholy,
Like fearful nocturnal whisperings through dead wastes,
Where the howls of lost, wandering souls echo,
And Cocytus drags waves of tears.
- 7 Maiden, speak! I beg you, tell me:
Are you in league with divine spirits?
Do not lie to me: is this the language
They speak in Elysium?

¹² Translation Richard Wigmore (Richard Wigmore, trans., *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*, 260-1). Note that the subdivision into stanzas is reproduced here as it is given in *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*.

Appendix 3: The Songs of Johann Hoven

Appendix 3.1. Johann Hoven: 'Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten'¹

II.

Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten,
Dass ich so traurig bin;
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten,
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.

Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fliesst der Rhein;
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenschein.

Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar;
Ihr gold'nes Geschmeide blitzet,
Sie kämmt ihr gold'nes Haar.

Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme,
Und singt ein Lied dabei;
Das hat eine wundersame,
Gewaltige Melodei.

Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe
Ergreift es mit wildem Weh;
Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe,
Er schaut nur hinauf in die Höh!

Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn;
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen
Die Lore-Ley gethan.

Langsam. Die Lore-Ley. 39. Werk, bei Haslinger in Wien.

1*

Ich weiss nicht, was soll es be - deu - ten,

¹ Score reproduced from the original 1851 edition of the kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei of Vienna.

dass ich so trau - rig bin; ein Mär-chen aus al - teu

Zei - - ten, das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.

Noch langsamer.

Die Luft ist kühl und es dun - - kelt, und

pp ritardando

Adagio.

legato

a tempo.

ped.

ru - hig fließt der Rhein; der Gi - pfel des Ber - ges

fun - - kelt im A - bend - son - nen - schein;

Die schönste Jung - frau si - tzet dort o - bei wun - der -

bar; ihr gold' - nes Geschmei - de bli - tzet, sie

ppp

ped.

cresc.

ppp

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of music. The first system shows the vocal melody and a piano accompaniment with a flowing eighth-note pattern. The second system continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment, with a 'ped.' (pedal) marking. The third system features a vocal melody with a 'ppp' (pianissimo) marking and a piano accompaniment with a 'ppp' marking. The fourth system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment, with a 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking and a 'ppp' marking.

kämmt ihr gold' - nes Haar; sie kämmt es mit gold' - nem

kam - me, und singt ein Lied da - bei; das

poco ritard. *ppp*

hat ei - ne wun - der - sa - - me, ge - wal - ti - ge Me - lo -

cresc.

dei, das hat ei - ne wun - der - sa - - - me, ge -

poco rit. *p* *f animando*

Schnell.

wal - ti - ge Me - lo - dei. Den Schif - fer im klei - nen

Allegro agitato.

ff *mf*

Schif - fe er - greift es mit wil - dem Weh; er

schauf nicht die Fel - sen - rif - fe, er schauf nur hinauf in die

cresc.

Sehr langsam.

Adagio. Ich! Ich

pp *sempre stringendo* *ffp*

Bewegter.

glaube, die Wel - len ver - schlin - gen am En - de Schif - fer und

agitato

f

Sehr schnell.

Kahn —

Allegro molto.

ff

sf

und das

f *dimin.* *pp* *ritard.*

Langsam.

hat mit ih - rem Sin - gen die Lo - re - Ley ge -

Lento.

p

Sehr langsam.

than, mit ih - rem Sin - gen die Lo - re - Ley ge - than.

animato

rit. *pp* *Adagio.* *pp*

ped.

rit. e morendo

ped. ppp

Appendix 3.2. Johann Hoven: 'Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen'²

XXI.

Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen,
Und weisst, ich lebe noch?
Der alte Zorn kehrt wieder,
Und dann zerbrech' ich mein Joch.

Kennst du das alte Liedchen:
Wie einst ein todter Knab',
Um Mitternacht die Geliebte
Zu sich geholt in's Grab?

Glaub' mir, du wunderschönes,
Du wunderholdes Kind,
Ich lebe und bin noch stärker
Als alle Todten sind!

Schnell und kräftig.

Wie kannst du ru-big schla-fen, und weisst, ich le-be noch? der al-te Zorn kehrt

Allegro con fuoco.

wie-der, und dann zer-brech' ich mein Joch, wie kannst du ru-big schla-fen, und weisst, ich le-be

noch, der al-te Zorn kehrt wie-der, und dann zer-brech' ich mein Joch; kennst du das al-te

9*

² Score reproduced from the original 1851 edition of the kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei of Vienna.

Im Walzer-Tempo.

Liedchen?

Allegro.

8va

pp *fz*

Wie einst ein tochter Knab' — um Mit - ter-nacht die Ge - lieb -

8va

p *pp*

Langsamer. *Erstes Zeitmass.*

8va

le zu sich ge - holt in's Grab? Glaub' mir, du wun - der - schö - nes, du wunder-hol-des

f *colla parte* *pp* *f* *p*

Tempo primo.

Kind, ich le-be und bin noch stär - ker, als al - le Todten sind!

f *ff* *ff*

Appendix 3.3. Johann Hoven: 'Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer'³

XXII.

„Die Jungfrau schläft in der Kammer,
Der Mond schaut zitternd herein;
Da draussen singt es und klingt es,
Wie Walzermelodei'n.“

„Ich will mal schau'n aus dem Fenster,
Wer drunten stört meine Ruh?
Da steht ein Todtengerippe,
Und fiedelt und singt dazu:

„Hast einst den Tanz mir versprochen,
Und hast gebrochen dein Wort,
Und heut ist Ball auf dem Kirchhof,
Komm mit, wir tanzen dort. —

„Die Jungfrau ergreift es gewaltig,
Es lockt sie hervor aus dem Haus;
Sie folgt dem Gerippe, das singend
Und fiedelnd schreitet voraus.“

„Es fiedelt und tänzelt und hüpfet,
Und klappert mit seinem Gebein,
Und nickt und nickt mit dem Schädel
Unheimlich im Mondenschein.“

Im Walzer-Tempo.

Der Tänzer. 7. Werk, bei Mechetti in Wien.

The musical score is for a piano piece titled 'Der Tänzer' (The Dancer), Op. 7, No. 7, by Johann Hoven. It is in 3/4 time, key of D major, and consists of four systems of piano accompaniment. The first system is marked 'Allegro' and 'pp'. The second system is marked 'pp'. The third system is marked 'cresc.' and 'pp'. The fourth system is marked 'p', 'dimin.', 'pp', and 'ped.'.

³ Score reproduced from the original 1851 edition of the kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei of Vienna.

Die Jung - frau schläft in der Kam - mer, der Mond schaut

leggiere
ppp

zit - ternd hin - ein; da draus - sen singt es und klingt es; wie

Wal - xer - Me - lo - del'n.

pp *fs*

„Ich will mal

fs *sf* *ppp*

Sva

schau'n aus dem Fen - ster, wer drun - ten stört mei - ne Ruh' da'

steht ein Tod - ten - ge - rip - pe, und fle - delt und singt da - zu:

cresc.

„Hast einst den Tanz mir ver - spro - chen, und hast ge - brochen dein

pp

Wort — und heut' ist Ball auf dem Kirch - - hof, komm mit, wir

cresc. f cresc.

tan - zen dort."

ff *fff possible* *fs* *fs*

ped. *ped.*

Die Jung-frau er - greift es ge - wal-

sf *p*

ped. *ped.*

tig, es lockt sie her - vor aus dem Haus, die Jungfrau er - greift es ge-

cresc. *cresc.*

wal - - tig, es lockt sie her - vor aus dem Haus; sie folgt dem Ge-

f *p* *cresc.*

staccato

rip - pe, das sin - - gend und fle - delnd schrei - tet vor - aus ; sie

folgt dem Ge - rip - pe, das sin - - gend und fle - delnd schrei - tet vor -

p *cresc.*

aus ;

f

es fle - delt und tän - zelt und

f

hü - - pfe, und klap-pert mit sei-nem Ge - bein, und nickt und

f *f* *f*

This system contains the first staff of music. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piano accompaniment consists of two staves in G major, with the right hand in treble clef and the left hand in bass clef. The lyrics are 'hü - - pfe, und klap-pert mit sei-nem Ge - bein, und nickt und'. Dynamic markings *f* (forte) are placed under the piano accompaniment staves.

nickt mit dem Schä - del un - - heim - - lich im

ff *p*

This system contains the second staff of music. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'nickt mit dem Schä - del un - - heim - - lich im'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same texture. Dynamic markings *ff* (fortissimo) and *p* (piano) are present.

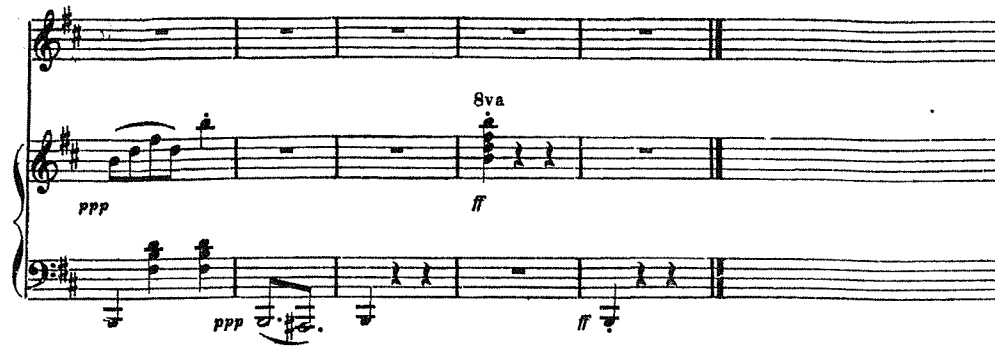
Mon - den - schein."

p *dimin.* *p*

This system contains the third staff of music. The vocal line has a long note for the lyrics 'Mon - den - schein."'. The piano accompaniment features a wavy line in the left hand. Dynamic markings *p* (piano), *dimin.* (diminuendo), and *p* (piano) are present.

pp *pp*

This system contains the fourth staff of music. The vocal line is mostly rests. The piano accompaniment continues. Dynamic markings *pp* (pianissimo) are present.



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